



ARCHIVED - Archiving Content

Archived Content

Information identified as archived is provided for reference, research or recordkeeping purposes. It is not subject to the Government of Canada Web Standards and has not been altered or updated since it was archived. Please contact us to request a format other than those available.

ARCHIVÉE - Contenu archivé

Contenu archivé

L'information dont il est indiqué qu'elle est archivée est fournie à des fins de référence, de recherche ou de tenue de documents. Elle n'est pas assujettie aux normes Web du gouvernement du Canada et elle n'a pas été modifiée ou mise à jour depuis son archivage. Pour obtenir cette information dans un autre format, veuillez communiquer avec nous.

This document is archival in nature and is intended for those who wish to consult archival documents made available from the collection of Public Safety Canada.

Some of these documents are available in only one official language. Translation, to be provided by Public Safety Canada, is available upon request.

Le présent document a une valeur archivistique et fait partie des documents d'archives rendus disponibles par Sécurité publique Canada à ceux qui souhaitent consulter ces documents issus de sa collection.

Certains de ces documents ne sont disponibles que dans une langue officielle. Sécurité publique Canada fournira une traduction sur demande.

MODEL AND EXEMPLARY PROGRAMS FOR FEMALE
INMATES - AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW
VOLUME I: REPORT

HV
9507
A9
1989

HV
9507
A9
1989

Copyright of this document does not belong to the Crown.
Proper authorization must be obtained from the author for
any intended use.
Les droits d'auteur du présent document n'appartiennent
pas à l'État. Toute utilisation du contenu du présent
document doit être approuvée préalablement par l'auteur.

**MODEL AND EXEMPLARY
PROGRAMS FOR
FEMALE INMATES :**
An International Review

Volume I: Report /

Lee Axon

September 1989

LIBRARY
MINISTRY OF THE SOLICITOR
GENERAL OF CANADA
JAN 10 1992
BIBLIOTHÈQUE
MINISTÈRE DU SOLICITEUR
GÉNÉRAL DU CANADA
OTTAWA, ONTARIO
CANADA K1A 0P8

This report was prepared under contract for the Ministry of the
Solicitor General of Canada. The views expressed are those of the
author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Ministry of the
Solicitor General.

LIBRARY
MINISTRY OF THE SOLICITOR
GENERAL OF CANADA
SEP 5 1991
BIBLIOTHÈQUE
MINISTÈRE DU SOLICITEUR
GÉNÉRAL DU CANADA
OTTAWA, ONTARIO
CANADA K1A 0P8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Executive Summary	i
Introduction	1
Methodology	3
Some General Comments about Facilities and Programming. .	4
(i) Goals of Female Corrections	4
(ii) Philosophy and Implications	6
(iii) Security	10
(iv) Litigation	13
Specific Programs	16
(i) Education Programs	16
(a) Literacy Programs	18
(b) Highschool - GED/HSED Programs	22
(ii) Vocational Programming	23
(a) Vocational Assessment & Evaluation	26
New Concepts Vocational Lab	27
Self-Development Program	28
(b) Types of Vocational Programs	30
(iii) Substance Abuse Programs	35
(a) The Beloit Project	36
(b) Women and Chemicals (WAC)	37
(c) The Passages and Ascent Programs	42
(d) Project REFORM	45
(e) Other Substance Abuse Programs	47

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd)

	<u>Page</u>
(iv) Therapy Programs	51
(a) Alternatives to Violence	53
(b) Abuse Group	54
(c) Other Groups	56
(d) Culture/Native Women's Groups	56
(v) Pre-release and Post-release Programs	57
(vi) Other Types of Programs	61
(a) Recreational Programs	61
(b) Volunteer Programs	62
(c) Reparation Programs	63
Long-term Inmates	64
(i) Profiles of Long-term Inmates	66
(ii) Housing Arrangements	68
(iii) Classification Issues	71
(iv) General Participation in Programs	72
(v) Mental Health	74
(vi) Family and Community Ties	75
(vii) Release Preparation	76
(viii) Recommendations re:	
Administration & Programming	77
(ix) Programs Specifically for Long-term Inmates	81
Summary and Implications	87
Bibliography	91

Executive Summary

It is only in recent years, after many decades of relative neglect, that female correctional programming has begun to develop. Because we are in a period of change and innovation, female facilities are still creating and modifying many of their programs. In those jurisdictions where female corrections has been given a senior management position in departments of corrections equal to that of male corrections, improvements have been noticeably facilitated.

Litigation has been both a boon, in so far as it has resulted in securing budget allocations for female corrections, and a misfortune, in so far as it has distorted power relationships between inmates and institutional staff and has been needlessly adversarial.

One of the most significant aspects of present-day female correctional programs is their grounding in a holistic approach. Female offenders often present many inter-related problems which need to be addressed from the point of view of assisting the whole person. Many offenders--both male and female--are characterized as being capable of only a very low level of functioning. Among women, common issues are dependency, low self-esteem and poor educational and vocational achievement. Thus, programs are often not exclusively specialized but tend to be multidimensional.

For the most part, this kind of holistic approach within programs appears to have positive results. There was, however, some reservation about its effectiveness in substance abuse programs. For example, according to some authorities and inmates, the most important task in substance abuse programs is recovery--getting the abuser off drugs and educating her about the effects of drugs. From this point of view, the value of, say, sexual abuse counselling was questioned although some suggested that these kinds of issues might be introduced in a second phase of the drug program. It was also noted that the most critical period for drug treatment is after release when ex-inmates need considerable assistance and support to avoid a relapse. It was universally thought that more programming is required in this post-release period.

Among the different types of programs examined for this study, there were some interesting and promising program models. One of the most highly regarded teaching aids for literacy is PAL, an IBM software program. With respect to vocational programming, some institutions have developed sophisticated and comprehensive vocational evaluation programs. In view of the fact that female offenders typically require a great deal of education and assistance in this area, it is unfortunate that most of these programs are not accorded sufficient importance or time to allow inmates to reap the full benefit of their guidance.

Two vocational counselling programs that appeared to have promising results were Wisconsin's Vocational Evaluation Lab using the New Concepts hands-on work modules and the compulsory Self-Development Program which offers inmates a kind of self-awareness course involving communications skills, values clarification, assertiveness training, among other things, and which is aimed at assisting the inmate in making more informed choices and recognizing the methods and possibility of personal change.

A common feature of many of the programs for female inmates, whether substance abuse, vocational training or therapeutic programs, was a component assisting offenders to get to know themselves, to gain self-awareness, self-confidence and become responsible. It is claimed that this component is essential due to the fact that many female offenders are extremely handicapped in these areas.

One of the most frequently repeated suggestions regarding female corrections was the perceived need for a continuum of treatment with follow-up after-care in the community. All jurisdictions considered themselves inadequate in this regard and suggested a variety of alternatives for remedying this situation. One of the most promising recommendations which appears to be working well in Michigan is the creation of a Community Advisory Council mandated to assist in the development and staffing of institutional programs (calling upon professionals from community agencies and social services departments) and providing after-care linkages and networks for released inmates.

Female facilities are increasingly offering greater numbers of programs addressing some of the issues specific to female offenders: e.g. groups focusing on abuse, anger, grief, parenting, dependency and so on. Most of these programs rely upon outside

consultants and volunteers to manage them. This is viewed as the most effective method of administering these kinds of programs because of the limited resources and expertise of institutions and because it permits the institution to maintain flexibility. One implication of this strategy is the necessity of locating facilities near metropolitan areas which have the community resources and agencies to provide these services.

Long-term inmates present special needs which have often been neglected. In Wisconsin, special living units and programs have been developed aimed at addressing some of these needs. Similarly, in Minnesota, long-term inmates may earn the privilege of residing in the Independent Living Center which permits inmates to begin establishing a more normal life comparable, in some respects, to what they will face after release. One of the most important requirements for long-term inmates is the opportunity for work and earning money. Most institutions fall short of meeting this need.

Overall, programming for female offenders is at an early stage. American facilities have developed many new and innovative programs which are showing promise. With respect to Canada, the advisability of some of these programs, as well as their methods of implementation, will largely depend on the decisions that are made with respect to the housing of federal female offenders; that is, whether they will be incarcerated in one central facility or dispersed to a number of regional ones.

With regard to programming, there are some obvious advantages in maintaining one central facility. It permits greater flexibility and variety in programs, reduced per capita costs, and enhanced on-grounds services (e.g. medical services). Experience in the United States suggests that the advantages of smaller facilities (e.g. a closer community feeling within the institution) can be reproduced in a large facility if it is designed with this in mind; for example, the design of housing units may facilitate this goal. On the other hand, critical issues such as maintaining family and community ties and assisting in pre- and post-release are obviously severely handicapped if a central facility is maintained. Alternatives such as co-corrections were generally considered inadvisable by American authorities. The issue of combining short-term and long-term inmates, however, was not considered a problem although it does require some extra managing.

Introduction

In keeping with its mandate to examine the correctional management of federally sentenced women and to develop a policy and plan which will guide and direct this process in a manner that is responsive to the unique and special needs of this group, the Canadian Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women authorized an investigation of 'model and exemplary programs' for adult female inmates incarcerated in a number of jurisdictions, primarily the United States.

The interest of the Task Force in these programs was informed by a number of considerations. Firstly, the federal government in Canada is responsible for long-term inmates--i.e. those serving sentences of two years or more and accordingly, some of the programs of particular, though not exclusive, interest are those which are suitable for women who are facing longer periods of incarceration. Recent figures indicate that about 53 per cent of federally incarcerated women are serving sentences of under 5 years and about 20 per cent are serving sentences of over 20 years. This fact produces a further consideration: specifically, the importance of programs aimed at assisting the reintegration of incarcerated women who may well have become institutionalized.

Secondly, the Task Force was particularly interested in those programs that attempt to confront the special needs of women offenders. Among the special needs which have been identified as frequently characteristic of women offenders are three major, often inter-related issues: (i) abuse issues (domestic and sexual assault, childhood abuse, neglect, incest); (ii) lack of education and employment skills leading to poor earning capabilities; and (iii) what has been called 'dependency' issues which basically refer to the fact that the majority of female offenders have very

low self-esteem and confidence and have, by and large, found or put themselves in dependent relationships with men (largely)--in short, their sense of autonomy and independence is extremely limited. In addition, increasing substance abuse among female offenders is also of growing concern and it could be anticipated that this problem will worsen in the future.

This report summarizes the findings of a literature survey, telephone interviews and on-site visits to a number of American institutions which have developed programs which appear to be promising with respect to the foregoing considerations. As well, the report attempts to relate the positive aspects of these programs to the somewhat unique Canadian context which faces the difficult problems of a vast geography and relatively few adult female inmates serving two years or more. At the present time there are only about 300 federally incarcerated female inmates (with approximately another 300 on parole).

