

DEFINING THE NEEDS OF WOMEN OFFENDERS

by

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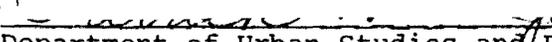
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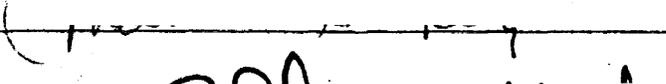
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ABSTRACT

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by

Patrick Ann Jackson

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The focus of this thesis is to attempt, on an exploratory scale, to assess the post-release needs of the woman offender population and to determine the availability of community services to satisfy those needs.

During the past few years a great deal of correctional energies have been expended toward the planning of community-based correctional programs and services. Although many of these programs have been geared toward satisfying the needs of the male offender, almost no attention has been given to the needs of the adult female offender population. I am proposing that there is a great need to plan correctional community services which will be specifically designed to meet the needs of the woman offender. Before attempting to plan services for this particular population, however, it is necessary to determine what their needs are after release from prison.

It was decided that one of the best methods to find out what women offenders perceived their post-release needs to be was to go and ask them. This study relates the results of interviews with nineteen women offenders presently incarcerated in Massachusetts, South Carolina and North Carolina. In addition, the thesis relates the results of numerous interviews with community social service staff members in an attempt to find out what services are available to the woman ex-offender population.

The study concluded that the needs of women ex-offenders are multitudinous. The needs were expressed by the women offenders and ranked in the following priority listing: jobs and job training; counseling; housing; other socio-psychological needs; child care; financial assistance; legal assistance; education; medical care; drug-free assistance; recreation; and religious guidance. It was inferred from the results of the research that the peculiarities of each particular group of women offenders and, more specifically, each individual offender, must be assessed before planning services for that particular group of individuals.

The study also concluded that although there are numerous community

services available, there is no single community social service in the greater Boston area which is designed to meet the specific needs of women ex-offenders. There is a great need for these kinds of services for women ex-offenders and it is only hoped that correctional planners and administrators realize this gap in services before it is too late.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTIONA. The Nature of the Problem

As I embarked upon the research for this thesis in November of 1972 I had visions of designing the first successful community-based correctional service center for the women offenders of this country and more specifically those from the Boston area. After getting underway with the research, however, I realized it was presumptuous on my part to assume that I could design a network of services for a group of women whom I essentially knew nothing about. Thus, I decided to change the focus of my paper to what I think is a more necessary and immediate goal. I decided to find out what women offenders felt their needs were and if services were available to meet those expressed needs.

During the past few years a great deal of planning has been geared toward correctional services and programs to meet the needs of the adult male offender. On the other hand, almost no attention has been given to the programs and needs of the adult female offender population in this country. It is my presumption that the problems and needs of the woman offender are different from those of the male offender and therefore need to be planned for as a special component rather than to be patterned after their male counterparts. I am

proposing that there is a great need to plan correctional community services which will be specifically designed to meet the needs of the female offender. Before attempting to plan services for this particular population, however, it will be necessary to find out what the needs are. This thesis will attempt, on a small exploratory scale, to assess the needs of the adult female offender population upon her release from prison.

It is generally known that relatively few women offenders who come through the courts are actually incarcerated, that the courts usually prefer to place women on probation and that most of those female offenders who are incarcerated in a penal institution stay there for a relatively short time before parole. However, due perhaps to the relatively small number of female offenders as compared to male offenders who come in contact with the Criminal Justice System relatively little is known about the female offender.¹

In correctional literature, the problems and needs of the female offender population receives very little attention. In addition, funds are not provided to offer the comprehensive treatment which might lead to successful rehabilitation.

Often correctional officials remark that women represent only a small percentage of the prison population of this country and that with the limited resources allotted for correction, these resources must be stretched to meet the needs of the greatest number of people. In addition to the limited financial assets available for corrections there also appears to be a lack of concern for the problems of the woman offender.

¹Mass. Dept. of Corrections, A Proposal For The Support of a Multi-Service Center for Women Offenders (Submitted For Funding to the Ford Foundation), 1972, p. 3.

Currently, there is a need for information at every intervention point where a woman comes in contact with the Criminal Justice System. Those intervention points are: arrest, pre-trial, pre-sentence, institutionalization, pre-release and post-release. For purposes of this particular research I have decided to deal specifically with the needs of the woman offender after she is released from prison.

The main reason that I chose this period of a woman's encounter with the Criminal Justice System is because of the recent emphasis on community-based corrections. The post-release period offers the community the broadest opportunity to do its part in terms of offering services and programs to help "rehabilitate" the woman offender. An illustration of the underlying premises of the community correctional reform movement can be gathered from the following quote taken from the 1967 edition of the President's Task Force on Corrections which states:

The general underlying premise for the new directions in corrections is that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failures and disorganization of the community as well as of individual offenders. In particular, these failures are seen as depriving offenders of contact with institutions that are basically responsible for assuring development of law-abiding conduct: sound family life, good schools, employment, recreational opportunities, and desirable companions, to name only some of the more direct influences. The substitution of deleterious habits, standards, and associates for these strengthening influences contributes to crime and delinquency.

The task of corrections therefore includes building or rebuilding solid ties between offender and community, integrating and reintegrating the offender into community life -- restoring family ties, obtaining employment and education, securing in the larger sense a place for the offender in the routine functioning of society. This requires not only efforts directed toward changing the individual offender, which has been almost the exclusive focus of rehabilitation, but also mobilization and change of the community

and its institutions.²

B. Overview of Existing Literature

As mentioned briefly in the previous section, the information available on the female offender is very limited. There have been only sparsely scattered research studies on women offenders and the statistics appear to be somewhat unreliable as they tend to vary with each given study.

Most of the literature which is available on the woman offender can be characterized into one of the following categories: first, explanations accounting for or challenging the disproportion between male and female crime rates; second, studies of the characteristics of the female offender from a biologic, social or bio-social perspective; third, research pertaining to women in institutions; and fourth, inquiries dealing with specific types of crimes.

In my research I found only two significant studies that alluded to the post-release problems or needs of the women offenders. The first study was done by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in 1934 and the results were published in a work entitled Five Hundred Delinquent Women. This study by the Gluecks was a comprehensive analysis of five hundred women who were incarcerated in what is now called the Massachusetts Correctional Institution -- Framingham. They studied the family backgrounds of these women offenders and analyzed their periods

²The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 7.

of incarceration and parole. The Gluecks' main concern at that time was the effect of imprisonment, in terms of the rehabilitation process, rather than the improvement of the woman's status and position through the use of community support and/or services. In the study of the women after confinement, they reported that in only 15.2% of the cases was the reformatory experience effective in curbing their delinquencies. In 84.8% of the cases, the prison experience did not succeed in preventing recidivism.

The second study is a more recent one and was conducted by the Women's Prison Association in New York. The study entitled A Study in Neglect: A Report On Women Prisoners was published in February of 1973. Although this study deals mainly with the problems of the woman offender while incarcerated, it does suggest some knowledge of the post-release needs and problems of the female offender. The following quote was taken from the study:

Women offenders often carry more burdens than other women. Our surveys indicate that the vast majority of female offenders have children and that they are the sole means of support for these children. The social stigma of having been a convicted criminal is greater for women than for men, making their return to their family, their community, and to society in general more difficult. Employment opportunities, limited enough for the male offenders, are even scarcer for women, and job training programs almost non-existent.³

In addition to the above two studies, there are several other studies which shed some light on the plight of the woman offender. Although the other studies are not directly related to the post-release

³ New York Women's Prison Association, A Study in Neglect: A Report On Women Prisoners, February, 1973.

problems of the woman offender they do contribute considerably toward understanding the total framework of the female offender mystique. First of all, an article by Bertha J. Payak, who is a Probation Officer for the United States District Court in Toledo, Ohio, sheds some light on the female offender. The article is entitled "Understanding the Female Offender,"⁴ and was published in 1963. The Payak article affirms the fact that adequate information on the female offender "is at a premium" and stresses the conclusion that the female offender "can only be understood in the context of her social role," especially in a male dominated society. Payak identifies four characteristics, which should be taken into account in handling female offenders: a poor self concept, feelings of dependency (insecurity), emotional selfishness, and biologically-based behavior (related to menses, pregnancy, and menopause).

Another study conducted by Dr. Barbara Ann Kay and Christine Schultz looked for differences and likenesses of female and male offenders particularly in regard to attitudes and perceptions of life. In comparing 285 adult female prisoners in Ohio (Women's Reformatory cases) with 335 male prisoners from Ohio's maximum security prison, Dr. Kay and her colleague found that women prisoners did not differ significantly in their moral judgements of deviant behavior (the Crissman Scale) from male prisoners. However, the women differed greatly in their attitudes toward law, legal institutions, and law enforcement authorities from the male prisoners. The attitudes,

⁴ Payak, Bertha J., "Understanding the Female Offender," Federal Probation, December, 1963, pp. 7-11.

according to this study, were almost universally on all items more adverse and unfavorable for women than for men inmates. Kay and Schultz suggest that this more unfavorable showing might be due to much more adverse selection of female than male admissions to prison. They also indicate that the adverse showing of adult female offenders on attitudes toward law, etc. might result from a more traumatizing experience of women than men in the law enforcement process. Based on this premise, if it can be demonstrated that the retention of women in the legal process, from complaint to prison, has an adverse effect on them, it might be important to discover and use justifiable diversion measures (in this case early parole), on the assumption that the longer we keep the majority of the women incarcerated the worse they become.

The last study to be discussed also deals with women institutionalized and makes a case for early release of women offenders. Rose Giallombardo discovered, from observations and interviews in a women's reformatory, that the consensus among women inmates is that prison life is "depriving and frustrating".⁵ The reasons, from the inmate's point of view, are listed as follows: abrupt termination of freedom, the lack of opportunity for hetero-sexual experiences, the break with family and friends, humiliating experiences in prison, loss of autonomy in prison, lack of security and privacy in the institution, and denial of ownership of personal goods and effects. Giallombardo's conclusion

⁵Giallombardo, Rose, Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1966.

was that it is most difficult to operate a large institution for female prisoners without the short-comings of perceived "deprivation" caused by institutionalization and that the roles which women develop in inmate society make it very difficult for any institutional program of rehabilitation and therapy to be effective.

Admittedly, there is a small percentage of incarcerated women offenders who cannot be released into the community, neither for their own general welfare nor for the good of persons on the outside. However, the vast majority of women offenders who go to prison will and should be released into the community as they and society will benefit more from consistent community support and understanding than a long prison term. This paper addresses itself to the problems of those women who will be released 'back' into the community. It is my sincere hope that the community will be willing to accept them and help them in any way possible when that time comes.

C. Methodology

As I have stated in the preceding sections, this is by all means an exploratory study and is not to be considered by any means all-inclusive research. Hopefully this study will spark the interest of those in the correctional field as well as other interested persons to perform more extensive research on the woman offender.

Three methods of research were used in gathering information for the thesis: 1. Researching of available literary resources on the subject of the woman offender, 2. Gathering of available statistical data in order to develop a profile of the offender population, and

3. Interviewing women offenders to find out what they perceive their needs to be and interviewing those who work in community social services to find out if services are available to meet the needs of this group of people.

The methods labeled above as one and two are rather self-explanatory but perhaps I should elaborate on the interview methodology. As I proceeded toward the goal of identifying the needs of the woman offender I determined that in addition to researching to find out what others had done about defining the needs of the woman offender, that I should also ask the women offenders what they perceived their needs to be after their release from prison.

Due to the relatively short amount of time as well as accessibility to information, the offender interview sample consists of 19 women currently incarcerated and one offender serving a parole sentence. Four of the women were interviewed at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women, six were interviewed at the Harbison Correctional Institute For Women in South Carolina, nine women were interviewed at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution-Framingham, and one, the ex-offender, is a resident of the Boston Metropolitan area. Since I was only able to interview one ex-offender, she will not be included in the statistical frequency along with the currently incarcerated women. The comments from the interview will, however, be referred to in the context of chapter four. Further interview methodology and results will be discussed in chapters four and five.

D. Limits of the Research

Again, this is an exploratory study which should be considered as a foundation in establishing the need for more extensive research on the problems of women offenders at every level of the Criminal Justice System. Because of the amount of time allotted to complete the research and accessibility to available information, the study does not attempt to make broad generalizations about all women offenders around the country. Thus, except for certain obvious conclusions which can be drawn from the completed research, this paper is not all-inclusive.

E. Offender Research - Selection Process

All of the women offenders whom I interviewed in Massachusetts (MCI - Framingham), North Carolina (Women's Correctional Center) and South Carolina (Harbison Correctional Institution for Women) were "hand picked" by the superintendents of these institutions or by some member of their staff. Therefore, some consideration must be given to the assumption that the results of the interview sample might have been different had all of the women at these institutions been interviewed or if some other statistical selection measure had been employed so that each woman at the correctional institution would have had an equal chance of being selected for an interview.

Other factors also entered into the selection process, such as: who was willing to be interviewed and also who was able to articulate the kind of information that I was looking for in the interview session.

F. Ex-Offender Sample

In attempting to interview the ex-offender sample I ran into several complications. As a definition of terms, I am using ex-offender to describe a person who has already been released from prison and to distinguish her from those who are still incarcerated.

I was only able to interview 1 ex-offender for the sample. It seems that once a woman has left the system or is on parole she does not want to talk to anyone or discuss anything that has to do with her life in prison. Because society and the correctional system is the way it is, these women are very distrustful of individuals inquiring as to how they feel about certain issues whether they have any direct relationship with their correctional history or not.

I empathize with their hesitancy to be interviewed. It is unfortunate that so many of these women have had bad experiences which have led them to distrust almost everyone that they come in contact with. Many of the women acquired this attitude of distrust while still in prison. One inmate remarked "there is no sense of privacy or confidence in prison because once you tell someone 'something' you can expect to hear it all over the institution by the next day."

As mentioned earlier, the comments gathered in the interview with the one ex-offender will not be included in the summary of the needs as expressed by the women who are incarcerated. The information gathered will be used in the context of chapter four which discusses the needs of the offenders.

G. Choice of Women Released from Prison

For purposes of this paper I chose strictly to deal with the needs of women released from prison and no reference is made to women on probation, or those released from jails or Houses of Correction. Although I would think that many of the needs are the same I would also assume the circumstances are significantly different to warrant a separate study of women on probation as well as those sent to jails or Houses of Correction (usually for thirty days to six months).

All of the women interviewed for this study are in prison currently or had been on a previous occasion. Women sentenced to prison usually have longer terms and more serious crimes than those in jails or Houses of Correction and therefore their readjustment problems would tend to be slightly more pronounced than those of the latter group.

There has been no significant comparative research done on the two groups so perhaps this may be one area for future research.

H. Offender Sample -- Characteristics

The women interviewed range in age from 18 to 45 years. The sample does not cater to a specific age group such as the youthful or elderly offender. The principle reason for this is that in past studies the ages of the offender has to some extent reflected a trend in the kind of crime committed, length of sentence, and the recidivism rate. Because the time was not available for an in-depth study of age according to type of crime committed, length of sentence and recidivism, I chose to use a cross section of the different age groups.

The women offenders interviewed were first offenders and repeaters.

The majority of the women who are presently incarcerated usually have been through the courts a number of times before they were sentenced to prison. Therefore, it is assumed that a sample of only first offenders would consist of women with more serious offenses and perhaps longer terms than the other groups. This is only an assumption and should therefore be considered as an area for further research. For the purpose of this study, however, I chose to use women from both groups in order to get a cross-section of what these women felt their needs would be after release.

At first I thought I might exclude drug users from the sample of women interviewed but, as the research got underway I realized this was somewhat improbable for this particular piece of research because of the limited time factor. It was also concluded that at least 20 to 40% of the women incarcerated in the three institutions were drug offenders or had been convicted on a drug related charge. An even higher percentage than that was estimated for the number of women who were or had previously been drug users. Because the line of demarcation is so thin between those who are convicted on a drug charge and those convicted for drug-related charges such as robbery, forgery, etc., I chose to use both groups in the sample.

I. Black Women Offenders

Although my personal interest and concern revolves around the problems and needs of the Black Women Offender, that is not the main contribution of this paper. In my search for information on the Black Woman Offender I found only one study which devoted a significant

amount of time to the race issue. That study, entitled The Female Offender in Philadelphia, was published in 1971 and will be discussed in a later chapter.

I think, however, that because of the disproportionate number of Black versus White women presently incarcerated, the extremely high recidivism rate for Black women, the obvious sentencing discrimination for Black women as opposed to whites and the plight of Black people in this country as a whole, that it is necessary that further significant study should be undertaken on the needs and problems of the Black Woman Offender. Because of time and accessibility to information this was not possible to do in this paper, but I would like to devote a great deal of time to this subject at a later point and in another paper.

J. Forthcoming Chapters

This chapter has been geared toward establishing a framework for the reader in order that he might fully understand my intentions for writing this thesis and the extent of the research involved.

The second chapter further establishes a framework for the reader and provides an historical perspective on the treatment of women in the correctional system. Most of the information available on women offenders historically deals with her prison experiences rather than her aftercare experiences in the community. For this reason, the chapter relates more to the background of the correctional movement, the establishment of women's prisons and the plight of the woman offender up to this point in time.

Chapter three develops a general profile of the woman offender.

This section is necessary in order to let the reader know whom we are dealing with. The first part of this chapter relates information about the criminality of women and general crime statistics. The second part is more specific because I discuss the profile of the women at MCI-Framingham as of February 1972 as a specific case study. The only reason for using the women at Framingham is because of the accessibility to this information.

