

**MOTHERS IN PRISON:
AN EXAMINATION OF FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY
AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE
BURNABY CORRECTIONAL CENTRE FOR WOMEN**

by

Elizabeth Mary Shields
B.A. (Criminology), Simon Fraser University, 1990

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (CRIMINOLOGY)
in the School
of
Criminology

© Elizabeth Mary Shields 1995
Simon Fraser University
August, 1995

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Elizabeth M. Shields
Degree: Master of Arts (Criminology)
Title of Thesis: Mothers in Prison:
An Examination of Familial Ideology and
Social Control in the Burnaby
Correctional Centre for Women

Examining Committee:

Chairperson: Robert Menzies, Ph.D.

Karlene Faith, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Senior Supervisor

Margaret Jackson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor

Meredith Kimball, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Women's Studies, S.F.U.
External Examiner

Date Approved:

August 2, 1995

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis / ~~Project / Extended Essay~~

Mothers in Prison: An Examination of Familial Ideology

and Social Control in the Burnaby Correctional Centre

for Women:

Author: Elizabeth Shields
(signature)

Elizabeth Shields

(name)

August 2, 1995

(date)

ABSTRACT

The topic of mothers in prison has received a considerable amount of academic attention. Existing research can generally be described as descriptive, exploratory, anecdotal, and atheoretical in nature. This thesis draws upon the work of feminist theorists who have studied the effects that societal expectations about "appropriate" gender role behaviour, based on patriarchal relations, have on the sentencing and imprisonment of women. As an exploratory research project, this thesis examines the effects of familial ideology on the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.).

This research involved the administration of a structured interview to 20 incarcerated mothers at B.C.C.W.; content analysis of the correctional case management files for all of the prisoners detained in B.C.C.W. during a two week period in June, 1993 to determine how many were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger); and, an examination of the policies, procedures and programming of B.C.C.W. that relate specifically to incarcerated mothers.

Interview results indicate that incarcerated mothers experience specific, intensive forms of social control in

relation to the policies and procedures of B.C.C.W. that determine mother-child contact. Also, correctional programming and work assignments at B.C.C.W. emphasize traditionally "feminine" domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning, and sewing which are consistent with familial ideology.

From the correctional case management files, there is evidence that a significant number of women incarcerated in British Columbia are mothers of dependent children (33% of the women in B.C.C.W.'s secured facility; 57% of the women in the Open Living Unit). An examination of the policies, procedures, and programming of B.C.C.W. shows that the majority of incarcerated mothers have very limited contact with their children and those who do must demonstrate their competence to correctional administrators and line staff who make their judgments based on certain ideas about "appropriate" gender role behaviour. Thus, a woman's attachment to her children becomes an element of social control processes within the prison.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following individuals for their support and assistance throughout this project:

To the 20 mothers who agreed to be interviewed for this research. Their words and experiences give meaning to this work;

To Sara McEwan, Beverly Roest, and the staff of the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women who helped facilitate this research;

To Jody Gordon and Garth Davies who patiently assisted with the more technical aspects of this thesis;

To my parents, Michael and Mary Shields, who have always offered their love and support unconditionally and who have enabled me to have the self-confidence to pursue my dreams;

To my brother, Joe, who is always ready to engage in an intellectual debate;

To Timothy, the person who was always there for me every step of the way. I thank you for your continuing love and support;

To my many friends who expressed a sincere interest in my work and who kept me sane during this process;

To Dr. Margaret Jackson whose sense of humour, willingness to listen, and constructive feedback helped encourage me to produce this thesis;

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Karlene Faith, a person whom I admire and consider it a privilege to have had the opportunity to work with. She provided me with guidance, support, and a challenge. Throughout this experience I have learned to have confidence in my abilities and to critically examine the world around me. Her deep sense of commitment to issues related to women in prison has touched me profoundly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....ii

Abstract.....iii

Acknowledgements..... v

List of Tables.....ix

List of Figures.....x

I. INTRODUCTION.....1

 A Profile of Incarcerated Women in Canada....4 X

 Incarcerated Mothers in Canada.....7

II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....9

 Research on Mothers in Prison.....9

 Early Research on Female Criminality.....10

 Correctionalist Perspective.....13

 Legalistic Perspective.....21

 Social-Psychological Perspective.....26

 Effects of Incarceration on Female Prisoners
 and their Children

 Feminist, Gender-Based Perspective.....29

 Conclusions.....36

III. SOCIAL CONTROL AND FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY.....38

 Gender Socialization.....38

 Familial Ideology.....42

 Theories of Social Control.....44

 Social Control as it Relates to the
 Sentencing of Women.....48 X

 The Development of the Prison System.....50

	PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN PRISON:	
	Correctional Programming.....	55
	Policies and Procedures related to Mothers in Prison.....	58
	Conclusions.....	61
IV.	METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION.....	63
	Research Method.....	64
	The Interview.....	65
	Correctional Case Management Files.....	68
	Correctional Policies, Procedures and Programming.....	69
	Data Analysis.....	70
V.	RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	72
	INTERVIEW RESULTS.....	72
	Summary of Prisoner Demographics.....	73
	Children of Incarcerated Mothers.....	73
	Mother-Child Contact.....	81
	Correctional Programming.....	86
	Effects of Incarceration on Mothers and their Children.....	89
	The Incarcerated Mothers' Evaluation of B.C.C.W.'s Programming related to Mother-Child Contact.....	94
	CORRECTIONAL CASE MANAGEMENT FILES.....	99
	CORRECTIONAL POLICIES, PROCEDURES AND PROGRAMMING.....	105

VI. CONCLUSIONS.....	110
APPENDIX 1	
Correspondence from the Local Director of the Open Living Unit (B.C.C.W.).....	116
APPENDIX 2	
Letter of Introduction	117
APPENDIX 3	
Correspondence from the Assistant Deputy Minister, Ministry of the Attorney General.....	118
APPENDIX 4	
Questionnaire.....	120
APPENDIX 5	
Letter to Mothers in the Secured Facility.....	125
APPENDIX 6	
Research Information.....	126
Informed Consent Information.....	127
Informed Consent Form.....	128
APPENDIX 7	
Coding Sheet.....	129
APPENDIX 8a	
Open Living Unit Policies and Procedures.....	142
APPENDIX 8b	
Open Living Unit Child Care Expectations.....	144
APPENDIX 9	
Summary of Literature Reviewed.....	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	147

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Children of Incarcerated Mothers.....	74
Table 2	Mother-Child Contact.....	83
Table 3	Effects of Incarceration on Mothers and their Children.....	93

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1
Incarcerated Mothers' Opinion
of Mother-Child Programming.....94

Figure 2
Mothers' Suggestions for Improvements
to Existing Programming.....97

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

We true, natural women cannot live without our children. We had rather die than have them torn from us as your laws allow them to be. Spirit wrongs are the keenest wounds than can be inflicted upon women. When woman is brought before our man courts, and our man juries, and has no marks of violence upon her person, it is hard to realize that her whole physical system may be writhing in agony from spirit wrongs, such as can only be understood by her peers. Spiritual, sensitive women suffer on in silent anguish without appeal, until death. Kindly liberate her from her prisonhouse of unappreciated suffering.

Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard, 1864 ¹
(quoted in Chesler, 1987:3)

The separation of a mother from her child can be a painful and traumatic experience. When a mother is sentenced to prison, in most cases this state-sanctioned punishment results in forced detachment from her child. As evidenced by the quote by Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard (1864), the negative effects of incarceration are compounded by the psychological and emotional stress associated with mother-child separation.

Incarceration is antithetical to parental responsibility. From a sociological perspective, the

¹ Chesler (1987:410) notes that Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard was an author and lobbyist on behalf of psychiatric prisoners. She herself was imprisoned and went on to publish Modern Persecution, Vol.1 (1875), printers Case, Lockwood and Brainard.

primary identity or "master status" of an incarcerated mother changes from "caregiver" to "prisoner" once she enters the criminal justice system (Faith, 1993:204). The fact that a woman is a mother becomes secondary to the fact that she is a "criminal."

Societal expectations regarding "appropriate" gender role behaviour and a woman's relationship to the "family" are factors that have been examined by feminist researchers who have studied the sentencing of women (Eaton, 1986, 1987; Daly, 1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b; Masson, 1992). It appears that familial ideology, the ideas, beliefs, and norms that surround the patriarchal nuclear family, has an effect on judicial decision-making (Masson, 1992:100). If a woman is considered to be a "good" mother she will be presented in a more positive light by criminal justice personnel (Eaton, 1986:97; Daly, 1987b:167; Masson, 1992:103).

Within prison, processes of social control regulate behaviour (Cohen, 1985; Foucault, 1979). Corrections personnel enforce rules and regulations based on official policies and procedures. Mothers are a specific, identifiable group within the prison population who may be subjected to intensive forms of social control processes in relation to their children. This thesis will examine the effects of familial ideology on the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.).

Chapter Two presents an overview of the literature related to mothers in prison. A considerable amount of academic research in the U.S. has focused on the effects of incarceration on imprisoned women and their children. This thesis is intended to contribute to the expanding literature on mothers incarcerated in Canada. Chapter Three is an examination of societal expectations regarding "appropriate" gender role behaviour and how familial ideology² affects the sentencing of women and their social control within prison. This theoretical approach to the study of mothers in prison is unique and builds upon feminist research in the area of sentencing. Chapter Four outlines the research questions and methodology. Chapter Five presents the findings and analysis related to the interview results (n=20), information obtained from correctional case management files, and an examination of the official policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit of B.C.C.W. related to mother-child contact. In conclusion, Chapter Six presents a summary of the results of this exploratory study.

² Familial ideology refers to the ideas, beliefs, and norms that surround the "family." Eaton defines ideology in the following terms:

The dominant ideology of a society is made up of the models of normality by which people in that society live their daily lives...This [ideology], with its perceptions, explanations and justifications is promulgated by the institutions controlled by the dominant classes, particularly those controlled by the state, including the legal system (Eaton, 1986:88).

A PROFILE OF INCARCERATED WOMEN IN CANADA

The following is a brief profile of incarcerated women in Canada, with discussion of social factors associated with the criminalization of women. As an exploratory study, this research focuses on mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women. However, there are commonalities in the personal backgrounds and social situations of the majority of women who come into contact with the criminal justice system in Canada.

Women account for a small proportion of criminal activity in Canada. In 1993, females were charged with 19% of all Criminal Code violations (CCJS, 1994:9). Generally, women are charged with less violent and less serious offences than men. For example, in 1993 50.1% of all charges laid against women were property related (CCJS, 1993). The crimes in which females represented a significant proportion of persons charged were prostitution (49%), theft under \$1000 (44%), and fraud (30%) (CCJS, 1994:9).

Women are most frequently charged with property crimes which may be linked to their disadvantaged social and economic status (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:97-98). Shoplifting and fraudulent activity (for example, writing "bad" cheques and credit card fraud) are the most common

criminal code violations committed by women (CCJS, 1993). Drug related charges and provincial Liquor Act violations also account for a significant number of women who come into conflict with the law (CCJS, 1993).

Of the total number of adults charged with a violent offence in Canada during 1993, 10.3% were female; 93.6% of those women charged with a violent offence were charged under the category of assault (CCJS, 1993). Those charged with homicide are very rare (55 adult women were charged with murder in 1993, 14 with manslaughter, and 3 with infanticide [CCJS, 1993]). In 1991 Canadian homicide statistics show that 79% of the victims in these offences were domestically related to the offenders, usually a spouse or common-law partner (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:102).

Women who are sentenced in Canada constitute 8% of all provincial admissions to custody, 3% of all federal Warrant of Committal admissions to custody, and 17% of all admissions to provincial probation (CCJS, 1991:14).³ Seventy six percent of women sentenced to prison are under the age of 35 (Lipinski, 1991:4). Most are young, poor,

³ In Canada, custodial sentences of two years less a day are served in provincial institutions. Women who are sentenced to two years or more serve their sentences under the jurisdiction of federal corrections. Kingston Prison for Women (located in Kingston, Ontario) is the only correctional facility for federally sentenced women in Canada. However, under the Federal/Provincial Exchange of Services Agreement federal prisoners may serve their sentences in provincial facilities upon agreement of federal and provincial corrections (Ministry of the Attorney General, 1993:v).

facilities in 1989-90, 29.9% were for fine default (Lipinski, 1991:6).

Aboriginal women, who constitute approximately 3% of the female population of Canada, represented 19% of all women admitted to provincial/territorial facilities in 1990-91 (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:109). This national average varies by jurisdiction with some areas reporting admissions as high as 90 percent (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:109). These numbers are representative of the broader socio-economic and legal factors that are associated with "being both Native and female in a male-dominated, non-Native society" (La Prairie, 1987:110).

Personal backgrounds that include physical, emotional or sexual abuse as a child and/or as an adult, lack of education and training, and limited employment opportunities are common among women in prison (Adelberg and Currie, 1993:117-149; Daly, 1994:43-45; Eaton, 1993:1-20). Drug and/or alcohol dependency is another common factor among women who come into contact with the criminal justice system, which may be symptomatic of underlying personal issues (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:13-15; Wine, 1992:32-33; Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:98). In British Columbia, Tiens et al. (1993:6-11) found that 71% of their sample of 75 women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.) had not completed high school; 61% were on social assistance prior to imprisonment; 47% reported that they had been sexually abused as children; 87% had serious

problems with alcohol and drugs; and, the average age was 30 years.

Although these factors do not determine criminal activity, they may lead to circumstances where "criminalizable" behaviour is detected by criminal justice personnel. Ross and Fabiano (1985:132) note that "female offenders appear to have more in common with other women, particularly disadvantaged women, than they do with male offenders."

Incarcerated Mothers in Canada

MacLeod (1986:11-12) reports that in 1983 approximately 360 women (4% of 9,000) admitted to an adult correctional institution in Canada were pregnant, 50% of the total population had borne children, and 30% had been living with their children prior to incarceration. Similarly, Wine (1992:27) found that approximately 50% of women imprisoned in Ontario had borne children. She notes that Ruhl and Loring (1988) found that 65.5% of incarcerated women they surveyed in Ontario had given birth to children (Wine, 1992:27). According to the Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, "Two out of three federally sentenced women are mothers (67%), who [had] primary responsibility for their children [prior to incarceration]" (Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990:101).

Tiens et al. (1993:7) found that 69% of the women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (located in Burnaby, British Columbia) had at least one child, and 42% of those who had children reported that their children had been apprehended by authorities at some time. Single mothers were more likely to have their children apprehended: two-thirds of single mothers reported that their children were involved with government agencies, while only one-third of women who were married, divorced, or common-law reported that their children had been apprehended (Tiens et al., 1993:7).

From the limited statistical information available, it can be concluded that the majority of women imprisoned in Canada are mothers. It is not surprising then that mother-child separation has been revealed as one of the most significant problems confronting incarcerated women (Ward and Kassenbaum, 1966:15; Burkhart, 1973:223-228; McGowan and Blumenthal, 1978:17; Stanton, 1980:7; Haley, 1980:340; Baunach, 1982:156; Hatty, 1984:124; Carlen, 1985:76; MacLeod, 1986:24; Wine, 1992:64; Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:17; Faith, 1993:205).

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

RESEARCH ON MOTHERS IN PRISON

Existing research focused on mothers in prison can generally be described as descriptive, exploratory, anecdotal, and atheoretical in nature. While some researchers are critical of correctional policy and procedures related to incarcerated mothers (examples, Bloom and Steinhart, 1993; Wine 1992; MacLeod, 1986) most research on this topic does not critically analyze the processes of imprisonment or the social and economic realities that affect mothers who are incarcerated. With the exception of researchers such as Carlen (1983), Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge (1986) and Faith (1993), who critically examine the issue of incarcerated mothers within the broader context of women in prison, an extensive literature review of published material reveals that the topic of mothers in prisons has not been approached as an exploratory research project from a critical, theoretical perspective.

[Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are useful to an understanding of the situation of incarcerated mothers.] Existing research, the bulk of which has been conducted in the United States, can generally be divided into the following perspectives: correctionalist;

legalistic; social-psychological (effects on mothers and children); and, feminist (gender-based analyses).¹ This literature review will begin with an examination of early research on female criminality in order to contextualize subsequent research on mothers in prison. Analysis of the findings and recommendations in each of the four categories (correctionalist, legalistic, social-psychological, and feminist) will follow.

Early Research on Female Criminality

In the late 19th century Cesare Lombroso, commonly regarded as the first criminologist, conducted research on the biological link to criminal behaviour. He presented deviant behaviour as biologically determined and argued that "heredity is the principal organic cause of criminal tendencies" (Lombroso-Ferrero, 1911:83). Lombroso's "scientific" research reflected the patriarchal social order that existed at the turn of the century: women were considered to be inferior to men both physically and psychologically. According to Lombroso, female criminality

¹ It is important to note that although the literature on mothers in prison has been categorized for the purposes of review, these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, some correctionalist research on existing policy and procedure also combines anecdotal information on the effects of incarceration on female prisoners and their children (see Baunach, 1985; Wine, 1992).

was kept in check by the fulfillment of the maternal role and the repression of sexuality (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899:153). Lombroso and his colleague Ferrero explained female criminal behaviour in the following terms:

We [have seen] that women have many traits in common with children; that their moral sense is deficient, that they are revengeful, jealous and inclined to vengeance of refined cruelty. In ordinary cases these defects are neutralized by piety, maternity, want of passion, sexual coldness, by neatness and undeveloped intelligence. But when piety and maternal sentiments are wanting ... it is clear that the innocuous semi-criminal present in the normal woman must be transformed into a born criminal more terrible than any man (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899:151).

It is implied that the female offender, lacking in maternal sentiments, is not fit to reproduce or raise children (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899:153; Lombroso-Ferrero, 1911:83).

Biological determinism, influenced by androcentric and patriarchal biases, affected theorizing about female criminality into the 20th century. For example, in 1934 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck published Five Hundred Delinquent Women, a text which described criminal women as "feeble minded" and argued that offenders such as prostitutes should be sterilized in order to prevent the continuation of their genetic line. This eugenic approach reflected a social climate in which deviance was believed to be controllable through social engineering (McLaren, 1990:17-19). "Criminal" women such as prostitutes were associated with "immorality and disease and the need for police and public

health intervention" (Smart, 1992:31). Reformers called for religious and domestic re-education within the prison system in order to "re-habilitate" criminal women into "good" wives and mothers (Rafter, 1985:23-24).

In 1950, Pollak theorized that female criminality is "masked"; females are deceitful and covert in order to compensate for their lack of physical strength (Pollak, 1950:3). In an attempt to distance himself from absolute biological determinism he pointed to the importance of family in ordering women's activities (Pollak, 1950:161; Gavigan, 1993:219). This approach to female criminality was consistent with the "intensification of a renewed Victorian bourgeois familial ideology" in the years following World War II (Faith, 1993:44-45). Familial responsibility was considered to be necessary for women who were physiologically prone to untrustworthy behaviour outside of the domestic sphere (Faith, 1993:45; Gavigan, 1993:219-221).

Early research on the causes of female criminality focused primarily on biological and psychological explanations "based upon a particular (mis)conception of the innate character and nature of women, which is in turn founded upon a biological determinist position" (Smart, 1977:27). The female offender was regarded as biologically and morally inferior; no attention was given to the social and economic factors associated with female crime.

Criminologists who studied women during the 19th and early 20th century recommended strengthening the female

domestic role as a way of preventing criminal behaviour (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899:153; Glueck and Glueck, 1934; Pollak, 1950:161). It was argued that without maternal or domestic duties to order their lives, women, who were considered to be susceptible to deviant behaviour, would be at risk for criminal activity.

Correctionalist Perspective

In the 1960s, researchers such as Ward and Kassebaum (1965) and Giallombardo (1966) reported on the social structure of prison and the various ways that women adapt while incarcerated. On the subject of mother-child separation, Ward and Kassebaum (1965:15) state "Dispossession of the mother role also removes an important personal emotional object from the inmate." This clinical approach to incarcerated mothers focused on the coping mechanisms employed by women in prison; the social realities of the women and the structure of the institution itself were not questioned.

Working from the premise that correctional institutions exist as a fundamental part of the social order, correctionalist research on mothers in prison focuses on the policies, procedures and structure of the criminal justice system and their affects on women and their children. The existence of the system itself is not critiqued. However,

specific aspects of the system are examined and recommendations for systemic change may be put forward.

In 1978, McGowan and Blumenthal, with funding from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, examined the negative effects of separation on the children of incarcerated women in the United States. They hoped "to encourage the development of sound, family-oriented policies and programs for inmate mothers and their children" (McGowan and Blumenthal, 1978:1), and their recommendations included diversion from the criminal justice system and the coordination of criminal justice and child welfare programming (McGowan and Blumenthal, 1978:87-95). Their primary purposes were to expose the social, psychological and economic effects of mother-child separation on children, the "innocent" victims of female incarceration, and the research also generated some useful statistical and demographic information on incarcerated mothers. [For example, McGowan and Blumenthal (1978:56-57) found that 75% of the prisoner mothers in their survey were caring for one or more dependent children at the time of arrest; two-thirds of the children in their sample were under the age of 10 and one-fourth were under 4; while the mother was incarcerated, 75% of the children's caretakers were relatives and 12.1% were foster parents; and, 85.8% of the mothers maintained some form of regular contact with their child(ren).]