It is also generally recognized, that in Canada, as elsewhere throughout the world, female offenders have historically received few of the programs available to men. While there are a number of explanations for this, the end result has been that women inmates have been relatively neglected and thus characterized as "correctional afterthoughts". This fact is still true today although there are encouraging signs of change, including the present Canadian Task Force. One of the signs of change that has occurred in recent years is the increasing amount of litigation jurisdictions are experiencing concerning parity issues for female inmates. Court decisions have recognized the inequality women inmates have suffered and have ordered some positive changes. It is also true, nevertheless, that it is still 'early days' for these developments. Only a few jurisdictions have begun to implement the kinds of programs that are required although larger numbers of jurisdictions

have been successful in producing policies and recommendations about what should be done for female offenders and inmates. This report reflects this fact and thus reviews not only existing programs but also includes discussion about future directions. What appears to be one of the most salient features of current female corrections is the amount of enthusiasm, innovative effort and expertise that is being brought to bear on this area of corrections at the present time.

Methodology

The field research for this report included both telephone interviews (see Appendix A for a list of contacts) as well as on-site visits to several American facilities and face-to-face interviews with authorities within state departments of corrections, community corrections and social services program managers. The selection of site visits was based on reports describing the programs available at different facilities and conversations with correctional authorities in the United States. The on-site visits included: the North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women (a medium/maximum facility housing over 550 women on 10 acres of property), the Raleigh Correctional Center (a minimum security facility housing approximately 85 women) and the Fountain Correctional Center (also a minimum security facility housing about 170 women); the Minnesota Correctional Facility for Women at Shakopee (a multi-security facility housing about 150 women on 36 acres of property) and Genesis II (a non-profit social service day-treatment centre offering counselling to women referred by municipal or district courts or from the child protection agency); the Wisconsin Taycheedah Correctional Institution (a medium/maximum security

facility housing approximately 205 (capacity of 126) women on 180 acres near the city of Fond du Lac, one and half hours from Milwaukee), the Women's Community Correctional Center in Milwaukee (a minimum security facility housing about 44 women), the "Passages" and "Ascent" substance abuse programs, and two Milwaukee half-way houses (Horizon House and NuStart); and in Michigan, the Huron Valley Women's Facility (a medium/maximum security facility housing about 460 women). At the institutions and correctional facilities, interviews were conducted with the superintendents, assistant superintendents, program managers and inmates (see Appendix B for examples of interview schedules).

Some General Comments about Facilities and Programming

While there was considerable variety in the types of institutions visited in terms of size, history, age of the institution, location, and so on, a number of common themes emerged in discussions with corrections authorities. While many of these issues will already be familiar to the reader, a review of some of the major points may be helpful before turning to specific types of programs.

(i) Goals of Female Corrections

Not surprisingly, many of the experts interviewed commented on the necessity of being clear about the goals of incarceration and the mission of the institution. In this regard, it was not uncommon to hear that many correctional authorities in female institutions saw their mission in the following manner. They noted

that one of the chief purposes of incarceration was crime prevention--both in terms of preventing crimes through incapacitation (many female inmates, especially petty property offenders, are recidivists) and in terms of rehabilitation. With respect to the importance of rehabilitation, there was an overwhelming consensus that in most instances, women's involvement in crime was largely associated with the backgrounds and life circumstances of female offenders which had ill-prepared them for an adequate adjustment to the community. This view has been well documented in the literature and case histories of female offenders. One of the major implications of this understanding of female crime is that if the purpose of incarceration is to prevent crime, then having these women in custody provides an ideal opportunity, free from the influences and distractions of their life outside, to redress some of the factors that have been associated with their involvement in crime. Seen this way, the mission of the institution is to provide programs which attempt to remedy these debilitating factors.

Perhaps one of the most interesting changes that has recently occurred with respect to the rehabilitation of female offenders is a difference in the meaning of rehabilitation. While in the past, rehabilitation has been seen as a kind of 'doing to' offenders, what appears to be happening at the present time is an orientation which emphasizes the inmates responsibility for her own rehabilitation: the institution does not rehabilitate the offender, the women rehabilitates herself. Seen this way, the responsibility of the institution is to offer and expose the inmate to those programs which will assist her in this process.

(ii) Philosophy and Implications

Another frequently mentioned point, related to the above perspective, is that "pre-release begins at reception": that is, the institution should start preparing the inmate for reintegration into the community as soon as she has completed the intake process. This principle has a number of implications with respect to classification, program development and the design of the facility itself.

With respect to classification, for example, there are two implications. Firstly, classification must be flexible and not based on the nature of the offence. While security classification has long been used within corrections, there is a perceived need to develop and make greater use of a needs classification system to assist the institution in providing appropriate programs. Such a classification system must be capable of identifying the program needs of the inmate that will prepare her for release and secondly, it must be capable of permitting a kind of decompression process whereby the inmate may earn the right, by means of her institutional behaviour and activities, to move towards increasing levels of responsibility. Built into this process is a psychological component whereby the inmate is permitted to feel a sense of progress and accomplishment as she accomplishes certain agreed-upon goals ¹. The Minnesota Facility for Women at Shakopee, for example, uses a five-level system of classification. This is, apparently, the only level system used in correctional institutions that has been approved by the American Civil Liberties Union. The

1. It has been noted in this regard, that it is not necessarily beneficial to inmates--particularly long-term inmates--to start them off at very high levels of freedom although from a security point of view there may be grounds for classifying the inmate at a minimum security level. The reason for this is that can be extremely trying for long-term inmates to be given a wide degree of freedom and placed among other minimum security inmates who are not serving long periods of incarceration.

reason this system is thought to be acceptable and effective is because all new admissions are placed at the mid-level, level-two classification which entitles them to certain freedoms and privileges. (In other words, inmates are not penalized at the beginning of their incarceration by being classified at the lowest level.) From this level of classification they may up-grade their classification and thereby earn greater privileges or be demoted to a lower level if their behaviour proves unacceptable.

The principle that pre-release begins at reception also has implications for program development. This, of course, means that the special needs of women offenders should be addressed with a view to preparing the inmate for the kinds of responsibilities she will face upon release. With longer-term inmates, this often entails two considerations. Firstly, long-term inmates must be assisted in coming to terms with the length of their sentences--they must not be allowed to regress into a demoralized and depressive state that undermines their capacity for making an effective adjustment back into society². Secondly, inmates should have access to programs that are designed to address their special needs which, as noted above, primarily entails programs concerned with the factors associated with their entry into criminal activities such as dependency issues, educational and vocational training needs, as well as specific programs aimed at dealing with the particular problems of abuse (wife battering, incest, etc.) or chemical dependency and so on.

Finally, given the foregoing need to create programs which will assist the inmate in making a successful readjustment to the community, it follows that the design of the institution itself must be compatible with these programs. For example, what has been

2. The section below on programs for long-term offenders discusses this point further.

notably lacking in most female facilities is adequate provision (e.g. properly designed classrooms) for vocational training--particularly the types of vocational skills which will provide the inmate with an adequate income upon release³. Along the same lines, it is also noted that suitable visiting space for families and children is an essential component for the adjustment of the inmate and her family both during and after release. Similarly, in light of the requirement for programs addressing the special needs of female offenders, it is necessary to provide adequate meeting spaces since many of the programs aimed at addressing these issues entail group work. Finally, it has been observed that special types of inmates--e.g. substance abusers, pregnant inmates, handicapped inmates, older or long-term inmates--may require housing arrangements that flexibly facilitate the effective management of their needs.

Some authorities also commented on the tendency in the past to infantilize female inmates. This has been seen as reprehensible not only because of the fact that it demeaned women, but also because it was counter-productive to the extent that it reinforced dependency issues. It was pointed out that correctional institutions must be very clear about what their objectives are and if, in fact, one of their chief aims is to foster independence and self-reliance, then they should perhaps be prepared to foster and tolerate greater independence within the institution. It was claimed that this objective need not be inimical to the security and administrative requirements of the institution because it is possible to achieve these goals through the strategic design of the

3. It was observed, for example, that historically facilities for women have been designed on a very small scale; that is, the rooms are small, the areas designated for teaching and vocational training are few and small. It is as if the traditional marginality of women within corrections had somehow endowed them with a diminutive status like some small race of Lilliputians.

facility (the control of traffic flow) and other measures (staff-inmate ratios, provision of privileges) which support both inmate and institutional needs.

A second general comment on programming concerns the question of how to develop a flexible program 'menu' that can accommodate the fluctuating needs of female inmates, especially when, as is the case in Canada, there may be very few inmates at any given time who require specific types of programs. Many institutions have attempted to resolve this problem by using outside consultants and community agencies and social services to provide many of these programs ⁴. This solution appears to be satisfactory provided that the institution is located near a community or metropolitan area that can offer these services. Thus, the historical practice of locating facilities far from metropolitan areas appears to be counter-productive in this regard. Shakopee, for example, is situated within the community of Shakopee (a "bedroom community" located about 40 minutes from the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area) with residential streets surrounding it and no perimeter fence. It is both geographically and 'psychologically' accessible --thus fostering a linkage with the community ⁵.

4. It was noted that the use of outside consultants and agency workers had positive effects in that these people, particularly if they had some experience or problems similar to inmates' problems which they had overcome, were seen as "having been there", knew what they were talking about. As well, outside consultants tended to validate the views of on-ground correctional staff and are treated with less suspicion and resistance than is frequently the case with institutional staff. In addition, outside consultants are likely to be familiar with the state of the art in their professions. The difficulty with outside consultants is that their schedules are not always flexible and they are not used to prison schedules which keep running on weekends and during the summer.

5. Shakopee has had the good fortune to have received community support for the location of this facility. It appears that community residents are not overly alarmed by the prospect of having a female facility located within their area since female offenders are not generally perceived as dangerous. This finding has been demonstrated in other jurisdictions as well. It appears that citizens are more concerned about having an 'unsightly' maximum-security looking institution marring the appearance of their community than about the risk of female escapees. On the other hand, Shakopee does not appear to have any inmates at the present time who are known to present maximum risk of escape or violence. In addition, it became apparent from discussions with
(continued...)

(iii) Security

The issue of security appeared to be significant with respect to programming for female inmates. While all of the institutions visited for this study had security measures in place--including up to maximum security measures for some inmates--they varied considerably in terms of the visibility and intrusiveness of their security measures. And while it was difficult to document in any scientific way the impact of these measures on the atmosphere of the respective facilities, there appeared to be palpable differences among the institutions. Those facilities with highly visible and intrusive security measures (characterized by greater proportions of male correctional officers, frequent counts, locked door systems that interfered with the flow of traffic, frequent body frisks for inmates and visitors, and so on) appeared also to be characterized by a more obvious inmate culture ⁶.