The fourth chapter defines the needs of the women offenders as perceived by the women themselves. A summary of the expressed needs is included in this chapter as well as four specific case studies of the women interviewed. This section includes a personal analysis of the perceived needs of the women offenders as told by them to me. This chapter also relates the previous research on the needs of the woman offender.

Chapter five identifies the existing services that are available to meet the expressed needs of the offenders. The services are divided into several categories and they are: jobs and job development, housing, counseling, education, medical services, child care and legal services.

Chapter six concentrates on analyzing the existing services to see if they meet the expressed needs of the offenders. It also makes recommendations for more services or extension of existing ones.

Finally, chapter VI also includes the summary and conclusions based on the previous research.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF CORRECTIONS FOR WOMENA. Introduction

The available published literature on the woman offender as an historical entity can be considered something less than substantial. Most writers usually sum up their knowledge on the woman offender in one chapter or more often a few paragraphs. One author states:

...The small number and dispersion of institutions for women are factors that also help to explain the lack of interest in female criminality by researchers. Most of the studies of criminal populations have been carried out in prisons simply because investigators have found it expedient to study offenders who were conveniently assembled in one spot...

Given the smaller number of both prisons for women and women prisoners, the competition of research opportunities in prisons for men, and the salience of crime problems posed by male offenders, it is not surprising that criminology textbook writers have been able to cover the available knowledge about female criminality in one chapter or less. Our knowledge of the causes and corrections of female criminality is at the same stage of development that characterized our knowledge of male criminality some thirty or more years ago.¹

This chapter will make use of the available literature and attempt further to establish a framework for the reader by providing an histori-

¹David A. Ward, Maurice Jackson and Renee E. Ward, "Crimes of Violence by Women," A Report to the Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence, December, 1968.

cal perspective on the treatment of women in the correctional process. Since information on the after care or post-release experiences of the women is almost non-existent, the main thrust of this section will concentrate on the background of the correctional movement, the establishment of separate institutions for women and the plight of the women offenders up to this point in time.

B. Early Corrections and Punishments

The prison, as we know it today, is only about one hundred and fifty years old.

In primitive times, women as well as men wrongdoers were ceremonially killed and sometimes eaten, the tribe hoping thus to wreak vengeance upon the wrongdoer and to propitiate the gods. In medieval times wrongdoers were burned at the stake, maimed, drowned, stoned to death, skinned alive and impaled on stakes, tortured, mutilated, and branded.²

At that time punishments fit the crimes -- spies had their eyes gouged out, perjurers had their tongues torn out, rapists were castrated. God, we are told in Exodus, had appeared on Mount Sinai in the thick darkness and promulgated the laws to Moses, including this one:

'Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand,
foot for foot,
Burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.'

This ancient principle was applied literally in twelfth-century England. A man who killed another by falling upon him from a tree was himself killed in precisely the same manner by a relative of the deceased.³

As feudalism crumbled, crime increased, and beggars roamed England and Western Europe. During this period, the death penalty was

²Martin, John Bartlow, Break Down the Walls, New York: Ballentine Books, 1953, p. 109.

³Ibid.

prescribed for a great many offenses, including robbery and petty crimes. It could not, however, be used for all offenses and therefore many offenders were sent to the galleys. Later the sailing vessels replaced the galley and England began to deport a number of its most unwanted citizens to the American colonies. Colonial penology, like penology elsewhere in the world at that time, used as its chief punitive devices the pillory, the stocks, the branding iron, the whipping post, and of course the stake. During this period female offenders were subjected to the same punishments as male offenders. There was literally no major distinction between male and female offenders in terms of the type of punishment. Witches were burned ("Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," the Lord had commanded Moses.) and adulteresses were branded with the scarlet "A".

The following cases taken from the Court records of the seventeenth century indicate how women offenders were punished for their wrongs:

Mary Osborne, for her grosse miscarriage [misbehavior] in giving her husband quick silver, and other abuses, was censured to be severely whipped [Boston 1641]...

...Ursula the wife of Henry Edwards presented for striking her husband and abusive Carriage and Language the presentment was Owned and [confessed] and she was sentenced to be whipt with ten stripes or pay twenty shillings fine [Boston, 1672]...

...Dorothy Talbie was one of the unfortunate characters of the seventeenth century whose mental aberrations were little understood by her contemporaries. She was evidently obsessed with the idea of inflicting injury upon her own family. She came before the Salem court in 1637 charged with 'laying hands on her husband to the danger of his life and contemning authority of the court. The court noted that she had made 'frequent' and apparently unwarranted attacks on her husband and ordered that she be chained to a post, being allowed only to come to the place of God's

worship and to be held there until she repented. Upon release she again attacked her husband. The court ordered a whipping which proved to be totally ineffective. Dorothy next appeared in the Court of Assistants, this time charged with the murder of her own child. The court saw the futility of further correction and condemned her to death.⁴

Prostitution had evidently made some insidious advances into the Bay Colony also. In 1672 the notorious Alice Thomas was found guilty not only of being an accessory in the burglary of warehouses and vessels in the nighttime, selling liquor without a license, profaning the Lord's Day by selling drink, and entertaining idle person-, but of the more serious crime of giving frequent secret and unseasonable entertainment in her house to Lewd Lascivious and notorious persons of both sexes, giving them opportunity to commit carnale wickedness, and that by common fame she is a common Band [Boston, 1972]. After making restitution for the stolen goods, paying a heavy fine, and standing on a gallows with a rope about her neck, Alice was condemned to the hated cart's-tail whipping. The court ordered that she bee carried from the prison to her one [own] house and brought out of the gate or foredoore strip't to the waste, and there tyed to a Cart's Taile, and soe to be whip't through the streete to the prison with not under thirty nine stripes, and there in prison to remaine during the pleasure of this court...⁵

In addition to the punishments cited above many women offenders were also sentenced to the colonial goal or prison. Colonial prisons, or goals as they were sometimes called, were familiar symbols of law and order to Englishmen.

As long as there had been a kingdom, some kind of dungeon, cage, or prison had been used to keep in close confinement those held for trial or awaiting the performance of some order of authority as well as those who were sentenced merely to suffer "in durance vile". Prisons as we know them today (i.e., massive structures designed for the confinement of large numbers of offenders for relatively long periods of penal servitude) were unknown at that time.⁶

⁴ Powers, Edwin, Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts, 1920-1692, Beacon Press, Boston, p. 177.

⁵ Ibid., p. 179.

⁶ Ibid., p. 212.

C. The Present System of Corrections

The foundation of the present prison system in this country was laid in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1787. Pennsylvania had replaced execution and corporal punishment with hard labor performed in public odium. The prisoners dug ditches or swept the streets while chained to a heavy iron ball and dressed in harlequin suits. Dr. Benjamin Rush, an eminent physician and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, opposed this so-called reform. As an alternative Dr. Rush proposed imprisonment instead of public degradation as the penalty for crime. He proposed that "criminals" be classified and segregated, that they be put to work, since work was the road to regeneration, that their sentences should be indeterminate and geared to their progress toward regeneration. The proponents of the Rush movement became the Pennsylvania Prison Society. This group of volunteers, mostly Quakers, held among its accomplishments the reform of the Walnut Street Jail. The sexes, for the first time, were segregated, debtors were separated from convicts. It was here in 1790 that the first penitentiary was built. It was a separate cellblock within the Walnut Street Jail and was called the Penitentiary House. It was intended as a place where criminals would become penitent and reflect on their sins.

In a few years the Walnut Street Jail and those patterned after it had become vastly overcrowded.

The Pennsylvania Prison Society agitated for the construction of a new institution where the system of solitary confinement at hard labor would receive a fair trial. At the same time reformers were at work elsewhere. And during the 1820's and 1830's were built two prisons which are to this day the models for the world's prison systems.⁷

⁷Op. cit., Martin, p. 112.

The first model, the Eastern Pennsylvania Penitentiary in Philadelphia, was opened in 1829. It employed the principle of solitude. Not some of the prisoners but all of them were kept in solitary confinement. The Philadelphia reformers believed this would prevent the worst from contaminating the best. Further, being Quakers, the reformers considered that solitude encouraged reflection and penitance. At about the same time that Pennsylvania built the Eastern Penitentiary, New York State built the second model known as the Auburn Prison. Here it established a rival system of handling prisoners, one known as the silent system. In Auburn, the inmates were let out of their cells by day to work together in the shops, but they were forbidden to speak to each other. The men were required to march to the shops in lockstep, to march and work with downcast gaze. These rules were enforced by frequent floggings.

For some years after their establishment, the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems were rivals. The Pennsylvania system was built upon the idea of free will, introspection, and repentance. The Auburn system was built upon the theory that hard work could both punish and regenerate.

In the end, however, the Pennsylvania system was eclipsed by the Auburn system for financial reasons -- as one would expect the Auburn system was cheaper. Even Pennsylvania abandoned its own system in the 1880's. Pennsylvania bequeathed two legacies to the modern American prison -- the idea of solitary confinement and the familiar castle-like architectural style.⁸

Although the Auburn System was more economical to sustain, it

⁸ Ibid., p. 114.

obviously could only be made to work by the most severe repression.

To enforce silence, wardens developed the repressive rules and cruel punishments that became the distinguishing hallmark of nineteenth century penology and that are used to some extent to this day -- striped uniforms, floggings, the stretcher, the sweatbox, the strait jacket, the iron yoke, the thumbscrew, the water cure.⁹

The first fruits of the Auburn system were repression and cruelty. The object of these punishments was to keep the inmates silent and working. It was not to reform them. Yet the Auburn system had begun as an attempt to reform criminals. It failed. And so American penology took its next major turn: in 1870 it produced the reformatory idea.

D. The Reformatory Movement

After the Pennsylvania Prison Society, there sprang up in America a number of local organizations of persons interested in prisons. They were humanitarian groups. Most of them confined their activities to visiting inmates in prison and helping them after they got out. In the early years prisoners were not allowed to receive visits from relatives and friends, but only from state officials and the quasi-official visiting societies. The visitors exhorted them to reform.

Like other nineteenth-century reformers, they were basically religious. Their purpose was not to remake the prison system, but to mitigate its miseries. But out of their observations of the prison system they evolved the reformatory idea, then considered revolutionary.¹⁰

⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 116.

In 1870 the New York Prison Association congregated in Cincinnati to form the first national prison organization which became the American Prison Association. This association, known as the official organization of penology, issued a Declaration of Principles. It declared that the purpose of imprisonment was reformation, not punishment. It called for the abolition of flat time sentences and the substitution of indeterminate sentences coupled with parole - an inmate would be sentenced for an indefinite period and his release would depend upon his behavior and the progress he made toward reformation.

The Cincinnati Declaration called for the abolition of the silent system and the cultivation of the inmate's self respect. And it urged a number of things that reformers still are urging -- non-political appointment of guards and wardens, training for guards, uniform penal statistics, better prison architecture, smaller prisons, and the classification of inmates and their segregation into various institutions.¹¹

E. The Establishment of the Women's Prison (Reformatory)

As mentioned earlier the reformatory movement brought about the concern for the segregation and separation of offenders into categories of age, sex and prior criminal record. In addition this movement brought forth several other features which were: 1) stressing of the educational-rehabilitative issue side by side with the vindictive-deterrent, the use of such devices as the "mark system", 2) the passing of prisoners through several grades of lessening control on their road to complete freedom, the employment of some form of official supervision of ex-prisoners in the community for a brief time after their discharge from the institution, 3) the indeterminate sentence,

¹¹ Ibid., p. 117.

the payment of prison wages, and 4) the improvement of the penal regime proper by the introduction of educational programs, medical examinations.

As part of this movement, though not unaffected by the general wave of revolution in the underlying principles of penology, the states of Indiana and Massachusetts established so-called reformatories for women, the one in 1873, and the other in 1877.¹²

An account given by Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder (superintendent of Massachusetts Prison For Women 1911-1931) gives considerable light as to why the founders thought a separate women's prison was necessary.

The reformatory was founded in order that women law breakers need not be sent to jails and houses of correction, but might be treated in an institution whose entire purpose should be their development. The problem was not complex as its founders saw it: sin was the cause of crime and conversion the cure; there should be industrial housing, school work and medical care as assistance to the central purpose of religious conversion. These women, its founders argued, divide themselves into two groups: those who have sinned and are or may become sorry, and those who have sinned, and prefer to continue to sin or have become hardened.¹³

Thus the chief aim was to remove women from prisons and jails, where association with men was not uncommon. The conception of the Massachusetts establishment as primarily a prison, a place for the chastisement of sinfulness on the part of vicious and deliberate wrongdoers, was embalmed in the original name of the institution: Reformatory Prison for Women. Not until 1911 was the word prison stricken from the name.¹⁴

In addition to Indiana and Massachusetts twenty other states as of 1922 had established institutions for the female offender. The complete list with date of authorization and date of opening was in 1922 as follows:¹⁵

¹²Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor, Five Hundred Delinquent Women, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934, p. 8.

¹³Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁵Gillen, John Lewis, Criminology and Penology, The Century Company, New York, 1926, pp. 647-648.

<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Opened</u>
1869	Indiana Women's Prison, Indianapolis	1873
1874	Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, Framingham	1877
1881	New York House of Refuge for Women, Hudson (Since 1904 the N.Y. State Training School for Girls)	1887
1890	New York House of Refuge for Women, Albion	1893
1892	New York State Reformatory for Women (Bedford Hills)	1901
1900	Iowa Women's Reformatory, Rockwell City	1918
1910	New Jersey State Reformatory for Women, Clinton	1913
1913	Pennsylvania State Industrial Home for Women, Muncy	1920
1913	Wisconsin Industrial Home for Women, Taycheedah	1921
1915	Minnesota State Reformatory for Women, Shakopee	1916
1915	Maine State Reformatory for Women, Skowhegan	1916
1917	Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women, Lansing	1917
1917	Michigan State Training School for Women (not yet opened)	
1919	Washington Women's Industrial Home and Clinic, Medical Lake (opened but discontinued)	
1919	Arkansas State Farm for Women, Jacksonville	1920
1919	Nebraska State Reformatory for Women, York	1920
1919	California Industrial Farm for Women, Sonoma	1922
1921	Vermont State Prison and House of Correction for Women, Rutland	1921
1922	Rhode Island State Reformatory for Women, Cranston (not yet opened)	

F. Current Corrections for Women Offenders

Today a number of states still do not have separate institutions for women. Instead, some states use the general penitentiary, others use the county jails and still others rent cells for women in institutions

located in neighboring states.

Most women's institutions are patterned after male facilities. Special requirements for women and necessary differences in programs are often ignored. In many state and local correctional agencies, the small number of female offenders necessitates that they be housed in a separate wing or a segregated area of the male institution. This arrangement often leads to total isolation and little participation in rehabilitation and recreation programs. Although most correctional officials readily agree that women present less of a security problem during incarceration, the actuality remains that most women's institutions are maintained under the strict, maximum security measures as in male facilities.¹⁶

According to the results of a survey conducted by the Women's Prison Association of New York in 1972:

While most male institutions have some services in the areas of education, vocational training, drug addiction, etc., women's institutions have fewer resources. Often women are included in these programs as an after-thought with little consideration given to the special problems of women or their needs on release. It is difficult to determine the amount of federal crime control funds that go toward programs for women, but many people feel that women do not get their proportionate share.¹⁷

Most of the states, however, do have a single institution for women prisoners. This also poses several problems for the women incarcerated in those institutions. First of all, the majority of the institutions are located in rural areas which makes visits from family and children very difficult. Secondly, there are fewer outside resources for education, work-release, and/or specialized training. In addition, this rural location handicaps contact with the community.

Most of the women's correctional institutions do not offer adequate services to fulfill the needs of the women offenders. The

¹⁶ The Women's Prison Association of New York, A Study In Neglect: A Report on Women Prisoners, July 15, 1972-Oct. 15, 1972, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

services that are available in the institutions are usually only offered to a chosen few; thus the majority of the women leave prison in the same predicament as when they came in. For a great many women offenders the parole term serves only as a stop-over in the vicious cycle of recidivism.

G. The Plight of Women on Parole

There are no supportive services specifically designed to meet the needs of the woman offender. "It is fair to say that a system which leaves the convicted offender to fend for herself in the same atmosphere which may have originally contributed to the commission of the crime, cannot hope to spark a basic change in the direction that the life of that person has and is taking."²⁰

A woman on parole is usually worse off than a male parolee. There are numerous supportive services available for male offenders but hardly any for women.

"For a man, the stigma of a prison record is as nothing compared to the stigma attaching to a woman. Society regards her as a fallen woman, beyond redemption. Furthermore, while some men do learn trades in prison, few women do. They leave prison, by and large, fitted only for housework. One woman on parole has said, 'You learn no trade in there, your mind gets dull. Laundry, shirt factory, weaving room, sewing room kitchen - who wants to learn how to wash pots and pans?' I was told there would be schools and studies, I went there with the idea of benefit and profit. But I didn't learn anything there. I already knew how to cook and sew and scrub."²¹

²⁰ Hobbs, David B. and Osman, Marvin, "From Prison to the Community: A Case Study."

²¹ Op. cit., Martin, pp. 204-205.

In addition to the lack of community services there is also a lack of community-based correctional programs for women offenders. Therefore there are no alternatives for early release such as halfway houses, or community-based correctional programs. This in many cases means a woman stays in prison for a longer term than a male offender who commits the same offense.

In addition, there are also not enough parole officers to give the woman parolee individual attention on referral services. For instance, in Massachusetts there are two parole officers for women and at any given time they are responsible for sixty to seventy-five cases. With this large number of cases they cannot hope to give the individual attention needed by the women for successful re-adjustment into society.