Stanton studied the effects of separation on the children of incarcerated mothers compared to the children of

mothers convicted of similar offences but granted probation without any or minimal jail time (1980:17). She found that even a short period of incarceration can bring about a serious division in the mother-child relationship (Stanton, 1980:122). She asserts that from the time of arrest, through the pretrial investigation and incarceration, the criminal justice system has responsibility to ensure that the mother-child relationship is maintained and minimal harm comes to children (Stanton, 1980:128-129). Stanton (1980:129) recommends better visiting facilities, standardized regulations for telephone use and increased home furlough programs as ways that correctional facilities can improve the mother-child relationship. This research, which was conducted in California, was one of the first published academic studies on the topic of maternal deprivation in relation to incarcerated mothers.

Baunach (1982, 1985) has produced numerous studies on the effects of separation and is one of the pioneers in research on mothers in prison. Her approach is similar to Stanton's (1980) and McGowan and Blumenthal's (1978); they recommend changes to the correctional system in the United States which would facilitate mother-child contact and they also emphasize the need for community-based programming. While Stanton (1980) and McGowan and Blumenthal (1978) focus on the effects of forced separation on children, Baunach's research has centered on the mother's perspective (1982, 1985). In 1985, she published the findings of a study

conducted at two institutions in Kentucky and the Purdy Treatment Center in Washington State. Her results show that a significant number of mothers feel despondent and guilty that their behaviour has resulted in a separation from their children (Baunach, 1985:29). [She notes that incarcerated mothers who are most anxious and concerned about their children are those who have had little or no control over where their child(ren) have been placed (Baunach, 1985:30)].

Baunach recommends alternative, community-based programs which house mothers and children together; she contends that parenting programs that take place within prison, "although a step in the right direction," are subject to limitations and do not provide adequate access to community resources (Baunach, 1982:167). Baunach emphasizes the importance of mother-child contact as a way of reinforcing parental responsibility and reducing the negative effects of imprisonment for both mother and child (Baunach, 1985:45).

Datesman and Cales (1983:152), in their study of forty incarcerated mothers conducted at a converted motel located "in the midtown area of a metropolitan city" in the Western United States, found that "visitation policies which encourage frequent contact between mothers and their children in pleasant surroundings contribute to the maintenance of the mother-child relationship." Datesman and Cales echo the consensus that correctional programming must focus on enhancing the mother-child bond during the mother's

period of incarceration. They also note that visitation is controlled by correctional authorities, which may act as an incentive for mothers to follow the prison rules (Datesman and Cales, 1983:149).

Boudouris (1985) presented an overview of correctional programs for incarcerated mothers in the United States, examining prison nurseries, day care centers, parenting classes, furloughs, family and conjugal visits, community facilities and visitation policies (Boudouris, 1985:7-23). He concludes that prison nurseries are a practical approach to mother-child contact that have been discontinued in most areas of the United States for political and administrative reasons. Boudouris advocates a return to "previously existing programs" (1985:31), and also contends that greater use of work release for incarcerated mothers to care for their children and families is necessary (Boudouris, 1985:31). However, he suggests that ultimately the best course of action is to "spend funds on services for mothers prior to their incarceration" in order to avoid mother-child separation (Boudouris, 1985:30).

In 1993, Bloom and Steinhart funded by the U.S. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, conducted a follow-up study to the work published by McGowan and Blumenthal in 1978. In their reassessment they found that the situation of incarcerated mothers and their children had not changed significantly over 15 years. However, one very important change is noted: the incarceration rate for women

in the United States has increased dramatically in the past decade; since 1980, the number of women in jails and prisons has tripled (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:13). They account for this significant increase by pointing to the increased rates of incarceration for property and drug offences in the United States (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:14-15).

Bloom and Steinhart (1993:62-69) put forth the following recommendations: during the sentencing process there should be more community-based alternatives to incarceration; when mothers are incarcerated caregivers (including grandparents, relatives, foster parents) should receive more governmental assistance; child welfare agencies should work more cooperatively with corrections; correctional administrators should adopt programs, policies and procedures which encourage mother-child contact; and, policymakers and the general public need to be educated regarding the problems faced by children of incarcerated mothers.

Under contract to the Research Division of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, MacLeod (1986) conducted an exploratory study of issues related to female prisoners and their children. She relies heavily on the work of Baunach (1985) in her literature review and contends that with the increasing numbers of adult women processed through the federal and provincial correctional systems in Canada, the numbers of children affected is increasing proportionately (MacLeod, 1986:10-12). MacLeod estimates

that in 1983 approximately 50% of women in federal and provincial institutions in Canada had children; 30% of these women had been living with their children prior to incarceration (1986:11-12).

MacLeod (1986:65) notes that the problems associated with incarcerating mothers are more pronounced in Canada than in other countries because of the geography. As the number of incarcerated females is relatively small, in the majority of cases mothers are housed in correctional facilities which are at a great distance from their children. MacLeod (1986:55) also points out that the multi-level security arrangement of most female prisons makes it difficult to implement mother-child programming. While examining the systemic problems associated with incarcerated mothers, MacLeod does not offer any concrete recommendations. Instead she suggests possible areas for further research, including quantitative studies and policy analysis (MacLeod, 1986:59-64).

In 1992, Wine published the results of a provincial study of forty-one incarcerated mothers in the Ontario correctional system with the finding that approximately 50% of the female provincial prisoner population had borne children (1992:27).² This percentage is identical to

² According to Wine (1992:32-33), the sample characteristics of the incarcerated mothers interviewed were as follows: average age 31 years; 59.5% had not completed grade 12; 75.7% were white, 16.2% were black, and 8.1% were native; 64.7% of mothers were on social assistance prior to incarceration; 27.2% reported daily use of alcohol; 33.3% reported drug use; and 40.5% were first-time offenders.

MacLeod's national results and is slightly lower than the range established by U.S. researchers. Baunach (1982:168) notes that the proportion of incarcerated women in the United States reportedly having dependent children 18 years or younger generally ranges between 56% and 68%.

Similar to recommendations proposed by researchers in the United States (McGowan and Blumenthal, 1978; Stanton, 1980; Baunach, 1985), Wine suggests "models of reform" aimed at community-based and institutional programming. She contends that a "range of programs [are] necessary to meet the service needs of this group of women and children," (1992:61) and suggests programming focused on lifeskills, job training, education and drug and alcohol counselling within a community, rather than an institutional setting (Wine, 1992:61).

Studies such as those conducted by McGowan and Blumenthal (1978), Stanton (1980), Baunach (1985), Boudouris (1985), Bloom and Steinhart (1993), MacLeod (1986) and Wine (1993) are indicative of a correctionalist approach to mothers in prison. The studies reviewed begin with an examination of what currently exists in the criminal justice system and suggest alternatives and reforms to the existing structure. Working within a correctional framework, this type of research focuses on the policies, procedures, programs and practice that affect mothers and their children. While correctionalist researchers recognize the

serious negative effects of mother-child separation, generally they view it uncritically as an inevitable consequence of female incarceration.

Correctionalist recommendations point to systemic changes that may alleviate some of the problems experienced by incarcerated mothers and their children (such as increasing mother-child contact through visitation or live-in programs, and implementing lifeskills and parenting programs). As the majority of correctionalist research is funded through government or criminal justice agencies, the findings generally support the existing correctional structure. However, recommendations for modifications in policy, procedure and programming, reflecting growing public awareness of the problems associated with mothers in prison and the need for non-institutional programming, are evident in this area of research.

Legalistic Perspective

* Along with increasing public and academic awareness of the problems associated with incarcerated mothers came the recognition that parental rights to the custody of children may be infringed upon or terminated when the mother comes into contact with the criminal justice system. Research in this area is centered on the legality of such decisions and examines the conflict between incarceration and parental rights.

Haley (1980:341) notes that when a father goes to prison the mother will usually retain responsibility for their children's care during his incarceration. However, when a mother is imprisoned, the children are more likely to be placed with relatives, friends, or foster parents. She contends that:

Upon conviction for a crime, female offenders who are mothers face a two-pronged sentence. First, they must serve the prison term, and second, they must cope with the additional punishment of a temporary or permanent deprivation of parental rights (Haley, 1980:340).

Regarding parental rights, Haley (1980:342) suggests that in the early 1980s a clear definition was yet to be formulated. It was recognized that a "natural" parent has a special interest in the care, custody, and nurture of her child, however, women who give birth in North American prisons have been commonly advised to give the baby up for adoption (Haley, 1980:347). Brodie (1982:32) reports that in custody matters involving constitutional determinations of the best interests of children in the U.S., the Courts focused on the caregiver's physical and emotional capacity to care for a child and incarceration was not assumed to be evidence of unfitness.

Chesler (1987:254-270) examined the legal issues that affect mothers in U.S. prisons. She notes that, historically, infants and young children were always imprisoned with their mothers (Chesler, 1987:262; Zedner, 1991). However, with the reform movement, female prisoners

were housed in facilities separate from and inferior to male institutions and it was no longer considered socially acceptable for a child to be raised within the environment of a prison (Chesler, 1987:262-263; Zedner, 1991:147-148).

Chesler points to the inadequacies in the legal system that affect the rights of incarcerated mothers, especially with regard to custody and visitation (1987:267-268). [Once incarcerated, a mother essentially forfeits custody of her child to either the state or a caregiver and upon release must often fight to regain her legal custodial rights.] Chesler (1987:268) contends that incarcerated mothers are at a disadvantage because most state-provided lawyers are overworked and underpaid and do not consider such custody matters to be a priority.

Beckerman (1991:172) found that with recent developments in child-welfare law in the United States it has been recognized that imprisonment does not equal parental abandonment. However, she (1991:174-177) argues that these changes represent an "ironic twist"; although the law recognizes the parental rights of incarcerated mothers, the standards of expected behaviour for the continuation of these rights is often very difficult to achieve under conditions of imprisonment (Beckerman, 1991:175). Beckerman (1991:175-181) notes that in order to avoid the termination of parental rights regular contact between mother and child is required. In addition to regular contact, an incarcerated mother must provide a

detailed post-release plan that focuses on her future living arrangements. Beckerman contends that depending upon the length of sentence and the resources that are available to an incarcerated mother, she may be "in jeopardy of losing her parental rights" (Beckerman, 1991:179).

Beckerman (1991:180-181) suggests that correctional policies and practices should encourage more frequent mother-child visitation. Also, she believes that well-planned and monitored long-term foster placements and open adoptions would help avoid the termination of parental rights (Beckerman, 1991:180).

Faith (1993:204) notes that in the United States, as of 1992, the courts have not yet ruled conclusively on whether incarceration can be considered "evidence of parental unfitness" or "abandonment." In Canada, imprisonment may result in an infringement of civil rights when a mother has a child involved in a custody matter outside of the province or territory where she is incarcerated (Faith, 1993:204; NPCFO, 1978:Appendix B).

Barry (1988), addressing legal issues related to pregnant women in prison, reports that U.S. research documents serious instances of inadequate medical care for women with high risk pregnancies, dramatically high rates of miscarriage, and generally poor care for women with normal pregnancies (Barry, 1988:10). Barry recounts three lawsuits filed by female prisoners in California which resulted in improved conditions for pregnant women in county jails and

an extensive system of perinatal medical care for women incarcerated in the California Institution for Women in Frontera. She contends that:

although litigation can act as a catalyst for change in improving prenatal medical care, the active participation and involvement of community members is vital in ensuring that changes in provision actually occur (Barry, 1988:32).

The legalistic approach to the study of mothers in prison can be viewed as similar to the correctionalist approach. Both perspectives point out problems within the criminal justice system and suggest specific changes to correctional policy and practice. However, from an uncritical legalistic or correctionalist viewpoint the existence of the correctional institution is not questioned; the incarceration of mothers is accepted as a social and legal reality. Research focused on parental rights acknowledges the custodial rights of women in prison and points to increased mother-child contact as the best solution to balance the legal rights of the mother versus those of the state.

**Social-Psychological Perspective:
Effects of Incarceration on Female Prisoners and their
Children**

Research on the social and psychological effects of incarceration on female prisoners and their children is generally descriptive and anecdotal in approach. Correctionalist and legalistic approaches to mothers in prison note the problems associated with forced mother-child separation within discussions of correctional policy and practice. However, social-psychological research focuses more on the experiential realities of mothers and their children. By exposing the feelings, emotions and personal problems associated with incarceration, this type of research gives a voice to mothers in prison and contextualizes issues related to women in the criminal justice system.

Burkhart (1973), in a journalistic account of life in prison, emphasizes the intense emotions experienced by incarcerated mothers who are separated from their children. For example, on the subject of mother-child visitation, Burkhart quotes a prisoner from Sybil Brand Institute for Women in Los Angeles:

When my children come I can hug them and hold them- but I can't fall apart and let them know how important it is they're there...When they go they're not gonna cry and I'm not gonna cry...not until after they're gone, anyway. What crying I do, I do alone (Pearl Water quoted in Burkhart, 1973:261).

Richards (1992) found that the emotions exhibited by children whose mothers are in prison are similar to those who have lost a parent through divorce or death (Richards, 1992:11). He describes the pain and stress associated with the sudden loss of a parent, asserting that regular contact in the form of visits, phone calls and letters, along with the opportunity to openly express their feelings, is crucial to the psychological well-being of a child who is separated from their parent (Richards, 1992:10-11).

Catan (1992) conducted a research study involving seventy-four babies who resided in mother and baby units at HMP Styal, Holloway, and Askham Grange prisons in the United Kingdom. She administered psychological tests to the infants and determined that "the environment of the units did not impair their overall developmental progress" (Catan, 1992:16). However, Catan notes that research on post-release family situations indicates that existing community support for mothers and their children is inadequate. She points to poverty, family breakdown and lack of success at school as areas that may contribute to future delinquency in the children of incarcerated mothers, recommending increased funding for social programs to address the needs of women who come into contact with the criminal justice system and their children (Catan, 1992:24).

The Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton (1994) examined the lives of eight mothers who have had varying degrees of contact with the criminal justice system. Each woman's life

is traced from her earliest childhood experiences to as recently as 1994. In vivid detail the women recall their experiences while growing up and their feelings towards their own children.

In the last chapter, entitled "Making Connections," the significance of these women's experiences is linked to recommendations for action presented by the Elizabeth Fry Society. These recommendations point to the need for public resources and government intervention to prevent child abuse and neglect, to prevent violence against women, and to provide treatment for women who are drug and/or alcohol dependent (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1994:141-168). Regarding mothers in prison, the authors recommend rooming-in programs for young children of women who are serving time in prison or who are receiving treatment for addiction, support groups for mothers who are fighting for custody of their children after losing them because of incarceration, and education in the area of child custody law for incarcerated mothers (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1994:178-179).

In contrast to the approach of researchers in the 1960s who examined the behaviours of female prisoners and classified them by typologies (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966), Burkhart's (1973) descriptive analysis of the issues related to female incarceration began the study of women in prison as human beings with problems and emotions. Without focusing on specific aspects of correctional policy and procedure or child custody law, this

area of research more generally examines the social and economic realities of women who come into contact with the criminal justice system. Recommendations put forward point to societal changes that are necessary to help prevent the social conditions that lead to female incarceration and separation from children (examples given, prevention of child abuse and violence against women). However, as with correctionalist and legalistic approaches to mothers in prison, the social and political processes associated with imprisonment are not questioned in these social-psychological approaches, and societal expectations regarding appropriate female behaviour are not examined.

Feminist, Gender-Based Perspective

The study of crime and punishment has been primarily androcentric. Faith notes that:

Only since the mid-1970s have feminists and other critical scholars engaged in research which demystifies "female offenders," and introduced gender as a social construct with deep significance for crime and punishment (Faith, 1993:57).

Feminist researchers who study women in prison generally approach the topic of mothers in prison as part of their overall analysis of the issues related to incarcerated women. Working from a critical perspective, feminist examinations do not accept female imprisonment as a

necessary social and legal reality; processes of gender socialization and social control are examined and the criminal justice system itself is scrutinized.

Carlen (1983) conducted research in Scotland's Cornton Vale (Prison for Women) and found that societal expectations regarding a woman's relationship to the patriarchal nuclear family are reproduced within the prison context. She argues that when an imprisoned women has children at home the organizational discipline of the prison is intensified (Carlen, 1983:83). In terms of social control, Carlen suggests that the fact that an incarcerated woman has children increases her compliance with prison rules and regulations; the mother does not want to lose her visitation hours or early remission (1983:85-86).³

Carlen contends that:

it is hypocritical that there should be a proclaimed [institutional] concern about the preservation or restoration of family life in an institution which undermines family relationships even when they are good and almost certainly destroys them when they are already bad (Carlen, 1983:73).

As evidenced by this quote, Carlen (1983) is critical of the prison system itself and correctional programming aimed at re-domesticating women to be "proper" wives and mothers. She argues that more priority must be given to

³ Refer to Chapter III of this thesis, entitled "Social Control and Familial Ideology", for a more complete discussion of the concept of social control.

improving the cultural and economic conditions which lead to female criminality (Carlen, 1983:73).

Hatty (1984) critically examined the correctional policy decision to suspend the Mothers and Babies Unit at Mulawa, New South Wales. Within her discussion of the practical considerations related to this decision, Hatty (1984:124-128) explores the concept of motherhood and societal expectations regarding the role of a mother. She notes that the consequences of incarceration are "often exacerbated for the female parent as she is often without a network of social supports, unlike the male parent who often has a wife to continue care of the children" (Hatty, 1984:124).

Hatty contends that female incarceration results in an alienation from significant social mores; within prison women are expected to conform to institutional expectations which may differ from their normal behavioural patterns. However, Hatty argues that men's imprisonment does not result in such a dislocation or substitution of values; within the institution men are expected to behave in a manner consistent with dominant cultural mores (example given, an overestimation of the worth of masculinity). She asserts that the female experience of incarceration is very different than of a male; motherhood which "constitutes women's primary legitimate role, is denied within the prison environment" (Hatty, 1984:125-126).

Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge (1986) argue that domestic ideology permeates the structure of the prison: "the emphasis which predominates implies that the failure of women prisoners is their failure as wives, mothers and housekeepers" (Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge, 1986:182). Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge note that rehabilitative programming in the Scottish prison system focuses on retraining women in traditionally feminine skills (examples given, sewing, cooking, cleaning); "it is implied that successful family life depends on woman's domestic skills" (Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge, 1986:164).

Buddhadasa (1991) examined mother-child correctional policies and programs in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Sri Lanka. She concludes that:

the adoption of white, middle-class, gender-based values and standards in mother-child prison policies has directed inmate mothers to demonstrate their maternal expertise during their imprisonment and upon their release to the community. (Buddhadasa, 1991:83).

Buddhadasa (1991:89) argues that the prison system can be conducive to the practice of familial ideology, the beliefs and values associated with the patriarchal nuclear family.⁴ She notes that correctional policy ensures the dependency of women on men (or the state) for economic support, and upon release most women leave with the same

⁴ Refer to Chapter III of this thesis, for a more complete discussion of the concept of familial ideology.

problems they had upon entry into prison (example given, lack of marketable job skills) (Buddhadasa, 1991:87).

Eaton (1993) analyzed the issues related to female incarceration using "Foucault's distinction between inclusionary and exclusionary modes of control" (Eaton, 1993:15).⁵ On the subject of mothers in prison, Eaton contends that "the severest enforcement of gender roles is to be seen in the position of mothers with babies in prison" (Eaton, 1993:36). She notes that prison authorities define the role that a woman will play in relation to her children, a situation which may exclude a mother from her defined gender role (Eaton, 1993:36). Eaton (1993:38) asserts that incarcerated working-class women are more likely to become the objects of surveillance by agents of the state (examples given, doctors, welfare workers, teachers), especially those whose lifestyle and child-rearing practices are considered to be unacceptable.

Eaton observes that the majority of incarcerated women are excluded from home, from family, and from friends as "the result of a regime which defines these women as different from, and less than, other women - excluded and taken down" (Eaton, 1993:39-40). She suggests three correctional policy implications aimed at empowering women and decreasing the negative impact of incarceration: (1) No-one should be sent to prison unless there is no alternative.

⁵ Refer to Chapter III of this thesis, for more discussion of Foucauldian analysis.

Very few women should be imprisoned; (2) For the women who go to prison the regimes should be humane and attempt to recognize rather than deny human dignity; (3) Women who leave prison need help in overcoming the structural blocks to subjective change. The voluntary sector organizations and statutory bodies which seek to provide this help should be adequately and securely funded (Eaton, 1993:101-102).