The reader is cautioned that this is speculative on the part of the researcher, but it nevertheless seemed that there was a connection between styles of security and the atmosphere within the

⁵(...continued)

correctional authorities at other institutions and observations of their facilities that a perimeter fence affords both inmates and staff greater freedom within the facility producing positive results both in terms of more useful deployment of staff and in terms of engendering better morale among inmates. The researcher concluded that the optimal arrangement (though perhaps ideal) would be to locate facilities close to a large metropolitan area on grounds with sufficient acreage to allow for the strategic site location of units within the facility and surrounded by a perimeter fence to permit greater inmate freedom within its confines.

6. An article by Wilson (1986) lends some support to this perspective. Wilson's study of the inmate code in Canadian facilities led him to conclude that the "deprivation" model of prisonization explains adherence to the inmate code as a response to the deprivations incurred in incarceration or to the "pains of imprisonment". With respect to gender differences in adherence to the inmate code, Wilson found that male inmates tended to "import" greater distrust of staff than did female inmates; women tend to bring more compliant attitudes and a greater respect for authority into the prison with them. On the basis of his research he argues that prisons themselves can do much to alter the development of an inmate culture through the kind of environments they create. On the other hand, some might argue that (e.g. Wormith 1984) that the kind of rebelliousness characteristic of the inmate code is simply a reflection of a stage of adjustment all inmates pass through during their periods of confinement.

institutions. Thus, for example, in those institutions where security was most visible, there were more complaints about inmate behaviour which is typically associated with an inmate culture: e.g. lesbianism appeared to have taken on a greater status and weight than in other institutions; personal property disputes and the presence of exploitation by 'elite' inmates were mentioned more frequently; there appeared to be less emphasis on and accessibility to counselling revealing, it seemed, a stronger demarcation between 'them and us' which was, in turn, reinforced by such things as the use of plastic cutlery (as opposed to regular cutlery which could allegedly be used as weapons), lack of casual interaction between staff and inmates as reflected in the fact that the staff did not take their meals with inmates, toilets without doors or with only half walls and so on. It was as if--and again, this is speculative--there appeared to be a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy at work whereby the visible nature of the security measures had served to foster and emphasize the 'them and us' dichotomy which, in turn, could only reinforce an inmate culture which is normally characterized by suspicion, lack of trust, fear, etc. This was troubling to perceive because these characteristics are precisely the ones which are not considered propitious for the kinds of programs which female offenders require--that is, individual and group counseling, support groups, etc.--all of which require high levels of trust. Indeed, it may be speculated that intrusive security measures reinforce 'victim-like' postures and reactions (an investment in rebelliousness, for example, or apathy and depression) which are contrary to the ultimate goals of female corrections aimed at fostering a sense of independence, responsibility and self-worth. As well, to the extent that the 'them and us' framework is operating, it may diminish opportunities for inmates to identify with helpful and appropriate role models.

One correctional worker explained it this way. We have now been able to benefit from an understanding of how people's transactions with each other are interrelated and cued to other each other. While considerable attention has been devoted to what has been called the "games prisoners play" (generally involving issues of control), the "games" of the institution have been somewhat ignored. That is to say, both the inmates' and prison authorities' transactions are mutually complementary and reflexive. It is not simply a matter of the institution participating in a neutral fashion in its dealings with inmates but more a question of understanding how both sides of the interaction between inmates and correctional personnel affect and complement each other. A chain of action and reaction is set in motion which implicates both sets of players: the "game", so to speak, requires both players. In the case of security, highly visible and intrusive security measures tend to imply expectations of the worst rather than expectations about the best in inmate behaviour. It also implies that responsibility (for behaviour) is ultimately vested in the institution since responsibility ordinarily is understood to correspond with power. These expectations--their visibility and degree to which they intrude upon the awareness (conscious or unconscious) of participants--determine, to a large extent, the type of transactions which will occur.

There are a number of implications arising from this perspective. Firstly, the foregoing should not be understood to be a denial of the need for security measures for there is no question that some inmates can pose very serious security risks. It is clear that every multi-level security institution requires a capacity for maximum security for some inmates at some time. On the other hand, control of inmates' behaviour principally by means of security measures is unlikely, in the long run, to be a service to

offenders. Particularly in the case of female inmates (but probably true of male inmates as well), an inability to exercise responsibility for one's actions and decisions is one of the main dysfunctions recognized by correctional experts. Thus, measures which appear to, from the inmates' point of view, reinforce irresponsibility or inadvertently deny inmates opportunities to exercise self-control and self-determination are clearly counter-indicated.

Observers note that there has been a tendency--at least in the past--for female facilities to be over-secure. Most female inmates, it is claimed, can be treated as medium security risks, and many require only minimum security. There has also been a tendency in the past to classify offenders largely in terms of their security risk and this, in turn, has often been overridingly based upon their offence. Classification determines, in most institutions, the availability of and eligibility for programs. The danger in all of this is that there is a chain of connections operating which results in a situation wherein those classified as maximum security risks are, by implication as well as actual fact, expected to exercise less responsibility than are other inmates--an ironic situation given the likelihood that these inmates require greater, not less, emphasis on self-responsibility.

(d) Litigation

A number of the jurisdictions visited have recently experienced class actions concerning parity issues for female inmates which have resulted in the institution of court-ordered programs, primarily vocational programs. A number of observations have been made about these kinds of class actions by those who have experienced

their consequences. Firstly, it was noted that one of their benefits was that legislatures were being required to allocate more and much needed money for female programs as a result of this litigation.

Other positive outcomes of litigation include, as was the case in Michigan's Glover case, the development of a Community Advisory Council for Huron Valley Women's Facility. Numerous Task Forces on female corrections have recommended the creation of linkages between women's correctional facilities and community agencies and social services (see, for example, the Wisconsin Task Force report and the Minnesota report on The Women Offender in Minnesota). The need for these linkages is based on the fact that institutions alone have neither the expertise nor resources to offer many of the programs required by female inmates, especially in view of the small numbers involved at any given time and the fluctuating nature of these program requirements.

In Michigan, the Huron Valley Community Advisory Council was originally set up to assist in educational and vocational programming. Having made inroads in this area of programming, the Council considered other areas of programming that needed assistance and broadened its mandate to include a child visitation program and therapeutic programs⁷. According to those who have been involved in this effort, including inmates who are represented on some of the Council's committees, this Council has been very helpful and indeed, considered by the Warden of Huron Valley to be essential.

On the other hand, the downside of litigation included such things as the institution of some programs (e.g. a carpentry program) which did not necessarily meet the needs of female inmates but were simply being created in order to match those programs

7. See Appendix J for a booklet on the Children's Visitation Program.

offered to male inmates. Secondly, in some jurisdictions the way in which these court-ordered programs were being instituted was considered unfortunate and counter-productive: they seemed to be needlessly adversarial and failed to take into account the efforts and intentions of the institutional superintendents who have laboured for many years, without the benefit of supportive departments of corrections, legislatures and funds, to provide inmates with adequate programs. In some jurisdictions, one consequence of litigation has been the creation of female commissioners responsible for female corrections with a status equal to that of the male commissioners responsible for male corrections. This, it is observed, is what was required all along and had such a senior management position been created in the first place, there would be less likelihood of the class actions now being litigated and their occasional unfortunate consequences--including an investment of power in the inmates which they tended to exploit and which is not conducive to the proper administration of prisons. Authorities within female corrections repeatedly emphasized the importance of creating a position in government departments of corrections responsible for female corrections and having equal voice with male corrections. It is only in this way, it is stated, that future inequalities may be avoided.

It was also observed that some lessons have been learned with respect to how to manage the institution of court-ordered programs. One lesson is that if a monitoring function is required, then this function should be located in a knowledgeable and neutral committee with no ties with either the complainants or the correctional departments thereby avoiding the needlessly adversarial situation in which the attorneys for the plaintiffs are given authority to oversee institutional programming.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

The Task Force's investigations entailed an examination of all types of institutional programs with the exception of mother and children programs which is the subject of another report prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General by Karen Cannings (1989). In addition, it was agreed that recreational programs and medical health programs would also not be examined--not because they are considered unimportant but because, as in the case of medical treatment, they constitute more of a necessary service rather than a specific type of program and, in the case of recreational programs, they were of necessity given a lower priority in view of the many other types of programs that required investigation.

Accordingly, the investigator researched educational and vocational training programs, substance abuse programs, pre-release, life skills, and work-release programs, and the variety of therapeutic programs focusing on special needs of inmates such as those dealing with childhood abuse, incest, wife battering, anger, violence, grieving, dependency issues and so on.

(i) Educational Programs

Within the United States, in keeping with the initiative sponsored by the federal Bureau of Prisons, most states have, in recent years, made a priority of educational programming for inmates. It has been found that many inmates, especially female inmates, have very low levels of educational achievement with a sizeable proportion remaining illiterate and having, as well, very

low mathematical skills (e.g. below the grade 6 level). This lack of education severely handicaps offenders with respect to vocational skills and earning abilities. Accordingly, it is the policy of some state departments of corrections to up-grade inmates educational levels to that of Grade 6 through Secondary/General Educational Development (GED) or Adult Basic Education (ABE) courses⁸. In addition, most state institutions offer opportunities for postsecondary education through college courses.

In the past, evaluations of educational programs for offenders often--naively it might now be thought--attempted to relate these programs to recidivism. Current thinking now views recidivism as a more complex phenomenon in which an individual variable such as educational achievement is seen as one of many factors affecting subsequent involvement in crime. Thus, while educational programs are seen as important and necessary, they are viewed as only one factor among many which will influence recidivism. Instead, correctional authorities, particularly within female corrections, have adopted what has been called a more 'holistic' approach to rehabilitation and the prevention of recidivism.

On the other hand, a number of observers have noted that educational programming for women is still inadequate and that women inmates are not given the same encouragement and incentives as are male inmates. It has accordingly been recommended, for example, that offenders should receive compensation for work towards the GED equal to that received for institutional work assignments (see Wisconsin, Task Force on Women in the Criminal Justice System, 1984).

8. At the Canadian Prison for Women, literacy is a major priority with a literacy standard of grade 9. Inmates are tested using SCAT and assisted in up-grading by JE courses.