H. Summary

This chapter entitled An Historical Perspective of Corrections for Women has attempted to trace the history of the correctional system for women from early punishments to the current plight of women on parole. It has discussed the background of the correctional movement, the establishment of the women's reformatory and has given some indication of the post-release problems of women offenders today.

The information related in the chapter implies that until the establishment of the first women's reformatory in 1873 no distinction or separation was made between male and female offenders. Since that time, however, women's prisons have been placed in a separate category to be considered only when necessary. The woman offender is all but ignored in the correctional process, and community correctional

programs and services have been omitted from the agendas of most correctional departments across the country.

CHAPTER III

PROFILE OF THE WOMAN OFFENDERA. Introduction

Despite the tremendous amount of research that has been conducted in recent years on causation of delinquency and criminality, reliable information dealing specifically with the female offender is at a premium.

The minimal research that is available indicates that adult females are very much less involved in officially acted upon offenses than the adult male. Previous investigations also indicate that as the law enforcement and correctional process moves further from original arrest, the ratio of male to female offenders widens approximately threefold. For example, a study done in 1967 indicates that at that time "the ratio for women versus men was 7.5 to 1 at the arrest level and 20 to 1 at the prison level."¹ Thus, according to these figures women offenders make up approximately 5% of the total prison population and about the same percentage of those on parole or previously released from prison.

¹Reckless, Walter C. and Kay, Barbara Ann. "The Female Offender," (submitted to the Pres. Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice) 1967. p. 7.

This however does not address the question of -- How many women are incarcerated in jails or Houses of Correction?

More recent reports such as the Uniform Crime Reports indicate that the ratio of male to female arrests for 1970 was 6 to 1. The Reports also indicated that "The arrests of women made up 17% of the Serious on Crime Index type of offenses. Women were involved in 19% of all property arrests and 10% of the arrests for violent crimes. While this data may seem reassuring, a look at long term trends changes the picture. Arrests rates for females have more than doubled in the past decade as compared with rates for males. Over-all, arrests of women for violent crimes increased 69% from 1960 to 1970 while the total crime rate for women rose 74% during that decade. The percentage increase in the total crime rate for men was 25%."²

B. The National Profile of the Woman Offender

In addition to the limited statistics for women at the arrest level of the Criminal Justice System there is also a lack of information and statistics on the women who are currently incarcerated. Most of the states do not compile comprehensive data on the offenders under their jurisdictions, therefore it is difficult to get accurate information.

There was one available National Survey which sheds some light on the Women Offender Population. This survey was done by the Women's Prison Association (WPA) of New York between July 15, 1972 and

² Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice. Crime in the U. S., Uniform Crime Reports - 1970, Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office.

October 15, 1972. During this period the WPA developed and dispensed a demographic questionnaire to 135 correctional institutions (i.e., federal, state, county and municipal), 40 halfway houses, and approximately 70 private agencies and interested individuals. Responses were received from approximately one third of those contacted. The number of respondents were as follows:

State Institutions	- 24
County and City	- 26
Private Agencies	- 8
Other -- no Statistics	- 28

(See Tables 1A and 2A in Appendix)

The primary purpose of the Women's Prison Association survey was to develop a demographic profile of women offenders. The survey disclosed that, "the majority of the institutions and agencies maintained at least some demographic data on women offenders, however approximately one-half of the respondents recorded only partial data or gave estimates."³

The data from the survey is represented in Table 4A.

A summary of the tables reveals the following statistical profile of the woman offender;

- a. "78% of the women are charged with felonies. This supports the national trend toward more serious offenses for female offenders.
- b. 42% of the women are white and 58% are non-white (Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican American, or other).
- c. 22% are between 17-22 years of age; 45% of the women fall within the 22-30 age group; 21%

³The Women's Prison Association, A Study in Neglect: A Report on Women's Prisoners, 1972, p. 29.

Table 4A

TABLE TOTALS

	# of Female Offen.	Felons	Misd.	Pre- trial	ETHNIC					AGE			
					White	Black	P/R	Mex. Am.	Other	17- 22	23- 30	30- 40	40 & Over
STATE INSTITUTIONS (Table 1)	2,957	2,298	346	51	1,242	1,422	7	96	32	638	1,137	653	436
COUNTY & CITY JAILS (Table 2)	2,390	1,072	544		676	679	3	118	117	556	1,175	433	174
PRIVATE AGENCIES (Table 3)	<u>449</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>75</u>		<u>122</u>	<u>307</u>	<u>10</u>		<u>7</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>31</u>
TOTALS	5,796	3,533	965	51	2,040	2,426	20	214	216	1,280	2,455	1,143	641
PERCENTAGES	100%	78%	21%	1%	42%	49%	1%	4%	4%	22%	45%	21%	11%

Table 4A

TABLE TOTALS

	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>					<u>EDUCATION</u>					<u>CHILDREN</u>	
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Marr.</u>	<u>Sep.</u>	<u>Div.</u>	<u>Wid.</u>	<u>Less 10th</u>	<u>10- 12</u>	<u>H.S. Equiv.</u>	<u>2 Yrs. College</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>With</u>	<u>W/Out</u>
STATE INSTITUTIONS (Table 1)	914	670	424	417	212	1,566	708	284	58	15	1,393	681
COUNTY & CITY JAILS (Table 2)	424	369	505	186	81	343	888	220	65	5	420	168
PRIVATE AGENCIES (Table 3)	<u>59</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>53</u>
TOTALS	1,397	1,061	1,059	613	293	1,963	1,636	518	129	22	1,861	902
PERCENTAGES	31%	24%	23%	14%	8%	46%	38%	12%	3%	1%	67%	33%

are in the 30-40 group and 11% are 40 years of age or older.

- d. Only 24% of the women are married; 31% are single; 23% are separated from their spouses; and 14% are divorced; and 8% are widowed.
- e. 46% of the women have less than a tenth grade education.
- f. 67% of the women have children. This extremely high percentage suggest the magnitude of the problems that are facing most of these women. However, even more pressing is the question of "What happens to these children?"⁴

Based on this National Survey, the average or typical woman offender has the following characteristics: she is usually a young woman between twenty and thirty years of age; she is often a member of a minority racial group and is most likely to be convicted of a serious or felonious crime; in addition, she is usually unmarried, under educated and has one or more children of her own. Since she is unmarried, she is usually the head of her household and thus, has the responsibility of providing for herself and her children.

Although the National Survey does not provide a detailed analysis of the kinds of crimes women are sent to prison for, it does indicate that 70% of the women are sentenced for felonious offenses. The Uniform Crime Reports⁵ of 1967 indicate that women are more likely to be arrested and committed for crimes of embezzlement, forgery, murder, fraud, theft (especially shoplifting), violation of the narcotics laws, and, of course, prostitution. Although it is known that there is an

⁴ Ibid. p. 38.

⁵ Op.Cite. Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, p. 124.

abundance of male prostitution also taking place on the streets, women have a monopoly on the arrests and commitments for this crime.

From the survey analysis it can be concluded that Blacks comprise the largest racial group of incarcerated women offenders. Black women offenders represent 49% of the total population; white offenders total 42% and other non-whites comprise only 9% of the total population. Since according to the 1970 U. S. census Blacks only make up approximately 10% of the total population of this country; the fact that they are 49% of the national prison population raises serious questions about their disproportionate involvement in criminal activity.

One study by F. S. Adler entitled The Female Offender in Philadelphia states the following:

"Based on the total picture of low incomes, the poor quality of the jobs that do exist, and the responsibilities of household head, one could venture to say that the high proportion of black females involved in the vices is related to the fact that they have few legitimate channels for reaching their goals. There are, of course, alternate interpretations of our finding, e.g., that these "means" are accepted in her subculture. However, it is our contention that whether she enters the vices because of a lack of legitimate "means" or because they are an acceptable "means" in her subculture, the black women, nevertheless, becomes involved to a much greater extent than the white women in these offenses because they are profit making activities."⁶

The legal system has often been challenged by those who state that the law enforcement agencies offer prejudicial treatment of offenders.

⁶Adler, F. S., The Female Offender In Philadelphia, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, 1971, p. 62.

"Contradictory assertions have been propounded, claiming on the one hand that blacks are treated more severely, and on the other that blacks are handled more leniently. The latter stance is taken by those who suggest that moderation is the result both of lower behavioral expectations on the part of the majority and of a disinterested attitude provided the crimes are interracial."⁷

Although many statements and assertions have been made about the disproportion of the Black/White prison population, most of them remain untested. Marvin Wolfgang states;

"What can be said beyond the oft repeated assertion that white bias by the community, the police, prosecutors, judges and juries accounts for most of the higher rate of Blacks in criminal statistics? The assertion may be very true, but despite the many documented individual cases of such discrimination, there is practically no verified, methodologically adequate scientific research to prove that this kind of bias actually causes the disparity in rates, or that elimination of administrative or judicial bias would eliminate the disparity. Research on the topic, while admittedly difficult to perform, is solely needed."⁸

As stated by Wolfgang this is one area for much research and in light of that fact I will not attempt to speculate the causes in this particular paper.

A significant fact which the national survey discloses is that the majority of the women offenders become incarcerated at a relatively young age. In addition, a large percentage of the women are high school drop outs since 46% of them have less than a tenth grade

⁷ Adler, F. S., The Female Offender In Philadelphia, Ann Arbor, Mich.,: University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, 1971, p. 102.

⁸ Wolfgang, Marvin E., Crime and Race, New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1964, p. 35.

education. Although the study does not directly address the question of occupational skills, the low educational level of the women implies to some extent that their job saliability is very low.

The survey indicates that the majority of the women offenders are unmarried, separated or divorced from their spouses. Also, 67% of these women do have one or more children of their own. These two factors are of importance as they connote two of the major problems of women ex-offenders. First of all, since most of the women are without spouses, they are solely responsible for their financial support. Secondly, if they have children, they are also responsible for taking care and providing for them. Being a single head-of-household places extra financial burdens on the woman ex-offender and often these problems are overwhelmingly frustrating. In addition, a woman offender often has to fight a long, agonizing battle to retrieve her children from relatives, friends or foster homes once she is released from prison. Often, rather than fight this battle, she will let her children remain where they were while she was in prison and attempt to get pregnant again and start a new family.

An equally important question at this point is; "What happens to the children of these women offenders?" According to a study done by the New York Women's Prison Association;

"When women are arrested and sent to prison, little concern is given to the welfare of their children. In 1971 the Women's Prison Association of New York initiated the Children of the Offender Program in an attempt to identify exactly what happens to these children. Staff members worked with 123 such children during the first phase of the program. Of these 123, 93 were public charges, supported either by public assistance funds or

foster care funds. Eleven are in institutions. Sixteen were born addicted, three were drug addicts, and eight have already been in conflict with the law. Although there are agencies mandated by law to protect the rights of these children, numerous service gaps exist, and in many cases these agencies are not aware of the whereabouts of the children, nor are they cognizant of their special needs."⁹

Further analysis of the needs of the children of women offenders will be undertaken in Chapter IV.

C. The Local Profile of the Woman Offender

In an attempt to find out whether or not the local situation in Massachusetts corresponds to the results of the national survey, I sought statistical data on the women incarcerated at Massachusetts Correctional Institution-Framingham. The following data analysis is taken from a statistical report published by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections.¹⁰

As of February 1972, there were 114 women incarcerated at MCI-Framingham. Of that number 78 or 68.4% of the total were committed in 1971; 14 or 12.3% were committed in 1970 and 7 or 6.1% were committed in 1972. The remainder of the population was committed prior to 1970.

⁹ Ibid. p. 8.

¹⁰ Massachusetts Department of Corrections, Admission Characteristics of the Inmate Population at MIC-Framingham, Walpole, Norfolk, Concord and Forestry Camps, February, 1972.

A breakdown of the offenses committed by these women indicate that 31 (27.2%) were committed for crimes against persons (such as murder, assault and battery, armed robbery or manslaughter); 30 or 26.3% were committed for crimes against property, (that is, larceny or embezzlement, forgery or fraud and breaking and entering); and 53 or 46.5% were committed for offenses against public order (i.e., violation of narcotics drug laws, drunkenness and prostitution).

The maximum sentence received by the women ranged from a two year indefinite sentence to life imprisonment, 42 (36.9%) of the women received a maximum sentence of 2 years indefinite; 52 or 45.6% received 5 years indefinite; 10 (8.8%) received 7 years indefinite; one (.9%) received a maximum sentence of 5 years (definite); 2 (1.7%) received a 6 to 10 years sentence, one (.9%) received a sentence of 11 to 15 years; 2 (1.7%) received a sentence of over 15 years; and 4 received sentences of life imprisonment.

It is significant that 62 or 54% of the total population as of February 1972 had prior commitments in federal, state or juvenile institutions or houses of corrections. This means that the recidivism rate for these women at that time over 50%.

As far as age is concerned, the largest number of women offenders fell in the category of age 20 to 24. There were 37 women or 32.5% of the total population in this age range. 29 or 25.4% of the women were 25 to 29 years of age; 15 (13.2%) were between the age of 30 to 39; 16 (14.0%) were between 40 to 49; 9 (7.9%) were 50 years of age and older; and 8 (7.0%) of the women were from 16 to 19 years of age.

This local population has the same age characteristics for one age group as the national survey that was discussed earlier, that is; the largest percentage of the women incarcerated at Framingham are between the ages of 20 and 30 years. However, the Framingham age group between 30 to 39 is slightly smaller than the national age group since only 13.2% of the local women fall in the category and 21% of the women on the national level are in this age group.

Framingham's white/non-white ratio is 69.3% over 30.7% whereas the national survey has a ratio of 42% over 58%. The non-white population is considerably lower than the national average but, consideration must be given to the small non-white population in Massachusetts which consist of approximately 4% of the total population.

Only 20 (17.5%) of the women who were incarcerated at that time were married; 56 or 49.1% were single; 15 or 13.2% were divorced; 5 or 4.4% were widowed; 16 or 14.0% were legally separated from their spouses; and 2 (1.8%) were listed as unknown. The marital status of the women at Framingham corresponds to some extent with the women in the national survey since in both studies the majority of the offenders are single. In fact, the single rate is somewhat higher among the women at Framingham since they list 49.1% and the national population only list 31% of the women offenders as single. The marriage separation and divorce rates at Framingham tend to be slightly lower than the national survey indication. For instance, in the national survey 24.0% of the women were married, 23% were separated and 14% were divorced. At Framingham 17.5% are married, 14% are separated and 13.2% are divorced.

At Framingham the average educational level of the women is about 10.1 years of schooling. 48 or 42.1% completed grades 9 to 11; 24 or 21.1% finished high school; 21 or 18.4% completed grades 6 to 8; and 9 (7.9%) of the women had at least one to two years of college. The educational level of the women at Framingham is slightly higher than the national level because 46% of the women in the national survey had less than a 10th grade education.

There was no indication in the Department of Correction's Statistical Data as to whether or not the women at Framingham had children. In consulting with Mrs. Dorothy Chase, Superintendent of Framingham, she indicated that the average woman at the institution has at least 1.3 children.

Although the national survey did not include this category, I think it is most important to know the occupational skills of the women offenders who are being planned for. 48 or 42.1% of the women in Framingham are unskilled; 19 or 16.7% are semi-skilled; 11 or 4.6% are skilled; 9 or 7.9% are sales or clerical workers; and 20 or 17.5% have worked in general services (domestics, food and restaurant service). As indicated by the statistics a large percentage of women at Framingham are unskilled. Thus, like the women included in the national survey they have low saliability in the job market. I propose that for this particular group of women, a vocational training program should be established in order to raise the skills level of these women. Otherwise, they will return to the same unambitious, low-paying job occupations and the cycle may ultimately begin again.

A breakdown of the statistical data obtained on the women at Framingham indicates that the average women offender is between 20 to 30 years of age; she is unmarried, unskilled, undereducated and has children; she is usually white and probably has a prior commitment record; and she is most often convicted of an offense against public order.

The groups at Framingham varies according to percentages from the national survey but, most of the overall characteristics except for race remain the same.

Summary

The preceding chapter has established a national profile of the woman offender based on a study done by the New York Women's Prison Association. In addition, the study has attempted to compare the national statistics with those of the state women's institution in Massachusetts.

Although the only significant difference between the two profiles was the race ratio of the women, this could be a very important factor in attempting to plan community programs for this group of women. Based on this result, I think it is safe to suggest that whenever programs, services or community based correctional centers are being planned or established for a group of offenders that the characteristics of that particular client group should be assessed. The development of the national profile of the woman offender is important in terms of establishing a working frame of reference.

When actually attempting to plan programs to meet the needs of a specific group of people, however, that groups own peculiarities must be taken into consideration!!

Chapter IV

DEFINING THE NEEDS OF THE WOMAN OFFENDERA. Introduction

The preceding chapters were written in order to establish a framework for the most important contribution of this study, that is; to identify and define the needs of the woman offender upon her release from prison. The specific concern of this section is with the needs of the woman offender as they relate to the problems of re-adjustment into the society following her incarceration.

One of the main reasons that a study of this sort is necessary and important is because of the new trend toward community-based correctional programs. Many correctional planners are attempting to establish programs for offenders without actually knowing anything about what their clients want or need. The same correctional administrators and decision makers who are responsible for our current system of correction are about to embark on another planning strategy toward community-based correctional programs. I think it is fair to state that if we do not want to repeat the existing failures of the current system we as academicians, correctional officials and planners must

take the initiative to find out more about those we are attempting to "rehabilitate." An important factor in being able to solve a problem is having the ability to identify it. Unless we know what the needs of the women offenders are, we can not hope to plan services to meet those needs.