Faith (1993) examined issues related to mothers in prison and notes that feelings of guilt may be "compounded by mother-blaming ideological presumptions of women's primary maternal duty and purpose in life" (Faith, 1993:208). She contends that the value placed on a woman's parenting skills within prison is contradictory to the inevitable disruptions to family life caused by incarceration (Faith, 1993:210). Faith suggests that dismissive attitudes towards women in prison deny the complex gendered power relations that result in selective criminalization and incarceration; society ignores the social problem of forced mother-child separation and blames the mother who "should have thought of this before she did her crime" (Faith, 1993:211).

Faith (1993:183) notes that in some jurisdictions correctional administrators have acknowledged and responded, to a limited degree, to the problems faced by mothers in prison (example given, facilitating outside groups which work to protect the legal rights of incarcerated mothers). However, she argues that "given the nature of prisons

...children whose mothers are incarcerated are among the most vulnerable victims of criminal justice traditions" (Faith, 1993:185).

The Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, which had an implicitly feminist approach,⁶ acknowledged the problems and concerns of mothers serving federal prison terms and suggested that "the environment at most of the current facilities for women in Canada is not appropriate for children" (1990:101). The Task Force concluded that because the issue of mothers in prison is complex, it could not be dealt with adequately within their time constraints. However, they did recommend that any new facilities constructed should provide a home-like environment for children to live with their mother, and where a live-in arrangement is not possible, "the Correctional Service of Canada must provide the necessary resources to enable regular and close contact between mother and children" (Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990:102). Unfortunately, to date these recommendations have not been implemented by the federal government and, because of proposed changes and a lack of progress, the community-based members and former prisoners who participated in the preparation of this report have distanced themselves from the Task Force (Shaw, 1993:62).

⁶ Shaw (1993:67) notes that "the task force report is careful to avoid using the word feminist, and refers instead to a 'woman-centered' approach."

Critical, feminist examinations of mothers in prison deconstruct the processes of imprisonment and point to the social, economic and political inequality of women in the patriarchal social order of Western society as an important factor in the analysis of female criminality. Societal expectations related to the gendered role of a mother are examined and shown to be reproduced within the structure of the prison (see Carlen, 1983; Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge, 1986). The prison is viewed as a mechanism of social control.

Feminist researchers generally recommend alternatives to incarceration that focus on community resources to empower women. Unlike correctionalist literature which focuses on policy recommendations, feminists are less likely emphasize prison "reform." The purpose of such research rather is to critically examine the power relations associated with incarceration to help further the understanding of the social, economic and political issues that affect incarcerated women and their children.

Conclusions

From the literature reviewed in this chapter, it can be concluded that the subject of incarcerated mothers and their children has received considerable academic attention. The majority of research can be described as descriptive.

The effects of forced mother-child separation and the problems associated with female incarceration have been documented in numerous studies. Correctionalist and legalistic approaches to the study of mothers in prison point to specific changes in correctional policy and procedure to help alleviate these negative consequences. Research on the social and psychological effects of mother-child separation concludes that increased contact through correctional programming is necessary to avoid the serious emotional damage that can occur to both mother and child. Also, the need for community-based resources is highlighted as an alternative to incarceration. Feminist examinations of mothers in prison look critically at the existing correctional structure and the gendered power relations that lead to the selective imprisonment of women.

From the early research of Lombroso (1899) on female criminality, to the critical examinations of women in prison conducted by researchers such as Carlen (1983), Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge (1986) and Faith (1993), it is clear that mothers are expected to behave in a manner that is consistent with their socially prescribed gender role.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CONTROL AND FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY

Most of the prison officers were completely frank about their own assessment of the negative effects which imprisonment must have on a woman's family and domestic life. [Some] made the point that when an imprisoned woman did have children at home then 'family discipline' and the yoke of maternal responsibility inseeded and strengthened the organizational discipline of the prison, thereby containing the imprisoned mother in a psychological vacuum of being both without and within the family (Carlen, 1983:85).

Pat Carlen (1983) describes the lives of twenty women imprisoned in Scotland's Cornton Vale (Prison for Women). She critiques processes of social control that exist within the prison, and, more generally, within society. She demonstrates how ideologies related to family life are reproduced in the organizational structure of the prison, and how women who fail to conform to their prescribed gender roles may become subject to the coercion of the penal system. Carlen's perspective recognizes that the social control of women can take many forms - from formal institutions (for example, prison) to informal sites of social control (for example, the family).

Gender Socialization

A theoretical examination of the concepts of social control and familial ideology, as they relate to

incarcerated women, must begin with an appreciation of the complex processes of gender socialization that order Western society.

Gender has been described as the "[s]ocietal definition of appropriate female and male traits and behaviours" (Mackie, 1991:279). Through the processes of socialization people learn to be feminine or masculine according to current societal expectations (Mackie, 1991:279). A person's gender role refers to the attitudes and behaviours that they are socially expected to act out (Lindsey, 1990:3), and appropriate "female" and "male" traits and behaviours (gender roles) are dictated by current societal norms and values.

Theorist Talcott Parsons, a proponent of structural functionalism, argues that the sexual division of labour is functional to the maintenance of social order (1954:327-329). According to functionalist theory, socialization and social control are the main mechanisms that allow the social system to maintain its equilibrium (Ritzer, 1988:91). Thus, gender roles are defined by the division of labour, and socially appropriate behaviour is learned through socialization and reinforced by the processes of social control.

Central to functionalist theory is the acceptance of prescribed gender roles, and the nuclear family model provides the basic guideline for gender role expectations in our society. Males are expected to provide material goods

for the family and females are expected to stay home and nurture the children (Lindsey, 1990:117). However, in reality, the division of labour between males and females has become less distinct in Western society. While it is an historical fact that women have always worked outside of the home to support and nurture their families, the breakdown of the traditional nuclear family and the recent dramatic increase in women's labour force participation have led to significant societal changes (Mackie, 1991:105-108). With marriages increasingly ending in divorce [in 1990, 3,827 of 100,000 marriages ended in divorce (Statistics Canada, 1994:120)], 12.9% of all families are now single parent (Statistics Canada, 1994:121). Women head 83% of all single parent families in Canada and 52% of female lone parents were employed outside the home in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1994:190).

The increase in women's labour force participation for both married and single women has meant that fewer women stay home full-time with their children, a situation often necessary for financial reasons. However, women who do work outside the home earn significantly less than males employed in the same occupational positions. In 1991, women with university degrees earned 72% of what similarly educated men earned and women with limited secondary school education earned only 64% of their male counterpart's earnings (Statistics Canada, 1994:202).

The functionalist perspective takes the view that gender role differentiation and the sexual division of labour are necessary for the maintenance of social order (see Parsons, 1954). In contrast, critical theorists recognize that gender is a social construct, not an innate human quality. As feminist researchers Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988:504) contend:

Gender is not a natural fact but a complex social, historical, and cultural product...Gender relations and constructs of masculinity and femininity are not symmetrical but are based on an organizing principle of men's superiority and social and political-economic dominance over women.

Power relations circumscribe what is appropriate "male" and "female" behaviour in Western society, and sex role differentiation works in the interests of a patriarchal system.¹ Central to this patriarchal social order is the concept of the "family." Recognizing that the patriarchal nuclear family is undergoing major changes one can no longer speak unqualifiedly about "patriarchy." Nevertheless, in Canada, the "family" as defined by legislation, continues to be the official operative word for the basic social unit, with continued reliance on patriarchal ideologies.

¹ A patriarchal system refers to the male (historically, white, economically powerful) dominated social, political, and economic structure of Western society. Patriarchy is defined as "a social structure of men's control over women's labour and sexuality" (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988:511).

Familial Ideology

[Familial ideology is a term that refers to the ideas, beliefs, and norms that surround the "family."] As Eaton notes (1986:88), "the dominant ideology of a society is made up of the models of normality by which people in that society live their daily lives." Traditionally, the social structure of Western society has been based upon a concept of the nuclear family which includes a father, mother, and child(ren). Concern for the protection of the social institution of the family is indicative of familial ideology (Daly, 1987b:282).

Feminist examinations of sentencing practices have demonstrated that societal expectations regarding a woman's relationship to the "family" can influence societal reaction to her behaviour (Eaton, 1985, 1986, 1987; Daly, 1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b; Masson, 1992). Eaton (1987:99-100) argues that decision-making in sentencing is directed by family circumstances, rather than the sex of the defendant. Ideas of appropriate gender role behaviour, based on the nuclear family model, influence judicial decisions. She contends that "sexism is manifest not in overt disparities in the treatment of men and women but through the subtle reinforcement of gender roles in the discourse and practice of courtroom practitioners" (Eaton, 1987:95).

Daly (1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b) maintains that "familied" defendants, regardless of sex, are more likely to receive preferential treatment than "non-familied" defendants (this effect was found to be stronger for women who had daily responsibility for childcare) (Daly, 1987a:280-281). Therefore, it appears that the criminal sanctioning process is structured not by paternalism (concern for protecting women as the "weaker" sex; see Pollak, 1950), but by concern for the family and the mother's caregiving abilities. As Daly (1987a:282) notes, "the real object of court protection is families."

Masson (1992:100), in her examination of pre-sentence reports in British Columbia, found that "there is evidence that gender and familial ideology, based on the patriarchal nuclear family, is both reflected and reinforced in the courts." She reports that the following variables were most significant to sentencing decisions affecting women: the number of previous convictions, the type of offence committed, the defendant's plea, whether the defendant's children are in someone else's care, the racial designation of the defendant, and the defendant's marital status (Masson, 1992:100).

According to Masson (1992:102), women who were primary caretakers tended to receive more lenient treatment than those who were not responsible for the day-to-day care of

dependent children.² With Daly, whose study she replicated, Masson contends that this kind of decision-making is "probably due to the social costs [of incarceration] to the children and the economic costs to the state" (1992:102).

Using a "social costs" framework it can be argued that the separation of a mother from her child can be detrimental not only to the mother and child, but also to the state (Daly, 1987b:155). In economic terms, the state may incur the costs of supporting the children of the jailed mother. However, "familied" women do get sent to prison. When sentencing a mother to a term of incarceration the judicial focus shifts from that of parental care and social costs, to retribution and punishment.

Theories of Social Control

Sociological theories of deviance focus on how different social structures or social environments exert pressure on people to engage in "deviant" activity or to conform to societal norms and values. Durkheim (1895:99-102) argues that deviance is a "normal" phenomenon and that

² It is important to note that one of Masson's significant findings was that "Native women were more likely to receive a custodial sentence as they were more likely to have their children in the care of the father, the extended family, or the state" (Masson, 1992:102).

it is societal reaction that defines what is socially acceptable. This functional approach regards deviance as necessary to the maintenance of social order; moral "boundaries" specify behaviours which will or will not be tolerated by society.

Control theories focus on societal forces that restrain or control individuals, but which break down under certain conditions, resulting in criminal or other socially unacceptable behaviour (Vold and Bernard, 1986:232). According to Black (1984:1), "social control refers to any process by which people define and respond to deviant behavior." Similarly, Cohen (1985:1) defines social control as the "organized ways in which society responds to behaviour and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome or undesirable..." Societal responses range from punishment and segregation to treatment and rehabilitation (Cohen, 1985:1).

Various criminological theories have been based on the concept of social control. Merton (1938:680-682) borrowed from Durkheim's concept of anomie³ to explain deviant behaviour in terms of the inconsistencies between cultural and structural elements of complex societies. He argues that the lack of legitimate access to cultural goals may result in social strain and, ultimately, deviant behaviour.

³ Anomie is defined as "the breakdown of social norms and a condition where those norms no longer control the activity of societal members" (Williams and McShane, 1988:60).

More recent work in the area of social control has focused on the concept of attachment to the social order. Matza (1964:27-30) described the "bond to the moral order" as the link that exists between an individual and the dominant values of society. He argues that if a person is in an unattached state, referred to as drift, they will be more likely to engage in deviant activity.

Hirschi (1969:16-34), the theorist most closely identified with control theory, contends that people who have a strong bond or attachment to a social group (informal social control) will be less likely to commit criminal or deviant acts. When an individual has a sense of attachment, commitment, and involvement with other non-deviant individuals or groups, and a belief in the morality of the law, they are unlikely to be deviant. Therefore, deviant or criminal behaviour can be viewed as a lack of attachment to the normative social order.

A criticism of the basic framework of social control theories is that they rely on a consensus view of society. That is, social control theories are based on the assumption that there is agreement on common values and norms in a society (Williams and McShane, 1988:114; Vold and Bernard, 1986:239). This approach to deviance is not concerned with what makes people deviant or criminal; rather, what must be explained is "Why people obey rules" (Hirschi, 1969:10).

For the purposes of understanding social control and familial ideology as they relate to incarcerated women, it

is important to note the socialization process that is central to theories of social control. Societal rules and norms are learned through social interaction (Williams and McShane, 1988:108), and criminal behaviour is regarded as contrary to socially prescribed expectations of "appropriate" female behaviour. Therefore, the "female offender" is often described as "undersocialized" (Axon, 1989:48).

Familial ideology can be viewed as a form of social control. Through gendered socialization males and females learn socially "appropriate" behaviour, and central to this process is the concept of the "family." Societal expectations regarding a woman's relationship to the family can serve as informal social control and societal reactions to a woman's behaviour can lead to processes of formal social control that reinforce familial ideology (examples, sentencing and imprisonment). Smart and Smart (1978:2) note:

The forms of social control to which women are subject vary from primary socialization within the family, and secondary socialization (by peer groups, the education system, the media, etc.), which reinforces the ways of acting, thinking and feeling 'characteristic' of the female role, femininity and womanhood, to the more formal processes of institutional intervention through legislation by the State, the implementation of the law, the penal system and the criminal process.

Social, political and economic power are factors that determine societal expectations and social reaction to

"inappropriate" or "illegal" behaviour (Lynch and Groves, 1989:29). In other words, social class is another important consideration when analyzing processes of social control that affect women.

Social Control as it Relates to the Sentencing of Women

Many researchers have explored the complex issues surrounding gender and sentencing.⁴ Feminist theorist Mary Eaton found that it is a woman's relationship to the family that will determine whether leniency is granted by the courts. If a woman is shown to be a "good" mother to dependent children she will be viewed more favorably than a woman who does not contribute to the stability of the family unit (Eaton, 1987:95). Eaton identifies six basic assumptions based on the social construct of the patriarchal nuclear family that influence sentencing decisions: (1) the family is the site of social responsibility; (2) the family is the site of social control; (3) the family is a privileged institution; (4) employment is recognized as a means of providing for the family; (5) the family is an enduring unit; and, (6) the basic family unit is a man and a woman (Eaton, 1986:45-55).

⁴ Masson (1992:Appendix A) summarizes the various research studies that have examined gender and sentencing.

Kruttschnitt examined the impact of gender-based variation in social control on criminal court responses to women (1981, 1982), and the differential treatment of men and women in the criminal process (1984; with Green 1984). According to Kruttschnitt (1982:498), because women have more informal social control in their lives than men (example given, economic dependency), they will be subject to less formal social control (example given, imprisonment). Daly (1987b) expands this analysis to present a social control/social costs framework. She contends that:

when theorizing about the impact of familial relations as informal social control, greater emphasis should be given to whether male and female defendants have dependents, not solely whether they are dependent on others (1987b:154).

Sentencing research reveals that central to most judicial decision-making is a concern for the effect that a mother's incarceration will have on her family (Eaton, 1986:97; Daly, 1987a: 281; Daly, 1987b: 168; Masson, 1992:100). The state is concerned with keeping families intact, therefore, the judiciary does not want to separate children from parents who meet their basic physical and economic needs. However, when other variables are considered (for example, type of offence committed, number of prior offences, whether the children are in someone else's care.) (c.f. Masson, 1992:100), the court may view incarceration as the most suitable sentencing disposition.

The Development of the Prison System

Analyses of the development of the prison system and the functions of penal incarceration, at specific periods of history, have varied among writers (see Howe, 1990:9 and Cohen, 1985:19-39). Revisionist histories such as those advanced by Rothman (1971) and (1980), Ignatieff (1978), and Foucault (1979) focus on prison as an agency of social control, a powerful social institution subject to complex political and economic influences. However, these authors neglect the issue of gender in their examinations. Prison is regarded as a "male" institution; little mention is made of the impact that incarceration has on the lives of female prisoners.

Nicole Rafter (1985) and Estelle Freedman (1981) have conducted historical studies of women's imprisonment in the United States. Rafter's research traces the development of two major types of women's prisons, custodial institutions and reformatory institutions, during the period 1800 to 1935 (1985:23-83).⁵ She contends that the woman's reformatory

⁵ Rafter (1982:21) defines the custodial model as, "a masculine model: derived from men's prisons, it adopted their characteristics - retributive purpose, high-security architecture, a male-dominated authority structure, programs that stressed earnings, and harsh discipline." According to Rafter (1982:23), the reformatory model (beginning about 1870) "broke radically with custodialism." Reformatory programs focused on rehabilitation; they were based on "a limiting definition of femininity that required [prisoners]

movement was driven not solely by benevolent concern, but by middle-class interests aimed at enforcing cultural standards of femininity. Thus, the criminal justice system served as a mechanism for the control of women who did not meet bourgeois definitions of femininity (Rafter, 1982:xxxii).

Rafter (1985:xi) recognizes that "prisons function to control gender as well as crime." She argues:

Women's prisons are of theoretical interest because, both historically and into the present, they have been a point of juncture between widely disparate types of social control: formal and informal, overt and inconspicuous, brutal and simultaneously gentle, by government and by those trusted and familiar. Moreover, on occasion women's prisons have achieved the ultimate goal of social control - persuading subjects not merely to comply but actually to internalize new values, so that they come to supervise themselves by the authorities' rules. No men's prison has been so "successful" in the project of, literally, re-formation (Rafter, 1982:xi-xii).

In contrast to Rafter's analysis is Freedman's examination of women's prison reform in the United States between 1830 and 1930. Freedman concludes that it was humanitarian concerns that guided nineteenth century reformers (1981:46). The separation of women prisoners from men, the provision of differential, feminine care, and control over women's prisons by female staff and management, are identified by Freedman as the ultimate goals of those who advocated prison reform (1981:46). However, Freedman

to conform to a stricter sexual morality than that expected of men" (Rafter, 1982:23-24).

notes that despite the "noble" intentions of Progressive reformers, "women's prisons, like other American institutions, would continue to reinforce sexual difference and sexual inequality" (1981:143).

In Canada, the historical development of women's prisons "reveals a fascinating mixture of neglect, outright barbarism, and well-meaning paternalism" (Cooper, 1987:127). The first separate prison for women opened in 1879, the Andrew Mercer Ontario Reformatory for Females (Strange, 1985:81). Strange argues that the Reformatory was built upon two ideological precepts: the idea that wrong-doers should be urged to reform; and, the belief that men and women are inherently different and, therefore, occupy "separate spheres" (Strange, 1985:81). As Faith notes (1993:131) "the social construction of gender was a key factor in the conceptualization of women's reformatories." Women's "reformation" was dependent on their conformity to the gendered ideal of wife and mother. Retraining focused on domesticity, personal hygiene, manners, religion and labour (Strange, 1985:91).

While a number of feminist authors have documented the gender-specific developments in the history of female incarceration (Rafter, 1985; Freedman, 1981; Strange, 1985; Cooper, 1993; Moffat, 1991; Zedner, 1991), the majority of "revisionist" correctional histories are androcentric and neglect the impact that incarceration has on the lives of female prisoners (ex. Rothman (1971) and (1980), Ignatieff

(1978), and Foucault (1979)). However, the work of Michel Foucault "connects in self-evident ways to feminist sociologies of the social control of women" (Howe, 1990:17).

Foucault's Discipline and Punish (1979) is an examination of penalty during the 18th and 19th centuries. During this period (1757 to the 1830s) "criminal deviants" were no longer subjected to public displays of physical torture, but instead, they were imprisoned. Foucault argues that the new system was not designed to be more humane, but "to punish better...to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body" (1979:82).

Foucault (1979) regards the penal institution as a system of disciplinary power, three instruments of which are: hierarchical observation, the ability of officials to oversee all of the activities within the prison; normalizing judgements and punishment of those who violate the norms; and, examination, a combination of both hierarchical observation and normalizing judgements (observing subjects in order to make normalizing judgments about them) (Foucault, 1979:170-194).

Historically, the transition from physical torture to organizational discipline constituted a switch from punishment of the body to punishment of the soul or the mind (Foucault, 1979:24). This, in turn, brought with it considerations of normality and morality. Foucault contends that as new technologies of penal knowledge emerged, prisoners were constructed as the objects of such knowledge,

and scientific discourses (eg. psychology, psychiatry, criminology) held the authority to make normalizing judgements about those imprisoned (1979:226-227).⁶ He (1979:272) argues that the purpose of imprisonment is not only to incapacitate those who transgress the law, but to "assimilate the transgression of the laws in general tactics of subjection" (1979:272).