In their review of correctional education studies, Ryan and Woodard (1987) identified a number of barriers to correctional education: lack of funding and multi-source funding which is reflected in the quality of the administration of the programs, lack of resources, and an inability to offer meaningful programs on a continuing basis; staff resistance and administrative indifference; and staff turnover and shortages. Similar findings have been reported by the Wisconsin Task Force (Ibid.:4-5).

(a) Literacy Programs

Correctional authorities could scarcely over-emphasize the importance they have placed on increasing literacy among offenders. In terms of the educational needs of inmates, literacy has been given top priority by American correctional authorities. In Canada, it appears that illiteracy among offenders is an equally pressing problem; the federal Prison for Women has set a literacy standard of grade 9.

Many states have followed the federal lead with respect to educational programming which, according to McCollum (1989), has proven quite successful. In 1982, the Bureau of Prisons established its first mandatory adult basic education policy entailing the following principles:

1. All inmates who functioned at less than the sixth grade level, as measured by the Reading, Mathematics and English subtests of the Intermediate Battery II of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), were required to enrol in an adult basic literacy (ABE) program for ninety days.
2. Inmates could not be promoted to jobs above the lowest labor grade level, either in Federal Prison Industries (UNICOR), or on institution performance pay jobs, until they met the sixth grade ABE standard.

3. Each institution was required to develop and maintain a "needs list" to reflect ABE test scores, the date of each inmate's enrolment in the ABE program, monthly progress reports, and either the completion date or the date that the inmate terminated involvement in the program. Thirty day reviews and counselling sessions were also required and had to be reflected in the "needs list".
4. Each institution was also required to establish an appropriate system of incentives and awards for recognition of satisfactory progress and completion of an ABE program.

McCollum notes that other significant provisions included prime-time scheduling of ABE classes, deductions of furloughs and other absences from class from the mandatory ninety-day enrolment period, and disciplinary action against inmates who refused to enrol in, or to complete, the mandatory ninety-day ABE period.

This new policy appears to have had a substantial impact on the number of ABE enrolments and completions. The immediate success of this new policy is attributed to both the compulsory nature of the program and its prerequisite for work promotion. The program continued to be monitored and amended as needed. For example, in October 1983 the Bureau's mandatory literacy policy was amended to require each institution to have either a qualified reading specialist or a special education instructor on its education staff. This amendment, notes McCollum, was considered essential to the ultimate success of the program since many students needed specialized assistance to meet the ABE requirement, and the average classroom teacher did not always have the necessary skills.

A similar conclusion was reached at the Huron Valley Facility for Women where there is a full-time special education teacher⁹. Huron Valley provides special ed instruction in all subjects from Kindergarten to Grade 12 on an individual basis. An educational plan is developed with the inmate in conjunction with the institution psychologist, special ed teacher and the institution's school principal. In discussing the educational needs of female inmates, the special ed instructor noted that there are three types of learning disabilities: retardation, emotionally impaired, and disabilities such as dyslexia. The most common type (though these disabilities may exist in combination) is emotional disturbance. In such cases, it is often a significant accomplishment to achieve even half an hour of positive, undisturbed behaviour. For these inmates, educational classes are often a vehicle for getting at behavioral problems and a means of learning relating skills. In this sense, the real goal is to change behaviour. Somewhat ironically, it was noted, prison offers an ideal situation for this kind of treatment because it offers a controlled environment with structure and routines, and therefore less pressure and distraction than is frequently the case in the 'real world'.

The special ed instructor noted that for those students with learning disabilities who may never learn to read, emphasis should be placed on vocational training suitable to their abilities and the learning of interpersonal skills which will help them gain employment. Among the impediments to assisting inmates with learning disabilities is the fact that they do not like to perceive themselves as having been labelled pejoratively and are therefore

9. At the present time, there are 25 inmates (out of an institutional population of 460) identified as having learning disabilities. It was noted that the identification of learning disabilities is not always as accurate as it should be--both in prison and in regular educational systems--with the result that it is highly likely that a significant number of students frequently remain unassisted. For example, Canada's Prison for Women does not have an official test for learning disabilities.

reluctant to enrol in special ed classes, as well as staff misunderstanding about learning disabilities and the special needs of these students.

While the Federal Bureau of Prisons revised, in 1986, its mandatory literacy standard to require proficiency at the eighth grade level in order to meet the rising expectations of employers and to match community standards, some states still maintain the sixth grade standard (and a few states, a fourth and fifth grade standard). (Many states have no mandatory literacy standards or programs.) State correctional departments also tend to use the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) for educational achievement assessment, although the federal Bureau has replaced this test with the Adult Basic Level Examination (ABLE) which is considered to be more satisfactory due to the fact that, unlike SAT, it was normed on an adult population. Wisconsin is in the process of switching to the use of ABLE.

McCollum concludes that two key factors have contributed to the success of the federal mandatory literacy program: the connection between literacy achievement and wages and promotions; and the availability of computer-assisted instruction. The latter form of instruction permitted existing education staff to manage the enlarged course enrolments and still provide one-to-one teacher contact when required. In addition, it is claimed that computer-literacy programs are seen favourably by inmates as they allow the inmate to work at his/her own pace and with relative privacy (thereby avoiding embarrassment). Apparently, IBM (among other soft-ware corporations) has developed a computer literacy (PAL) program which is considered extremely effective and, in one evaluation with men, showed a improvement of two grades.

Some institutions, for example the North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women and the Raleigh Correctional Center for

Women, have instituted supplementary literacy programs such as 'Motherread' (a private, non-profit community outreach organization; see Appendix C for a fact sheet describing this program). This program, a multi-generational program, combines two goals: literacy and child-parent relating:

The MOTHEREAD classroom is a special learning environment, a place where critical thinking and a highly personal approach to language development are encouraged. Speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills are integrated and equally emphasized. In seminar-style classes, discussions focus on themes and interpretations of carefully chosen children's books. Parents become storytellers, learning how to personalize and dramatize the content of books while developing critical reading skills. Parents also become writers of stories, creating story-telling audiotapes and writing stories based on personal experience and imagination. The children themselves complete the learning cycle by responding with excitement to their parents as reading role models.¹⁰

While it was difficult to assess the 'success' of this program, the researcher noted that voluntary attendance at the Motherread session appeared to be enthusiastic and there seemed to be an added attraction due to the fact that the program appealed to inmates' desire to relate to (their) children.

(b) Highschool - GED/HSED Programs

In the state facilities visited for this report, all educational programs benefitted from the use of computer-assisted instruction. In some prisons there is one teacher who teaches all subjects, but it has been found in Huron Valley, for example, that it is better to have specialized teachers for each subject. In

10. One of the texts used for this program is "Teacher's Guide", created and edited by Nancy Gaj, written by Laurie Holljis and designed by Stephen Gaj.

addition, Huron Valley permits students to break up their GED exams so that they may do their tests in each subject separately as they are ready rather than all in one day. The Michigan Department of Corrections has also developed a coordinated state-wide educational model based on "criterion based instruction" which allows students to learn at their own pace and to receive credit for subjects from one institution to the next in case of transfers.

The number of female inmates qualified for post-secondary educational courses is typically very small and are generally more concentrated in the long-term inmate population. Most institutions provide these kinds of courses either through correspondence courses or, occasionally through study-release. Some have suggested that facilities make greater use of interactive television for these purposes (as well as for vocational training). However, the experience at Shakopee suggests that while interactive television is effective, it is also very expensive and the logistical considerations are formidable. The costs involved in setting up such a program might be better diverted, it was suggested, into either hiring lecturers to come on-grounds or transporting inmates to local colleges and universities.

(ii) Vocational Programming

Vocational programs represent a fairly difficult undertaking for female corrections. It is clearly recognized that nearly all female inmates require some training in skills which will permit them to earn incomes capable of supporting themselves and, often, dependent children. For the most part, female offenders are poorly educated and have few marketable skills. There has been some

controversy about encouraging female inmates to obtain what has been called non-traditional vocational skills. While many institutions have taken steps to provide some non-traditional training programs (e.g. welding, carpentry, and so on), it has been found that enrolment figures indicate that women inmates, typically characterized as fairly traditional in their backgrounds and values, prefer the more traditional types of vocational training programs such as cosmetology and clerical services (Ryan 1984).

In recent years, however, there have been some helpful insights into this apparent dilemma--although there have also been some mistaken false steps. Correctional authorities now agree that the point is to provide women inmates with the kinds of skills that will give them greater earning capacities. Ironically, in some jurisdictions (e.g. Wisconsin), it is claimed that labour market projections reveal that trades such as cosmetology are, in fact, fairly promising areas of employment. Other jurisdictions have opted for what might be considered 'uni-sex' training--e.g. training in computer technology, data processing, and so on. Others, unfortunately, have been forced to duplicate male vocational programs as a result of court-orders arising from class actions irrespective of whether the inmates will participate in or ever use such training. For example, litigation in Michigan resulted in the court-ordered institution of a carpentry shop which remains largely unused.

Labour market projections indicate that there is a shift underway towards service industries--that is, those industries that will employ women in so-called traditional areas of employment. This suggests that caution is required when considering the option of offering non-traditional vocational training programs. In addition, it is now recognized that there is little value in training women in these non-traditional areas if employers will be

unwilling to hire them. While some jurisdictions have successfully instituted affirmative action programs and have unions supportive of this policy, others are not so progressive and it is advised, therefore, that the institution and the inmate become knowledgeable about the reality of future prospects of employment.

Various reports and documents have made suggestions about the successful implementation of vocational programs. For example, the Wisconsin Task Force (1984:5) noted that vocational programs require essential support programs including such things as job readiness, assertiveness training and general feminist consciousness-raising, child care planning, and opportunities to build self-esteem. In addition, the Wisconsin Task Force recommended that vocational training programs should include: an on-the-job work component, preferably in prison industries with higher pay than ordinary prison wages; employment services such as counselling, assessment of needs, skills, interests, job developments, orientation to world of work, pre-employment workshops which include child-care planning, resume and interview skills, referrals and follow-up; adequate offerings, geared to starting women in higher paying positions, and geared to the job market, with the flexibility to change as the market changes; and greater use of training-release and work-release while a woman is still in prison. Greater advantage should be taken of funding sources, for tuition and materials, for vocational training both on and off grounds. Training release should be an active part of the study-release program.

For the purposes of this study, two aspects of vocational programming were investigated. Firstly, a large component of some institutions' vocational program was concerned with vocational assessment and evaluation--i.e. assisting inmates becoming knowledgeable about their interests, aptitudes, training requirements

and employment prospects. Secondly, most institutions had either developed or were in the process of developing several training programs in particular vocations.