The term needs has been tossed around several times in the preceding chapter but, no working definition of the term has been offered up to this point. For the purpose of this thesis the term needs is defined as "any factor or condition in the environment of an organism which assists to a marked extent in preserving its life and health or in furthering its usual modes of behavior."¹

In addition, A. H. Maslow's Theory of Human Needs and Motivation sheds some light on the subject in terms of understanding human need priorities. Maslow states that;

"Human needs are organized in a series of levels -- a hierarchy of importance. At the lowest level, but pre-eminent in importance when they are thwarted are the physiological needs. Man lives by bread alone, when there is no bread. But when he eats regularly and adequately, hunger ceases to be an important need. A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior.

When the physiological needs are reasonably satisfied, needs at the next higher level begins to dominate man's behavior -- to motivate him. These are the safety needs, for protection against a partially dependent relationship, safety needs may assume considerable importance.

¹Warren, Howard C. (ed.), Dictionary of Psychology, Houghton Mifflin Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962.

When man's physiological needs are satisfied and he is no longer fearful about his physical welfare, his social needs become important motivators of his behavior. These are such needs as those for belonging, for association, for acceptance by one's fellows, for giving and receiving friendship and love.

Above the social needs, in the sense that they do not usually become motivators until lower needs are reasonably satisfied, are the needs of greatest significance to man. They are the Egoistic Needs, and they are of two kinds;

- (1) Those that relate to one's self-esteem: needs for self-respect and self-confidence, for autonomy, for achievement, for competence, for knowledge.
- (2) Those that relate to one's reputation; Needs for status, for recognition, for appreciation, for the deserved respect of one's fellows. Unlike the lower needs, these are rarely satisfied; man seeks indefinitely for more satisfaction of these needs once they have been satisfied. Finally, there are the needs of self-fulfillment. These are the needs for realizing one's own potentialities, for continued self-development, for being creative in the broadest sense of the term. The deprivation most people experience with respect to other lower level needs diverts their energies into the struggle to satisfy those needs, and the needs for self-fulfillment remain below the level of consciousness."²

Based on the interviews with the women offenders it appears that the majority of them are still very much concerned about satisfying the first three needs that Maslow mentioned which are the physiological, safety and social needs. It is significant, however, that several of the offenders were also concerned about establishing self-confidence and self-respect which is listed by Maslow as the fourth or Egoistic

²This concept was originally formulated by A. H. Maslow and is discussed in his book, Motivation and Personality (Harper and Brothers 1954). This discussion here follows Douglas McGregor's presentation (McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960. pp. 35-39).

need. Since Maslow states that one does not seek satisfaction of a higher need until the lower needs have been satisfied, it is safe to suggest that the women offenders who are seeking satisfaction of the egoistic need have to some extent satisfied the other three. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

B. Methodology

I concluded that one of the best ways to find out what adult female offenders needed after release from prison was to ask them that very question. Based on this decision I set out to interview women incarcerated at MCI-Framingham as that is the most accessible women's prison in this area. Through the efforts of Mrs. Dorothy Chase, Superintendent of Framingham, and her staff, I was able to interview nine women offenders at the institution. Realizing that nine offenders is somewhat of an odd number for a sample, I feel somewhat compelled to explain the conditions under which I interviewed these women. MCI-Framingham has been undergoing a drastic transition during the past several months. The Massachusetts Department of Corrections is in the process of transferring MCI-Framingham from a correctional Institution for women into a Community Resource and Re-integration Center for the residents of MCI's Framingham, Walpole, Norfolk, Concord and the Forestry Camps. The idea is to shift the current Framingham population from 84 to 25 women. The other 59 women are to be removed from the institution through early parole or participation in a residential drug program, halfway house or community pre-release center (such as the one at Boston State Hospital).

This new transition has caused a great deal of tension among the women incarcerated at Framingham. The reason that they (the women) are distressed is that even though the Massachusetts Department of Corrections is planning to move the women out of the institution, they have not been able to provide sufficient community services for the majority of the offenders. Thus, the women have been in a state of vacillation and uncertainty for approximately two months. In addition, most of these women have already been through several interviews in the last two months in order to determine their eligibility for these community-based correctional programs. A number of them have been disappointed or have been left in suspension without an answer as to whether they qualify for the programs or not. Because of this situation, a number of them were hesitant about being interviewed again. Also, at the time I interviewed women at MCI-Framingham a number of the women offenders were preparing to go before the Parole Board for early parole and thus, since they could not be sure of the outcome of the interview they did not want to "make waves" that might have a negative effect on the Parole Board's decision.

After several visits to Framingham, I determined that nine offenders was a sufficient number to get an exploratory account of what women need after they are released from prison.

In addition to the nine interviewees at Framingham, I had an opportunity to go to North Carolina and South Carolina to talk with women who were incarcerated in those state prisons.

Through the helpful assistance of Mrs. Juanita Baker, Superintendent

of the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women in Raleigh, North Carolina, and her staff, I was able to interview four women offenders who were quite enthusiastic and helpful in attempting to provide answers to my questions. Because of limited financial resources I was only able to stay in North Carolina for one day but, found the interviews of the four women most interesting and informative.

The following two days were spent at South Carolina's Harbison Correctional Institution for Women in Irmo, South Carolina. Through the efforts of Mrs. Foy, the Superintendent of the Correctional Institution, and her helpful staff, I was able to interview six women offenders. The interviews were most rewarding especially in terms of providing a basis for comparison.

This brought the total interview sample to 19 which provides the basis for this study of women offender needs.

The interviews were more or less open-ended with several specific questions geared toward what the women perceived their needs to be once they were released from prison. Other specific questions were also asked in order to obtain demographic data on those interviewed. The demographic information requested of the offenders consisted of their current age, education, previous jobs and job skills obtained, marital status, number of children, prior arrest record, prior commitment record, current convicted offense, length of sentence, and expected release date.

The questions which related to the determination of need after release were;

- 1) What will you do for the first 48 hours after release?
- 2) What fears do you have about being released from prison?
- 3) What problems do you think you might encounter upon release from prison?
- 4) What do you expect your needs to be after your release from prison?
- 5) What community services do you think will best be able to help you meet those needs?
- 6) Would you use the community services if they were available?

C. Sample Profile

The 19 women offenders who were interviewed for the study ranged in age from 18 to 45 years of age. The median age of the group is 26 years and the mean is 18.5 years of age. (See Table 1 in Appendix).

Twelve of the women or 63.2% of the sample are single; 3 (15.7%) are legally separated from their spouses; 3 (15.7%) are married; and 1 (5.3%) is a widow. The sample results correspond with the results of the survey discussed in the previous chapter (by the N.Y. Women's Prison Association) as the majority of the women offenders in both studies are unmarried. (See Table 2 in Appendix).

Only 1 (5.3%) of the women interviewed has completed 4 years of college and 1 year of graduate school. Eight of the women or 42.1% are high school graduates; 5 (26.3%) have completed the 11th grade year; 3 (15.7%) have completed the 10th grade year; 1 (5.3%) has completed the 8th grade year. One observation which can be made about the

educational level of the women interviewed is that the women incarcerated in South Carolina tended to have a lower educational level than women in North Carolina or Massachusetts. Although this may not be obvious in the small sample that is used in this study the average educational level of women in South Carolina is equivalent to a 7th grade education whereas the level in Massachusetts and North Carolina is equivalent to a 10th grade education. (See Table 3 in Appendix).

Eight (42.1%) of the women in the sample did not have any children. Seven or 36.8% of the women have one child; 1 (5.3%) of the women has two children; 1 (5.3%) has three children; 1 (5.3%) has four children and 1 (5.3%) has five children. (Please see Table 4 in Appendix).

Eleven (57.9%) of the women in the sample are Black and 8 (42.1%) are White. The social distribution of the sample closely corresponds to the ratio of Black versus White women offenders incarcerated in the women's prisons across the country. This may be substantiated by reviewing the demographic data in the preceding chapter which was compiled by the Women's Prison Association of New York. (See Table 5 in this Appendix).

Most of the women in the sample tended to be in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Six (31.6%) of the women have previously held jobs in factories (i.e., textile, sewing fabrics, assembly line); 5 (26.3%) of the women previously held jobs as clerical or secretarial workers; 1 (5.3%) has held a job as a seamstress; 1 (5.3%) was practical nurse; 1 (5.3%) has held a job as a tobacco fieldworker; 1 (5.3%) was

a domestic; 1 (5.3%) was a junior counselor for children and teens; 1 (5.3%) held a job as a community organizer; and 2 (10.5%) have never worked in the "legitimate" job market. Most of the women have previously held several jobs before being incarcerated. For the purposes of Table 6 they have been placed in the job category which they had last or the one which they worked in for the longest period of time. (Please see Appendix).

Most of the women interviewed are convicted on very different charges but, it is interesting to note that 6 of the 19 women are convicted for some type of drug-related offense. Statistically, 1 (5.3%) of the women in the sample is convicted specifically on a forgery charge; 1 (5.3%) is convicted for armed robbery; 1 (5.3%) is convicted on a charge of accessory after the fact of armed robbery; 1 (5.3%) for possession of burglary tools, firearms, and explosives; 1 (5.3%) for possessions of burglary tools, breaking and entering and forgery; and 1 (5.3%) for store breaking and larceny. Two of the women or 10.5% of the sample are convicted for the sale of heroin; 1 (5.3%) is convicted on possession with intent to sell heroin and cocaine; 1 (5.3%) for possession and sale of heroin, 1 (5.3%) for the possession of heroin; 1 (5.3%) for violation of State drug law; 2 (10.5%) are charged with conspiracy in aiding and abetting to violate the Federal Narcotics Act; 1 (5.3%) is convicted on a charge of manslaughter; 1 (5.3%) for accessory before and after the fact of first degree murder; 1 (5.3%) is convicted of first degree murder; and 2 (5.3%) of the women are convicted on charges of second degree murder. (See Table 7 in the Appendix).

The sentences by the courts for the crimes these women were convicted on range from 1 day to 9 years (conditional sentence) to life imprisonment. Seven (36.8%) of the women were expecting to be released on parole within 1 to 2 months of the interview date. Thus, they were quite anxious and enthusiastic about discussing their expectations for post-release. Two (10.5%) of the women were to be released within 1 to 2 years of the interview date and the remainder were not really certain about their parole eligibility date or their date of final release. (See Table 8 in Appendix).

Seven (36.8%) of the women had never been arrested before they were picked up for this most recent charge. Three (15.3%) of the women have been arrested one time before; 2 (10.5%) have been arrested twice before; 2 (10.5%) have been arrested three times before and 5 (26.3%) have been arrested so many times that they had ceased to keep an accurate accounting.

Lastly, 15 (78.9%) of these women have no previous commitments to jails or institutions; 2 have one previous commitment; and 2 have two previous commitments. (See Table 10 in Appendix).

Further analysis and comparison of this data will appear in the final section of this chapter.

D. The Needs

The six questions mentioned previously in this chapter assisted me in establishing what the women interviewed perceived their needs to be once they were released from prison. Briefly, I will discuss the

responses to these questions and then proceed with the analysis of the needs of these women.

Doctor Donald Palmer (Psychiatrist in the Medical Department at M.I.T) stated that one of the most crucial periods of a woman's post-release experience is "the first 48 hours after her release." Dr. Palmer indicated "that this is a crucial period because to a large extent what a women does during this time determines whether or not she will return to prison and more importantly the kind of life she will lead on the outside." For instance, if a woman returns to a somewhat stable or secure environment such as supportive family and friends, substantial job plans or other means of financial support, it is assumed that she is less likely to go back to prison than a woman who returns to an unstable and insecure environment. Of the women interviewed, 11 or 57.6% of the sample indicated that they would like to go home and just be with their families (i.e., husbands, children and/or parents). Three (15.7%) of the women said they would like to enjoy their freedom by going for long walks, playing in the yard, enjoying the outside world and going shopping. Two (10.5%) of the women said they would go out and get drunk, and then go to work the next day. One (5.3%) of the women stated that she would go visit all of her old friends; one said she was just going to "relax her head" and go to work; one said she was going to take a trip with her husband to Hawaii, Texas and California for 3 months and one said she would just "make whoopee."

The second question asked the women, "What fears they had about

being released from prison?" The responses to this question were varied but, some fears were mentioned much more than others. For instance, the fear that was mentioned most often (a total of 11 times) was; what people on the outside will think about their being ex-offenders. The women indicated a concern about how their families (especially children), friends and employers would relate to them as ex-cons. The second most frequent response was the fear of re-adjustment to the outside world. The women expressed apprehension about their ability to re-adjust to every day routine and responsibilities. This brings us to the third most frequent response which was the fear of responsibility such as providing for and taking care of children and managing money after not having any for so long. Finding a job and a place to stay were both mentioned a total of five times by the women. The other fears mentioned with some frequency were; the ability and endurance to stay away from drugs; influence of old environment and old friends; and fear of going back to prison because as one inmate put it, "Once you've been here its so easy to come back again."

The third question solicited numerous responses from the women interviewed. The question, "What problems do you think you will encounter upon your release from prison?" got the following responses which are ranked according to the number of times mentioned by the offenders.

1. Re-adjustment into society and being accepted by those on the outside as another human being more so than as an ex-con.
2. Being able to establish some degree of self-confidence and self-respect. (The offenders stated that the prison experience is demoralizing that they thought they would probably never completely recover from it.)

3. Finding a job and being able to keep it.
4. Finding a place to stay.
5. Being able to get some financial support from "somewhere."
6. Being able to support and take care of their children.
7. Getting away from old friends and environments and making new friends.
8. Being weak and easily influenced.
9. Trying to get their children back from the foster home.
10. Being able to afford the kind of health care and medical services needed.
11. Re-adjustment to living with parents since women are not usually paroled to themselves.
12. Staying away from junkies.
13. Avoiding police (i.e., the women stated that once you have been in prison whenever anything goes wrong the police come to you)-involves stigma attached to ex-offender. "Once a con always a con."
14. Resolving conflict of feelings about men and women. (The offender was worried about whether or not she would be able to put away homosexual activities once she is released from prison and men are accessible).
15. Staying away from an idle mind. (Offender is not able to work because health and think she will have a problem not doing anything once she is released).
16. Two of the women interviewed would not speculate on the problems they thought they might have after release. They were more concerned about problems they were having while they were still in prison. (Which is a good case in point).

The fourth question asked the women directly "What they thought their needs would be once they were released from prison?" Earlier in this chapter Maslow's Theory of Human Motivations and Needs was discussed. It was mentioned at that point that although most of the

women offenders in the sample were attempting to satisfy one or all of the first three needs (Physiological, Safety and/or Social) that there were others who appeared to be striving for satisfaction of the egoistic needs as well. Hopefully this will be apparent as the discussion of the needs of these women is developed. Since it is the intention of this paper to show some comparison between expressed needs and provision of community services to meet those needs, I have decided to order the expressed needs into "need areas." The major need areas will consist of; (1) jobs and job development, (2) housing, (3) counseling and other socio-psychological needs, (4) child care; (5) legal aid; (6) medical care; (7) education and, (8) financial support.

In order to give the reader an indication of the need priorities of the women interviewed, a table has been drawn which list the need areas and the number of times they were expressed by the women interviewed in the sample. (Please see Table B).

TABLE B

<u>Need Areas</u>	<u># of Times Mentioned</u>
Jobs and Job Training	14
Counseling	12
Housing	9
Other Socio-psychological Needs	7
Child Care	6
Financial Aid	5
Legal Aid	5
Education	4
Medical Care	4
Drug-free Assistance	2
Recreational	1
Religious Guidance	1

1. Jobs and Job Training

As indicated by the table, jobs and job training is the number one expressed need of the women in the sample. The sample results concur with the results of another study done by the Women's Prison Association of New York.³ In their survey of women offenders at the New York City Correctional Institution for Women, the offenders there also indicated that their greatest need upon release from prison was a job.

Before most of these women entered prison they held low-paying, unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. With the disadvantage of being an ex-convict they are considered "low woman on the totem pole" as far as job marketability is concerned. In addition most of the women's institutions do not provide vocational training for the women while they are incarcerated. Therefore, their job saleability is even less when they get out of prison because they have been out of the job market for several years.

The disillusionment and discouragement which often confronts a woman offender in her attempts to seek employment are all too common. Lack of training, education, and job information are important factors which are often lacking. If these factors are coupled with a criminal record as in the case of the woman offender, the effects are often disastrous. All too often, a woman offender confronted with the dilemma of not being able to find a satisfactory job will resort to

³The Women's Prison Association of New York. A Study in Neglect: A Report on Women Prisoners, 1972.

what appears to be an easy way out. In many cases the woman will find herself caught up in a vicious cycle of poverty, crime and imprisonment. Thus, she becomes another statistic of the recidivism rate. (As a case in point -- 50% of the women currently incarcerated at MCI-Framingham are recidivist and 75% have a previous court or probation record). I am not by any means stating that the lack of jobs or job training is the only reason why women return to prison as many resort to Welfare but it is one of the reasons why women get involved in criminal activities.

Another disadvantage of being an ex-offender who is seeking employment is that employers and others on the outside have very definite stereo-types about crime and criminals. The vast majority of the people in this county are afraid of crime. Because of the many stigmas placed on women sentenced to prison very few employers are willing to take the risk of hiring an ex-offender. One woman in the sample indicated to me that "many employers will say they will hire an ex-offender but, after the offender is released and she goes to get the job the employer will change his mind."