Using a Foucauldian approach, it can be observed that, within prison, women are subjected to surveillance, medicalization, and discipline. At a "micro-level" women are expected to conform to prison regimes and programming which are based on "patriarchal discourses." Androcentric psychological and criminological theories inform the assessment and classification of female prisoners, reinforcing familial ideology aimed at "normalizing" them. The prison, as an agency of social control, endeavors to re-educate women into assuming their "proper" role in society.

It can be argued that familial ideology and gender expectations permeate judicial discourse and, ultimately, influence correctional practices. Eaton (1985:138) asserts that "sentencing is merely the final stage in a judicial process which involves more subtle means of social control, and cultural reproduction." Familial ideology is given

⁶ Foucault (1977:133) argues "'Truth'[in effect, knowledge] is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it." See Michel Foucault's Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings, 1972-1977. Colin Gordon (ed.) (1977) New York: Pantheon Books.

priority throughout the criminal justice process. Once sentenced to prison, women continue to be subjected to patriarchal relations that serve to discipline and normalize.

Carlen (1983) applies a social control analysis to women's imprisonment in Scotland. She argues that:

the elemental and usually denied meanings of women's imprisonment in Scotland are to be found neither within the walls of Cornton Vale nor within the official crime statistics. Fragmented and transcribed, they are to be found within discursive forms and practices which, conventionally, are considered to be quite unrelated to penology - within, for example, the conventions of the family... (1983:15).

PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN PRISON:

Correctional programming

Most contemporary labour within prison is functional to the maintenance of the institution, but in male institutions it is "without the gender-based ideological pretense that it is a program of rehabilitative value" (Faith, 1993:157).

Within most women's prisons, "programming" is generally aimed at domestic, "feminine" skills such as cooking, cleaning and sewing: "the main training emphasis is upon home and family" (Carlen, 1983:72). Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge (1986:164) note that, within the Scottish prison system (eg. Cornton Vale), "the aim to produce 'good housewives' is clearly stated, and it is implied that successful family life depends on women's domestic skills."

In the United States, similarly, the majority of incarcerated women have work assignments that focus on tasks such as food service, janitorial services, laundry, dry cleaning and gardening (Carp and Schade, 1992:154). Most training programs emphasize traditional female occupations such as hairdressing, cooking and sewing; women receive job training that reinforces their status as "unskilled" (Feinman, 1983:25-26).

In Canada, programming is also based on a traditional approach. For example, the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women offers work assignments that include cooking, janitorial duties, groundskeeping, sewing, and daycare. Vocational programming includes advanced floral training, ceramics, hairdressing, and canine training. Educational training (eg. high school upgrading and computer skills) is offered within the prison, on a limited basis, through a contract with Douglas College (Ministry of the Attorney General, 1993:5). Women who want to pursue a post-secondary education must enroll in distance education at their own expense. As a relatively "new" facility the programming at B.C.C.W. is presumably up to date.

The Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women found that:

Training and educational programs are of major importance to most women. Two-thirds of women either hadn't completed high school or did not have any training or educational qualifications beyond high school...The women stressed that they want truly marketable skills with identifiable qualifications and certificates (Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990:45).

Federally sentenced women report that the courses available to them are "very limited and out of date... For women in the provinces, very little is available beyond basic education skills training" (Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990:45). Specifically, there is a lack of suitable programs aimed at the social and economic realities that affect the majority of incarcerated women. Instead, programming that does exist reinforces societal gender role expectations that assume a woman's primary function is in the "home."

Not much has changed since the development of the first women's prisons in Canada. As Rafter (1982:23) notes of the U.S., the purpose of early women's prisons was to reform criminal women, to re-train them to be "proper" wives and mothers. With technological advancements prisons have become more "modernized"; however, familial ideology and patriarchal relations still influence correctional programming. Vocational programming in most women's prisons includes activities that are considered to be "feminine"; they bide the time but do not offer real marketable job skills. Additionally, educational programs are basic and if they are offered as a "work" option, they are generally one of the lowest paid (for example, B.C.C.W. education program, Faith, 1993:157).

Women in prison are generally young, poor, unskilled, and undereducated. The institutional emphasis on

"traditional" gender role expectations related to family life is indicative of familial ideology and social control. The "rehabilitative" concern is to re-educate the female offender in the domestic sphere; to prepare women for visible employment outside the home would be inconsistent with familial ideology.

Policies and Procedures related to Mothers in Prison

Mothers in prison are subjected to the same institutional conditions as other women, the adverse effects of which are compounded by separation from their children. In order to maintain contact with her children, the individual mother must meet certain administrative criteria and conditions. Therefore, the social control of the prison is extended beyond the institutional setting to encompass the children of the prisoner.

Incarcerated mothers must demonstrate their suitability before they will be allowed to participate in family programs (examples, day visits, overnight visits, holiday and special occasion programs, parenting programs, and live-in nursery programs). Eligibility standards include factors such as: a low security level, positive evaluation of physical and mental health, the ability to cope with institutional routines, and freedom from drug and alcohol usage (Buddhadasa, 1991:84). Datesman and Cales (1983:148-

149) argue that visits may act as an incentive to follow prison rules; one woman they interviewed characterized the visits as "a carrot on a stick" (1983:149). Conformity to the prison regime can determine whether a woman will be allowed to have contact with her child. Thus, a woman's attachment to her children becomes a form of social control within the confines of the prison.

"Is she a bad mother?" "Who is taking care of her children?" These types of questions exemplify the typical societal reaction to an incarcerated mother. As Beckerman (1992:172) notes "the female [offender] offends society's idealized vision of women as all caring, nurturing, and attentive to their children." However, criminal behaviour does not negate a mother's love or concern for her children.

Mothers in prison have broken the law, therefore, society expects them to be punished. The reasons they have committed their crimes vary; the majority of women have personal backgrounds that include factors such as poverty, parental neglect, sexual, physical, and/or emotional abuse, and lack of education (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1994:142-147; Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990:43-45). Most women who are in conflict with the law are non-violent offenders who commit property-related crimes for economic reasons (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:98). Criminal activity does not equal parental unfitness. Nevertheless, women's parental credentials are often called into question because of their "criminal" status (Faith, 1993:204).

Parenting classes are offered as a core component of "rehabilitative" programming in many women's prisons [for example, Personal Development Training at B.C.C.W. (Tiens et al, 1993:19)]. However, parental education is not considered necessary in male institutions. While such programming may be very beneficial to some women, the underlying causes of the mother's criminality are not specifically addressed.⁷ Motherhood is a difficult vocation under any circumstance, and unless there are signs of neglect or abuse, it cannot be assumed that a mother in prison is in need of parental "re-education."

Women who are pregnant or give birth while in prison are subjected to the most overt forms of institutionalized social control. Within the prison, medical access is restricted to certain hours when medical staff are available. "Emergency" situations are often dealt with on an on-call basis.⁸ Prenatal care, including counselling services, dietary guidance, and birth preparation, is not readily available in most prisons (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:49). Women who receive treatment in the community are

⁷ It is recognized by the author that because of their life situations some women may be considered "unfit" mothers. Not every woman is emotionally ready for, or capable of caring for children. Parenting programs such as those offered by the Elizabeth Fry Society can offer a valuable resource to those mothers who require practical guidance.

⁸ Tiens et al (1993:18-19) note that Health Services at the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women are provided by one general practitioner who is present at B.C.C.W. 10.5 hours each week. One full-time and two half-time nurses are also employed by the institution.

accompanied by prison authorities who act as "security" officers; they stand "watch" even when the woman is giving birth (Faith, 1993:206). The formal social control of the prison surrounds the mother during one of the most important moments of her life, the birth of her child. Perhaps most destructive is the forced separation of a mother and her newborn. The majority of correctional institutions in Canada and the United States lack facilities for a mother to keep her baby with her; therefore, in most cases, separation is an inevitable consequence of incarceration (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:50; Wine, 1992:28-30).

Conclusions

Carlen (1988:11) argues that "people are more likely to conform when they perceive that they have a vested interest in so doing, when they have more to lose than gain by law-breaking." Within prison, mothers are subjected to various forms of social control. Formally, they have been labelled as "criminal" and are subject to the rules and restrictions that accompany incarceration. Informally, they are expected to fulfill their socially prescribed gender roles based on patriarchal relations. Failure to act in an "appropriate" manner within the institutional setting can result in formal and/or informal sanctions.

An examination of the processes of familial ideology and social control, as they relate to incarcerated mothers,

is necessary to a furtherance of our understanding of the effects of imprisonment on women and their children. Women in prison are a marginalized population and those who have children may be subject to specific, intensive forms of social control.

This work is based on a feminist⁹ approach to the study of mothers in prison. A feminist analysis "draws from feminist theories or research, problematizes gender and considers the implications of findings for empowering women or for change in gender relations" (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988:504-505). This perspective will be used to examine the problems, concerns, and realities of mothers in prison.

The following chapter outlines the research questions and methodology used to examine the impact of familial ideology on the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women.

⁹ Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988:502) assert that feminism is a set of theories about women's oppression and a set of strategies for social change. Faith (1993:69-70) argues that "because feminism de facto links theory with practice, 'feminist' research, by definition, also promotes political steps toward resolution of power imbalances."

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Researchers have effectively demonstrated that societal values and beliefs that define "appropriate" gender role behaviour, based on familial ideology, have an influence on judicial decision-making (Eaton, 1987:95; Daly, 1987a:286-287, 1987b:167; Masson, 1992:100). But how does familial ideology influence correctional practice related to women, specifically, women who have children? This study focuses on the effects of familial ideology on the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.)¹, together with statistical and demographic information.

The following questions have been addressed in conducting this research: What is the impact of familial ideology and social control on the policies, procedures and programming of the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, related to incarcerated mothers? How do mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women perceive their situation and how do they feel about existing correctional policy, procedure and programming? How many

¹ The Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women opened in 1991 and replaced Lakeside, the former B.C. Corrections prison for women. B.C.C.W. includes a medium security facility and a minimum security Open Living Unit. It is the only correctional facility for women in the province of British Columbia.

women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women are mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger)?

Research Method

This thesis examines how ideas about "appropriate" gender role behaviour which are based on the patriarchal nuclear family model affect mothers in prison. Of interest is the impact that familial ideology has on the processes of informal and formal social control that exist within a women's prison. This research is intended as a contribution to the growing knowledge of mothers incarcerated in Canada.

In a letter dated March 4, 1993 Sara McEwan, then Local Director of the Open Living Unit, confirmed the support of the Burnaby Correctional Centre for this research (See Appendix 1). In April, 1993 two meetings were held at B.C.C.W. with Sara McEwan and Beverly Roest, Director of Programs, in order to work out the logistics of the research. Suggestions were made regarding initial contact with the mothers and it was agreed that the institution would pay five dollars to each woman who participated in the interview process. A letter of introduction to the staff and prisoners was drafted and Beverly Roest circulated it throughout the institution prior to the commencement of the study (Appendix 2). In a letter dated May 18, 1993 Jim

Graham, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Corrections Branch, gave official permission for this research (Appendix 3).

The research method employed in this exploratory study consisted of 20 in-depth interviews with mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women; an examination of the correctional case files of every prisoner incarcerated in B.C.C.W. during a two week period in June, 1993, to determine how many women were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger); and, an examination of the correctional policies, procedures and programming of the Open Living Unit, as they relate to incarcerated mothers, along with informal discussions of these policies, procedures and programs with Senior Corrections staff and Corrections Officers (line staff).

The use of multiple data collection techniques in this study employs a research design known as triangulation (Guy et al., 1987:112-113). Reinharz (1992:197) notes that "[m]ultiple methods enable feminist researchers to link past and present, 'data gathering' and action, and individual behaviour with social frameworks." By combining different methods, the issues related to mothers in prison can be studied in a thorough, credible manner.

The Interview

By listening to women speak, understanding women's membership in particular social systems, and establishing the distribution of phenomena accessible only through sensitive interviewing, feminist

interview researchers have uncovered previously neglected or misunderstood worlds of experience (Reinharz, 1992:44).

The information gathered through personal interviews with incarcerated mothers is of utmost importance to this research. For the purposes of this study a questionnaire was developed using Stanton's (1980:Appendix A) interview schedule as a guideline. The questionnaire consists of thirty-three questions, a combination of both closed and open-ended questions. The first 21 are fact-based questions aimed at soliciting quantitative and descriptive information; the following 12 questions are designed to explore the respondents' perceptions of the policies, procedures and programming of the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women related to incarcerated mothers (Appendix 4)..

In total, 20 incarcerated mothers were interviewed over a four month period from June 1, 1993 to September 14, 1993. For the purposes of this research a mother is defined as a woman who had given birth to a child who was now 18 years or younger, or a woman who had legal custody of a child 18 years or younger at the time of the research. Fourteen women from the Open Living Unit and six from the Burnaby Correctional Centre's secured facility were interviewed.²

² The Open Living Unit is the only non-secure B.C. Corrections Branch operated facility for women in the province of British Columbia. It houses women with provincial sentences (two years less a day), as well as federally sentenced women (sentenced to more than two

The research sample was obtained in two ways. In the Open Living Unit two informal presentations were made to the prisoners before they exited from their evening meal. On each occasion all of the women present (approximately 20) were told of the purpose of the research and were asked to participate if they were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger). The 14 women interested were then scheduled for interviews which took place in the Open Living Unit's meeting room. In the secured facility 12 mothers were identified through their case management files and were then sent personalized letters requesting their participation in the study (Appendix 5). A Senior Correctional Officer acted as a liaison and arranged for the six interviews which took place in the visiting area of the secured facility.³ The first interview of this study was conducted in the Open Living Unit on June 1, 1993 and the last in the secured facility on September 14, 1993.

The administration of the questionnaire took approximately 45 minutes to complete, however, the interviews varied on an individual basis. The shortest

years), who are deemed suitable for minimum security. The secured facility houses all remanded women, all provincially sentenced women classified to secure custody, and all federally sentenced women who are not deemed suitable for minimum security (Ministry of the Attorney General, 1993:5,23).

³ The six women in the secured facility who participated in this research represent a cross-section of the general population. The lack of personal contact between the researcher and the mothers in the secured facility probably lead to a lower rate of participation than the Open Living Unit.

interview took approximately 35 minutes while the longest was two and a half hours. Prior to the beginning of each interview the respondent was asked to sign an informed consent form (Appendix 6) and was assured of strict confidentiality by the researcher. The interviews were taped unless there was an objection, which was the case in four interviews. In addition, detailed notes were taken during each of the 20 interviews.

Correctional Case Management Files

In order to determine how many women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger) during the course of this research, the correctional case management files of every prisoner housed in the Open Living Unit and the secured facility during a two week period in June, 1993 were examined. The case management files for women housed in the Open Living Unit were centralized in the classification and case management section of B.C.C.W., located in the secured facility. Files for women housed in the secured facility were kept on the living units and this necessitated a retrieval process where correctional officers on each living unit brought the case management files down to the classification section for examination by the researcher.

Case management files include information such as the woman's provincial case file history which tracks movement

within the correctional system, daily progress logs which document the daily activities of prisoners, and an intake form which lists personal information and programming needs. The intake form contains a section on family history which was used to ascertain whether women were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger). In addition to noting whether a prisoner was a mother, the correctional case files were read for information related to the woman's family situation. Extensive notes were taken for future analysis.

Correctional Policies, Procedures and Programming

For the purposes of this research the official, written policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit related to incarcerated mothers were examined. A meeting with Sara McEwan, then Local Director of the Open Living Unit, took place on November 22, 1993 to discuss Corrections Branch policy as it relates to incarcerated mothers. The official policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit were provided at that time. The correctional approach to the Open Living Unit's "Mothers with Babies" Program was also discussed. This program, which is considered "unique" in Canada allows mothers who meet the criteria of the program to keep their child (aged two years or under), with them

during their incarceration. There is an official limit of four children in the Open Living Unit at any given time.⁴

The Burnaby Correctional Centre's secured facility does not specify incarcerated mothers in its official policies or procedures. Visiting hours and use of the prison's apartment for weekend visits include both adult family members and children and there are no programs directed at the specific needs of mothers and their children. Although formal, written policies and procedures of the secured facility were not available, the implications of the facility's operating structure will be discussed.

Data Analysis

Contents of the 20 interviews were transcribed using the tape recordings and notes taken during the interview process. An arbitrary case number (from 1 to 20) was assigned to each interview in order to ensure the confidentiality of the results.

The data base generated through the interviews was separated into 33 variables which correspond to the questionnaire. The information was then coded numerically for statistical data analysis using the SPSS/PC program

⁴ The Manitoba Prison for Women in Portage la Prairie is the only other correctional facility in Canada that allows prisoners to have their children live with them during incarceration. Officially, the children must be 10 months or younger and the facility is equipped for a maximum of 3 infants (Infant and Child Program: Portage Correctional Institution, May 1993:3; Reynolds, September 5, 1993: A43).

(Appendix 7). Simple frequencies and cross-tabulations were run in order to add quantitative data to the qualitative interview analysis.

The information gathered from the examination of correctional case management files was used to calculate the number of incarcerated women who were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger). Also, the files were used to verify information that was obtained during the interview process.

Methodologically, the combination of a structured interview and an examination of correctional case files along with an examination of the Burnaby Correctional Centre's policies, procedures and programming related to incarcerated mothers provides a strong basis for an exploratory analysis of the effects of imprisonment on women and their children. Using an inductive approach guided by a critical, feminist perspective, the issues related to mothers in prison can be studied in a way that recognizes the importance of "[women] as individuals and as people whose experience is interwoven with other women" (Reinharz, 1992:241).

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

INTERVIEW RESULTS

The hardest part about being in this place is not having my children. I feel like a failure, like I've let them down...I live day by day now because that's all I can do...Someday when I get out of here I'll make it up to them and we'll be a normal family again (a 28 year old mother of two imprisoned in the Open Living Unit of B.C.C.W.).

The subject of forced separation from their children was an emotional and, in some cases, very painful topic for the incarcerated mothers interviewed. The openness with which the twenty women responded to this research has generated useful results which will further an understanding of issues related to mothers imprisoned in Canada. As an exploratory research project, the quantitative information gathered through the administration of the questionnaire serves a descriptive function and provides the basis for a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the issues related to familial ideology and the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women.

Summary of Prisoner Demographics

Sample characteristics of the 20 women interviewed, gathered through the interview process and the correctional case management files, were as follows: the average age was 31 years; the oldest mother was 42 and the youngest 21. Forty percent (n=8) were married or common-law, 30% (n=6) were separated or divorced, 15% (n=3) were single, 10% (n=2) were in a steady relationship, and one woman was widowed. The ethnic backgrounds represented were: 10 Caucasians, 5 Natives, 3 Indo-Canadians, one Filipino, and, one Chinese. Regarding level of education, 10% (n=2) of the women had not completed Grade 8, 20% (n=4) had a Grade 9 education, 35% (n=7) had completed Grade 10, 10% (n=2) were finished Grade 11, 20% (n=4) had graduated from high school, and one woman was working on university level courses. The average level of education was Grade 10.

Children of the Incarcerated Mothers

"My babies mean more to me than anything else in my life...I think about them all the time."

"Everytime I see my son he's getting bigger...He's growing up without me..."

Table 1 presents a summary of the results related to the care of the children of the 20 incarcerated mothers in

this sample. A total of 44 dependent children (age 18 years or younger) were identified as affected by the imprisonment of their mother: the average age of the children was 8 years, with 13 of the 44 children aged 5 years or younger; 21 were female and 23 were male.

TABLE 1
CHILDREN OF INCARCERATED MOTHERS

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Did mother live with her children prior to incarceration</i>		
yes	11	55%
no	7	35%
pregnant upon entry into B.C.C.W.	2	10%
<i>Who is taking care of children :</i>		
biological father	5	25%
husband (step-father)	2	10%
relatives (aunts, uncles, extended family)	5	25%
maternal grandmother	3	15%
maternal grandparents	3	15%
Ministry of Social Services	2	10%
<i>Have children ever been apprehended:</i>		
yes	7	35%
no	13	65%
<i>Who has legal custody:</i>		
mother	11	55%
maternal grandmother	2	10%
maternal grandparents	2	10%
relatives	2	10%
Ministry of Social Services	3	15%

According to previous research studies, the majority of incarcerated mothers live with their children prior to imprisonment.¹ When asked whether their child(ren) were living with them prior to incarceration (question 5, see Appendix 4), 55% (n=11) of the women in this study responded yes, 35% (n=7) responded no, and 10% (n=2) indicated that they were pregnant upon entry into the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women and had given birth while incarcerated. The two women who were pregnant gave up their babies shortly after birth to family members and returned to B.C.C.W. from the hospital to serve out the remainder of their sentences.