(a) Vocational Assessment and Evaluation

As part of the in-take process, most inmates undergo Assessment and Evaluation in order to assist the institution develop a case management plan. In those institutions which serve as reception centres for all inmates but which then transfer out minimum-security inmates to other facilities, the vocational component of the assessment and evaluation process can be difficult to manage and is generally rushed. For example, in Michigan's Huron Valley Institute for Women, a fairly comprehensive and impressive court-ordered V.A.E. program has been developed which is basically modelled on that which a person might receive outside of prison requiring about three weeks to finish (and which, if paid for, could cost a considerable amount of money) ¹¹. Unfortunately, because of the demands of reception and processing inmates, this program is usually limited to only about three days duration. Other institutions have experienced similar difficulties in this regard. Ideally, this kind of service should be offered to inmates not only at the beginning of their incarceration (in order to assist with their case management plans) but also, for many inmates, throughout their period of incarceration and especially before release, and ideally, after release. In those jurisdictions in which minimum security inmates are transferred out of the main facility to

11. Many of the tests used in Michigan's vocational assessment and evaluation program are fairly standard tests common to many jurisdictions; for example, GATB, SAT, USES Interest Inventory, and so on. Examples of some of these tests are provided in Appendix I. Michigan's V.A.E. program also uses the book, Opening Doors, A Practical Guide for Job Hunting, which provides information about everything from identifying skills and interests to making resumes and filling out applications.

smaller minimum security facilities, there is little likelihood that they will have the opportunity to avail themselves of the benefits of the more sophisticated V.A.E. programs that may be available at the major reception facility.

New Concepts Vocational Lab

Partially as a result of litigation, Wisconsin has recently experimented with a Vocational Assessment and Evaluation Lab aimed at assisting inmates in becoming acquainted with different types of vocations and their associated educational requirements, skills and career paths. The Lab consists of the New Concepts (formerly known as Singer) work samples; that is, modules which provide users with hands-on experience in different types of occupations (see Appendix N for information describing these modules). Apparently, the Correctional Service of Canada has used these Singer modules in the past at the reception centre at Kingston Penitentiary but has since abandoned them owing primarily to their cost. Although it is too soon to form an appraisal of the success of these work modules within Wisconsin's Taycheedah Correctional Institution, they appeared to be a promising approach especially in view of the fact that they offer inmates who are frequently very unknowledgeable about their own skills and job options, an opportunity to find out exactly how well they like and perform certain skills as opposed to merely being directed to read about job requirements in what are often very dense and forbidding job description manuals

12.

12. Apparently, in light of the expense of the New Concept work modules, they have been viewed as a luxury - especially for women. It is possible, however, that this appraisal of cost is being influenced by a perspective that does not attach a high priority to vocational training for women. In addition, in so far as V.A.E. and vocational counselling is slotted in mainly at the in-take process and not offered as an on-going program for women, it is possible that the need for more comprehensive vocational assistance will fail to be prioritized.

The New Concepts work modules are used in conjunction with a comprehensive testing process which identifies inmates' personal interests, aptitudes, educational performance levels and needs. One full-time trained instructor oversees the V.A.E. Lab and provides individual assessment (using GATB, SAT and other standard aptitude, skills and interests tests) and counselling to inmates. The New Concepts work modules are, however, fairly expensive--costing from \$1200 to \$1400 U.S. per unit. On the other hand, it was pointed out that it is possible to purchase these units one at a time so that capital costs could be spread over a number of years. It is also suggested that a vocational testing and counselling program works best after an introductory self-awareness course such as the Self-Development program described below.

Self-Development Program

Wisconsin was also unusual due to the fact that it required all new admissions, as part of the Assessment and Evaluation component of their in-take and orientation process, to participate in a Self-Development Program (lasting approximately three weeks, five days a week, 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.) which is intended to be a complementary adjunct to vocational counselling.

Self-Development is designed specifically for new, incoming inmates and other inmates who identify their need to look at themselves and set a new direction for their lives. The course is designed to increase the positive self-feelings for participants; to develop a pro-active life operating mode; and to acquaint students with the process of effective career decision making. Self-Development is usually offered during the first 6 weeks of a woman's incarceration because of the need for the new inmate to readjust, determine self-worth and to set goals to utilize her skills in a positive manner. In turn, the new inmate will be able to select programs from the areas of work, education and treatment which will

provide the necessary experiences so the inmate may achieve her goals.

A second portion of the program is Career Exploration. This portion allows women to use skills developed in the Self-Development part to investigate career opportunities and to develop some job related skills. These skills involve getting and keeping a job.

The size of the group is limited to ten participants to allow for greater interaction between instructor and participants. Participants work individually, in small groups and as a large group in the class. Inmates with reading levels below grade 4 are assigned to an ABE-reading class and their progress is monitored. After they have attained a grade 4 reading level they are assigned to the Self-Development program. Inmates who have not completed the program and are interested are placed on a waiting list to be served on a first come first served basis, according to the date interest is recorded.

The goals of this program are to assist participants, through awareness of themselves, to experience positive self-feelings that will make their incarceration more productive; develop a proactive approach towards all aspects of their lives; and to provide a forum for the appropriate expression of feelings. This program is a non-confrontational, educational program which is helpful to those who are also involved in therapy as it explains some of the 'why's' of therapy and some of the underlying processes of the therapeutic experience. Its main emphasis is to affirm the possibility of personal change and offer guidance and information about how this process occurs.

Some of the topics included within this program are:

- A. Assertiveness
- B. Values Clarification - How they affect home/job/school
- C. Childhood Messages (Transactional Analysis)

- D. Sex-role Stereotyping - emphasis on non-traditional employment
- E. Role restructuring
- F. Anger and Guilt
- G. Irrational Beliefs
- H. Communications for home, work, school
- I. Listening Skills
- J. Fantasy
- K. Who Am I (Self-concept) in relationship to family, school, work
- L. Winning strengths
- M. Setting goals and decision making
- N. Interest and skill review
- O. Positive thinking
- P. Stress on the job
- Q. Health care
- R. Needs and wants assessment (budgeting)
- S. Films and filmstrips
- T. Feedback discussions

The director of this program regularly conducts evaluations of the course by inmates. According to the written assessments he has received, participants have responded very positively, often noting that it has made quite a difference to the way they see and how they feel about themselves. (An outline of the course is included in Appendix H).

(b) Types of Vocational Programs

A number of suggestions have been made with respect to the types of vocational programs female inmates should receive: for example, paralegal training (apparently a very popular course where it has been tried), teacher aide training, a child care program, modern business practices, legal secretarial and/or a court reporting training program, and so on (see Wisconsin, Task Force 1984:7).

The educational director at Minnesota's Facility for Women at Shakopee made a survey of inmates' interests in different types of vocational programs and found that, in order of preference, inmates identified cosmetology, computer technician, nurse assistant, auto mechanics, office occupations, commercial art/graphic communications, cook/chef, and carpentry as vocational areas in which they would be interested in receiving training. Similarly, an occupational interest inventory survey conducted at Michigan's Huron Valley Women's Facility found that the top ten inmate preferences were: child care worker, nurses aide, substance abuse counsellor, corrections officer, registered nurse, computer service technician, bank teller, receptionist, computer operator, and psychologist, ambulance driver, probation-parole officer.

It has been found that if female inmates are encouraged, they will participate in 'non-traditional' vocational training programs, but it is usually a slow and difficult process and requires considerable encouragement and 'selling' from staff. Often, even those women who do participate in these non-traditional programs have no intention of pursuing these vocations as a career. Some programs, such as upholstery, have been found to be popular because women can relate to the domestic aspects of this trade. It is also noted that it is essential to provide vocational programming for inmates who will never achieve very high educational and skill levels; for example, horticulture, simple industrial maintenance, and so on. It is claimed that where a simple household mechanics course has been offered (e.g. simple wiring, plumbing, etc.), it has been well-received by inmates. Some facilities are investigating the advisability of offering a "powder puff auto mechanics" course as well.

Adequate vocational programming often suffers from the poor design of facilities. Rarely do female facilities provide suffi-

cient space and technical capacity (wiring, ventilation and so on) to support vocational programs.

Vocational programming for long-term inmates is especially problematic. As the American survey on the management of long-term inmates notes (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:21-22), some practitioners may question whether any programs at all should be offered to long-termers. Vocational programs are intended to provide meaningful and relevant skills to be used for support upon release. Yet for long-term inmates, what is relevant today may be obsolete upon their release. The issue may well be whether to provide these programs throughout incarceration (at a considerable per capita cost) or to tolerate idleness and its adverse effects and introduce programming near the end of inmates' sentences. Similar questions arise with respect to prison industries. With limited "slots" available, industries dominated by long-term inmates would virtually exclude short-termers, with a different kind of cost incurred.

With respect to the vocational needs of long-term inmates specifically, the American survey on the management of long-term inmates (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:31-38) has recommended the development of prison career plans--an approach which has been used as well in some Canadian institutions for men. The prison career approach requires correctional administrators to break away from the old notion of the 12- or 24-month program that results in certificates and little else for prisoners. Instead, correctional officials and inmates must jointly develop plans oriented to accomplish long-range goals, and then ensure that the learned skills are put to use. Long-term prisoners could eventually provide many of the services needed in prison, through their skills as opticians, paramedics, accountants, teachers, master plumbers, and so on.

In order to implement such a prison career concept, certain steps are required including the assessment of long-term inmates in terms of, among other things, their strengths, assets and needs, as well as their educational and vocational backgrounds; a survey of existing resources with a view to comparing these to the assessed needs of inmates; review of work experience and opportunities in order to determine possible program flow between training and viable assignments in industries, etc.; analysis of incentives (e.g. choice of job assignments, higher wages, consideration for custody (supervision) decreases, improved amenities in housing areas, more frequent visits, special recognition, or special leaves, etc.); examination of preparation for release with a view to providing special life and employment skills programs; consideration of unique concepts; consideration of inmate-operated programs (e.g. inmates training other inmates); and consideration of cost-effectiveness.

In addition, the prison careers concept requires that correctional agencies sequence programs for long-term inmates such that there exists a logical, programmatic flow from academic education to vocational training and from vocational training to prison industries, institutional job assignments, or supervised and unsupervised work-release. Agencies' classification systems should support this process. It was found in the American survey that two-thirds of the respondents to both the survey on long-term males and long-term females indicated their systems lacked program continuity.

Traditionally, inmates were enrolled in academic and vocational training programs to prepare them to be self-sufficient upon release. As a result, long-termers were not permitted to enrol in some academic and most vocational education programs until they were within a certain time of release. What the prison career plan

proposes is the preparation of long-term inmates for worthwhile careers within the prison system. Within this context, there is no justification for prohibiting long-termers from academic and vocational training programs unless strictly for security reasons. Accordingly, the Project Staff of the American survey recommended that a thorough review of the eligibility requirements for participation in academic and vocational training should be conducted. Requirements that prohibit or restrict the participation of long-termers and that are not justified by sound security reasons should be modified or eliminated for programs helping to prepare long-termers for prison careers.