The following quote taken from the Criminal Offender -- What Should be Done expresses the overall employment dilemma of an offender in this society:

"A constructive member of the community, by definition of this society, is a working member. A common characteristic of offenders is a poor work record; indeed it is fair to conjecture that a considerable number of them took to crime in the first place for lack of the ability or the opportunity -- or both -- to earn a legal living. Therefore, satisfying work experiences for institutionalized offenders, including vocational training when needed,

and the assurance of decent jobs for released offenders, should be at the heart of the correctional process. To subject people (in this case women offenders) with poor work habits and low work motivation to the enforced idleness that prevails in most prisons and all but, a few jails, or to the meaningless chores and humiliating working conditions that are characteristic of most prison programs is simply to reduce further their capacity to derive satisfaction from, or even take part in, workaday community life. Of course, the best institutional job and job training program is futile if it does not lend on the outside to a reasonably reworking job."⁴

The women who were interviewed suggested that two strategies might be undertaken by the community in order to raise the employability level of women offenders. The first strategy is to establish a substantial vocational training program for women offenders, the second is to assist in the extension of the community work-release program in the prisons. The women proposed that a community service center might establish a vocational training program which would be able to contract services from the different available job training sources. They also stated that it would be most helpful if the program could be flexible enough to gear its services and training to the individual needs and desires of the offenders. They felt that the training programs would be more beneficial if they were at least started prior to their release from prison. That way, they would have some grasp on what to expect after release from the institution.

The second strategy proposed by the women involves the community support of an extensive work-release program for women offenders. They felt that this was necessary in order that they might acquire some

⁴ President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation, The Criminal Offender - What Should Be Done, April, 1970.

on-the-job training while still incarcerated. The current system of work-release is so limited that only 10 to 15 women of any given prison population are usually able to participate in the program. This implicates another community service which might assist in raising the employment saleability of these women and that is; the education of the employment community to modern correctional concepts and the necessity for them to "open-up" and hire ex-offenders.

No matter how many vocational training programs are established they will not benefit the ex-offender if employers refuse to recognize their skills because of a previous prison record. This intimates that a massive educational program is necessary in order that the community fully understands and supports modern correctional programs.

2. Counseling

The need which received the second highest priority rating among the women interviewed was that of counseling. Counseling was mentioned a total of 12 times in the interview sessions as an important necessity after release. After having been dependent upon the institution for their needs, with little preparation for re-entry into the free world, women offenders are faced with difficult decisions and, as they indicated in their previous responses, a wide range of problems. The women indicated that the first few months after release are the most difficult and thus it would really help if there was someone available that they could discuss their problems with. The offenders stated that the "counselor" should possess the following characteristics: _____

- She or he should be familiar with available resources to solve the problems of offenders (i.e., - Be familiar with sources of financial and, child care, psychiatric assistance, medical or health care, vocational or educational training, housing, legal services and drug-related programs.
- She or he should be an individual who has a real concern for the welfare of others and the ability to treat ex-offenders as "human beings."
- She or he should be a good listener and have the training and skill to make suggestions for the solutions of the problems or referrals as they arise.
- She or he should not be an employee of the Department of Corrections.
- She or he should be trained to perform individual as well as family counseling services for those who request it.
- She or he should have an objective mind.
- She or he should be familiar with parole rules and regulations.

In order to elaborate on the above responses, most of the women seem to think that they have become demoralized in prison and thus, foresee a tough period of re-adjustment after release. Because of this, they stated that a "counselor" would be most helpful as a resource person after they are released from prison. Also, since most of the women in the sample, for one reason or another, have become distrustful of correctional staff members; they expressed a preference that the outside counselors be connected with a community social service agency rather than the Department of Corrections. As one women interviewee stated "Correctional staff members give us the impression that they want to get into our 'business' more so than they really want to help us."

The women offenders stated also that they thought that the counselor or counselors should be familiar with the Parole Board's Rules and Regulations. They felt this was necessary in order that the counselor could be of some assistance to a parolee who feels she is on the brink of community a parole violation.

The women interviewed in the sample also expressed a desire for the services of a family counselor. Several of them were very much concerned about the reactions of their children and families to their imprisonment. Five of them indicated that their relationships with their families had changed drastically "for the worst" after they became incarcerated.

Twelve of the women indicated in the interviews that good counseling is badly needed and therefore if a community service center had counselors available they would use the services. Four of the women stated that they would not use the counseling services because they have become too distrustful of most people to let them in on their problems. Three of the women stated that they thought they needed the services but, would not use them if the counselors were employed by the Department of Corrections.

The women suggested that a Social Service Center for women offenders should be established in order to provide counseling and referral (service) to the women offenders who request it.

In addition the women suggested that the Center should provide a component for Crisis or Emergency Assistance especially for women who

feel that they may be getting into 'something' which will return them to prison.

The Crisis Center could also serve as an emergency referral service to women who don't have a place to stay, a job or other means of financial support.

The women suggested, in addition, that it would be a great help if the social service center had a psychiatrist or staff or at least some access to one in order that the women might avail themselves of his services without having to pay \$50 an hour. Mental health will be discussed later under the section entitled Medical Services.

It is noteworthy to mention that in the study done by the Women's Prison Association of New York at the New York City Institution for Women, the women offenders listed counseling and social services as fifth in the priority ranking of their needs.⁵ Preceding counseling on the scale was jobs, welfare, housing and Financial Assistance. If we review Maslow's Theory of Human Needs and Motivators it is safe to suggest that the women at the New York institution expressed more of a pressing concern for Physiological and Safety Needs than they did for Social or Egoistic ones. Although the women in our current sample list jobs and job training as their first need priority, they were also very much concerned with the satisfaction of their Social and Egoistic Needs (i.e., counseling and other socio-psychological needs).

⁵Op. Cite., The Women's Prison Association, p. 26.

This again makes a case for the argument that each client group must be examined and evaluated before attempting to plan services for that particular group.

3. Housing

Housing and/or a place to stay was mentioned a total of 9 times by the interviewees as a need priority after release from prison. The women indicated that before a woman is released from prison whether on parole or "straight time" she must have a place to stay. The women offenders are not allowed to go out and find their own apartments therefore, they much depend on family and friends to find them a home. The women stated that "usually a woman offender is paroled to a relative's home until she is able to get on her feet." This may not be for several months or even longer because "most probation and parole officers in Massachusetts state that the absence of adequate housing facilities is the single greatest obstacle in working with women offenders." These officials go on to state that; "Housing for female offenders in a price range which they can afford is almost impossible to obtain. Also, most landlords are unwilling to rent apartments to persons who are on probation or parole. Even the public housing program, which is the single largest resource of low-rent housing in the city, finds it difficult to respond to the housing needs of persons convicted of criminal activity."⁶ The lack of adequate housing facilities for these women

⁶ Wall, Rena, Proposal for a Women's Multi-Service Center; (submitted to Massachusetts Department of Corrections) 1972, p. 5. Unpublished proposal.

often means that they are separated from their children even longer and thus this further erodes the emotional stability of the family unit.

The absence of an adequate housing service often serves to hinder the progress of a potential parolee. The following quote reveals the current situation at Massachusetts Correctional Institute-Framingham:

"Until quite recently, female offenders were sentenced to indeterminate sentences at MCI-Framingham. The theory was that if rehabilitation occurred quickly and employment and housing could be located quickly, the term could be kept quite short. In fact, the reverse occurred. The absence of adequate housing and employment opportunities meant that most inmates served a longer term than might ordinarily have been expected. Courts are now required to impose sentences on female offenders in the same manner as is done with male offenders. Usually, the sentence carries a minimum and maximum. According to Mrs. Dorothy Chase, Superintendent at MCI-Framingham, many inmates at that institution are unable to be paroled after completion of the minimum sentence, and unless there is some dramatic change in availability of housing facilities and employment opportunities, this situation will continue to prevail."⁷

The women indicated that preferably they would like to be paroled to themselves; i.e., paroled to their own apartment rather than to their parents or another relative's house. They stated that a housing service should be established as one component of a social service agency set-up to meet the needs for women offenders.

Several of the women indicated that they would like to be released to a half-way-house or residential community based program until they are

⁷Ibid, p. 6.

able to adjust to being on the outside. Although some of them have reservations about the residential community facility because of the restrictions usually enforced, they agreed that if the half-way-house were operated 'correctly' it could be a good place to stay for a couple of months. Some of the women, however, want no part of the half-way-house experience. They feel that the small facility is only an extension of the prison system and it gives correctional staff members a better opportunity to "dip into their business."

The women suggested that if a housing agency or component is established that the staff members should work closely with the woman offender before she is released in order to find her a place to stay. This is important in order that the women will not be detained in prison because of insufficient housing.

4. Other Socio-psychological Needs

The women interviewed in the sample expressed a desire for several socio-psychological needs which they felt were important to their adjustment in the community. Several of the women felt that one of the major problems they would face on the outside is attempting to re-establish some degree of self-confidence and self-respect. When asked what community service they thought could assist them in doing this; they replied that "they wanted someone to talk to who seemed interested in their well being." As it turned out most of the women were talking about someone like an "advocate." Several advocate programs have been set up

for male parolees but, the same has not been done for women. For instance, Massachusetts is about to set up a Placement Advocate Center for male offenders in Massachusetts but, no mention of a similar program for women has been made.

One women offender interviewed at Framingham stated that "Most of the women in prison are here because of a man. Since this is the case, the best service that could be provided for these women is to help them establish contact with successful motivated women. This would be a useful experience so that they are able to determine that they can use their own minds and do not necessarily always have to depend on a man. The women must be able to develop some self-consciousness about themselves. The prison experience does not do anything for the motivation of the woman offender. This is obvioued by the child mentality of the staff toward the offenders, for instance, the staff addresses us as "girls" instead of women."

Several of the other women in the sample indicated the need for a supportive environment and overall security. To a great extent this responsibility will belong to the close family and friends of the individual offenders. However, efforts to educate the community as a whole should be made in order that the society becomes aware of modern correctional concepts and most of all, develop a more objective mind about the plight of the ex-offenders.

Two of the women in the sample suggested that they had a need for some type of group therapy after their release from prison. They suggested

that sessions be held at least once a week at a community-based center in order that women ex-offenders may share their common problems and solutions.

5. Child Care

Eleven of the 19 women interviewed have one or more children. Six of the women indicated that they will need child care services after they are released from prison. Since most of the women will have to be employed at one job or another they will need someone to take care of their children during the day. The women suggested that perhaps a day care facility could be established at a residential community based-correctional facility or they could use the current facilities available elsewhere in the community. They indicated that they need some place to take their children "where the rates are low" or they are at least based on a graduated scale. Most of the women will not be able to afford the normal day-care rates; at least not until they reach some level of financial stability.

Several of the women who had children in the sample had children over the pre-school age therefore, would not necessarily need day care services. These women did, however, express a need for establishing a better relationship with their children after incarceration. The women indicated that many of the children of offenders are placed in foster homes, or with relatives while the woman is in prison. Because of this separation, many problems arise for the child as well as the mother. A

study entitled A Report on the Children of Offenders Program identified the following problems of children of offenders;

1. "Before imprisonment, there is usually an unsatisfactory home life.

- a. Mother's neglect because of drugs, drinking or prostitution.
- b. Often live with grandmother or other maternal relative who may be too old to care for child, may have unsatisfactory social adjustment herself and may be fearful of requesting help.
- c. Often lives with persons not a relative, occasionally these surrogate parents do not get welfare payments for the child (mother may get them although she does not provide home for child).

2. During sentence

- a. Child usually is effected by separation from mother.
- b. Living conditions may be unsatisfactory (if in foster home, may be separated from siblings).

3. Special problems

- a. Because of drug involvement of mother, child may have been born addicted.
- b. Seldom has a father or any other male to relate to.
- c. Seldom has emotional security of acceptance at start of life.
- d. At school, often teased about real or rumored aspects of mother's record.
- e. Health problem
 1. Inherited health tendencies not always checked
 2. Because of surrogate parents may have too much responsibility for other children or other incapacity, may not get available health services.

f. Emotional problems

1. Emotional result of bad start (i.e. if child was born addicted) may not be recognized and treated
2. Possible retardation often not recognized until first grade
3. Emotional problems may be disdiagnosed as retardation.

In addition to the problems previously cited, we found the following ongoing problems of children of offenders:

A. Disappointments

1. When a promise to visit with a child is not kept.
2. When request for material things are not honored.

B. Separation from siblings

1. When children are separated by placement in different setting
2. When there is conflict between the different guardians in whose household children are residing.

C. Poor school adjustment

1. When child becomes the target of teasing by children who are aware of his mother's background.
2. When there is inadequate, inconsistent and conflicting guidance in the home.

D. Sibling rivalry sometimes created by a mother.

1. In some instances where a mother has two or more children she will attempt to build or solidify her relationship with the child who is least aware of her conflict with the law. She feels that this child will be more accepting of her. This leads to rivalry between siblings for a mother's affections.

E. Exposure to consistent unfavorable references to mother and comparison of child with mother.

F. Re-appearance of mother and attendant anxiety because of unpleasant memories of previous association."⁸

⁸ The Women's Prison Association of New York, Report of Children Of Offenders Program, 1972, p. 8.

As evidenced by the results of the above study, women offenders and their children have many problems facing them upon the woman's release from prison. The women in the interview sample suggested that a community advocacy center would be helpful in terms of solving some of the conflicts of these women and their children. They suggested that a counselor or someone similar should contact women while they are still incarcerated to find out the status of their children. If some assistance is desired it is suggested that the advocate has some consistent contact with the whereabouts of the child. Also it is hoped that the advocate would act as a liaison between mother and child in order to help re-establish the mother/child relationship whenever possible.

6. Financial Aid

Five of the nineteen women mentioned financial assistance as one of their major necessities after their release from prison. Most of the women in the sample indicated that they would prefer to get a job right away for means of financial support. However, there were a few who stated that they thought they would need some financial assistance at least until they were able to adjust to the idea and responsibilities of being in the "free world". They suggested that a woman offender needs money to tide her over until she can find her own means of support. Several of the women thought that an emergency loan fund would be helpful to women who were not able to find jobs immediately after release or women who for one reason or another needed money for something else. It was also suggested that women being released from prison

should be given supplementary income by the state at least until they find another source of income. Quite a few of the women previously released from prison have been unable to find employment, and therefore have settled for welfare. In the study by the New York Women's Prison Association, the majority of women offenders indicated that jobs are their greatest need but, "because jobs are not available, welfare is chosen as the only remaining alternative."⁹

7. Legal Aid

Five of the sample interviewees indicated that they would need legal assistance after their release from prison. Four of them needed to be advised of parole rules and regulations and one indicated that she would need assistance in order to get her child from a foster home.

The women indicated that they had no real knowledge of the legal system and saw the necessity for having an attorney available to give general legal advice. One interviewee in South Carolina stated that: "It is not the community but the law enforcement officials who hinder a woman's readjustment into the community. Once you've been in prison, if anything goes wrong in your neighborhood, the 'law' always comes back to you." This offender indicated that for this reason it is always necessary for a woman offender to have access to legal aid.

The offenders stated that they would use legal assistance if it were available and entered the following suggestions for community

⁹The Women's Prison Association of New York, A Study in Neglect: A Report on Women Prisoners, 1972.

services: first of all they suggested that legal assistance might be established as one component of a multi-service center available to women offenders. That is, one or two attorneys should be available at the center for legal advice or contacts should be established in order that the lawyer would be easily accessible to the women offenders. The other suggestion made by the women was that lawyers who are currently working in community legal aid agencies should be made accessible to women offenders. Their only apprehension about contacting lawyers in these agencies is that they are usually already overworked. One woman at Framingham indicated that "usually the legal aid lawyers are too busy to handle you with individual attention, therefore you get the impression that they don't have time to be bothered."

Most of the women, however, thought that the legal services would be more useful if they were set up as a component of a community service center which provides services for women offenders.

8. Education

Four of the women offenders rated education as one of their major priority needs after release. If I had ventured to define the needs of these women before interviewing them for this sample, I would have ranked education much higher on the chart of priority needs. During the interviews, I found that most of the women who have not completed high school are attempting to get their high school equivalency certificates while still incarcerated. In addition, the majority of the eight high school graduates have no immediate aspirations of attending college. The women indicated that they are mainly concerned with

acquiring a job skill in order that they will be able to work and support themselves. The expressed needs for vocational training were discussed previously under the section entitled jobs and job training. The necessity for further academic education was mentioned as a long range goal but not as an immediate post-release concern.

Of the women who expressed an immediate concern for attending college, three were high school graduates and one had completed the 11th grade of high school and was about to receive her high school equivalency certificate.

The women interviewed suggested that in most cases it should be left up to the individual offender to determine if she wants to further her education. They did indicate, however, that it would be helpful if a counselor or advocate person in the community was accessible to point out available educational opportunities to the women.

9. Medical Services

Four of the women in the sample stated that medical care will be a major necessity after release from prison. Physical and mental health is included in this category. Although only four of the women mentioned medical care as a top priority need, several of the other women suggested that the vast majority of women offenders will need these services at one time or another and that it is important that they be made available to them.

Two of the women in the sample were not at all well health-wise and would require constant medical attention after release.

Two of the women stated that they felt they needed to talk with a

psychiatrist in order to resolve their conflicts. Several of the women suggested that other women in the institutions would need a psychiatrist but no reference was made to their own personal need. Most of the interviewees said they needed someone to talk to but referred to a counselor more often than a psychiatrist.

The main concern of the offenders was whether or not they would be able to afford the medical care that they needed. They stated that they would take advantage of the currently existing community health centers (if they are still in operation when they get out). A suggestion was made by one of the women that a referral service be set up for medical care for women offenders. "The referral," she stated, "might come from a local social service agency or a special agency set up specifically to assist women offenders."