While incarcerated, 19 of the 20 women interviewed were separated from their children. One mother who was transferred to B.C.C.W.'s Open Living Unit from Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario (P4W), was allowed to keep her newborn son with her as part of the "Mothers with Babies" Program. This was a "special arrangement" worked out between the two prisons because this woman is a "lifer" serving a 25 year sentence who became pregnant during a conjugal visit. In June, 1993 when she was interviewed for

¹ McGowan and Blumenthal (1978) note that 75% of the mothers included in their sample lived with their children prior to arrest; Baunach (1985:1) estimates between 50% and 70% based on her own research and previous studies conducted in the United States; Bloom and Steinhart (1993:24) found that 67% of children in their study lived with their mothers prior to her arrest; however, MacLeod notes that Canadian results are more conservative, "while 50 to 70% of the female [correctional] population had borne children, only between 30% to 40% were actually caring for their children at the time of their incarceration" (1986:11).

this research she had served 10 years of her sentence and explained that since P4W has nothing in place for pregnant women who give birth while in prison she "fought hard to come to B.C.C.W." so that she could bond with her newborn. It was expected that she would return to P4W in approximately six months and the baby would be placed with the extended family. Of the 19 mothers separated from their children, 25% (n=5) indicated that the biological father was looking after the children; 25% (n=5) reported that the child(ren) were staying with relatives (aunts, uncles, extended family);² 15% (n=3) said the maternal grandmother was caring for their children; 15% (n=3) the maternal grandparents; and, 10% (n=2) their husband (step-father, not the biological father). Two of the mothers (10%) reported that their children were in the care of the B.C. Ministry of Social Services, living in foster homes.

The question of whether their child(ren) had ever been apprehended by the Ministry of Social Services (M.S.S.) elicited the following results (question 7): 35% (n=7) of the mothers responded yes, 65% (n=13) responded no. The mothers who responded yes gave various explanations for the apprehensions ranging from temporary placement caused by

² Of the five women whose children were staying with extended family, three were Native. As noted by Silman (1988:19-90), the Native culture is strongly organized around the extended family. Monture contends that "The structure of First Nation's society is based on co-operation and consensus...In the case of child welfare, no parent is left believing he or she is a 'bad' parent" (Monture, 1989:6).

financial stress to permanent apprehension by the Ministry of Social Services due to neglect "officially" attributed to a drug dependent lifestyle. One mother whose children were placed in a foster home under a short-term voluntary agreement with M.S.S. commented, "I gave up my kids because I have my own problems to deal with. Hopefully when I get out of here I'll get them back without any problems."

Regarding legal custody (question 8), 55% (n=11) of the mothers reported that, at the time of this research, they had legal custody of their child(ren). Fifteen percent (n=3) noted that their children were wards of the state (Ministry of Social Services) and had been apprehended before they were incarcerated. In one case where the child was a permanent ward of M.S.S. the mother explained that, although a Social Worker was her child's legal guardian, the child resided with his maternal aunt. The remaining 30% (n=6) of the mothers reported that family members (maternal grandmother, maternal grandparents, extended family) had legal custody of their child(ren).³

Feminist researchers who study the sentencing of women note that the state's financial responsibility for the children of incarcerated mothers is a "social cost" of imprisonment (see Daly, 1987b:156). When asked "Who is

³ Wine (1992:28-29) found in her study of incarcerated mothers in the Ontario correctional system that 20% of her sample had children who were apprehended and in the care of child welfare authorities, 11% before the mother was in conflict with the law and 9% after the mother was imprisoned.

financially supporting your children while you are incarcerated?" (question 16), 40% (n=8) of the mothers explained that the Ministry of Social Services (Guaranteed Available Income for Need - GAIN Program) was supporting their children while they were incarcerated; 20% (n=4) said the biological father; 20% (n=4) indicated the maternal grandmother; and, the remaining 20% (n=4) reported that other relatives (maternal grandmother and grandfather, aunts, uncles) were taking care of the financial responsibilities associated with their child(ren) while they were in prison . Forty-five percent (n=9) of the mothers reported that they were supporting their families on Social Assistance (GAIN) prior incarceration (question 15).

It appears that the majority of mothers in this sample were living with their children prior to detention at B.C.C.W. (n=11) and still retained legal custody of their children despite court-ordered separation (n=11). However, a significant number of mothers (n=6) explained that their relatives had legal custody and the children were living with grandparents or relatives prior to their imprisonment. In two cases the mother signed over legal custody to a relative while incarcerated; these mothers, who were not living with their children before they were imprisoned, decided to sign legal custody over to the maternal grandmother while they were at B.C.C.W. because of the length of their sentences. The three women who indicated that their children were wards of the state (Ministry of

Social Services) reported that their children were apprehended before they were sentenced to prison for their current offence. The "official" reasons given by the Ministry of Social Services for apprehension included neglect because of a drug dependent lifestyle, abandonment, and physical abuse at the hands of the biological father.

Feelings of guilt and remorse were commonly expressed by the mothers interviewed. Upon reflecting on their children's circumstances, some women became very emotional and explained that if they could just have a second chance they would do things differently. Deep feelings of love and affection were also expressed during the research. However, many mothers noted that within prison they must not let their guard down and show too much emotion or else this may be used against them by Corrections staff or other prisoners. It was evident from speaking with these mothers that they felt vulnerable concerning their emotional bonds with their children.

The two mothers who were pregnant upon entry into B.C.C.W. gave up their babies at the hospital before returning to prison to serve the remainder of their sentences. One 24 year old mother explained that this was her first baby and that her husband and his mother were taking care of the newborn. She recalled how she went into labour at the prison and had to wait for approximately eight hours before she was transported to the hospital. She described her feelings during the childbirth:

I couldn't believe I entered the hospital with a guard by my side. It's not like I was going to get up and run out of the hospital while in labour... I felt embarrassed like everyone would know I'm a criminal... The worst part was after the baby was born. I was only allowed to stay in the hospital for two days before they shipped me back here. I felt lonely, confused and depressed.

The other prisoner who gave birth while incarcerated described similar emotions and also made the point that there is a lack of medical resources and information for pregnant women at B.C.C.W.. She explained that she was made to feel like a nuisance when she asked the medical staff for vitamins to supplement her diet and pain medication for her headaches. She commented, "The staff made me feel like a second-class citizen, like somehow I shouldn't be allowed to have a baby."

Within the confines of prison, women are expected to conform to the rules and regulations of the institution. From a sociological perspective, the "master status" of a mother who is sentenced to prison changes from "caregiver" to "criminal" (Faith, 1993:204). In this study, the women who appeared to have the most difficulty adjusting to the prison regime, those who showed emotional vulnerability in relation to their children, described feeling intense pressure from their surroundings and, in some cases from Corrections staff, to suppress their emotions and "toughen up." Therefore, it can be argued that social control

processes within the institution result in self-regulatory behaviour as well as enforced compliance.

As evidenced by the experiences of the two women in this study who gave birth while serving prison terms at B.C.C.W., the social control processes of the prison extend beyond the walls of the institution to encompass both mother and baby through a very personal and intimate experience. The presence of Corrections Officers at the hospital, an overt display of social control, is a constant reminder to the mother, her family, and the hospital staff, that this woman is a prisoner.

Mother-Child Contact

"The last time I saw my kids was right before I got arrested...that seems so long ago."

"It's really strange visiting in prison... How do you explain to a five year old that mommy can't go home because she's broken the law."

Table 2 represents a summary of the results related to mother-child contact. When asked whether they had had any contact with their children since being incarcerated at B.C.C.W. (question 9), 95% (n=19) of the women interviewed responded yes, and one mother responded no. The telephone was the most frequently used type of communication, followed by mother-child visits, and written letters (question 10).

Seventy-five percent (n=15) of the mothers reported that they had some form of contact with their child(ren) at least once per week (question 11).

Before being incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, 45% (n=9) of the women lived in the Lower Mainland (including Greater Vancouver and the Fraser Valley east to Hope, B.C.) (question 14). In response to the question "Where are your children currently living?" (question 15), 35% (n=7) of the mothers said the Lower Mainland, while 65% (n=13) reported that their children were residing outside of the Lower Mainland. Seven mothers (35%) indicated that their children lived out-of-province (Yukon, North West Territories, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and Sacramento, California). Forty-five percent (n=9) of the mothers had last visited in person with their child(ren) within a period of two weeks; 35% (n=7) reported that they had last seen their child(ren) in a period of between one to six months; and 20% (n=4) indicated that they had not seen their child(ren) in over one year (question 12).

TABLE 2
MOTHER-CHILD CONTACT

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Has mother had contact since entering B.C.C.W.:</i>		
yes	19	95%
no	1	5%
<i>Most frequently used type of communication:</i>		
telephone	11	55%
visits	5	25%
letters	3	15%
no communication	1	5%
<i>Frequency of contact:</i>		
once a day	2	10%
two to three times per week	5	25%
once a week	8	40%
every two weeks	2	10%
once a month	1	5%
less than once a month	1	5%
no contact	1	5%
<i>When did mother last physically see her child(ren):</i>		
within one week	4	20%
within two weeks	5	25%
within one month	2	10%
within two months	4	20%
within six months	1	5%
over one year	4	20%

Mother-child contact, which has been recognized as essential to the maintenance of a parental bond (Stanton, 1980:122; Baunach, 1985:45; Richards, 1992:11), is primarily achieved by mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women through telephone calls. Fifty-five percent (n=11) of the mothers reported that they had not

visited personally with their child(ren) in a period from between one month to over one year. Physical distance between the children's primary residence and B.C.C.W. appears to be the main determinant in frequency of visitation. Several mothers remarked that because B.C.C.W. is the only prison for women in the province, their families and friends had to travel great distances at their own expense in order for the child(ren) to visit. Even mothers with children living in the Lower Mainland said that the location of B.C.C.W. makes it difficult to maintain contact because there is no public transportation close to the prison. Visitors without their own transportation must take a taxi from the nearest "Skytrain" station or bus-stop in New Westminster or Burnaby.

Visiting hours for the secured facility are 6:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Monday to Friday, and 1:30 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. Saturdays and Sundays. These visits take place in a central visiting room which has a small play area for children. There is no privacy and women in the secured facility must make an application if they want to use the prison's apartment for private family visits with their child(ren). The Open Living Unit has scheduled visits on Sundays from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. and on Wednesdays from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.. These visits must be booked two days in advance and usually take place in the common areas of the Open Living Unit. Paradoxically, the minimum security Open Living Unit has fewer visiting hours than the medium/maximum

secured facility. This situation can be attributed to administrative concerns regarding the amount of drugs and contraband that enter the O.L.U. and the secured facility during visits; the minimum security O.L.U. is considered a greater security risk and, therefore, the visiting hours are limited and must be booked in advance. Many mothers commented on how restrictive the visiting hours are in both facilities, and how this makes it difficult for them to see their children. They also noted that the lack of privacy in the visiting areas makes it uncomfortable to show affection for their children and to develop a level of intimacy with them. As one mother in the secured facility observed, "I feel like I'm being watched by the guards during visits and judged on what kind of mother I am." A point that was raised by several mothers in the Open Living Unit was that they are not allowed outside of the kitchen area onto the outside patio with their children because it is considered a security risk. This restriction is most arduous in the summer months when the patio doors are left open and mothers must stop their children from running outside to enjoy the open air, thus reinforcing the institutional setting of the Open Living Unit.

Correctional Programming

"I'd really like to start my own business someday...I know that sounds impossible."

"I work doing general clean-up...I'm an expert at cleaning up after other people."

The 20 women who participated in this study were at various stages of their prison terms. Four of the prisoners were serving Federal time (2 years or more), 15 had Provincial sentences (2 years or less), and one mother was being held on remand awaiting her trial (at the time of this research this woman had been held on remand for a total of 183 days on drug trafficking charges).

While incarcerated, the majority of the women interviewed worked at jobs which are functional to the maintenance of the institution: 30% (n=6) had janitorial duties; 35% (n=7) worked in housekeeping; 15% (n=3) worked in the kitchen; one woman was involved in groundskeeping; and, one woman worked in the prison's daycare looking after the children of Corrections staff. Two of the women interviewed did not participate in any type of work while incarcerated, one because of her remand status, and the another because she was about to be released on Electronic Monitoring (question 18).

Participation in institutional programming which is considered to be "vocational" was as follows: 55% (n=11) had no involvement in vocational training; 25% (n=5) were

involved in the ceramics program; 10% (n=2) were working towards a certificate in hairdressing; and, 10% (n=2) participated in B.C.C.W.'s canine training, a program where prisoners work with dogs who have behavioural problems and teach them to be obedient (question 19).

The educational programming available to women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women includes basic literacy training, G.E.D. (Grade 12 equivalency), and limited access to courses through Douglas College in New Westminster. University level courses are offered through Distance Education at Simon Fraser University but are not supported by the institution; the prisoners must initiate and pay for the courses themselves. Of the 20 women interviewed, 35% (n=7) were in no educational programming; 10% (n=2) were receiving literacy training; 35% (n=7) were working towards their G.E.D.; 10% (n=2) were completing courses through Douglas College; and, 10% (n=2) were participating in university level Distance Education courses (question 20).

The majority of the women interviewed (95%, n=19) were involved in some sort of treatment program or support group while at B.C.C.W.. Fifty-five percent (n=11) of the women reported that they were attending Alcoholics Anonymous and/or Narcotics Anonymous while incarcerated; 35% (n=7) indicated that they were attending ongoing sessions with one of the contracted prison psychologists. One mother noted that she was attending the Personal Development Program

sponsored by the Elizabeth Fry Society. A core component of this program is the parenting class which the mother described as "... helpful in a very basic way. We learn how to budget our money and plan for the future" (question 21).

Feminist researchers argue that the structure of women's prisons reinforces traditionally "feminine" domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning and sewing (Dobash, Dobash, and Gutteridge, 1986:164; Carlen, 1983:72). This approach is consistent with familial ideology. It is apparent from the correctional programming available at B.C.C.W. that prisoners are expected to participate in programs and work assignments that will better enable them to be good "homemakers." When asked what they thought about the work assignments, vocational programming, and educational courses available at B.C.C.W., the women serving short provincial sentences (30 to 90 days, n=6) indicated that they had not given it much thought. However, those who had longer prison terms noted that they would rather have the opportunity to learn marketable job skills such as word processing and accounting. One women noted, "The reason I'm in here is because I couldn't find a job that paid me enough money to support my kids. I've been on welfare my entire adult life."

Effects of Incarceration on Mothers and their Children

"My heart aches all of the time...It's like a part of me is missing."

"My son is living in a foster home...He's starting to act out and get into trouble...I don't think the foster parents can handle him."

The negative effects associated with incarceration are numerous. Many researchers have documented the various effects that are specific to mother-child separation (for example, feelings of guilt, despondency, and anxiety; breakdown of the parental relationship; behavioural problems with the child(ren); and, financial difficulties) (Stanton, 1980; Datesman and Cales, 1983; Baunach, 1985; Wine, 1992; Bloom and Steinhart, 1993). Table 3 represents a summary of the results of this study related to the effects of forced separation on mothers and their children.⁴

When asked what they thought was the most significant effect caused by the forced separation from their child(ren) (question 31), 60% (n=12) of the mothers responded that it was the psychological stress that the separation placed on their child(ren); 15% (n=3) stated that it was the breakup of the family unit and the involvement of Social Services;

⁴ For the purposes of this exploratory research, the information related to the effects of imprisonment on mothers and their children was categorized. However, it is difficult to quantify and code such information because of the overlap between categories; the categories may not be mutually exclusive. Therefore, the most significant effect noted by each mother was coded in order to generalize about the effects of imprisonment.

and, 10% (n=2) noted the behavioural problems exhibited by their child(ren) while in the company of their caregivers. One mother explained that her child thought that she had gone to the hospital and he could not understand why she could not come home, while another mother reported that financial stress and the uncertainty of her child's living arrangement was the most significant effect of her incarceration.

In terms of the mother-child relationship, 40% (n=8) of the mothers noted that the most significant effect of their incarceration was the emotional tension and distance that is caused by forced separation. Numerous mothers described visiting hours as "tense" and "strained" while mother and child try to adjust to one another. Twenty-five percent (n=5) of the mothers reported that the most significant effect of separation on their mother-child relationship was that they no longer knew their children on an intimate level. As one mother commented, "My daughter calls her grandma mommy. She doesn't even know where I fit into the picture." The embarrassment associated with incarceration was noted as a significant effect by 10% (n=2) of the women interviewed; these mothers explained that their children had to live with the stigma of having a mother in prison. Twenty percent (n=4) of the mothers did not think that their incarceration had had a significant effect on their child(ren) (question 32).

Planning for the future, both on a personal level and as a parent, is something to which the majority of the women interviewed had given a considerable amount of thought. Fifty-five percent (n=11) of the mothers indicated that they planned to continue with their education once they were released; 20% (n=4) noted that their main priority was to find employment; and, 25% (n=5) stated that their concern, on a personal level, was to continue with their "treatment" for drug and alcohol dependency upon release. As a parent, 45% (n=9) of the mothers noted that their number one priority was to provide a stable home for their children; 35% (n=7) hoped to re-unite with their children and start a "new" life; 10% (n=2) [planned to regain legal custody] of their children upon release; and, 10% (n=2) noted that their goal was to work on re-establishing the emotional bond with their child(ren) that had been damaged by the forced separation (question 33).

When the mothers spoke of their future plans, many of them acknowledged that they would need help from a support network outside of the prison in order to realize their goals. Seventy percent (n=14) of the mothers noted that their support network consists of family and relatives; 20% (n=4) stated that they would look to support groups such as Alcoholics and Narcotics Anonymous for assistance; and, 10% (n=2) explained that they do not have any type of support network outside of the prison. The two mothers who did not feel like they had anyone to rely on for support and

assistance explained that they had been in and out of prison so many times that they had lost contact with family and their friends on the "street" were unreliable and opportunistic (question 30).

In regard to support with parenting upon release (question 29), 45% (n=9) indicated that they did not feel they would require any outside support; 45% (n=9) noted that they would look to their family and friends for help with their children; one mother stated that she would like to have the support of some community program to help with daycare while she looked for a job; and, one mother noted that she would need assistance from a lawyer or advocacy group in order to regain legal custody of her children from the Ministry of Social Services.

From talking with the twenty women in this study, it is evident that the existing structure of B.C.C.W. does not allow for much positive interaction between the mothers and their children. The negative effects of forced separation are intensified by the lack of personal contact between mother and child. Many mothers remarked that their children are the ones who suffer most because of their incarceration. In conversation, some of the mothers mentioned the feelings of guilt and frustration they feel when they see other prisoners having overnight visits or participating in the "Mothers with Babies" Program in the Open Living Unit when they themselves do not meet the criteria for such programs. Overall, the negative effects of imprisonment seem to be

intensified when a prisoner is a mother who has feelings of guilt about her own incarceration and the consequences this has for her child(ren).

TABLE 3
EFFECTS OF INCARCERATION

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Most significant effect of separation on child(ren):</i>		
Psychological stress (eg. loneliness, nightmares)	12	60%
Breakup of the family unit/involvement of M.S.S.	3	15%
Behavioural problems	2	10%
Child thinks mother is hospitalized	1	5%
Financial problems/child's living arrangements	1	5%
No effect	1	5%
<i>Most significant effect of separation on mother-child relationship:</i>		
Emotional tension	8	40%
Lack of intimacy/no longer know one another	5	25%
Embarassment	2	10%
Behavioural problems when child is with mother	1	5%
No effect	4	20%
<i>Personal plans for the future:</i>		
Education	11	55%
Employment	4	20%
Continuing with "treatment"	5	25%
<i>Plans as a parent:</i>		
Provide a stable home for child(ren)	9	45%
Re-unite with children/start a new life	7	35%
Regain legal custody of child(ren)	2	10%
Re-establish an emotional bond with child(ren)	2	10%

The Incarcerated Mothers' Evaluation of B.C.C.W.'s Programming related to Mother-Child Contact

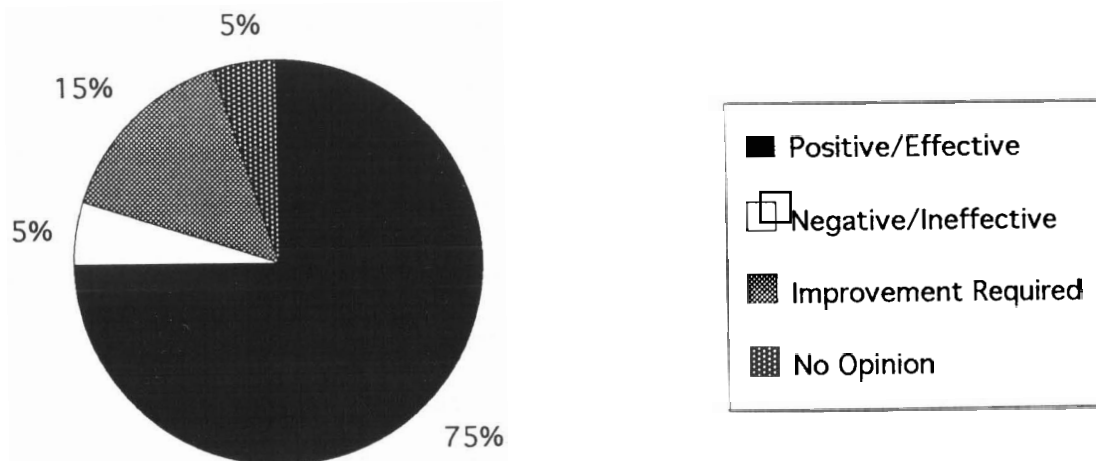
"The mothers do the best they can in here...Personally, I don't think there are enough opportunities for women to spend time with their children."