The American report notes that special attention should be given to the vocational education needs of long-term female inmates. It is noted in this report that the need for a variety of programs to enrich the lives of long-term inmates is even greater in female facilities than in men's. Female institutions typically offer far fewer programs which reduces the opportunities for participation at the variety of programs available. Low staff turnover, lack of transfers to other facilities, and small institutional populations means fewer new faces and situations to relieve the sameness. Even disruptive events such as fights, arguments, and so forth, common in men's prisons, that help to distinguish one day from the next, are notably absent.

One of the constraints affecting the development of vocational programs for women--apart from funding--is the problem posed by facilities with small populations. Not only are per capita costs magnified, but inmate labour required to run the institution (e.g. food services and so on) is limited. Either inmates are required to undertake institutional jobs, in which case they have less time to pursue other vocational training opportunities, or they are permitted to undertake vocational training courses, leaving the

institution short-handed regarding the necessary up-keep and services of the facility. There are not enough inmates to do both.

(iii) Substance Abuse Programs

In the United States, substance abuse has become a major concern within corrections with occasionally as much as 70 per cent (or more) of inmates affected by this problem. Funding for substance abuse programs is available from both state legislatures and from the federal 'war on drugs' grants. In Canada, while the proportion of female offenders having a chemical dependency is not so high as that in American jurisdictions, it is anticipated that there will be increases in the near future.

This survey revealed several different approaches to substance abuse--all of them overlapping in some respects. Wisconsin's corrections offered some of the best examples of programs based on these different approaches. First, there was the Women and Chemicals (WAC) program, based on a feminist perspective, offered at the Taycheedah Institution for Women. The second approach, used in the Passages and Ascent programs available to women on parole and probation or serving the last portion of their sentence in minimum security, combines some of the elements of the WAC program along with the more traditional AA 12-step approach adopted in other jurisdictions. Thirdly, there is the dual-diagnosis model used in the Beloit Substance Abuse Program (the Beloit Project) in Wisconsin for primarily male parolees (although there is one women's

group) which basically attempts to address both substance abuse and 'criminal thinking' (as outlined by Yochelson and Samenow, 1976).

One question which arises with respect to all substance abuse programs is when to offer this treatment. In an institutional setting, for example, it has been argued that it is important to offer this type of program to inmates as soon as possible for two reasons: firstly, exposure to the program, it is thought, will produce positive outcomes which will help the inmate in other areas and will, in effect, produce better-adjusted inmates. As well, it is also conceded that drugs are usually available in institutions no matter how rigorous the security system, and therefore it is advisable to offer this program to inmates in order to offset the temptations of drug availability (see also Australia, NSW 1985 and Gorta 1986 for agreement on this issue).

On the other hand, it is also argued that inmates have an urgent need to be involved in a substance abuse program at the point of release and during the first few months back in the community. Frequently, there are waiting lists for substance abuse programs with the result that inmates are on their own, without the assistance of a drug treatment program, during their first 90 days on release--the time of greatest risk of recidivism. The importance of ensuring that inmates are involved in drug treatment during the first months on release was repeatedly emphasized. Ideally, this would entail, at the very least, random urinalysis, a support group, and connection with a volunteer or sponsor such as in AA or NA.

(a) The Beloit Project

Although the researcher did not have an opportunity to visit this program (as it is run primarily for men and was not, therefore, included within the agenda), the Program Director was

interviewed. As noted above, this program uses a dual-diagnosis approach addressing both substance abuse and criminal thinking. The perspective underlying this approach is that it is necessary to first treat the offender regarding his/her criminal thinking patterns and then deal with the substance abuse. If the offender is simply treated for substance abuse he/she will remain at risk so long as the criminal thinking errors remain unaddressed. Work with the offender's family is also considered an important part of the program. The program lasts anywhere from four to seven months with positive incentives built in so that the parolee may earn points towards earlier release for every hour of therapy successfully completed (see Appendix E for literature on this program). There are plans underway to start using this approach in institutions. According to the Program Director, offenders like this program and have started their own support group.

(b) Women and Chemicals (WAC) Program

The WAC program at Taycheedah is available to all inmates identified as having a substance abuse or dependency problem. Each cycle of WAC consists of approximately 12 weeks of programming. Roster are determined at the beginning of a cycle. The program is repeated four times annually. Group size is limited to fifteen and an on-going waiting list is maintained. Participants are selected by treatment staff based on a system of prioritization of individual needs. Consistent with the superintendent's policy of reproducing some approximation of conditions in the outside world, WAC is a part-time program consisting of four hours each day. Each participant is expected to maintain an additional part-time assignment dictated by individual or institutional need in either educational, vocational or job-experience areas. Outside consul-

tants are used to run the WAC groups and give educational sessions.

The description of WAC included in the manual for inmates describes WAC in the following:

WAC addresses unresolved dependency issues in women that are behaviorally demonstrated through the use/abuse of chemicals. Its development was in direct response to the failure of traditional, confrontative male oriented programs. WAC is firmly based in the feminist therapy tradition, it moves away from the medical model of a disease concept, and moves towards a social responsibility model. WAC enable women to identify as women and to explore the social factors which predispose them to dependency and addiction. Participants begin developing an awareness of a sexist society and the tools and techniques for the enhancement of personal power and independence. WAC provides a format through the sharing of the female experience, to develop a sense of unity and to break down feelings of isolation and personal failures. Through its more cognitive elements it allows women the vehicles for the development of self-worth, and independence. WAC is an enabling program--enabling women to challenge the roles of acquiescence they have been socialized to accept; enabling women to develop and use power in their personal lives and hopefully, in a political/social sphere. WAC's modules include: Women's Movement, Consciousness Raising, Parenting, Relationships, Decision Making, Domestic Violence, \$\$\$'s and Sense, Women's Health Issues, Self Esteem, Values Clarification, Wellness, Assertion, and Women's ADDA Issues.

The distinguishing feature of WAC is perhaps its feminist orientation. This approach was adopted because, it is claimed, the classic male techniques--confrontations, challenge of perceptions of self-sufficiency, questioning power in an effort to change the macho facade--are destructive to women. It is suggested instead that treatment must provide women with the ability to deal with societal factors that contribute to their addiction and must explore women's lack of self-worth as well as methods to gain it. From this perspective, substance abuse is seen as a symptom of

other problems (e.g. a way of masking emotional pain) rather than as a disease. It is thus related to other compulsive behaviours such as addictive relationships and so on. In addition, however, volunteers from AA and NA are also involved for those who may wish to use a more traditional medical/disease model (see Appendix F for a review of the program and a discussion of community experts' views regarding the development of a substance abuse program for Taycheedah).

WAC is a cognitive program with three separate and supporting components: a consciousness raising component; an educational component; and an ongoing support component. The consciousness raising component (see Appendix F) provides the major theme and theoretical framework for WAC. It enables participants to develop a networking support group. The educational component addresses the specific needs of dependent women and provides them with the knowledge and skills to break cycles of dependency. The support component allows participants to deal with, on a more personal and in-depth level, the issues presented in the consciousness raising and educational sections.

The WAC program is relatively new and the current Coordinator has been in her position long enough to have run only one cycle. Nevertheless, there were a number of suggestions and improvements she would advise regarding the development of such a program. She noted that many of the women enrolled in this program are immature and in need of learning basic social skills. Accordingly, she would place emphasis on these skills as an integrated aspect of the entire program.

There are six consciousness raising sessions which occur in the first three weeks of the program. The program Coordinator noted that participants' receptiveness to this aspect of the program depended upon the individual. She thought it would be helpful to

relate the CR component more to the individual and noted that it was a help when the inmate was linked with clinical services-- either receiving individual or group counselling. Consultants manage this part of the program with the result that while it might be advisable to concentrate this part of the program into a shorter period of time, it is not always possible to do this given consultants' schedules.

The educational component covers a variety of subjects: Women's Issues (which provides an historical overview of women in society and consists of five sessions running concurrently with the CR sessions); Health Issues (which covers nutrition, sexuality, AIDS and other diseases, PMS, reproduction, etc. in seven sessions given by a nurse); Domestic Violence (involving ten sessions given by a community agency worker); Self-esteem (six sessions); Dependency Issues and Addictive Relationships (six sessions); Wellness session (eight sessions given by a male counsellor involving meditation and other techniques for stress management); Money Management (seven sessions also run by a man); Alcohol and Drug Education (given by two pharmacists concerning the use and abuse of prescribed and nonprescriptive drugs and a psychologist who talks about how chemicals affect the brain); Assertion (8 sessions); Parenting (4 sessions); and Values Clarification (six sessions). (All sessions are two hours long.)

A variety of techniques are used in the educational component including videos, movies, reading, writing assignment and discussions. One problem the Coordinator noted about the educational component is that a great deal of information is presented and it might therefore be advisable to expand the number of sessions to allow more time for processing. In addition, some of the sessions (for example, Domestic Violence) stir up a lot of feelings which also require processing. Confidentiality is also an issue in a

program of this sort and some inmates have difficulty with trust and disclosure: twelve weeks is a fairly short time to build trust.

The third component, the support group, meets one evening a week to deal primarily with what it will be like being back on the street. The Coordinator would like to see another weekly meeting added in order to deal further with the foregoing issue as well as integrate some of the issues raised in the other two components.

Among the suggestions for further improvements or changes to the program, the Coordinator claimed that random urinalysis should be included as part of the institutional program and a condition of parole. In addition, the Coordinator stressed the importance of linking this kind of group to inmates' lives once released. There is a need for more connections with community agencies and the involvement of community sponsors before release who could assist offenders once they were back in the community. Community corrections should be operating half-way houses that offer a kind of WAC program. Lastly, if the program were extended, it would be advantageous to house WAC participants together in order to foster greater support, trust and more in-depth processing of issues. Some offenders need much more than a 12-week program. In this connection, it was important to design proper meeting rooms for a program such as WAC.

The Coordinator also observed that there is little consideration given to the personal history of substance abuse of individual offenders--their needs are not particularly differentiated. This point was echoed to some extent in the responses of inmates to the program. Some inmates felt that the WAC program did not offer enough information about drugs and drug abuse; it seemed as if they could not relate what they were being told to themselves. Some comments also referred to the perception that the program was going to turn them into radical feminists. It is possible that the

program, while offering a great many improvements over traditional programs and a presenting lot of valuable information, is seen to be too 'white-middle-class-radical-feminist' for many inmates who come from quite different backgrounds. It should perhaps be modified somewhat to make it more accessible to women who have not been exposed to or are not necessarily interested in a feminist analysis of their backgrounds and problems but who are interested, it is claimed, in learning more about drug abuse.