10. Drug-Free Assistance

Six of the women interviewed for the sample are previous drug-users but only two indicated a need for participation in a drug free program in order that they will not go back to drugs. These two women expressed a need for this type of program in order "to ward off negative influence of junky friends and general feeling of being able to solve problems by getting high." The other woman felt that her participation in a drug-free program would give her an opportunity to meet new friends with whom she had something in common.

The women asserted that a community agency could assist them by referring them to a drug-related program already established in the community. One of the women stated that her need would be satisfied

if she could attend a "Rap" or group therapy session once a week for a few months after her release.

It is worthy to mention that although two of the women felt that they needed to participate in a drug-related program, the majority of the women interviewed expressed negative views about the current drug programs in the prisons. Most of them refused to participate in the programs and those that did dropped out after a short while. When the women were asked why they disliked the drug programs they stated that "the staff members who were operating the program usually try to get into your business so they can relate the information to the prison administrators." Apparently this was the overwhelming opinion of the women offenders because similar statements were made about the drug programs at all three institutions (i.e. Framingham, Harbison, and the North Carolina Correctional Institution For Women).

11. Recreation

Only one woman indicated a need for recreation after release from prison. The reasoning behind this assertion according to the offender is "many women are released from prisons and they have nothing to do from day to day but go to work, if they have a job, and come home. This brings on an idle mind, therefore if the women had some way of getting recreation they might use up some of the active energy that was stored up while in prison."

This offender also saw the need for an ex-offender to get involved in her community so that she might feel like a part of the neighborhood. This includes community recreation as well as certain

community causes which might arise.

12. Religious Guidance

One woman offender felt that her greatest need after imprisonment would be religious guidance. She suggested that most offenders can find this guidance at the community church of their choice. She suggested that a good chaplain could often serve as a counselor and advocate for an ex-offender and that perhaps more women offenders should avail themselves of his/her services.

E. The Case Studies

In order that the reader might get a better understanding of the individual interviewees and their responses in the interview sessions, the following four case studies will be presented. Two of the cases are women at Framingham; one is from South Carolina and the other is from North Carolina. The following information was obtained in the interview sessions with the women offenders and no attempt to verify or discount information was made.

1. Case A

Offender A is Black, twenty-three years of age and has been incarcerated for the past five months (as of the interview date). She is married but has no children. She is a high school graduate and has served in the United States Navy for two years. She has received vocational training in barbering and secretarial skills. The offender indicated in the interview that she has held previous jobs as a bookkeeper, payroll clerk, file clerk, receptionist, knitting

machine operator and as an aide for "headstart". She has held jobs in the institution in the laundry room and as an administrative secretary in the main office at the institution. The offense she is convicted on is accessory after the fact of armed robbery. She received an original sentence of six years and her expected parole date is 10/74.

In response to the question pertaining to what she would do for the first 48 hours after release, offender A had this to say: "For the first forty-eight hours after release I would like to take long walks just to think about being free. In between those walks I would like to be with my family (parents) and if possible go see my husband who is also in prison." The offender expressed that her two greatest fears about being released from prison were "re-getting to know the world we live in and most of all what people will think of me now that I've been to prison."

Offender A expects that she will encounter three major problems on the outside and they are: 1) Re-adjustment to society in terms of everyday routine, 2) Attempting to get people on the outside to accept her as another human being and not as an ex-convict, and 3) Attempting to reestablish her self-confidence.

When asked what needs she thought she would have upon release she replied that she needs a supportive environment, i.e. her close family members. She also indicated that if an 'advocate' were available to her that she could be most helpful in terms of helping her "get herself together". She expressed a desire to have someone to talk to about her problems. She suggested that this 'advocate' person not be a probation or parole officer because "they are correctional

employees first and counselors or advisors second."

When asked what community services could assist her in the satisfaction of her needs, the offender replied that a community advocacy program could be of great assistance. Members of the community who are interested in the offender should volunteer or be employed by this program. She suggested that the advocate be a person who has time to be concerned about the well-being of others.

The offender stated that she was essentially the only person who could motivate herself to regain self-confidence but that the community could help by attempting to be more understanding of the problems faced by an ex-offender. In addition, "She hopes at some point the community will become more aware of the justice system in this country and come to realize that it is not always right."

2. Case B

Offender B is a young eighteen year old Black woman who has been incarcerated for over a year. She is unmarried and has a four-month old son. She completed eleven grades of high school and is currently working on her General Education Diploma (G.E.D.) while still at the institution. She has not had any vocational training beyond her high school nursing courses. She was convicted on fourteen counts of forgery and sentenced for 1 day to 9 years. She was sentenced under the Committed Youthful Offender Act since she was tried at age sixteen. She describes herself as growing up in an urban ghetto and indicated that she was a drug-addict at fourteen years of age. She "kicked" the habit at age 15 and now only ~~uses~~ drugs occasionally. She stated

stated that she had no prior commitment or arrest before her arrest and conviction for the current charges.

She stated that for the first 48 hours she would like to go home and be with her son. Her baby, who is four months old, is living with her parents. The child was born while she was in prison and therefore she knows very little about him since she has not been able to see him since birth. Offender B's home is in another state and it is not easy for her relatives to get to see her. This is especially difficult since her immediate family lives at least eight hundred miles away from the institution where she is incarcerated.

When asked about her fears of being released she at first replied that she did not have any fears. However, as the conversation went on she indicated that she had quite a few fears and apprehensions about being released. One of them was the responsibility of taking care of a child. Another was whether or not she would be able to find a job since she had never really had any full time work before. Obviously these fears or other fears which she did not relate to me were really bothering her as she indicated that she had been scheduled to go home twice before and each time she would "get into trouble so she could remain at the prison".

She implied in the interview session that she expects at least two problems that she must resolve upon her release from prison. The first involves finding a means of support for herself and her child. Secondly, she must resolve her conflicts with men. She stated that men were "o.k." but that she didn't really like them as much as she liked women. She said "Men just want to make love, give you babies and

keep getting up". She said she felt women were more understanding of her feelings as a person than men. She said also that because she "knows her father runs around with other women" she generally "has very little respect for him and others like him." She also has a homosexual partner in the institution whom she says "does not want her to leave the institution any time soon." Offender B said that the last time she was supposed to be released from prison her "partner" openly 'socialized' with another woman in order to make her jealous.

She stated that she needed a job or job training and psychiatric counseling after her release. Her expected parole date comes up again in August. She says that "this time she's going home!"

3. Case C

Offender C is a twenty-nine year old widow who at the time of the interview had only been incarcerated for five weeks. She is a white college graduate with one year of graduate school in anthropology. She had the highest education level of all the women in the sample. Her husband was killed in prison last year and before incarceration they did not have any children.

She has worked on the outside as a nurse's aide, director of a teen center, research assistant and a community organizer. Since she has been in the institution she has worked in the store room as a distributor and the sewing plant. She was charged with the following offenses: receiving a stolen vehicle, possession of burglary tools, possession of firearms and explosives and possession of stolen license plates. For these offenses she received a two and a half year indefinite

sentence which means her first possible parole hearing will come up after she has served six months in prison.

Offender C indicated in the interview that she has one prior arrest for demonstrating but no prior commitments. When asked what she would do for the first 48 hours after her release she replied, "I would like to visit all of my old friends. After that I would go to see all of the "kids" I know. I really miss all the kids I use to know. After that I will go and get drunk."

Her fears, she indicated, mostly revolved around her apprehensiveness about being on the outside again. She wonders what others will think about her having been incarcerated and she suspects that many of her relationships with other people will change because of that. She expects to have a problem finding the kind of job she wants because of her prison record. She indicated that she could not think of any needs for herself except a job but indicated that she thought most of the women she had seen in prison "needed some alternative to what they had before they came to prison." Most of the women offenders she had come in contact with had no self-awareness or self-consciousness. She stated also that she felt they needed some motivation and realization that they did not have to depend on men to do their thinking for them.

She suggested that counseling services be provided for the women offenders so that at some point "they" might gain a solid concept of themselves.

4. Case D

Offender D is a forty-five year old Black woman who has been incar-

cerated for almost two years. She is a high school graduate, is married and has five children who are living at home with her husband. She worked on the outside for several years as a factory (assembly-line) worker. Since she has been in prison she received training in cosmetology and occupational therapy (knitting and crocheting).

Offender D is convicted on twenty-one counts of the sale of heroin and has a sentence of 9 to 10 years, 3 to 5 years, and 9 to 10 years plus 5 years from and after. She has a total of thirty years. She states that she was never actually arrested but suspected numerous times.

She states that she doesn't really have any fears except old friends trying to influence her to use drugs again. She stated that she was a heavy heroin user for about eleven years. She went through cold turkey when she first came to prison almost two years ago.

She says that during the first 48 hours after her release she and her husband are going on a three month vacation to Hawaii, Texas and California. When I inquired about the expenses of such a long trip she told me that her husband works for one of the airlines so flying expenses would not be a problem. When asked what problems she thought she would face after her release from prison she replied that she didn't think she would be able to get a job because of her health and the fact that she was convicted on a drug charge. She also indicated that she was concerned about the attitudes of others toward her since she had been in prison. She expected this same attitude to prevail after she is released from prison. She stated that after her release she would only need a job but that most of the women offenders in the institution need a place to stay as well as outside counseling

to help them with their problems. She said also that quite a few of the women she had seen come and go since she had been incarcerated usually come back because they don't have any money to support themselves. To help solve this problem she suggested that an emergency fund be set aside for women offenders having financial problems.

5. Analysis

As indicated by the above case studies the woman offender is plagued with numerous problems, needs and concerns.

I think it is significant at this point to note that there were several trends observed concerning the needs and problems of the women in one state versus the women in another. The most significant difference was found between the expressed needs of the women in South Carolina as opposed to the needs of the women in Massachusetts. Five of the six women interviewed in South Carolina indicated that their top need after release is counseling services. The women indicated that the prison experience had been so demoralizing that they had lost most of their self confidence and self respect. The majority of the women at MCI-Framingham, however, stated that their top need priority is jobs and job training. Four of the women stated that they would not use counseling services because they had become very distrustful of others while in prison. The women in North Carolina were split between the two need priorities of jobs and counseling.

This again makes a case for the planner getting to know his clients before planning services for them.

F. Analysis of the Needs of Women Offenders

Based on the two preceding sections of this chapter, it is obvious that the needs of the Adult Female Offender population are multitudinous. It is the assumption of this paper that the vast majority of those needs can and should, to some extent, be satisfied or eliminated by substantial community support and the provision of community social services. For instance, the consistently expressed need for jobs and job training could be significantly attained by the implementation of an extensive vocational skills training program for women offenders and a massive education drive to help community businessmen become more objective in their hiring of ex-offenders. By the same token, other need areas might be satisfied by the provision of community services such as counseling, housing, child care, financial assistance, legal aid, education, medical care and religious guidance. In order to be realistic, however, we must intimate that it is next to impossible to satisfy all of the needs of the woman offender through the use of community social services. Let me suggest that needs which cannot be solely satisfied through the availability of a social service agency are those which relate to the woman offender's self-concept such as self-respect, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-awareness. This situation exists because of the growing ambivalence of the correctional system in this country. "The purpose of prison is still promulgated officially as both rehabilitation of the inmates and protection of the general populace by restraining those thought to threaten them."¹⁰ The general attitudes of

¹⁰ Glaser, Daniel, Social Deviance, Chicago, Marham Publishing Company, 1971, p. 68.

society, however, still allude to the prison experience as one of punishment. In addition, the punishment does not end with the end of a prison term but continues after the woman is released because of the stigma that is attached to having been a convicted felon. Erving Goffman defines a stigma as an attribute which is deeply discrediting. Goffman goes on to state that there are three kinds of stigma:

First there are abominations of the body - the various physical deformities. Next there are blemishes of individual character perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty, these being inferred from a known record of, for example, imprisonment.... Finally, there are the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, these being stigma that can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family. In all of the various instances, however, including those the Greeks had in mind, the same sociological features are found: an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse posses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us.

The attitude we normals have toward a person with a stigma, and the actions we take in regard to him, are well known, since these responses are what benevolent social action is designed to soften and ameliorate. By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discriminations, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances.¹¹

Because of the stigma attachment placed on imprisonment, many women offenders lack self-confidence and self-respect when they are released into the community after serving a prison term. Goffman describes the situation of the woman offender as traumatic. The differentness is not immediately apparent when a woman offender meets others she does not know.

11. Goffman, Erving, Stigma, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963, pp. 5 and 6.

The issue then is not that of managing tensions generated during social contacts, but rather that of managing information about her failings. To display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when and where.¹²

The point being made here is that there are many different factors operating in this society which hinder a woman offender from developing and maintaining a good self-concept. Although it would be very difficult for a community social service agency to attempt to alleviate all of these factors, it is possible that the services could assist the woman offender in becoming better able to 'deal' with these factors. That is, the community service might assist the woman offender by attempting to buffer or mitigate some of the traumas of surviving as an ex-offender. Indirectly the agency might help the woman regain self-confidence and self-respect by finding her a satisfactory job, providing educational accessibility, providing psychiatric or counseling services and enabling her to become more independent. Perhaps it will be some time before the majority of the attitudes on corrections and crime are changed, but meanwhile the woman offender can better prepare herself to meet the hostilities and stigmas by becoming a stronger, more motivated individual.

G. Summary

This chapter has attempted to define the needs of the woman offender after her release from prison.

The nineteen women interviewed in the sample expressed their

¹²Ibid., p. 12.

perceived needs as the following: Jobs and Job Training; Counseling; Housing; Other Socio-psychological needs; Financial Assistance; Legal Assistance; Education; Medical care; Drug-free programs, Recreation and Religious Guidance.

The women interviewed at MCI-Framingham expressed an overwhelming priority need for jobs and job training; the women in South Carolina expressed a priority need for counseling services; and the women at North Carolina were two for two on jobs and counseling.

There was no significant difference in the needs expressed by the two racial groups. This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that the women who were interviewed were all chosen by the institution staff members. Therefore it is more likely that these characteristics would be more similar than if the women had been chosen by random sampling.

The needs of the women offender population as indicated in this chapter are many and varied. Because of this, it is suggested that the needs of each group of women offenders and more specifically the needs of each individual offender must be taken into consideration before attempting to plan or provide services for that particular population.

The next chapter will attempt an exploratory study of the available services in the Boston area in order to assess whether or not they meet the expressed needs of the women offender population.

CHAPTER V

SERVICES AVAILABLE TO MEET THE EXPRESSED NEEDSA. Introduction

An article entitled "From Prison to the Community" states:

The transition from prison to community is remarkably crucial in determining whether the offender will adjust adequately to living in the community or will return to his previous or even more destructive pattern of behavior. The facilities, personnel, and services available for guiding the recently released offender are often insufficient for effecting constructive changes.¹

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, it was indicated that in addition to defining the needs of the woman offender, some attempt would be made to find out if services are available to meet these needs.

I decided that an exploratory study of the community services would be necessary in order to determine what services are or are not available. The Boston area was chosen for the exploratory study because of accessibility to information concerning kind and extent of services available to the woman offender. Although an interview was conducted in South Carolina with the community resource counselor at

¹Hobbs, David and Osman, Marvin, "From Prison to the Community: A Case Study."

Harbison who stated that there were no community services specifically set up for women offenders, no in-depth information was obtained and therefore the services available in the other section will not be dwelled on in this chapter.

"As there is a dearth of social services available to the general public, the problem is of crisis proportions with regard to supportive and rehabilitative services for the female offender."² As I conducted several interviews with those working in community services around the Boston area, this was the typical statement regarding available services for the woman offender. According to Walter Stein, former head of the Joint Correctional Planning Council and currently an official of United Community Services of Boston, services for female offenders are almost non-existent. "In fact, there is not a single social service agency in the City of Boston which devotes a significant portion of its services to female offenders."

In an interview with Kenneth Bishop, Director of Classification and Treatment at Massachusetts Correctional Institution - Framingham, he attempted to assess the reasons for the lack of services available to the woman offender. He stated that, "One reason for the lack of services for female offenders is that they are usually supported by men so they don't have to worry about the job situation as much as men do. In addition, Mr. Bishop stated, that, women accept welfare more readily so they will always be able to have some means of support. Their

² Nald, Rena, The Women's Multi-Service Center, unpublished Proposal to Massachusetts Department of Corrections.

problems are not as critical as the problems of male offenders in terms of being accepted back into the community." Contrary to Mr. Bishop's beliefs, as evidenced by the needs expressed in the last chapter, women offenders are concerned about getting jobs and many would prefer not to be on welfare if they could get a satisfying job to support themselves and their families.

Since it was concluded that there were almost no community services serving the woman offender specifically, I decided to do a cursory survey of those regular social services which stated that a significant number of their clients are woman offenders. For purposes of consistency the services will be identified in the following categories: Jobs and Job Training, Counseling, Housing, Education, Legal Services, Medical Services, Child Care, and Prison Support and Self-Help groups.

B. Jobs and Job Training

In my search for information regarding the services available to provide job placement and job training of offenders from MCI-Framingham, I interviewed staff members of three community services in the Boston area. The services were ABCD (Action for Boston Community Development), O.I.C. (Opportunities Industrial, Inc.) and the Law Offenders Program (Mass. Division of Employment Security).

Although I was not able to find out very much statistical data about how many women offenders are served by ABCD, I did find out quite a bit of other information about the role ABCD plays in relation to the offender populations. I spoke with Ken Janie, who is Director of Manpower at ABCD and John Bellon^u, who is a Job Developer in the central

office. They indicated that approximately twenty percent of their total client population have some record of arrest. They were uncertain as to how many of this number were women offenders. ABCD places a large percentage of its offender population through several of their special programs such as the Adult Work Program. The program generally enrolls an individual, male or female, who has no prospects for regular employment or job training. The program concentrates specifically on the hard-core unemployed -- drug addicts, ex-mental patients, alcoholics, illiterates and ex-convicts. The enrollee is supplied a job, with work site supervisor as well as living arrangements -- (food) if necessary.