"The Mothers with Babies Program is a good idea. Children need to be with their mothers, especially babies."

When asked what they thought of the current programming at B.C.C.W. related to incarcerated mothers (question 22, examples given, "Mother with Babies" Program, Personal Development-Parenting Skills, overnight visitation), 75% (n=15) said it was positive and effective; 15% (n=3) noted that there is improvement required; one mother commented that she thought the existing programming was negative and ineffective; and, one mother declined to express an opinion (Refer to Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

Incarcerated Mothers' Opinion of Mother-Child Programming (n=20)



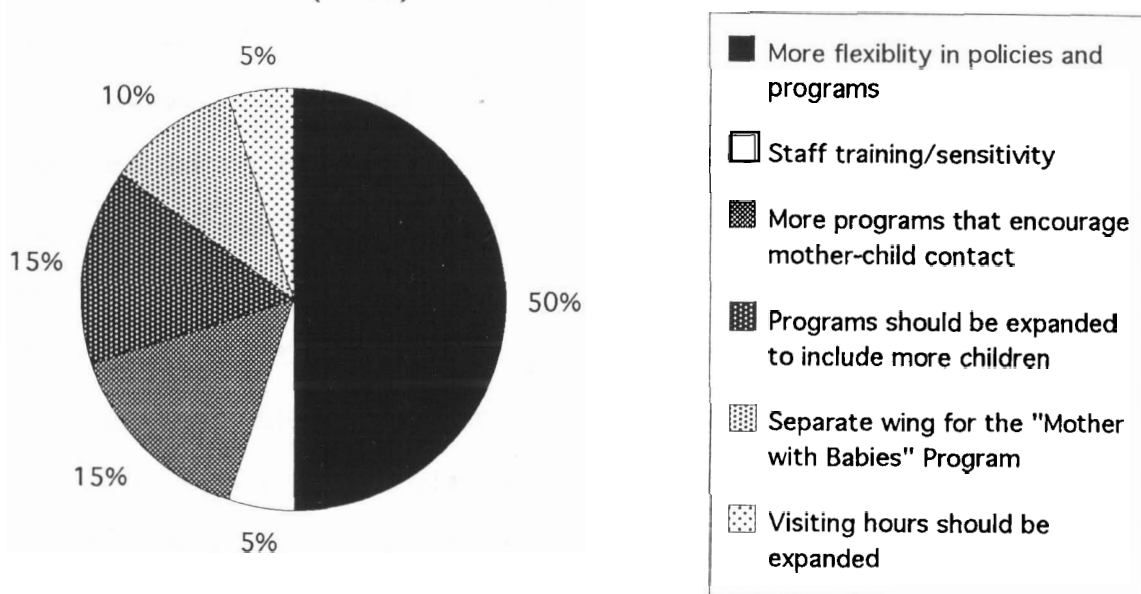
Those mothers who believed that the existing programming was positive consistently mentioned the "Mother with Babies" Program as an effective program that helps maintain the mother-child bond and has a "calming effect" on the rest of the prison population in the Open Living Unit. As one mother put it, "The women watch what they say and do when there is a baby around." Those mothers who mentioned that there is improvement needed in the mother-child programming commented that some mothers feel like they are under pressure to conform to the prison regime in order to meet the criteria for visitation or the "Mothers with Babies" Program, and those who do not meet the criteria feel that they have failed as mothers. It is a reminder that their own children are "out there," some at great distances. The mother who argued that the programming is negative and ineffective noted that, in her opinion, some mothers are discriminated against because their children are too old to participate in the "Mother with Babies" Program.

When asked to suggest improvements to the existing mother-child programming at B.C.C.W. (question 23), 50% (n=10) of the mothers noted that there is more flexibility needed in the rules and policies pertaining to visitation and programs in both the Open Living Unit and the secured facility and that Corrections staff should try to be more sensitive and understanding when dealing with incarcerated mothers; one woman noted that there is a need for staff training in this area. Of the 50% (n=10) who suggested more

flexibility in mother-child programming, 5 women were from the secured facility, 5 from the O.L.U.. One woman in the secured facility noted that there are no specific programs for mothers and their children in the high security setting and a mother must be classified to the minimum security O.L.U. before she can exercise her rights as a parent. Fifteen percent (n=3) of the mothers thought that there should be more programs developed in both facilities so that more mothers have access to them; 15% (n=3) also noted that the programs should be expanded to include more children. Two mothers (10%) thought that the Open Living Unit should have a separate wing devoted exclusively to the "Mothers with Babies" Program. In one case a mother was upset that another prisoner had left contraband drug paraphernalia in the washroom. Another complained that occasionally there is obscene language used in the common areas. One mother in the secured facility indicated that the prison's visiting hours should be expanded in order to accommodate different schedules (Refer to Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

Mothers' Suggestions for Improvements to Existing Programming
(n=20)



In regard to other programs that could be created for incarcerated mothers (question 24), 35% (n=7) of the mothers suggested "family days" where there could be organized games and entertainment for the children; 10% (n=2) noted that there is a need for a residential facility, sort of a half-way house type centre which would accept women and their

children; one mother mentioned the need for more information and programming regarding pregnancy and childcare and stressed that those women who are pregnant upon arrival at B.C.C.W. have limited medical attention and access to information on the birth process; and, one mother thought that there should be more "outings" for mothers and their children where they could visit outside the confines of the correctional facility. Forty-five percent (n=9) of the mothers interviewed did not have any suggestions for programs that could be created at B.C.C.W..

Generally, the mothers interviewed viewed the existing programming at B.C.C.W., related specifically to mother-child contact, as positive. However, numerous women noted in conversation that the structure of the prison itself is not conducive to a healthy environment for mother or child. In other words, the mothers and their children try to make the best of a bad situation. For although Corrections administrators may have good intentions with regard to mother-child programs within B.C.C.W., the fact remains that it is still a prison with social control processes that regulate and control behaviour.

CORRECTIONAL CASE MANAGEMENT FILES

The correctional case management files for all of the prisoners incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women during a two week period in June, 1993 were examined to determine how many women were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger). In addition to collecting this quantitative data, the files were read for content and information related to the family situations of the incarcerated women.

It was found that 18 of 54 women incarcerated in B.C.C.W.'s secured facility were mothers of dependent children (33%), while 12 of 21 women in the Open Living Unit were identified as mothers (57%). The women in the secured facility tend to be serving longer prison terms for more serious crimes or are being held on remand while awaiting trial or sentencing. From examining the files it appears that the average age of the women in the secured facility (26 years) was younger than that of the Open Living Unit (32 years). This may account for the significant difference in the number of women who were mothers in the Open Living Unit versus the secured facility as more women in Western society begin having children in their mid to late 20s.

Classification of a prisoner to either the secured facility or the Open Living Unit at B.C.C.W. involves a security rating that is based on the following criteria: current offence, prior record, previous escapes, behaviour

within the institution, and danger to self or others within the facility.⁵ From informal conversations with various Corrections Officers at B.C.C.W., it became apparent that a woman's family situation, and whether or not she has children, is not considered at the time of classification. In fact, when it comes to visiting, as previously mentioned the secured facility has more frequent visiting hours than the minimum security Open Living Unit (one hour per day versus two hours twice a week in the O.L.U.). One Senior Correctional Officer mentioned that this is because it is more difficult to control security in the Open Living Unit and the administration wants to ensure that visitors are not transporting drugs or other contraband into the prison.

The correctional intake forms which are completed by Classification Officers when a woman first arrives at B.C.C.W. show that whether or not a woman was a mother to dependent children was not a priority concern. Many intake forms had incomplete family history sections and the entire file had to be read in order to ascertain whether or not the prisoner was a mother. Brief comments regarding a woman's children, most in point form, were found on the files that did have complete intake forms and many files did not

⁵ Of the 20 women interviewed for this research, 10 were incarcerated for violent offences: assault (3), aggravated assault (1), robbery (3), armed robbery (1), second degree murder (1), first degree murder (1); 5 were incarcerated for property offences: theft (2), fraud (2), false pretences (1); 4 were incarcerated for drug-related offences: importing heroin (1), importing marijuana (1), possession of cocaine (1), trafficking (1); and, one woman was being held on remand for a drug trafficking charge.

indicate who was taking care of the children or where they could be reached in case of an emergency.

Corrections Officers keep track of the prisoner's daily activities in running records which are kept on the correctional case management files. These records document everything from telephone calls, to visitors, to movement within the prison. An examination of these records revealed that Corrections personnel do take note of a mother's interactions with her family and child(ren) during visits or telephone calls and many files included Corrections Officer's comments on the behaviour and attitude of the mothers. For example:

Mary had a good visit tonight. She seemed happy and relaxed after her husband and kids left.

Shelley had trouble sleeping last night. She has been crying alot lately about her baby. She should probably see the psychologist.

Linda got upset when I told her to get off the phone. She calls her kids every night and ties up the phone for the other I/Ms (inmates).

Joy has demonstrated that she is a mature and responsible mother while in the O.L.U.. May be suitable for E.M.P. (Electronic Monitoring Program).

Such observations, based on the Corrections staff's perceptions, make up a permanent part of a prisoner's Corrections case file history. As the majority of people who enter institutional corrections as a career may be described as "conservative," it can be argued that their

*interpretations of mother-child interactions are influenced by societal expectations regarding "appropriate" gender role behaviour. In other words, if a mother's behaviour is outside the realm of what a Correctional Officer regards as socially "acceptable" he or she may judge the "fitness" of that mother based on his or her own beliefs about motherhood and family (familial ideology). Such value judgments take place everywhere in Western society, however, because the Correctional Officer is an agent of social control, these judgments have a direct influence on the lives of mothers in prison.

Line staff's evaluations of a prisoner's behaviour within the institution assist in determining whether that prisoner will be allowed temporary absences, day parole, full parole, or release on the electronic monitoring program. A negative institutional evaluation has a strong impact on B.C. Board of Parole and Federal Parole Board decisions. Therefore, if the prisoner is not compliant while incarcerated their chances for early release are minimal.

When planning for release, imprisoned women in British Columbia receive little or no assistance from Corrections staff or any other government agency. Institutional Case Managers at B.C.C.W. liaise with Probation Officers in the community who verify the prisoner's proposed parole release plan through a community assessment. However, while in the institution most women do not have the opportunity to

develop a solid release plan (living arrangements, employment, education, drug and alcohol treatment etc.) because of the lack of resources and information available to them. The transition from institution to community is often very difficult for mothers who may have to re-establish a home with their children. An examination of Corrections case files revealed that many women did not know specifically where they could reach their children and had not received notification from relatives, friends, or the Ministry of Social Services on their whereabouts. The following example, a personal ad in the Province newspaper cut out and included in the case file of a prisoner in the secured facility of B.C.C.W., is indicative of a breakdown in communications between the Ministry of Social Services and the Corrections Branch:

Personals

(Mother's legal name)

This is your official notice that at 9:30 a.m. on July 13, 1993 at 800 Hornby Street, Vancouver, B.C., the Superintendent of Family and Child Services will make an application for a permanent wardship order, pursuant to Section 14 of the Family and Child Service Act in connection with your child (child's legal name) born August 6, 1992.

You have the right to be present and be represented by legal counsel.

(Mother) or anyone knowing her present whereabouts, please contact (Social Worker's name), Ministry of Social Services, 2484 Renfrew Street, Vancouver, B.C. V5M 3K2 (604) 775-1300.

Noted in the mother's file was a message from B.C.C.W. Sentence Management dated July 29, 1993: "Apparently social service has lost touch of her. I have not shown the clipping to the inmate so she is probably unaware of this." The 21 year old mother was a Native woman serving two months for common assault. Her son had been apprehended two weeks after his birth and was placed in a foster home. Because she was not present at the custody hearing she subsequently lost all legal rights to her child.

This shocking example illustrates the deprivation of parental rights when a woman enters prison. It is obvious that once incarcerated this woman ceased being a "mother" and became a "prisoner." In terms of social control, this woman was denied her basic legal rights as a parent because once detained at B.C.C.W. she herself became a "ward" of the state and, therefore, the government was responsible for her daily "care and control." However, two government bureaucracies mandated to uphold the rights of individual citizens failed this mother; this lack of communication between the Ministry of Social Services and the Corrections Branch is indicative of familial ideology - no one would think to look for a mother in prison.

Overall, the correctional case management files revealed that the fact that a woman is the mother of dependent children is not a priority to Corrections. First and foremost the woman is a prisoner who must be managed

within the institution. If a woman is compliant within the prison and demonstrates her competence as a mother she may be allowed to participate in mother-child programming or qualify for early release.

CORRECTIONAL POLICIES, PROCEDURES AND PROGRAMMING

The official, written policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit related to incarcerated mothers were examined (Refer to Appendix 8a and b). Specifically, the policies and procedures of the "Mothers with Babies" were of interest as this program is considered "innovative" within Canadian Corrections (Appendix 8b). The only other program of this kind is operated at the Manitoba Prison for Women in Portage La Prairie.

Sara McEwan, then Local Director of the Open Living Unit, provided the written information and also explained the goals and objectives of the policies and procedures along with the correctional philosophy behind them. She was of the opinion that B.C.C.W. is setting the standard for mother-child programming in Canada and she hoped that the new prisons which are slated to replace Kingston Prison for Women will adopt some of the strategies incorporated in British Columbia.

The Open Living Unit's Policies and Procedures with regard to overnight child visits (Refer to Appendix 8a) include the institutional criteria that is considered when a mother wants to keep her child overnight in the O.L.U.. The fifth criteria is that the "Resident must have good institutional reports." The twelfth criteria states "Staff on shift during child visit, as well as Case Manager must assess the visit after completion and enter comments on the request for Overnight Child Visit form." Sara McEwan noted that the institution's policies with regard to overnight visitation are meant to make the mother accountable for her child, and ensure the safety of the child and the security of the facility.

It is evident from examining the criteria that a mother in the Open Living Unit must "demonstrate" her ability to care for her child to the Corrections Officers and Case Manager in order to qualify for any further visitation. While it is reasonable to expect that there should be guidelines to protect the safety of a child staying in the prison, the criteria set forth in the official policies and procedures is indicative of how familial ideology (beliefs about "appropriate" gender role behaviour and the family) could have an impact on the social control of mothers incarcerated in the Open Living Unit.

"Open Living Unit Child Care Expectations" (Appendix 8b) is the official list of expectations that a mother must agree to and sign before she can participate in the "Mothers

with Babies" Program. In addition to these expectations, the mother is bound by the O.L.U.'s policies and procedures with regard to overnight visitation. Before a mother is deemed suitable for the "Mothers with Babies" Program she must meet the discretionary criteria of the Local Director. Sara McEwan explained that what is looked for is the woman's progress while in custody, her attitude and behaviour towards staff and other prisoners, and her level of responsibility when taking care of her child during overnight visits. The mother must abstain absolutely from the use of drugs or alcohol and must be involved in institutional programming if considered necessary (examples given, A.A./N.A., Elizabeth Fry Personal Development Program). If all of the criteria are met the mother must then make a formal application to the Local Director.

It is expected that mothers who participate in this program will view it as a "privilege" rather than a "right." A privilege is something that must be earned and it can be taken away at any time. This is a powerful incentive to conform to the prison regime. As Datesman and Cales note, visitation may be characterized as a "carrot on a stick" since it puts pressure on mothers to follow the prison rules (1983:149).

From speaking with Sara McEwan it is apparent that, from a correctional perspective, the programming in the Open Living Unit is considered a "success." There have been relatively few problems noted and the mothers and their

children seem to benefit from the programming. As was mentioned in the interview results, 75% (n=15) of the mothers involved in this study thought that the current mother-child programming at B.C.C.W. was positive and effective. They consistently mentioned the "Mothers with Babies" Program as something positive within the institution.

When asked why there are no such programs in the secured facility at B.C.C.W., Sara McEwan explained that "it is not feasible to have young children stay overnight unless they are in the prison's apartment with their mothers." The apartment can be used by sentenced inmates who must make a formal application to the Director of B.C.C.W. at least four weeks in advance. From a Corrections standpoint, security and safety are the main concerns.

The correctional philosophy behind the mother-child programming at B.C.C.W. was described by Sara McEwan as "rehabilitative." It is interesting to note that mother-child contact, which is a normal, everyday occurrence for the majority of mothers before they are incarcerated, becomes "rehabilitative" within the correctional setting. While it does appear that there are positive effects realized when mother and child are allowed to have contact, it can be argued that the small number of mothers that qualify for overnight visitation and the "Mothers with Babies" Program are tokens within the prison system. The negative effects of forced separation are a reality for the

majority of women incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Researchers have effectively demonstrated that societal expectations regarding "appropriate" gender role behaviour and a woman's relationship to the "family" have an influence on judicial decision-making (Eaton, 1987:95; Daly, 1987a:286-287, 1987b:167; Masson, 1992:100). Familial ideology, the ideas, beliefs, and norms that surround the "family", circumscribes the role of a mother, and women who do not meet the expectations of this socially defined role may be evaluated negatively by criminal justice personnel (see Masson, 1992:90).

Within prison women are subjected to processes of social control that regulate their behaviour. This research has shown that mothers are subjected to specific, intensive forms of social control in relation to their children. The interview results, correctional case management files, and official policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit indicate that mothers incarcerated in the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women must conform to the prison regime and demonstrate their competency as caregivers to Corrections staff in order to maintain regular mother-child contact.

Mothers in prison are subjected to the same institutional conditions as other women, the adverse effects

of which are compounded by separation from their children. During the interview process numerous women expressed their feelings of guilt and remorse and explained that their children are the ones who suffer most because of their incarceration. Mother-child contact is primarily achieved through telephone calls and 55% (n=11) of the mothers reported that they had not visited personally with their child(ren) in a period from between one month to over one year. As B.C.C.W. is the only prison for women in British Columbia, caretakers must often travel great distances at their own expense in order for children to visit.

Correctional programming at B.C.C.W. is consistent with familial ideology; prisoners are expected to participate in programs and work assignments that will better enable them to be good "homemakers." Traditional gender role expectations are emphasized within the institution; to prepare women for visible employment outside the home would be inconsistent with their socially defined role as "caregivers."

Generally, the interview results suggest that incarcerated mothers view the existing mother-child programming at B.C.C.W. as positive. In particular, the "Mothers with Babies" Program was consistently mentioned as an effective program that helps maintain the mother-child bond and has a "calming effect" on the rest of the prison population in the Open Living Unit. However, some women commented that prisoners may feel like they are under

pressure to conform to the prison regime in order to meet the criteria for this program, and those that do not meet correctional expectations feel that they have failed as mothers. When asked to suggest improvements to the existing mother-child programming, 50% (n=10) of the mothers noted that there is more flexibility needed in the rules and policies pertaining to visitation in both the Open Living Unit and the secured facility and that Corrections staff should try to be more sensitive and understanding when dealing with incarcerated mothers.

An examination of correctional case management files revealed that 18 of 54 women (33%) incarcerated in B.C.C.W.'s secured facility were mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger), while 12 of 21 women in the Open Living Unit were identified as mothers (57%). When the numbers in both facilities are combined it results in a 45% average, a finding slightly lower than Wine (1992:27) and MacLeod's (1986:11) Canadian statistics (both found that 50% of their samples were mothers of dependent children) and substantially lower than the range of 56% and 68% established by researchers in the United States (Baunach, 1982:168). This result may be explained by the fact that the average age of the women incarcerated in the secured facility of B.C.C.W. was 26 years and more women in Western society begin having children in their mid to late 20s.

Correctional intake forms and running records were examined and it was found that whether or not a prisoner is

the mother to dependent children is not a priority concern to Corrections. However, the running records indicated that Corrections personnel take note of a mother's interactions with her family and child(ren) during visits or telephone calls. This information may be used to assess a woman's overall adjustment to incarceration, an important consideration when she applies for temporary absences or early release.

The official policies and procedures of the Open Living Unit reveal that a mother must demonstrate to Corrections Officers her ability to care for her child in order to qualify for any further overnight visitation. As most Corrections staff can be described as "conservative," they may consider a mother's behaviour as socially unacceptable based on their own beliefs about motherhood and family (familial ideology).