(c) The Passages and Ascent Programs

Wisconsin also offers two programs for minimum security and/or parolees. The Passages program is a full-time, 16-week program for women still living in minimum custody¹³. The Ascent program is the same program only it is offered to women as a day-treatment program. There was general agreement that the day-treatment version was not as effective due to the fact that it was very difficult to counteract negative influences affecting the woman when she was returning to live at home every night.

The Passages program is a four-phase treatment plan. Phase I includes four weeks of primary treatment and focuses on chemical dependency and directly related issues based on the AA 12-step program. This phase also includes assessment of chemical use and criminal activity. Among the issues examined are responsibility for decisions and behaviour, relapse, past addiction, values clarification, and alcoholism/drug dependency as a disease. Basic skills such as relaxation and communication are also introduced in specialty groups.

13. The Passages program can be extended to up to six months.

Phase II, four weeks of secondary treatment, moves the emphasis from individual work to the client's interaction with her world. Program components include examining relationships with significant others, spouses, children, other family members and the community. Clients work on such issues as domestic violence, abusive relationships, reproductive responsibility, special treatment needs for women, recreation, wellness and reintegration in to the family and community ¹⁴. Community resources are utilized to supplement staff involvement.

During Phase III, clients refine their skills and pursue individual treatment issues. In certain groups, clients will be asked to assume specific leadership roles. In others, clients role play situations requiring them to use assertiveness, conflict resolution, communication and other skills.

Phase IV, the graduation phase, covering a minimum of four weeks, continues through the life of the Passages program. It is hoped that clients will have developed some positive relationships with other program participants and thus will be interested in attending alumni support groups beyond the four week minimum (see Appendix C for a copy of the brochure describing this program).

In contrast to the WAC program, Passages follows a more traditional approach but also includes sessions relevant to the particular needs of women. It also appeared that this program tended to individualize treatment more than WAC, and attempted to relate the treatment to the specific circumstances of the participants. For example, a very significant issue is parenting which the program attempts to assist and improve by means of discussion, information, role playing and so on. Family counselling is also provided when appropriate. Urines are done randomly two or three

14. The Passages program uses the AA "Day by Day" books by Hazelden and the affirmation book from ACOA.

times a month. If an offender has a dirty urine, the matter is handled first individually, and then in the group.

One area of particular significance for substance abusers is leisure. Many offenders have very little idea of how to use their leisure time, how to have fun, without drugs. Accordingly, the sessions which deal with leisure time, and the various outings to events and activities which act as alternatives to drug use, are considered very important within substance abuse programs.

Offenders' reactions to the Passages program were mixed. While it was generally seen positively, there were some who thought it was "too intense"--12 weeks, full-time work. Many are impatient to be working and earning money. (It might also be thought that the notion that the program is too intense arises from the fact that the program touches upon some intensely emotional issues which some offenders may well wish to avoid.) One of the social workers, when asked if she thought the program would be as effective on a half-day basis, stated that she thought it was essential that the program be a full-time daily program.

Among the suggestions for improvement to the program were two main points. Firstly, it was again noted that substance abusers require follow-up in the community (see also Massachusetts, Female Offender Advisory Group Report 1988). Placement in a half-way house would provide some of the initial necessary support. It was also noted that these women need to be able to start supporting themselves financially instead of going on welfare which, in one worker's opinion, represented another form of dependency. In addition, it was recommended that programs such as this employ only female counsellors due to the fact that many substance abusers have a history of abusive and/or dependent relationships with men. The women in the Passages program are in contact with relatively 'safe' men at community AA and NA meetings but they are not encouraged to

socialize. Some have suggested that a program such as Passages, covering as it does a variety of subjects and issues, should be made available to all inmates, not just those who are drug abusers. Others have suggested that the Passages program should be offered in the institution where there are less distractions and where it would provide women with a solid foundation for release.

(d) Project REFORM

Contrary to the belief that prison-based substance abuse rehabilitation programs are ineffective and treatment efforts should be reserved for the community, experts on substance abuse from Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc. (New York) developed a prison-based drug treatment program called "Stay 'N Out" based on the Therapeutic Community (TC) model. Selection criteria include: history of drug abuse, at least 18 years of age, evidence of positive institutional participation, and no history of sex crimes or mental illness.

The "Stay 'N Out" clients are housed in units segregated from the general prison population. According to Wexler, Lipton and Johnson (1988), separate living quarters, recreation, food services and so on should be maintained within the institution in order to protect drug abusers from the inimical influence of the criminal inmate subculture. Total isolation is, however, neither necessary nor desirable; rather, some contact with the general inmate population is useful for the purpose of allowing the inmate in treatment to see where she/he has come from and how much he/she has changed. In addition, the contact experience provides the opportunity for the program resident to test his/her new prosocial values against the inmate subculture and his/her resistance to negative influences. The kind of isolation desired is most possible in medium security institutions with dormitory-type housing where

one dormitory or two are physically segregated or separable from the main institution.

The optimum length of treatment is from nine to twelve months. Most program staff are ex-addict-offenders who are graduates of the community Therapeutic Communities (TC's) who act as 'role models' exemplifying successful rehabilitation. The course of treatment is a developmental growth process with the inmate becoming an increasingly responsible member of the program.

During the early phase of treatment, the clinical focus involves assessment of client needs and problem areas. Orientation to the prison TC procedures occurs through individual counselling, encounter sessions and seminars. Clients are given low-level jobs and granted little status. During the later phases of treatment, residents are provided opportunities to earn higher-level positions and increased status through sincere involvement in the program and hard work. Encounter groups and counselling sessions are more in-depth and focus on the areas of self-discipline, self-worth, self-awareness, respect for authority, and acceptance of guidance for problem areas. Seminars take on a more intellectual nature. Debate is encouraged to enhance self-expression and to increase self-confidence.

Upon release, participants are encouraged to seek further substance abuse treatment at cooperating community TC's. Extensive involvement with a network of community TC's is central to the program's operation. Staff and senior residents of community TC's visit "Stay 'N Out" on a regular basis to recruit resident inmates for their programs. These visitors provide inspiration since they are ex-addicts and ex-felon role models who are leading economically and socially productive lives.

Early evaluations of the Stay 'N Out program indicated that the program has been successful in reducing recidivism, parole

revocations and addiction to drugs (Wexler and Williams 1986; Wexler, Lipton and Foster 1985). For the most part, this program has been a male program so that it is difficult to assess its specific impact on women. The literature on the project does, however, highlight a number of points which are essential to the success of a program such as this (see Appendix G).

(e) Other Substance Abuse Programs

As a result of a legislative act (House Bill 563) concerning Inmate Substance Abuse enacted in 1987 and becoming effective January 1, 1988, North Carolina created an advisory council to examine the establishment of substance abuse programs for correctional institutions. A sub-committee was given the mandate to create such a program for female inmates. The model chosen by the sub-committee is the AA 12-step approach, exemplified by the Minnesota model, e.g. the DART program, which is basically a highly-structured and intensive treatment program informed by a medical/disease conception of drug addiction.

With new funding, North Carolina's Correctional Institution for Women plans to implement a four-week day-treatment program supervised by four full-time DOC staff. Participation will be limited to 24 and there will be several cycles offered annually beginning November 1989. In addition, volunteer aides will be recruited from the prison population to give assistance and peer counselling. Eligibility will be based on four steps: first, that the inmate is convicted by the courts of a drug or drug-related offence; second, the inmate must receive a diagnostic referral from classification; third, the inmate must receive a referral from her case manager or other staff person; and fourth, the inmate makes a self-referral. It is noted that the proposed program is already overbooked and it is considered important that new inmates be offered a place in this program as soon as possible. In the future,

once the facility has new buildings, it is hoped that this program will become an in-patient program.

In contrast to the foregoing perspectives which support the idea of a drug treatment program within correctional institutions, the New South Wales Task Force (Australia, NSW 1985; see Axon 1987:70ff) stated that the prison is an inappropriate environment for drug-dependent women because the prison milieu is at odds with the promotion of rehabilitation for these cases. This view contrasts with that which is occurring in the United States at the present time where there is a war on drugs going on. According to many American correctional authorities, prison offers, if not an ideal environment, certainly a safer environment in comparison to that which many women have come from. Further, it is the intent of many prison programs to build self-esteem and a caring and supportive environment which, it is thought, is a quite new experience for many female inmates--perhaps the first time they have been given such an opportunity. The NSW Task Force did recognize, however, that because of the seriousness of their crimes, some people will be imprisoned. Accordingly, the Task Force examined possible substance abuse programs (e.g. detoxification programs, rehabilitative programs such as AA and NA, and methadone treatment) and concluded by recommending a program somewhat similar to those which are being instituted in the United States; i.e. one which combines both the rehabilitative techniques of the AA model as well as components specific to the needs of female offenders (e.g. vocational training, therapeutic groups, and so on). The Task Force also advised that separate facilities should be provided for women withdrawing from drug addiction, that the prison department should encourage community organizations to provide services, and that half-way houses should be established to accommodate released

female inmates during their transition to the community (see also Gorta 1986).

In 1983, Norway initiated a program centring around physical activities for substance abusers. Its purpose was to strengthen the inmates' physical capacities and give them a basis for an active and positive use of their leisure time. In addition, the program included life and social skills training. The program begins with four weeks of intensive training both inside and outside the prison. Tests assess the effectiveness of the training. The peak of the program is a week outside the prison in a military camp where the inmates engage in a variety of activities including running, swimming, cross-country and down-hill skiing, football and so on as well as a two- to three-day walking tour in the mountains. After returning to prison, the training continues for at least four weeks in which it is considered important that the prison officers take an active part. Short-term results indicate that the majority of inmates are in much better physical condition and most of them continue training for the rest of their prison sentences; relationships between the inmates and correctional officers improve; the use of medication is greatly reduced; there are few disciplinary problems; and most of the inmates claim they are in better mental condition after having participated in the program--they are more emotionally stable and it is easier for them to relate to others (Norway, Department of Prison, Probation and After-care 1986).

A recent trend in the United States is the use of Boot Camps for first-time offenders (usually non-violent and young). One of these correctional boot camps has been opened for women in the state of New York and other states are considering this option for their female offenders as well. Although no-one, to the researcher's knowledge, has suggested the use of boot camps for substance abusers, they are mentioned here due to their similarity to the

Norway approach--that is, an emphasis on physical fitness leading to improvements in other areas.