Mr. Bellou indicated that the companies which were most willing to accept female offenders were those which: 1) handle materials (fabrics, sewing, etc.), 2) hotels and restaurants (kitchen help), and 3) Assemblies (bench work for small and fine parts electronic firms).

Like many community services ABCD serves women offenders as a small component of the generally disadvantaged. Initial contact with ABCD must be made by the offender as there are no special efforts to go out and seek women offenders (such as an on-going prison program) for employment.

In discussing the employment dilemma of the woman offender with Lorenzo Parker and several others at Opportunities Industrial, Inc., they indicated that they thought O.I.C. served quite a few women ex-offenders but was uncertain about the exact figure. O.I.C. generally provides job counseling, placements and training programs with stipends for women as well as men offenders. The job areas open to women are: key punch, general clerical and business machines as well as tele-

phone operator skills. O.I.C. states that they will go to court with O.I.C. clients threatened with parole or probation violation. They also accept only drug free clients.

O.I.C. describes itself as a community-based, non-profit, self-help program for motivating, training, and employing the unemployed and underemployed. Chief target areas for potential trainees are Roxbury, the South End, and North Dorchester. O.I.C. provides counseling services throughout a student's affiliation with the agency; pre-vocation courses in such subjects as basic math and English are available if needed. Job-skill training, job placement, and continuing follow-up complete the program. Applicants must be between 18 and 65 years of age and earn an annual income of \$3400 or less.

Like ABCD, O.I.C. serves the woman offender as one component of its overall clientele but no specific consideration is given to her.

At the Law Offenders Program I spoke with a Mrs. Striker who is one of the supervisors in the central office. Mrs. Striker indicated that they did place some women ex-offenders on jobs but not very many. She stated that the program that used to be available at Framingham had ceased to function and therefore they had taken their people out of Framingham. She stated also that the reason the program was a failure was because it appeared that the women were more unskilled and had much lower job aspirations than the male offenders.

She also indicated that most of the jobs that the Division of Employment Security had available were low paying, unsatisfactory occupations such as restaurant and kitchen help, or janitorial or domestic labor. She indicated that most women offenders would rather go on

welfare than take one of these jobs.

As indicated by the above agencies, most services in the Boston area which offer job placement or training to the woman offender do so as part of an overall program to service the entire community. Often the women offenders are not aware of these programs as they have no significant contact with prison job developers or parole placement officers. In contacting one of the placement officers at the Massachusetts Parole Board, I found that they place one out of every 20 or 30 offenders on a job. With this track record it is obvious that there is, in addition to a lack of services, a lack of communications among the services that do exist.

C. Counseling

There are several counseling services throughout the Boston area which serve women offenders as a component of their general population but no services specifically designed to handle the problems faced by an ex-offender. The services which indicated that a significant number of their population are women ex-offenders are the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, the Model Cities-Family Life Centers, and the Self-Development Group, Inc.

The staff at the Roxbury Multi-Service Center indicated that a large percentage of their client population had an arrest record but were uncertain about the exact percentage since there are no distinguishing records kept on ex-offenders as opposed to non-ex offenders. The following counseling services are offered to residents of the Roxbury, North Dorchester areas: assessment of social and emotional needs of families; short term and limited long-term counseling; referral and

family counseling marital problems and school adjustment of children. The main focus is on family needs. In addition they also offer counseling to the woman offender in the areas of housing, legal aid and mental health (i.e. consultation and evaluation; referral to appropriate facility for on-going treatment).

Another agency which indicated substantial counseling services to the woman offender and her family are the Family Life Centers set up by Boston Model Cities. There are three family life centers serving residents of Roxbury, Jamaica Plain and Dorchester. The centers serve individual ex-offenders or ex-offenders and their families. The centers provide counseling and or referral services for: social services problems (including employment and family adjustment), medical services, drug-related services, and assistance with speech, hearing and language problems.

The last agency to be discussed which indicated that they provide a significant amount of counseling services to women ex-offenders is the Self-Development Group, Inc. located at 3 Joy Street in Boston. The agency is operated by male and female ex-offenders. They offer a wide range of services and just recently began to expand their services to the female offender. The Group offers individual, group, drug and alcohol counseling to women as well as to male ex-offenders. In addition they have started several programs within the institutions in order to attempt to deal with the problems of the offender before release. The most recent program set up for women is a group therapy session for women offenders at Framingham. The Group states that "they will offer their assistance to any ex-offender who shows a sincere desire to help himself."

D. Housing

There are several agencies which indicate that they do assist women offenders seek housing; however, as indicated earlier in the paper this is one of the major problems of the woman offender. Although the Boston Housing Authority manages the largest city-wide system of low rent housing with rental charges based on family income, they state that it is difficult to supply housing for ex-offenders. Many landlords object to renting to women who have been in prison. (Again, the stigma attached to imprisonment is obvious.)

Several other agencies also attempt to assist offenders to find housing and they are: the Roxbury Multi-Service Agency, New Urban League of Greater Boston, the Self-Development Group, Inc., Libra (an ex-offender operated group) and Fair Housing, Inc.

Earlier, the halfway house as a community based alternative was discussed by the women offenders in the survey sample. There are only two halfway-houses for women in the Boston area which provide housing and residential assistance for offenders. The first is the Friends of Framingham Halfway House in Dorchester and the second is Vei Lomani located in Jamaica Plain. The Friends of Framingham Halfway House, which was recently closed and will not open up again until July 1973, serves women recently released from MCI-Framingham. Its capacity is 14. Assistance is given for entrance into government training programs. Vocational counseling and medical aid is also available. The Vei Lomani halfway house has space for eight women offenders usually referred from institutions. They indicate that the average offender usually stays at the house for one year and that their program is quite

structured. They make use of outside community resources for the women at the House.

E. Education

In attempting to find educational services which served a substantial number of women ex-offenders, I ran into a brick wall. There are a number of general educational agencies which stated that they are willing to service women ex-offenders, but very few indicated they actually served these women. Some of the educational services available are: Adult Basic Education Service, Center for Opportunity for Progress in Education (COPE), The Massachusetts Department of Education, Model Cities and the Education Warehouse.

In discussing the educational service dilemma with Ms. Arlene Fingeret, Coordinator of Adult Education at the Education Warehouse in Cambridge, she stated that she has not been able to get the Massachusetts Department of Correction or the Parole Officers to refer women offenders to her organization. She stated that she gets several male ex-offenders through community-based facilities like Brooke House (halfway-house for males). She also states that when she inquires as to the lack of community based programs for women she gets this reply, "Women offenders incarcerated for long periods of time are more detrimental than men incarcerated for that same period of time and therefore they are not good risk cases since community based programs are still demonstration projects." Ms. Fingeret was not sure why women offenders who were released from prison did not participate in the educational program but indicated that she thought it was either a lack of communica-

tion or a lack of referral.

F. Legal Services

The Boston Legal Assistance Program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Boston Legal Aid Society both indicated that they are available to give legal assistance and advice to women offenders in civil cases only. Boston Legal Assistance offers assistance to clients by appointment only and the Boston Legal Aid Society has a walk-in service.

The Harvard Voluntary Defenders located at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge, the Massachusetts Defenders Committee and the Roxbury Defenders Committee offer legal services to women ex-offenders in criminal cases.

All of the above agencies indicated that they are often over-worked but will attempt to help any individual who needs their services.

G. Medical Services

There are community health centers in the Boston area which avail themselves of the general residential area where they are located. A woman offender should be able to go to one of the centers if she is aware that they exist.

The centers are run by the Department of Health and Hospitals and they usually offer the following services: adult medicine, dental care, family planning, mental health, optometry and pediatrics.

In addition, there is a Boston Evening Clinic at 314 Commonwealth Avenue in Boston which might provide medical assistance at a minimal fee

for women ex-offenders. They are open 5:30 to 7:00 P.M. Mondays and Wednesdays in order to provide "total medical care at a cost low income people can afford."

Also the Division of Legal Medicine is available to women ex-offenders. The Division provides diagnostic evaluation, mental health consultation, and long or short term group or individual psychotherapy to adult and juvenile public offenders, with priority given to those on parole or probation. Mental health units are located within the correctional institution at Framingham.

Like the previous services discussed, Medical care is available to the woman offender, as part of the general network of community services provided for low income or disadvantaged residents.

H. Child Care

There is no specific child care service which caters to the day care needs of the woman offender population in the Boston area.

There are several day care centers in the area, however, which cater to low-income families and therefore usually have minimal day care rates. The list of licensed day care centers in any particular area can be obtained by contacting the Boston Day Care Consultation and Licensing Unit.

Other child care information may be obtained through agencies like the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Boston Family Counseling Programs or other counseling agencies in the area.

I. Prison Support and Self Help Groups

There are four major self-help groups in the Boston area which provide assistance to women ex-offenders. They are the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Ex-Convicts Helping Others (ECHO), Self-Development Group (SOG) and Libra.

The American Friends Service Committee, located at 48 Inman Street in Cambridge, assists in organizing and working with community groups to collaborate with inmates and ex-offenders in building constructive action programs. They also provide information on self-help and prisoner support groups. The AFSC has recently established a community support group which has weekly meetings at Framingham to discuss the problems of women still incarcerated and assist them in preparing for release.

Echo, which is located at the same address as the AFSC, is staffed by ex-offenders who are willing to assist women offenders any way that they can. The ex-offender who was interviewed for the sample is a staff member at Echo and she indicated that they provide counseling and referral services wherever possible. They have few on hand available services except being able to give advice but they are willing to assist the offender in trying to solve whatever problems she might have after release from prison.

The Self-Development Group, discussed earlier, also provides emergency referrals for small cash grants, food, clothing and shelter.

Libra, which is also located in Cambridge, provides emergency services to women ex-offenders in the form of cash, food, clothing, shelter or work.

In addition, they also assist the ex-offenders in finding jobs, homes, medical and legal help and counseling.

They also operate a prison support group for women at Framingham.

In addition to the services mentioned above, there are several groups or organizations which indicate that they will provide emergency service to any woman ex-offender who needs it. Some of these services are: The Department of Public Welfare, the Prisoners Aid Society, the Spanish Alliance, the Boston City Missionary Society, the Massachusetts Correctional Association, "Employment Temporary" and the Lend A Hand Society.

J. Summary and Analysis

There are no social service agencies in the Boston area which gear themselves specifically to the problems of the woman offender. There are many general community services, however, that are currently available to low-income or disadvantaged residents of a particular area. It is obvious from the research on the subject, that there is a communications gap between those providing these services and those who have access to women in prison.

The majority of the community services in the area do not keep accurate records of the number of women offenders served by their agencies. Therefore they could only guesstimate as to the number of women offender clients they have. It is a certainty, however, that the vast majority of women offenders are not availing themselves of these services. Based on this situation, it is concluded that what is needed is a central organization or agency which has contacts with

existing social service agencies and organizations and access with women released from prison. A line of communication must be established in order to let women offenders know what community services already exist in their communities.

In addition, however, let me suggest that there may be another reason why women offenders are not massively using the existing community services. That is, perhaps some of the services do not meet the specific needs of the woman offender. For this reason, it can be cited that there is a necessity to establish a new agency or agencies to specifically gear its services to meeting the needs and solving the problems of the adult female offender.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters have attempted to relate the results of a small exploratory study to find out what women offenders perceive their needs to be at post-release and if community services are available to meet those needs.

It has been established that the lack of statistical information on the female offender has served as a hindrance in terms of planning services for this particular population. Not only are female offenders being ignored in the correctional literature and history, but in correctional programming as well.

The National Survey of Women Prisoners taken by the New York Women's Prison Association indicates that the typical woman offender is as follows: she is unmarried, unskilled, between 20 and 30 years of age, undereducated and has one or more children of her own. In addition, she is usually Black and is also head of her household. The local profile rendered all of the above characteristics except race. The majority of the women at Framingham are white. This is significant as it indicates that each group or each individual woman offender may vary some or a great deal from the average. Therefore, whenever planning

services or programs for a population of women offenders, it will be necessary for the planners to examine and analyze the characteristics of that particular group instead of providing services based on the national average. Too often we plan what we think others need without finding out whether they feel they need it or not.

The fourth chapter defined and identified the expressed needs of the women interviewed in the sample. The needs were ranked according to the expressed priority of the women interviewed. The needs as ranked in priority were: jobs and job training, counseling, housing, other socio-psychological needs, financial assistance, legal assistance, education, medical care, drug free assistance, recreation and religious guidance.

Jobs and Job Training

The first need on the priority list, as indicated by the women, is jobs and job development. Since most of the women are unskilled, the jobs they held before going to prison were usually low-paying, unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. In addition, most women's institutions do not provide vocational training for the majority of the women while they are incarcerated. Since their job saleability was low when they went into prison, it is even less when they get out because of the stereotypes attached to offenders and the fact that the offender has been out of the job market for several years. The disillusionment and discouragement which often confronts a woman offender when seeking employment are all too common. The lack of training, education and job information are important factors which are often lacking. If these

factors are coupled with a criminal record the effects are often disastrous. The women interviewed feared this disaster and thus placed as their first priority need after post-release vocational training and job placement.

Counseling

The second priority need which was indicated by the women was that of counseling. Several of the women indicated that they needed someone to talk to about their problems and concerns. They also indicated that a resource person needed to be available in order to act as a referral service for jobs, housing, child care, health care, legal services, or other resources available in the community. The women also stated that a counselor would be helpful in terms of assisting them in adjusting to everyday routine and responsibilities. Many of the women have had very bad experiences in the prison environment and for that reason indicated that they would not use the counselor if she were available and especially if she were employed by the Department of Corrections. It is actually unfortunate that the correctional system is set up in order to encourage distrustfulness and hostility in the prisons. The whole concept of "early release" for "good behavior in prison" fosters favoritism among the offenders and the staff.

In addition, the women also saw a need for family counseling, especially for their children and husbands.

Housing

Housing or a place to stay was the third priority need of the women at post-release. Because of inadequate housing facilities many

women offenders often serve longer terms. The Parole Board states that a woman must have a place to stay before she is released from prison. Since the offender does not have the opportunity to look for her own housing she must depend on her relatives or friends to give her a place to stay. Often women must be paroled to their relatives' houses which in many cases causes conflicts for the ex-offender because she is used to living on her own. The ex-offender interviewed indicated that "the lack of housing was a major problem for ex-offenders, particularly housing that she could afford." In addition, many landlords are hesitant about renting to ex-offenders because of the "risk" involved. The stigma attached to being an offender does not end with the prison sentence.

In addition, the women indicated that there were not enough halfway houses or community-based correctional programs available for women. Also the ones that are available they perceive as an extension of the prison system because of the many restrictions placed on the women.

Other Socio-Psychological Needs

In addition to counseling several of the women indicated that they needed someone less formal to discuss their problems with. They suggested that someone like an "Advocate" be available to them once they are released from prison. The majority of the women related that the prison experience was so demoralizing that they thought they might never recover. They indicated that they had developed a negative self-concept, including a loss of self-confidence and to some extent self-respect. What they really need is a supportive environment and they

indicated that an advocate who was really interested in their well-being might be of some assistance in helping them regain a positive self-concept. Several of the women also indicated a need for ex-offender group therapy sessions in order that they might share common problems and solutions to those problems.

Child Care

Several of the women expressed a need for child care services after release from prison. They expressed concern about where their children would be while they were working during the day. Several of the respondents indicated that normal day care prices could not be afforded.

Many of the women who had children also expressed a desire for other child care services such as family counseling for children past the pre-school age. They felt this would help the child's adjustment as well as their adjustment to being rejoined.

Financial Assistance

The women indicated a need for financial assistance once they were released from prison. Most of them would have some kind of job upon release, but they indicated that they would need money to tide them over until they received their pay. Others saw the necessity for establishing a loan fund for women being released from prison or ex-offenders needing money for an emergency.

Legal Assistance

Many of the women perceived the necessity of legal assistance for one reason or another after release. One offender stated that she would need legal assistance in order to get her child back from a foster home. Several of the other women said they needed legal assistance in order to get advice about their legal rights as parolees. One repeater remarked, "Once a woman has been in prison, and anything goes wrong, the law always comes back to you." For this reason she stated "an ex-offender always needs a lawyer."

Education

Four of the women in the sample indicated a need for further academic education. They were referring to college as these particular women were either high school graduates or working on their G.E.D. (General Education Diploma) while still in prison. As I mentioned earlier in chapter four, had I ventured to rank the needs according to priorities before taking this survey, I would have placed education closer to the top of the chart. The women stated, however, that their present concern was getting training for a job and they saw a college education as a long-range but not a short-term goal.

Medical Care

Four of the women indicated that they would need medical and health care for themselves and their children. They stated that they were concerned that they would not be able to afford the medical care that they needed once they were released from prison. Several of the

women indicated that they would need mental as well as physical health care. They seemed to feel that a psychiatrist or other analyst would be able to help them to establish a good self-concept and re-adjust into society. Their ultimate expressed need of mental health care, including counseling, is first noted in their response to the question: "What fears or problems do you think you will have after your release from prison?" Some of the responses were:

- 1) The responsibility of taking care of a child.
- 2) Re-adjustment into society and being accepted by those on the outside as another human being.
- 3) Being able to establish some degree of self-confidence and self-respect.
- 4) Being weak and easily influenced by others.
- 5) Resolving my conflict of feelings about men and women. The offender was concerned about whether or not she can put away homosexual activities after she is released from prison and men become more accessible.