It can be concluded from this research that the problems and concerns of mothers incarcerated in British Columbia are similar to those of mothers imprisoned throughout North America. Previous research has shown that mother-child separation is one of the most significant problems confronting women in prison (McGowan and Blumenthal, 1978:17; Stanton, 1980:7; Haley, 1980:340; Baunach, 1982:156; Hatty, 1984:124; Carlen, 1985:76; MacLeod, 1986:24; Wine, 1992:64; Bloom and Steinhart, 1993:17; Faith, 1993:203-211). This research demonstrates that, within prison, mothers are expected to conform to

socially defined gender roles and are subject to social control processes that control their behaviour and regulate mother-child contact.

Existing policies and procedures in the Open Living Unit at B.C.C.W., related to mother-child programming, are among the most "progressive" in Canadian Corrections. However, the majority of women incarcerated at B.C.C.W. are held in the secured facility which has limited visitation and no specific programs that encourage mother-child contact. Visitation in the O.L.U. is even more restricted except for the women (maximum 4) whose infants live with them. As the majority of women who come into contact with the criminal justice system in Canada are convicted of property or drug related offences (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993:97-101), they are not a "danger to society" and do not require high levels of security. However, in a society that is becoming more punitive towards "criminals," more prisons are being built, women continue to be sentenced to terms of incarceration, and mothers are separated from their dependent children.

Community-based programs offer an alternative to incarceration. Researchers from both the correctionalist (examples, Baunach, 1985; MacLeod, 1986; Wine, 1992; Bloom and Steinhart, 1993) and the feminist perspectives (examples, Carlen, 1990; Eaton, 1993; Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women, 1990), advocate increased use of community resources and facilities to offer women drug and

alcohol treatment and a place where they can live with their children while serving out the disposition of the court. It is important to empower women who come into contact with the criminal justice system so that they can make positive changes in their own lives.



Province of
British Columbia

Ministry of
Solicitor General
OPEN LIVING UNIT

APPENDIX 1

Burnaby Correctional
Centre for Women
7900 Fraser Park Drive
Burnaby, British Columbia
V5J 5B9
Telephone: (604) 436-5390
Fax: (604) 463-5302

March 04, 1993

Elizabeth Shields
Criminology Department
Simon Fraser University
C/O 901 - 6689 Willingdon Avenue
Burnaby, B.C.
V5H 3Y8

Elizabeth,

This gives you written confirmation of the willingness on the part of Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women to support your research proposal Mothers in Prison. We are prepared to have you conduct on site research with our inmate population and staff.

I would like to meet with you in the near future to decide a process for you to engage in this project. Please call me.

Regards;

S. E. McEwan
Local Director
Open Living Unit
Burnaby Correctional Centre
for Women

SM/kc

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

TO:

ALL STAFF AND INMATES OF THE BURNABY CORRECTIONAL
CENTRE FOR WOMEN

FROM:

ELIZABETH SHIELDS
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

I am conducting a study at the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, which focuses on mothers in prison, as part of my Criminology Master's program at Simon Fraser University. The purpose of this study is to find out how many women who are incarcerated at this facility are mothers of dependent children (18 years and younger), and what effects incarceration has had on the mothers and their children.

This study will involve women from both the open living unit and the secured facility. Personal interviews will take place with women, identified as mothers, who voluntarily agree to participate in this research. Informed consent will be obtained from all participants, and financial compensation will be offered for their time. A questionnaire will be administered verbally during the interview process (this should take approximately 45 minutes to complete). All information in this study will be considered strictly confidential.

The research will be carried out over a four month period (late May - late September, 1993). If you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact me at:

School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.
V5A 1S6

I look forward to working with you.

Elizabeth Shields



Province of
British Columbia

OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT DEPUTY MINISTER

Ministry of
Attorney General
CORRECTIONS BRANCH

MEMORANDUM

338-30

May 18, 1993

Ms. Sara McEwan
Local Director
Open Living Unit
Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women
7900 Fraser Park Drive
Burnaby, British Columbia
V5J 5B9

Re: Research - Mothers in Prison

Please be advised the request for research to be conducted by Ms. Shields has been granted. Prior to the research beginning, however, a few housekeeping things must be taken care of.

Firstly, given Ms. Shields is not an employee of the Branch, an oath of confidentiality is not applicable. The oaths only pertain to Branch employees. Secondly, it must be clearly understood that the research will not restrict or hamper the general running of operations, or impose significant time demands on the staff at the centre. Thirdly, an agreement between Ms. Shields and the Branch will need to be signed. A copy of these terms is attached; please return the signed document to me at your earliest convenience.

I trust the research will go smoothly. I wish Ms. Shields well in her endeavour and look forward to seeing the results.

J.B. Graham
Assistant Deputy Minister

Enclosure

cc: ~~Ms. Elizabeth Shields~~
Ms. Esther McMullan, District Director

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN B.C. CORRECTIONS BRANCH
AND MS. ELIZABETH SHIELDS**

In return for Corrections Branch allowing access to review client files and interview inmates, I agree to the following terms:

- all client information will be kept confidential;
- personal identifiers will be removed from data at the earliest possible time;
- the research will not impose significant time demands on Corrections Branch Staff;
- any information collected or retained in individually identifiable form will not be used for any purpose other than the proposed research;
- the research results will be shared with the Corrections Branch by copy to the Local Director, Open Living Unit, Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women.

J.B. Graham
Assistant Deputy Minister

Elizabeth Shields
Researcher

QUESTIONNAIRE

I would first like to ask you some background information about your family.

1. Are you married/common-law?
 - a) Yes
How long have you been married/common-law?
 - b) No
Are you separated, divorced, or never married/common-law?

How long were you together?

Are you currently in a relationship?
2. How many children do you have?
3. How old are they?
4. What sex are they?
5. Was (were) your child (children) living with you before you came to B.C.C.W.?
6. Who is taking care of your child (children) while you are incarcerated?
 - husband/common-law/boyfriend
(Is he the father of your child (children)?)
 - parents/in-laws (grandparents)
 - relatives (what relation?)
 - foster care/Ministry of Social Services
 - friend(s)

7. Has (have) your child (children) ever been apprehended by the Ministry of Social Services?
- No
 - If yes, when were they apprehended?
why were they apprehended?
8. Do you have legal custody of your child (children)?
- a) Yes
 - b) If no, who does have custody?
9. Have you had contact with your child (children) since you were incarcerated at B.C.C.W.?
- a) Yes
 - b) If no, why have you not had contact?

(If Yes, proceed with questions 10 - 12)

10. What sort of communications do you have with your child (children)?
- visitations
 - telephone conversations
 - written letters/cards
 - other
11. How often do you have contact with your child (children)?
12. When was the last time you saw your child (children)?
13. Where did you live before you were incarcerated?
14. Where are your children currently living? (Where is your child currently living?)
- geographic location (city, town, country)

15. Who was the primary source of financial support for yourself (and your family) before you were incarcerated?
16. Who is financially supporting your children while you are incarcerated?

I would now like to ask you some questions about your incarceration.

17. When did you come to B.C.C.W.?
18. What kind of work do you do at B.C.C.W.?
19. During your time at B.C.C.W. have you been involved in any vocational training programs?

(If yes), What kind of training?
ex. hairdressing, floral, daycare
20. Are you involved in any educational programs?

(If yes), What kind of programs?
 - literacy program
 - High School upgrading (G.E.D.)
 - College or University courses
(ex. Douglas College)
21. Are you involved in any treatment programs or support groups?

(If yes), What kind of programs?
22. What do you think about the current programming at B.C.C.W.? (specifically, programs affecting mothers
ex. "Mothers with Babies Program", Personal Development (Elizabeth Fry) - parenting skills)

23. What improvements would you suggest for the programming that currently exists at B.C.C.W.? (specifically, programs affecting mothers)
24. What other kinds of programs do you think should be created for mothers who are incarcerated at B.C.C.W.?
25. When do you expect to be released?

I would now like to ask about your perceptions of life once you are released from B.C.C.W.

26. Where do you plan to live once you are released from B.C.C.W.?
 - with family/relatives
 - with friends
 - in a residential facility
27. Will your child (children) live with you once you are released?
 - Yes
 - If no, where will your child (children) live?
28. (If applicable) Do you plan to continue with your treatment program/support group once you are released?
29. Do you feel you will need support with parenting once you are released from B.C.C.W.?
 - No
 - If yes, what sort of community programming do you think would help you with your parenting? (example, personal development, job skills, daycare)

30. What sort of support network do you have outside of the prison?
- family/relatives
 - friends
 - social worker/parole officer
 - support groups
31. What have been the effects of your incarceration on your family (child, children)?
- ex. breakup of the family unit, psychological stress on the children, financial effects
32. How has the separation affected your relationship with your child(ren)?
- ex. psychological stress on the mother, emotional distance
33. What are your plans for the future?
- a) Personally (as an individual)
 - b) As a parent

Dear (mother's name inserted here):

I am conducting a study at the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, which focuses on mothers in prison, as part of my Criminology Master's program at Simon Fraser University. The purpose of this study is to find out how many women who are incarcerated at this facility are mothers of dependent children (18 years or younger), and what effects incarceration has had on the mothers and their children.

If you are interested in this study you will be asked to participate in a personal interview during which a questionnaire will be administered verbally. This process will take approximately 45 minutes to complete and all responses will be considered strictly confidential.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It should be noted that questions of a personal nature will be asked (ex. questions regarding your children). If you agree to take part in this research you will be financially compensated for your time.

If you would like to participate in this study please contact Maurice Wiestra. Arrangements will be made to conduct the interviews during the month of September.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours truly,

RESEARCH INFORMATION

I am conducting a study at the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, which focuses on mothers in prison, as part of my Criminology Master's program at Simon Fraser University. The purpose of this study is to find out how many women who are incarcerated at this facility are mothers of dependent children (18 years and younger), and what effects incarceration has had on the mothers and their children.

Those interested in this study will be asked to participate in a personal interview during which a questionnaire will be administered verbally. This process will take approximately 45 minutes to complete and all responses will be strictly confidential.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It should be noted that questions of an emotional and personal nature will be asked (ex. questions regarding your children). If you agree to take part in this research you will be financially compensated for your time.

If you have any questions regarding this research, you can contact me at the following address:

Elizabeth Shields
Graduate Studies
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.
V5A 1S6

If you would like to participate in this study, please complete the attached form.

INFORMED CONSENT INFORMATION

The attached form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures involved. Your signature on the attached form will signify that you have received the letter regarding this project, that you have considered the information in the letter, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Free copies of the results of this study, upon its completion may be obtained by contacting:

Elizabeth Shields
Graduate Studies
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.
V5A 1S6

att.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Having been asked by Elizabeth Shields of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University to participate in a study which examines the issues of mothers in prison, I understand the procedures to be used in this study in which I have voluntarily agreed to take part.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this study at any time.

I also understand that I may report any complaint I might have about the study to the researcher, Miss Elizabeth Shields, or to Dr. Karlene Faith, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

NAME (please print):

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

CODING SHEET

Variable 1

Current Martal Status

Variable label - MARITST

Value labels:

Currently married or common-law	1
Divorced	2
Seperated	3
Widowed	4
Single	5
Dating/in a steady relationship	6

Variable 2

Number of Children

Variable label - #CHILD

Value labels:

one child	1
two children	2
three children	3
four children	4
five children	5

Variable 3

Age of Children - Variable label - AGECHILD

Value labels: (2 digits) - maximum 12 columns (for 6 children)

Child's age 00 - 18

Variable 4

Sex of Children

Variable label - GENDER

Value labels:

Male	1
Female	2

Variable 5

Were the children living with their mother before she was incarcerated?

Variable label - LIVING

Value labels:

Yes	1
No	2
Pregnant when entering prison	3

Variable 6

Who is taking care of the children while the mother is incarcerated?

Variable label - WHOCARE

Value Labels:

Father	1
Husband/Common-law (not father)	2
Maternal Grandmother	3
Maternal Grandparents	4
Relatives	5
Friends	6
Welfare (government)	7

Variable 7

Have the children (child) ever been apprehended by the Ministry of Social Services?

Variable label - APSSH

Value labels:

Yes	1
No	2

Variable 8

Who currently has legal custody of the child/ren?

Variable label - CUSTODY

Value labels:

Mother	1
Father	2
Maternal Grandmother	3
Maternal Grandparents	4
Relatives	5
Welfare (government)	6

Variable 9

Has the mother had contact with her child/ren since she was incarcerated?

Variable label - CONTACT

Value labels:

Yes	1
No	2

(If yes, proceed with variables 10-12)

Variable 10

What sort of communications does the mother have with her child/ren? (primary source of contact)

Variable label - COMMUNIC

Value labels:

in person visitations	1
telephone contact	2
written letters/cards	3
video/audio tapes	4
no communications	9

Variable 11

How often does the mother have contact with her child/ren?

Variable label - CONTFREQ

Value labels:

once a day	1
2 to 3 times a week	2
once a week	3
once every two weeks	4
once a month	5
less than once a month	6
No contact	9

Variable 12

When was the last time the mother physically saw her child/ren? (in person)

Variable label - SAWCHILD

Value labels:

within one week	1
within two weeks	2
within one month	3
within two months	4
within six months	5
within one year	6
over one year	7

Variable 13

Where did the mother live before she was incarcerated?

Variable label - MOTHERLV

Value labels:

Greater Vancouver (Langley to North Van.)	1
Fraser Valley (Aldergrove to Hope)	2
Interior B.C.	3
Northern B.C.	4
Vancouver Island	5
Yukon/N.W.T.	6
Alberta	7
Ontario	8

Variable 14

Where are the children currently living (geographic location)?

Variable label - CHILDLV

Value labels: (2 digits)

Greater Vancouver (Langley to North Van.)	01
Fraser Valley (Aldergrove to Hope)	02
Interior B.C.	03
Northern B.C.	04
Vancouver Island	05
Yukon/N.W.T.	06
Alberta	07
Saskatchewan	08
Ontario	09
U.S.A.(California)	10

Variable 15

Who was the primary source of financial support for the family before the mother was incarcerated?

Variable label - SUPPORT

Value labels:

Mother	1
Husband or Common-law	2
Welfare (government)	3
Maternal Grandparents	4
Relatives	5
Other	9

Variable 16

Who is financially supporting the child/ren while the mother is incarcerated?

Variable label - SUPCHILD

Value labels:

Mother	1
Father	2
Husband or Common-law (if not father)	3
Welfare (government)	4
Maternal Grandmother	5
Maternal Grandparents	6
Relatives	7
Other	9

Variable 17

How long has the mother been incarcerated?
(When did you come to B.C.C.W.?)

Variable label - LENGTH

Value labels: (4 digits)

aggregate number of days

Variable 18

What kind of work does the mother do at B.C.C.W.?

Variable label - WORK

Value labels:

Janitorial	1
Housekeeping	2
Cooking - Kitchen	3
Groundskeeping	4
Daycare	5
No work	9

Variable 19

What kind of vocational training is the mother involved in?

Variable label - VOCATION

Value labels:

Sewing	1
Floral training	2
Ceramics	3
Hairdressing	4
Canine training	5
No vocational training	9

Variable 20

What kind of educational programming is the mother involved in?

Variable label - EDUCATE

Value labels:

Literacy program	1
High school upgrading (G.E.D.)	2
Douglas College courses	3
University courses (Distance Education)	4
No educational programming	9

Variable 21

What kind of treatment programs or support groups is the mother involved with?

Variable label - TREATPR (Multiple variables?)

Value labels:

Alcoholics Anonymous	1
Narcotics Anonymous	2
A.A. and N.A.	3
Personal Development (Elizabeth Fry)	4
Personal Development (E. Fry - Parenting class)	5
Individual Counselling (Psychologist)	6
Native Sisterhood	7
Religious Group	8
No treatment/support	9

Variable 22

What does the mother think about the current programming at B.C.C.W.? (specifically, programs affecting mothers eg. "Mothers with Babies Program", Personal Development E. Fry - parenting skills)

Variable label - CURRENT

Value labels:

Positive/Effective	1
Negative/Ineffective	2
Improvement required	3
No opinion	9

Variable 23

What improvements were suggested for the current programming at B.C.C.W.?

Variable label - IMPROVE

More visiting hours	1
---------------------	---

More flexibility regarding visiting rules and regulations	2
More programming for mothers (parenting skills, lifeskills training etc.)	3
Separate building/wing for the "Mothers with Babies" program	4
More children allowed in the "Mothers with Babies" program (increase the age limit)	5
More training for correctional staff dealing with mothers	6
No opinion	9

Variable 24

What other kinds of programs should be created for mothers
who are incarcerated at B.C.C.W.?

Variable label - CREATEPR

Value labels:

"Family Days" (expanded and more frequent)	1
Recreational Outings (Mothers and their children)	2
Half-way houses/Residential Facilities (that take children)	3
Pregnancy programming (medical, lifeskills)	4
No opinion	9

Variable 25

When does the mother expect to be released?
(total sentence length)

Variable label - SENTENCE

Value labels: (4 digits)

aggregate number of days from beginning of sentence until
release

Variable 26

Where does the mother plan to live once she is released from
B.C.C.W.? (With whom will she live?)

Variable label - RELEASE

Value labels:

Husband or Common-law	1
Boyfriend	2
Parents	3
In-laws (Paternal)	4
Relatives	5
Friends	6
Residential facility (Half-way house)	7
By herself	8
In another correctional facility	9

Variable 27

Where will the children live once their mother is released
from B.C.C.W.?

Variable label - RLCHILD

Value labels: (2 digits)

With mother	01
Father	02
Maternal grandmother	03
Maternal grandparents	04
Paternal grandmother	05
Paternal grandparents	06

Relatives	07
Friends	08
Foster parents (foster care)	09
Adoptive parents	10

Variable 28

Does the mother plan to continue with her treatment program/support group once she is released?

Variable label - TREATCON

Value labels:

Yes	1
No	2
Not applicable	3

Variable 29

Does the mother feel she will require support with parenting once she is released from B.C.C.W.? (What kind of support?)

Variable label - RLSUPP

Value labels:

No support required	1
Community programming (personal development, lifeskills)	2
Daycare	3
Family support (relatives)	4
Legal help to regain custody	5
No opinion	9

Variable 30

What sort of support network does the mother have outside of the prison? (primary source of support)

Variable label - NETWORK

Value labels:

Family (immediate)	1
Husband or Common-law	2
Relatives	3
Friends	4
Support/Treatment groups	5
No support	9

Variable 31

What have been the effects of the mother's incarceration on her family (children)? (most significant effect)

Variable label - EFFECTS

Value labels:

Breakup of the family unit	1
Psychological stress on the child/ren (ex. loneliness, nightmares)	2
Behavioural problems with the child/ren	3
Child/ren think mother is hospitalized/ on vacation/at school	4
Financial problems	5
No effect	9

Variable 32

How has the separation affected the relationship between the mother and her child/ren?

Variable label - SEPARATE

Value labels:

Emotional tension/distance	1
Behavioural problems (eg. child does not obey mother)	2
Child/ren do not know the mother	3
Child/ren are embarrassed of mother	4
Separation has strengthened relationship	5
No effect	9

Variable 33

What are the mother's plans for the future?
(2 separate categories)

a) Personally (as an individual)

Variable label - PERSONPL

Value labels:

Go to school (get an education)	1
Find a job	2
Continue with treatment/support	3
Reunite with family (relatives)	4
No plans	9

b) As a parent

Variable label - PARENT

Value labels:

Reunite with children (spend alot of time together)	1
Provide a stable homelife	2
Re-establish strong emotional bond	3
Regain legal custody	4
No plans	9



Province of
British Columbia
Ministry of
Solicitor General
CORRECTIONS BRANCH

OPEN LIVING UNIT

BCCW

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Section: _____

Page: 13

Subject: A2 - ADMINISTRATION - GENERAL

OVERNIGHT CHILD VISIT

- 1) Residents must be sure they are meeting the child's needs ie. will exposure to this setting have detrimental effects, including at school, with playmates, etc.
- 2) The age of the child should usually be under 5 years old, exceptions can be made if the situation warrants it.
- 3) The sex of the child does not matter.
- 4) Overnight visits are not restricted to out of town children.
- 5) Resident must have good institutional reports.
- 6) Even if the child comes in regularly for visits, an overnight may be approved depending on factors. A child needs to spend time with their mother for many reasons and can be beneficial to both.
- 7) There should only be one child visit per family, and only two residents with child visits at the same time.
- 8) A new application must be submitted for each visit.
- 9) Consideration should be given to how soon the resident will be discharged.
- 10) Overnight visits are usually to be on weekends, however, there may be exceptions if unusual circumstances.
- 11) Residents must complete Overnight Child Visit Request form completely, including child's medical number, Doctor's name and number, contact person and phone number in case of emergency or child must return early, etc.
- 12) Staff on shift during child visit, as well as the Case Manager must assess the visit after completion and enter comments on the request for Overnight Child Visit form.



POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Section: _____

Page: 14

Subject: **A2 - ADMINISTRATION - GENERAL**

OVERNIGHT CHILD VISIT - Continued

- 13) The Local Director must approve the visit before arrangements are made.
- 14) A Trust Fund Statement (Money Request Form) must be submitted to pay the child's meals while here.

EACH CASE IS INDIVIDUAL, THEREFORE THERE MAY BE EXCEPTIONS TO THESE RULES

OPEN LIVING UNIT CHILD CARE EXPECTATIONS

PLEASE INITIAL EACH GROUP AS READ AND UNDERSTOOD

CHILD CARE _____ Initial

Children are to be - supervised at all times by either the parent or designated care giver.

- checked while sleeping at regular intervals and if a care giver is the supervisor they are not to go to sleep until the parent returns.

- kept to a fairly regular schedule of meals, nap time, bed times and exercise. They should be in the parents rooms by 21:00 (9.00PM) in the evening.

- clean, dressed and have had their meal if they are to be turned over to a care giver early in the morning.

- eating their meals in the dining room along with the parent or care giver and the eating area and high chair are to be clean up after a meal.

- disciplined with a loving heart (at the lowest level possible.)

HEALTH CARE _____ Initial

-staff are to be kept informed of any health care problems.

- there are areas in the OLU that for safety reasons children should not be in or if they are there they must be very closely supervised ie ceramics, gym, kitchen.

EDUCATION _____ Initial

- Mothers will participate in any and all sessions that are provided that address child care or parenting skills.

OPEN LIVING UNIT CHILD CARE EXPECTATIONS

PLEASE INITIAL EACH GROUP AS READ AND UNDERSTOOD

WORK _____ Initial

- Mothers will we prepared to begin their work assignments on time, they will complete regular work assignments as well as their child care.

PURCHASING _____ Initial

- Mothers will work out a budget, along with their case managers, that enable them to purchase baby needs. Essentials come first. Items like food, milk, diapers, laundry soap and any other items necessary for day to day living. A shopping list must be handed in to staff Thursday evening for purchase on Friday.

GENERAL _____ Initial

- Mothers room is to be kept tidy and all baby equipment is to be stored after use (not left in general use areas) - As all residents are responsible for any damage to their rooms please supervise the use of toys, pencils, crayons etc. - if a Mother will be missing a count or late for a count, due to child care needs, please let staff know

MOTHER'S SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

STAFF SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEWED

LITERATURE REVIEWED	FOCUS OF RESEARCH	RECOMMENDATIONS
CORRECTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE		
U.S. Research:		
Ward and Kassebaum (1965)	Coping mechanisms in prison	
Giallombardo (1966)	Coping mechanisms in prison	
McGowan and Blumenthal (1978)	Effects of separation on children	Coordination of CJS and Social Welfare agencies
Stanton (1980)	Effects of separation on children	Better visiting facilities
Baunach (1982, 1985)	Effects of separation on mothers	Community based programs
Datesman and Cales (1983)	Effects of separation on mothers	More frequent visitation
Boudouris (1985)	Overview of correctional programs	Prison nurseries
Bloom and Steinhart (1993)	Effects of separation on children	Community based alternatives to incarceration
Canadian Research:		
MacLeod (1986)	Effects of separation on mothers and children	Further research/Increased mother-child contact
Wine (1992)	Effects of separation on mothers	Community based programs
LEGALISTIC PERSPECTIVE		
Haley (1980)	Parental rights	Acknowledge the rights of mothers in prison
Brodie (1982)	Best interests of children	Incarceration does not equal abandonment
Chesler (1987)	Custody and visitation	More legal resources for mothers in prison
Beckerman (1991)	Parental rights	More frequent mother-child visitation
Barry (1988)	Legal rights of pregnant women in prison	Community support for mothers in prison
SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE		
Burkhart (1973)	Effects of incarceration	Community programming
Richards (1992)	Psychological effects on children	Regular contact/opportunity to express feelings
Catan (1992)	Effects of prison nurseries on children	Increased support for social programs
Elizabeth Fry Society (1994)	Anecdotal information on mothers in prison	Live-in programs/community based programs
FEMINIST, GENDER-BASED PERSPECTIVE		
Carlen (1983)	Social control of women in prison	Improve cultural and economic conditions of women
Hatty (1984)	Critical policy analysis	Examine critically the social role of a mother
Dobash, Dobash, and Gutteridge (1986)	Domestic ideology	Critically examine the ideologies that influence correctional programming
Buddhadasa (1991)	Cross-cultural analysis	Critically examine familial ideology
Eaton (1993)	Gender analysis	Empower women/Critically examine societal expectations
Faith (1993)	Gendered power relations	Empower women/Critically examine gender and familial ideology
Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women (1990)	Critical examination of federal corrections	Community resources/live-in programs

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelberg, E. and C. Currie (Eds.) (1993) In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.
- Adelberg, E. and C. Currie (Eds.) (1987) Too Few to Count: Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.
- Anderson, E. (1976) "The 'chivalrous' treatment of the female offender in the arms of the criminal justice system," in Social Problems, Vol. 24(3):49-57.
- Axon, L. (1989) Criminal Justice and Women: An International Survey. Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada.
- ✓ Barry, E.M. (1988) "Inadequate Prenatal Medical Care for Pregnant Women in Jails and Prisons: Some Possible Solutions," in Families of Prisoners, Vol. 10(1): 10 and 32.
- ✓ Baunach, P.J. (1985) Mothers in Prison. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books.
- Baunach, P.J. (1982) "You Can't Be a Mother and Be in Prison...Can You? Impacts of the Mother-Child Separation," in B.R. Price and N. Sokoloff (Eds.) The Criminal Justice System and Women. New York: Clark Boardman Company Ltd., 155-169. ✕
- Baunach, P.J. and T.O. Murton (1973) "Women in Prison: An Awakening Minority," in Crime and Corrections, Vol. 1:5-13.
- Beckerman, A. (1991) "Women in Prison: The Conflict between Confinement and Parental Rights," in Social Justice, Vol. 18(3):171-183.
- Black, D. (1984) Toward a General Theory of Social Control. New York: Academic Press.

- Bloom, B. and D. Steinhart (1993) Why Punish the Children? A Reappraisal of the Children of Incarcerated Mothers in America. San Francisco: National Council on Crime and Delinquency. ✕
- Bolan, K. "Decision to close halfway house upsets prisoners' rights advocate," in Vancouver Sun, December 14, 1993: B4.
- Bonfanti, M.A., Felder, S.S., Loesch, M.L. and N.J. Vincent (1974) Enactment and Perception of a Maternal Role of Incarcerated Mothers. Unpublished master's thesis, Louisiana State University. ✕
- Branch Specific Information. Incarcerated Mothers with Babies Program. Ministry of Solicitor General: British Columbia. ✕
- Brodie D.L. (1982) "Babies Behind Bars: Should Incarcerated Mothers Be Allowed to Keep Their Newborns with Them in Prison," in University of Richmond Law Review, Vol. 16:12-21. ✕
- Burkahart, K. (1973) Women in Prison. New York: Doubleday. √
- Buddhadasa, A.A. (1991) Mother-Child Correctional Policies: Familial Ideology and the Practice of "Social Costs" Logic of Punishment. Simon Fraser University: Criminology M.A. Thesis. ✕
- Canadian Press. "Killer wins right to keep baby in jail," in The Kamloops Daily News, August 27, 1993: A13. ✕
- Catan, L. (1992) "Infants with Mothers in Prison," in R. Shaw (ed.) Prisoners' Children: What are the issues? London: Routledge, 13-28. ✕
- Carron, L. R. (1984) "Termination of Incarcerated Parent's Rights in Massachusetts," in New England Journal on Criminal and Civil Confinement, Vol. 10:147-167.

- ✓ Carlen, P. (1983) Women's Imprisonment. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Carlen, P. (Ed.)(1985) Criminal Women. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Carlen, P. (1988) Women, Crime and Poverty. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Carlen, P. (1990) Alternatives to Women's Imprisonment. London: Open University Press.
- ✓ Carp, S. and L.S. Schade (1992) "Tailoring Facility Programming to Suit Female Offenders' Needs," in Corrections Today, Vol.54(6):152-159.
- Chesler, P. (1987) Mothers on Trial: The Battle for Children and Custody. Seattle: The Seal Press.
- Cohen, S. (1985) Visions of Social Control. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cooper, S.D. (1993) "The Evolution of the Federal Women's Prison," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie (Eds.), In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 33-49.
- ✓ Correctional Services of Canada (April, 1990) Creating Choices: The Report of the Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women.
- Daly, K. (1987a) "Discrimination in the Criminal Courts: Family, Gender, and the Problem of Equal Treatment," in Social Forces, Vol. 66(1):152-175.
- Daly, K. (1987b) "Structure and Practice of Familial-Based Justice in a Criminal Court," in Law and Society Review, Vol 21(2):267-290.

✓✓ Daly, K. (1989a) "Rethinking Judicial Paternalism: Gender Work-Family Relations, and Sentencing," in Gender and Society, Vol. 3(1):9-36.

Daly K. (1989b) "Neither Conflict Nor Labeling Nor Paternalism Will Suffice: Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Family in Criminal Court Decisions," in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 35(1):136-163.

Daly, K. (1994) Gender, Crime, and Punishment. New Haven: × Yale University Press.

Daly, K and M. Chesney-Lind (1988) "Feminism and Criminology," in Justice Quarterly, Vol. 5(4):497-537.

✓ Datesman, S.K and G.L. Cales (1983) "I'm still the same mommy: Maintaining the mother/child relationship in prison," in Prison Journal, Vol. 63(2): 142-154. REEM ×

Deck, M.V. (1988) "Incarcerated Mothers and their Infants: Separation or Legislation?" in Boston College Law Review, Vol. 29(3):689-719. ×

→ ✓ Dobash, R., E. Dobash, and S. Gutteridge (1986) The Imprisonment of Women. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Durkheim, E. (1895) The Rules of Sociological Method: And Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method. Trans. Steven Lukes (1982) London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Eaton, M.(1983) "Mitigating Circumstances: Familiar Rhetoric," in International Journal of the Sociology of Law, Vol. 11:383-400.

Eaton, M. (1985) "Documenting the Defendant: Placing Women in Social Inquiry Reports," in Brophy, J. and C. Smart (Eds.), Women in Law: Explorations in Law, Family and Sexuality. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 117-139.

- Eaton, M. (1986) Justice for Women? Family, Court and Social Control. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Eaton, M. (1987) "The Question of Bail: Magistrate's Responses to Application for Bail on Behalf of Men and Women Defendants" in P. Carlen and A. Worrall (Eds.) Gender, Crime and Justice. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Eaton, M. (1993) Women After Prison. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Edwards, S.S.W. (1984) Women on Trial. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ekstedt, J.W. and C.T. Griffiths (1988) Corrections in Canada: Policy and Practice. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton (1994) Nobody There: Making Peace with Motherhood. Canada: Women's Program of the Secretary of State Department. X
- Elliot, L. and R. Morris (1987) "Behind Prison Doors," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie (Eds.) Too Few To Count: Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law. Vancouver: Press Gang Publisher, 145-162.
- Eyman, J. (1971) Prisons for Women: A Practical Guide to Administrative Problems. Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas.
- Faith, K. (1991) The Female Offender: Criminology 213, Study Guide. Simon Fraser University: Centre for Distance Education.
- Faith, K. (1993) Unruly Women: The Politics of Confinement and Resistance. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers. X

- Farrington, P. and A. Morris (1983) "Sex, Sentencing and Reconviction," in British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 23(3):229-248.
- ✓ Feinman, C. (1980) Women in the Criminal Justice System. New York: Praeger.
- Feinman, C. (1983) "An historical overview of the treatment of incarcerated women: Myths and realities of rehabilitation," in Prison Journal, Vol. 63(2):12-26.
- ✓ Fox, J.G. (1984) "Women's prison policy, prisoner activism, and the impact of the contemporary feminist movement: A case study," in Prison Journal, Vol. 64(1):15-36.
- Foucault, M. (1979) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1977) Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. Colin Gordin (Ed.) New York: Pantheon Books.
- Freedman, E. (1981) Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gavigan, S.A.M. (1993) "Women's Crime: New Perspectives and Old Theories," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie (Eds.), In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 215-234.
- Giallombardo, R. (1966) A Study of a Women's Prison. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Glueck, S. and E. Glueck (1934) Five Hundred Delinquent Women. New York: Kraus.
- Guy, R.F., C.E. Edgley, I. Arafat, and D.E. Allen (1987) Social Research Methods: Puzzles and Solutions. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

- Haley, K. (1980) "Mothers behind bars: A look at the parental rights of incarcerated women," in Datesman, S.K and F.R. Scarpitti (Eds.) Women, Crime and Justice, New York: Oxford University Press, 339-353. X
- Hatch, A. and K. Faith (1990) "The Female Offender in Canada: A Statistical Profile," in Canadian Journal of Women and the Law, Vol. 3(2):432-456.
- Hatty, S.E. (1984) "Maternal-Infant Incarceration: Sociological and Psychological Perspectives," X
in S. Hatty (Ed.), Women in the Prison System. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 115-158.
- Heidensohn, F, (1985) Women and Crime. London: Macmillan.
- Henriques, Z.W. (1982) Imprisoned Mothers and their Children. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America. X
- Hirschi, T. (1969) Causes of Delinquency. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Howe, A. (1994) Towards a Feminist Analysis of Penalty. New York: Routledge.
- Howe, A. (1990) "Prologue to a History of Women's Imprisonment: In Search of a Feminist Perspective," in Social Justice, Vol. 17(2):5-22.
- Hunter, S.M. (1984) "Issues and challenges facing women's prisons in 1980s," in Prison Journal, Vol. 64(1):129-135. ✓
- Ignatieff, M. (1978) A Just Measure of Pain. London: Macmillan.
- Portage Correctional Institution (May, 1993) Infant and Child Program. Unpublished Manitoba Corrections Document provided by Portage Correctional Institution. X

- Johnson, H. and K. Rodgers (1993) "A Statistical Overview of Women and Crime in Canada," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie (Eds.), In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 95-116.
- Koban, L. (1978) "Parents in Prison: A Comparative Analysis of the Effects of Incarceration on the Families of Men and Women," in Research in Law, Deviance and Social Control, Vol.5:78-104.
- Kruttschnitt, C. (1981) "Social Status and Sentences of Female Offenders," in Law and Society Review, Vol. 15(2):247-265.
- Kruttschnitt, C. (1982) "Women, Crime and Dependency: An Application of the Theory of Law," in Criminology, Vol. 19(4):495-513.
- Kruttschnitt, C. and D. Green (1984) "The Sex Sanctioning Issue: Is it History?" in American Sociological Review, Vol. 49(4): 541-551.
- Lindsey, L.L. (1990) Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Lipinski, L. (1991) "Adult Female Offenders in the Provincial/Territorial Corrections Systems, 1989-90" in Juristat, Vol. 11(6) Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics: Statistics Canada, 1-10.
- Lombroso, C. and W. Ferrero (1899) The Female Offender. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Lombroso-Ferrero, G. (1911) Criminal Man, According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Lynch, M.J. and W.B. Groves (1989) A Primer in Radical Criminology. New York: Harrow and Heston.

Mackie, M. (1991) Gender Relations in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.

MacLeod, L. (1986) Sentenced to Separation: An Exploration of the Needs and Problems of Mothers Who are Offenders and Their Children. (User Report No. 1986-25) Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada. x

Manitoba Community Services. "Portage Institution, babies thrive together," in Corrections Community, Vol. 3(4):5. x

Mann, C.R. (1984) Female Crime and Delinquency. University of Alabama: Alabama Press.

Masson, K.M. (1992) Familial Ideology in the Courts: The Sentencing of Women. Simon Fraser University: Criminology Master's Thesis.

Matza, D. (1964) Delinquency and Drift. New York: John Wiley.

McGowan, B.G. and K.L. Blumenthal (1978) Why Punish Children? A Study of Children and Women Prisoners. Hackensack, New Jersey: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

McLaren, A. (1990) Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.

Merton, R.K. (1938) "Social Structure and Anomie," in American Sociological Review, Vol. 3(5):672-682.

Ministry of the Attorney General (1993) A Directory of Provincial Correctional Facilities for Adults in British Columbia. Province of B.C.: Corrections Branch.

Moffat, K.H. (1991) "Creating Choices or Repeating History: Canadian Female Offenders and Correctional Reform," in Social Justice, Vol. 18(3):184-203.

Monture, P. (1989) "A Vicious Circle: Child Welfare and the First Nations," in Canadian Journal of Women and Law, Vol. 3(1):1-17.

Morris, A. (1987) Women in Crime. New York: Ives Washburn.

Moulds, E. (1978) "Chivalry and paternalism: Disparities of treatment in the criminal justice system," in Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 31(3):416-430.

✕ Naffine, N. (1987) Female Crime. The Construction of Women in Criminology. Sydney, Australia: Alen and Unwin.

• National Planning Committee on the Female Offender (NPCFO) (1978) "The Female Offender." Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada.

Pang, B. (1989) Concern of Incarcerated Females. Simon Fraser University: Criminology, M.A. Thesis.

Parsons, Talcott (1954) Essays in Sociological Theory. Illinois: Free Press.

→ Pollak, O. (1950) The Criminality of Women. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rafter, N.H. (1985) Partial Justice: Women in State Prisons, 1800-1935. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Reynolds, L. "Behind Bars: A Quieting Effect," in The Province, September 5, 1993:A43.

Reinharz, S. (1992) Feminist Methods in Social Research. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Richards, M. (1992) "The separation of children and parents: some issues and problems," in R. Shaw (ed.) Prisoners' Children: What are the issues? London: Routledge, 1-11. x
- Ritzer, G. (1988) Contemporary Sociological Theory. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- ✓ Ross, R. and E. Fabiano (1985) Correctional Afterthoughts: Progress for Female Offenders. (User Report 1985-18). Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.
- Rothman, D. (1980) Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternative in Progressive America. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Ruhl, M. and P. Loring (1988) A Preliminary Study Profiling Female Offenders and Their Needs (unpublished). Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services and Corporate Planning Branch.
- Ryan, T.A. and J.B. Grassano (1992) "Taking A Progressive Approach to Treating Pregnant Offenders," in Corrections Today, Vol. 54(6):184-186. x
- Sametz, L. (1980) "Children of Incarcerated Mothers," in Social Work. Vol. 25(4):298-303. x
- Shaw, M. (1993) "Reforming Federal Women's Imprisonment," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie (Eds.), In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System. Vancouver Press Gang Publishers, 50-75.
- Shaw, R. (ed.) (1992) Prisoners' Children: What are the issues? London: Routledge. x
- Silman, J. (as told to) (1988) Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Speak Out. Toronto: The Women's Press.
- Smart, B. (1985) Michel Foucault. London: Routledge.

Smart, C. (1976) Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smart, C. and B. Smart (eds.) (1978) Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smart, C. (1989) Feminism and the Power of Law. London: Routledge.

Solicitor General of Canada (1988) "Maintaining the Bond," x
in Liason, Vol. 14(3):15-18.

Stanton, A. (1980) When Mothers Go to Jail. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books.] x

Statistics Canada (1994) Canada Year Book. Ottawa: Communications Division, Ministry of Supply and Services.

Statistics Canada. Canadian Crime Statistics.
1989/90:85-205: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Statistics Canada. (1990) Women in Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Stern, P.C. (1979) Evaluating Social Science Research. New York: Oxford University Press.

Strange, C. (1985) "The Criminal and Fallen of their Sex: The Establishment of Canada's First Women's Prison, 1874-1901," in Canadian Journal of Women and the Law, Vol. 1(1):79-92.

Tien, G. with L. Bond, D. Lamb, B. Gillstrom, F. Paris and H. Worsfold (1993) "Report on the Review of Mental Health Services at Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women." Vancouver: Forensic Psychiatric Services Commission.

- * U.S. Department of Justice (1986) Women in Prison. Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- U.S. Department of Justice (1989) Women in Jail, 1989. Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Vold, G.B. and T.J. Bernard (1986) Theoretical Criminology. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Ward, D. and G. Kassenbaum (1966) Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- Wearing, B. (1984) The Ideology of Motherhood: A study of Sydney suburban mothers. Sydney: G. Allen and Unwin.
- Wilkinson, C. "The Post-Release Experience of Female Prisoners," in A. Morris and C. Wilkinson (eds.), Women and the Penal System, 1988:159-181. Papers presented to 19th Cropwood Round-Table Conference. Cambridge: The Institute of Criminology.
- Wine, S. (1992) A Motherhood Issue: The Impact of Criminal Justice System Involvement on Women and Their Children. (User Report No. 1992-03), Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. x
- Young, M.L. "Toddler serves time with mother," in Vancouver Sun, July 24, 1992: A1. x
- Zalba, S. (1964) Women Offenders and their Families. Los Angeles: Delman. x
- Zedner, L. (1991) Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England. Oxford: Clarendon Press.