Drug-free Assistance

Two of the six women who were previous drug users indicated a desire to participate in a drug-free program on the outside so that they would not be tempted to get on drugs again.

Recreation

One of the women in the sample indicated the necessity for recreational programs for women offenders. "It is important, she stated, "not to have an idle mind."

Religious Guidance

Finally, one of the women in the sample indicated a necessity for religious guidance.

Although the ex-offender interviewed for the study was not actually incorporated in the sample, her comments about the needs of women offenders were very similar to the responses of the women incarcerated. She indicated that the needs ranked in priority as follows: jobs and vocational training, counseling, housing, legal services, medical services and child care. In addition, she indicated that a program be set up which helps ex-offenders get scholarships for a college education.

From the exploratory study of the available community services in the Boston Metropolitan area, it can be concluded that no single community social service has been specifically designed to meet the needs of the woman offender. It can also be concluded that although there are numerous general community services which are also available to ex-offenders, the vast majority of women ex-offenders are not availing themselves of these services. Besides the community services listed in chapter five as having some contact with women offenders, numerous agencies were contacted which indicated that they did not. Based on these conclusions, I have attempted to offer two possibilities as to why this situation exists. The first is that the women do not avail themselves of these general community services because they are not aware that they exist or that they qualify to use them. The second is that for some reason these services do not satisfy the needs of the woman offender and therefore they are not using them. The first

possibility leads me to suggest that perhaps the establishment of a woman offender clearinghouse and referral service should be considered. The clearinghouse could serve as an information dispersal center for the woman offender in terms of letting her know what services are available and what services will be available sometime in the future. The second possibility leads me to suggest that perhaps a Women's Multi-service Center is needed in order to specifically cater to the needs of women offenders. The center would provide a certain amount of services such as counseling and would also serve as a resource center for referrals.

Recommendations

A. More Criminal Justice Research on the Woman Offender

More research is needed on the woman offender at every level of the Criminal Justice System (that is: Arrest, Pre-Trial, Pre-Sentence, Institutionalization, Pre-Release and Post-Release). Published statistical research and information pertaining to the woman offender is "at a premium".

I am particularly urging more extensive research to be done on woman offender recidivism and after care of parolees and other ex-offenders. With the emphasis on community based corrections, it is essential that correctional planners and administrators become aware of programs and/or services that do to some extent curb recidivism.

B. More Research On the Black Woman Offender

Although the previous paper did not lend itself to contributing a

significant amount of information about the specific problems of the Black woman offender, it is realized from the almost non-existent available information that this is an area for further study. One aspect which might be considered for further study is the effects of Goffman's Theory of the Dircredited and the Discreditable on the needs and problems of the Black woman offender as opposed to the needs and problems of the White offender. Goffman suggests that a discreditable individual is one who has a stigma or negative attribute which is not readily identifiable such as being an ex-offender. The discredited individual is one who has a stigma or negative attribute which is readily identifiable such as being Black. It would be interesting to study the differing effects on the needs and problems of the Black/white offenders in light of the fact that the white offender usually has one stigma which is that of being an ex-offender, and the Black offender has two.

C. Necessity for Establishment of a Better Network of Services for the Woman Ex-Offender

There should be established a more substantial and consistent network of services to meet the needs of women offenders. Let me suggest that this may be partly accomplished by the establishment of a local Women Offender Clearinghouse and Referral Service. In addition, there appears to be a necessity for a Women's Offender Multi-Services Center which will be able to provide services and resources to meet the specific needs of the female offender. The following services should also be created or extended to meet the needs of the Women Offender Population:

1. More extensive vocational training programs for women in prison as well as women on parole. The current programs do not avail themselves to the majority of offenders nor do they offer job skills which are saleable in the current job market.
2. Provide a more extensive work-release program to women still incarcerated so that they will get on-the-job-training.
3. Provide substantial counseling programs for the offender and her family.
4. Establish a Crisis Center for emergency assistance to Women Offenders (perhaps as a component of the multi-service center).
5. Establish an effective Housing Component.
6. Develop an advocate program for women ex-offenders.
7. Establish more residential community programs for women offenders. One program which the women at the facility could operate is a day care program for children of women offenders and the surrounding community.
8. Avail women offenders of educational opportunities.
9. Contract part-time legal and medical services for women offenders (possibly as a component of the Multi-Service Center) or through referral.
10. Set up a referral service for drug-related assistance to women offenders.

D. Massive Education Drive

Finally, my last recommendation relates to the problem of community stereotypes about ex-offenders. Many people in the community still feel

that once a person has been to prison, he is always to be avoided. "Convicted persons are subjected to numerous disabilities apart from the sanction imposed in their sentence, and though their sentence may eventually be served, these may never be removed."¹ The recommendation is that there should be a massive drive to re-educate members of the business and residential community to become more objective in their attitudes and responses to the woman offender.

In final conclusion, I hope that the information presented in the preceding chapters has helped to spark the interest and action of correctional planners and administrators as well as those concerned about the welfare of the women we call the Ex-Offenders. It has been an informative study for me and I hope that it has at least served to light one candle in the dimlylit hallway of knowledge concerning the Woman Offender!!

APPENDIX A

Table 1

<u>Age</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
18	1	5.3
20	1	5.3
21	1	5.3
22	1	5.3
23	2	10.5
24	1	5.3
25	1	5.3
26	2	10.5
27	1	5.3
29	1	5.3
31	1	5.3
33	2	10.5
34	1	5.3
36	1	5.3
44	1	5.3
45	1	5.3

Table 2Marital Status

<u>Status</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Single	12	63.2
Married	3	15.7
Divorced	0	0.0
Separated	3	15.7
Widowed	1	5.3

Table 3Education

<u>Education</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Completed 8th Grade	1	5.3
" 9th Grade	1	5.3
" 10th Grade	3	15.7
" 11th Grade	5	26.3
" 12th Grade	8	42.1
College and Beyond	1	5.3

Table 4Children of Offenders

<u># of Children</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	8	42.1
One	7	36.8
Two	1	5.3
Three	1	5.3
Four	1	5.3
Five	1	5.3

Table 5Race of Offender

<u>Race</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Black	11	57.9
White	8	42.1
Other	0	0.0

Table 6Jobs Held

<u>Type of Job</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Factory	6	31.6
2. Clerical	5	26.3
3. Seamstress	1	5.3
4. Practical Nurse	1	5.3
5. Tobacco Fieldworker	1	5.3
6. Domestic	1	5.3
7. Junior Counselor	1	5.3
8. Community Organizer	2	10.5
9. Not in legitimate job market	1	5.3

*The above job occupations represent the jobs held most often or the last job held by the offender before incarceration.

Table 7Major Offenses of Commitment

<u>Offense</u>	<u>Commitments</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Forgery	1	5.3
Armed Robbery	1	5.3
Accessory After the Fact of Armed Robbery	1	5.3
Possessions of Burglary Tools, Firearms and Explosives	1	5.3
Possession of Burglary Tools, Breaking and Entering	1	5.3
Store Breaking and Larceny	1	5.3
Sale of Heroin	2	10.5
Possession w/intent to Sell Heroin and Cocaine	1	5.3
Possession and Sale of Heroin	1	5.3
Possession of Heroin	1	5.3
Violation of Drug Law	1	5.3
Conspiracy in Aiding and Abetting to Violate the Federal Narcotics Act	2	10.5
Manslaughter	1	5.3
Accessory Before and After the Fact of 1st Degree Murder	1	5.3
First Degree Murder	1	5.3
Second Degree Murder	2	10.5

Table 8

Sentence by the Courts
and Approximate Parole Date

<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Expected Release Date</u>	<u># of Women %</u>
1 day to 9 years	5/73	1
10 years	1975	1
Life	1980	1
2 years	4/73	1
2 years	3/73	1
6 years	1974	1
40-50 years	1981	1
7-10 years	? (uncertain)	1
19 years	? "	1
20 years	5/73	1
30 years	? (uncertain)	1
5-10 years	? "	1
3 years	5/73	1
1 year	4/73	1
2 1/2 indefinite	? (uncertain)	1
9-15 years	? "	1
8-15 years	? "	1
5 years	4/73	1
2 1/2 years	?	1

Table 9

Prior Arrest Record

<u>Arrest Record</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	7	36.8
One	3	15.7
Two	2	10.5
Three	2	10.5
Many	5	26.3

Table 10Prior Commitment

<u>Prior Commitment</u>	<u># of Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	15	78.9
One	2	10.5
Two	2	10.5

Table 1A

STATE INSTITUTIONS

State	# of Female Offenders	Felons	Misd.	Pre- trial	ETHNIC					AGE			
					White	Black	P/R	Mex. Am.	Other	17- 22	22- 30	30- 40	40 & Over
Colorado	75	75			37	28		9	1	13	34	13	10
Connecticut	170	93	25	51	65	102	3			59	59	42	10
Hawaii	5	5							5			5	
Idaho (contracts with Oregon)	11	11			11					1	5	2	3
Indiana	151	92	59		82	69				30	57	35	29
Kentucky	110	110			77	33				24	35	23	23
Michigan (contracts w/City of Detroit)													
Minnesota	55	55			41	10			4	11	22	18	4
Missouri	91	91			55	39	1			14	35	1	25
Montana (contracts with Nebraska)													
Nebraska	60	59	1		34	21			5	24	26	6	4
New Jersey	250				75	175				47	133	47	25
New Mexico	23	23			9	3		11	5	2	17	2	2
New York	330	265	65		118	211				113	109	69	43
No. Carolina	373	238	135		132	237			4	108	22	72	66
No. Dakota (con- tracts w/Nebraska)													
Oregon	76	76			57	10		3	5	5	34	27	11
Pennsylvania	160	152	8		83	72	3			13	54	43	19
So. Carolina	150	150			44	106				32	50	15	50
So. Dakota	8	8			3				5	1	5	2	
Texas	603	603			206	325		72		64	254	150	81
Utah	11				7	1		1	2	2	7	1	1
Virginia	245	192	53		105	140				75	84	53	32
Wyoming (contracts with Nebraska)													
Totals	2,957	2,298	346	51	1,242	1,422	7	96	32*	838	1,137	653	436

*27 - Indian
5 - Hawaiian

(cont'd)

Table 1A (continued)

STATE INSTITUTIONS

State	Single	Marr.	Sep.	Div.	Wid.	EDUCATION					CHILDREN	
						Less 10th	10- 12	H.S. Equiv.	2 Yrs. Coll.	Degree	With	Without
Colorado	16	28	12	15	4	41	15	19			67	18
Connecticut	119	17	17	14	3	133	35		1	1	102	68
Hawaii	2		3			1	4				2	3
Idaho (contracts w/Oregon)		4		3	4	2	8	1			9	2
Indiana	30	37	25	45	14	55	39	46	10	1	119	32
Kentucky	37	22	18	16	7	47	41	6		2	15	31
Michigan (contracts with City of Detroit)												
Minnesota	26	11	4	10	1	9	31	10	3		9	16
Missouri	25	26	11	18	11	42	34	8	6	1	69	31
Montana (contracts with Nebraska)												
Nebraska	20	19	10	9	2	16	26	14	4		33	27
New Jersey												
New Mexico	7	10	3	1	2	5	3	11	4		15	8
New York	180	42	73	18	17	143	123	59		5	207	123
No. Carolina	138	72	80	48	53	206	145		17	1		
No. Dakota (contracts with Nebraska)												
Oregon	14	15	1	34	13	11	10	48	7		33	43
Pennsylvania	53	53		54		96	40	22	2		80	80
So. Carolina	33	39	32		23	105	42			3	118	32
So. Dakota	4	2	1	1		2	3	3			4	4
Texas	133	198	77	111	31	521	24	8			403	153
Utah	3	2	1	4	1	3	5	1	1		6	5
Virginia	74	73	56	16	26	125	80	28	4	1		
Wyoming (contracts with Nebraska)												
Totals	914	670	424	417	212	1,566	708	284	59	15	1,343	681

STATE INSTITUTIONS - ADDENDUM

<u>State</u>	<u>ETHNIC</u>							<u>AGE</u>				
	<u>Felons</u>	<u>Misd.</u>	<u>Pre trial</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>P/R</u>	<u>Mex. Amer.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>17-22</u>	<u>22-30</u>	<u>30-40</u>	<u>40-& Over</u>
Arizona	40	40		22	13		3	2	8	20	5	7
Arkansas	45	45		17	28				12	12	7	14
California	580	580		321	182		54	23	8	267	178	127
Delaware	360	65	259	108	252				130	198	18	14
Florida	401	401		148	253				143	129	73	56
Iowa	59	59		38	16		1	5	16	30	8	5
Maine	17	7	10	17					7	8	2	
Maryland	120	48	72	36	84				24	72	12	12
Massachusetts	112	94	18						44	34	13	21
Ohio	274	273	1	105	169				79	106	54	39
Tennessee	120	120		66	53			1	18	42	36	24
Vermont	7											
West Virginia	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
Totals	2,166	1,763	360	804	1,057		58	31	495	927	414	327

STATE INSTITUTIONS - ADDENDUM (Continued)

State	MARITAL STATUS					EDUCATION					CHILDREN	
	Single	Marr.	Sep.	Div.	Wid.	Less Than 10th	10-12	H.S. Equiv.	2 Yrs. Coll.	Degree	With	With-out
Arizona	13	18		7	2	16	19		2		2	38
Arkansas	12	10	5	10	8	16	24	4	1		31	14
California						406	124					
Delaware	144	126	54	36		306	36	18			234	126
Florida	188	98	58	38	19	217	103				266	135
Iowa	23	7	10	10	3	19	29	3	7	1	36	23
Maine	8	2	7			9	5	2	1		5	12
Maryland	60	36	12	6	6	84	30		6			
Massachusetts	55	20	16	16	5	46	58		8			
Ohio	95	137				99	42	59	3	2	178	54
Tennessee	6	30	42	36	6	72	23	16	9		102	18
Vermont												
West Virginia	5	10	4	4	10	12	13	6			21	10
Totals	609	494	199	170	59	1,302	506	108	37	3	875	430

Table 2A

PRIVATE AGENCIES

	# of Female Offen.	Felons	Misd.	Pre- trial	ETHNIC					AGE			
					Wht.	Blk.	P/R	Mex. Am.	Other	17- 22	22- 30	30- 40	40 & Over
Jewish Family Service (Philadelphia)	20	1	19		17	2				3	8	8	1
Delaware Council on Crime & Justice Wilmington)	12	2	10		1	8	1			2	6	2	
Jewish Family Service (New York)	4				4						1	2	1
Argus Community (New York)	14	8	6			9	5			8	5	1	
Magdala Foundation (St. Louis)	120	114	8		48	72							
The Osborne Assoc. (N.Y.City)	13	5	8		2	7	4			4	7	1	1
Bureau of Rehab. of Nat'l. Capital Area (Washington,D.C.)	211				22	188			1	30	108	38	26
Heartline (Detroit Michigan)	<u>55</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>26</u>		<u>28</u>	<u>21</u>			<u>6</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
Totals	449	183	75		122	307	10		7	86	153	57	31

Table 2A (continued)

PRIVATE AGENCIES

	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>					<u>EDUCATION</u>				<u>CHILDREN</u>		
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Marr.</u>	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>Div.</u>	<u>Wid.</u>	<u>Less 10th</u>	<u>10- 12</u>	<u>H.S. Equiv.</u>	<u>2 Yrs. Coll.</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>With</u>	<u>Without</u>
Jewish Family Service (Philadelphia)	8	7	2	2	1	1	8	7	4		2	18
Delaware Council on Crime & Justice (Wilmington)	3	3	4			10					9	1
Jewish Family Service (New York)				2	2			2	1	1	4	
Argus Community (New York)	7	3	3			4	9					
The Osborne Assoc. (N.Y. City)	7	5	1			2	3				5	8
Heartline (Detroit, Michigan)	<u>34</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>27</u>
Totals	59	22	20	10	4	54	40	14	5	2	48	53

Appendix B

Resources Contacted

Kay Bourne	- Governors Commission to Revamp Women's Prisons
Kermit Allen	- The Bridge
Vaughn Williams	- Roxbury Multi-Service Center
Annette Rogers	- ECHO
Kenneth Bishop	- Department of Corrections
Dorothy Chase	- Superintendent MCI-Framingham
Erica Kreisman	- Self-Development Group
Sukie Rice	- American Friends Service Committee
Mary Norris	- American Friends Service Committee
Henry Mascarello	- Massachusetts Correctional Association
Jane Shepard	- Mass. Department of Corrections Association
Cathy Frazier	- Massachusetts Halfway Houses, Inc.
Edwin Powers	- Author of Crime and Punishment in Early Mass.
Marvin Jones	- Peaceful Movement Halfway House
Walter Williams	- Mass. Department of Corrections Association
Doris Dorsey	- Mass. Department of Corrections Association
James Reed	- M.I.T. Community Fellows
Dr. Donald Palmer	- (Psychiatrist, M.I.T. Medical Department)
Dr. Felton Earls	- Massachusetts General Hospital Department)
Donna Katy	- Department of Youth Services (Psychiatry)
Peggy Skaron	- L.E.A.A. (S.P.A.)
Juanita Baker	- Superintendent North Carolina Correctional Center for Women
Mrs. Foy	- Superintendent (S.C. Harbison Correctional Institution)
Ken Ionie and John Bellow	- ABCD/Manpower
Mrs. Striken	- D.E.S. (Law Offender Program)
Lorenzo Parker	- O.I.C.
Arlene Fingeret	- Education Warehouse

Agencies Contacted by Phone

Libra; Women's Center; Roxbury Defenders; New Urban League; Model Cities; Boston Legal Assistance Program, Boston Housing Authority

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