Some serious criticisms have been directed towards the concept of boot camps (see, for example, Morash and Rucker 1988). Basically, these criticisms note that in their traditional form, boot camps foster certain antisocial attitudes and engender needless anxiety--precisely the kinds of emotional states that are inappropriate for offenders and strongly counter-indicated for many female offenders. On the other hand, some correctional authorities believe that with certain humanizing modifications, the boot camp idea may be made to work in a positive way, particularly if a regime of physical labour is combined with educational and therapeutic groups. It has also been suggested that rather than leaving the decision as to whether an offender should attend a boot camp with the courts, departments of corrections should make this determination on the basis of their knowledge of both the offender and his or her requirements in conjunction with the nature of the programs at the boot camps.

Finally, some institutions offer a modified version of AA which is intended to better reflect Native culture and spiritual orientation. For example, Wisconsin's Taycheedah Institution for Women has the following 12-step approach:

1. We come to believe that we were powerless alcoholics and that we had lost control of our lives.
2. We come to believe that a power greater than ourselves could help us gain control.
3. We made a decision to ask for help from a higher power and from others who would understand.
4. We stopped and thought about our strengths and weaknesses and thought about ourselves.

5. We admitted to the Great Spirit and to ourselves and to another person the things we thought were wrong about ourselves.
6. We are ready with the help of the Great Spirit to change.
7. We humbly ask our Higher Power and our friends to help us change.
8. We made a list of people who we hurt by us directly and want to make up for these hurts.
9. We are making up to those people whenever we can except when to do so would hurt them more.
10. We continue to think about our strengths and weaknesses and when we are wrong we say so.
11. We pray and think about ourselves when praying only for strengths to do what is right.
12. We try to help other alcoholics and to practice these principles in everything we do.

Among the suggestions and advice correctional authorities offered with respect to the implementation of substance abuse programs was the point that their implementation and success is best assured when they receive priority at the highest level within departments of corrections: they need to take on their own status and identity. To this end, it is best to tend towards an approach wherein departments of corrections adapt, where necessary, to substance abuse programs rather than the reverse. As well, as has been noted elsewhere, the use of ex-addicts ("they have been there") is considered very important to the success of programs.

(iv) Therapy Programs

In its study of the women offender in Minnesota (Minnesota, Department of Corrections 1986), Minnesota DOC found that the most highly ranked areas for training and development needed by female inmates were: self-confidence/self-esteem, parenting skills, marriage and family relations, victimization, crisis intervention, medical issues unique to women (including PMS, gynaecological, nutrition, exercise, and weight loss including bulimia and anorexia nervosa), minority concerns/cultural differences and general information about drugs and alcohol.

It has been found at some facilities that inmates are somewhat reluctant to participate in group therapies for a number of reasons. Firstly, they are suspicious of both the concept ("therapy is for 'sick' people") as well as the idea that they will be expected to disclose information which may, they fear, be used against them. In this regard, correctional authorities with successful groups going noted that it was essential to stress the confidentiality of these groups and to keep prison staff out of the meetings. In addition, experience has taught that the naming of these groups is critical since if an inappropriate name is chosen, the targeted participants may feel shame and therefore be reluctant to join these programs. Thus, for example, groups for incest survivors are not called "incest groups" but "human sexuality groups" and battered women's groups are called "understanding relationships". Similarly, parenting groups are called "child development groups" as inmates are less likely to participate if they feel their parenting skills are being questioned.

Thus, while group therapy programs are fairly sensitive undertakings and sometimes difficult to get started, it is recognized that it would simply be impossible to offer individual counselling to every inmate who requested or required it. As well,

group work offers a kind of milieu that is superior, in some respects, to individual counselling in so far as it often prompts deeper exploration of issues and engenders greater feelings of support--inmates come to realize that "it's not just them" and can share comfort with each other.

(a) Alternatives to Violence (AVP) Program

It has been observed that many female offenders have had very abusive backgrounds in which they have been either the victims of violence and/or have been deprived of an acceptable model for handling violence. Many women suffer from unrecognized and unexpressed grief and rage which may escape their control. In prison, living conditions are stressful and may trigger to underlying fears and emotions.

Introduced about thirteen years ago into the New York New Haven Prison (for men), the Alternatives to Violence (AVP) program attempts to address the issue of empowerment--to "affirm the existence and legitimacy of personal power and to give participants the experience of shared power exercised cooperatively, responsibly and well" (AVP Manual, 1985:c-1). AVP's conception of power is not power to coerce ('power over', as feminists put it), but has more to do with creating a 'win/win' situation. AVP is based on the premise that there are certain individual and group dynamics that make it possible to transform hostility and destructiveness into cooperation and community (Ibid.:A-1).

One major component of the AVP program, therefore, is to create a safe "experiential learning" environment in which positive actions which are contrary to aggression and violence, are supported, encouraged and commonplace. Emphasis is placed on affirmations of self and other, conflict-resolution skills, community and

empowerment. Specific skills and techniques such as "I" statements, active listening, paraphrasing, taking the perspective of another, and problem solving are taught.

The basic format for this program consists of two three-day workshops (dealing with the foregoing skills), usually followed some months later by an advanced workshop (focusing on specific issues which contribute to violence such as anger, fear, stereotyping, etc.). Group size does not exceed 20 participants and there are generally three to four facilitators, some of whom are inmates who have been trained in AVP principles and others are volunteers (i.e. not employed by Departments of Corrections).

About three years ago the AVP program was introduced at the Huron Valley Women's Facility. It is offered as well in prisons in about fifteen other states. Experience in both male and female prisons has shown this program to be a very powerful experience for most inmates. More mature inmates, it is claimed, are especially interested in this program. According to one observer, a weakness of the program is that, under its present format, it is too short. Many issues come up during sessions and inmates are being asked to learn many new skills. Ideally, a program such as this should be expanded particularly in terms of providing more opportunities for processing anger, among other things.

(b) Abuse Groups

Although the researcher did not have occasion to investigate very many abuse program, a number of comments were made about the implementation of such groups. In North Carolina, for example, when this program was first introduced, they found that the women became especially angry and verbally violent towards men and "butch" lesbians. It was suggested that group leaders be prepared for this kind of outcome and trained to handle it; they should also be fully

aware of who the group participants are and how they might react. Group leaders may have a variety of educational backgrounds (e.g. graduate degree in psychology, psychiatric nurse) so long as they have received training in group treatment therapies.

The North Carolina abuse group, running weekly (for one and half hour) for sixteen weeks, uses a psychological/educational (psychodidactic) model; the first four weeks are purely educational, presenting information about dysfunctional families, personality characteristics and so on. Experience has indicated that this type of model works best because the participants can begin to relate to the educational material and thereby slowly progress towards the more psychological issues. Participants may enrol as many times as they want. At the present time, the North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women has several of these groups running--a testimony to their popularity (see Appendix K for a report of this program).

According to inmates who have participated in this group (the majority of which are, apparently, long-term inmates), the program is seen to be very helpful and supportive. In addition, they felt they had learned new and valuable skills in communication and understanding other people. Other benefits included their sense of relief in learning they were not alone in their feelings as well a sense of confidence that they would be able to avoid abusive relationships in the future and thereby reduce their likelihood of becoming involved in crime again. Their major criticism was that they would like the groups to be longer. The inmates initiated a celebration at the end of their group cycle which they thought was a very important gesture and expression of their group experience. For some women, it is claimed by the inmates, this is the first stable bond they have had in their lives.

While participation is voluntary, the social worker in charge of the abuse group pointed out that this type of therapy would not be suitable for some inmates and that some screening should therefore be done. These types of inmates would benefit more from anger-control groups (where the emphasis is on learning skills rather than gaining insights).

(c) Other Groups

A number of facilities commonly offer Grief Groups (dealing with loss, rejection, abandonment, death, etc.) and Long-distance Parenting Groups. These groups are considered especially important for long-term inmates. In addition, Understanding Relationships (for battered women), Property Offenders Groups (for shoplifters, forgers, etc.), Image Improvement, Self-help Groups for prostitutes and other Self-help Groups are all variously offered at female institutions.

A few jurisdictions have pioneered programs for female sexual offenders (e.g. Genesis II serving St. Paul/Minneapolis and a program at Taycheedah which is temporarily on hold). The reader is referred to the report by Mathews, Matthews and Speltz for further information on this subject.

(d) Culture/Native Women's Groups

Some facilities offer groups for native women, depending on the number of native women. At the time of this investigation, only Shakopee had sufficient numbers of native women to ensure group. While these kinds of groups are not directly therapeutic in nature, they do constitute a support group, inviting guests from native organizations, and so on, thereby allowing native women an

opportunity to share common value culture and values. It was observed that for some of the native inmates, particularly those who come from large cities, these groups constitute the first time they have been encouraged to get in touch with the cultural and spiritual traditions. It was also pointed out that it was important to have the chaplaincy organize and manage these groups because it tended to underline the spiritual nature of these groups. At Shakopee, the Programs Director is herself Native American and has organized a sweat lodge for other native women.

(v) Pre-release and Post-release Programs

Transition to the community is a critical time for all prisoners and especially so for women who often are even more poorly equipped to manage their lives than men. As the reader undoubtedly knows the demands of work, parenting, relationships and even the use of leisure time pose particular problems for women. Among the recommendations that have been made regarding pre-release programming, perhaps one of the most significant is the need for linkages with the community. It has been recommended that these linkages be both interministerial (e.g. between Departments of Corrections and Departments of Education, and Health and Welfare) and community-based (as in the case of regional or local advisory councils to particular facilities).

The Independent Living Center at Shakopee represents an innovative pre-release program. This program is designed to help inmates develop a feeling of self-worth and to gain a more comprehensive view of the working world and community resources available to them. A number of groups are offered to those living

in the ILC unit, including Understanding Relationships, Expanded Career Choices, Career Development, Weight Watchers, Overcoming Self-defeating Behavior and Changing Horizons. In addition, one-to-one counselling includes assistance with searching for transitional housing, looking for a career change, vocational testing, job search, and setting up an outside support system.

The ILC unit was originally planned for a double-apartment capacity of 12 but due to overcrowding it now houses 24 inmates. Each apartment is self-contained except for laundry facilities which are shared. Inmates earn the privilege of living in the unit by their prison behaviour in addition to their being near their release date. They are entitled to leave the grounds for work as well as once a month for six hours for visits, shopping, etc. Group recreational activities such as outings to the zoo, movies and so on are also allowed once a month. The unit is completely open during the day and locked at night. Apparently women appreciate living in the ILC unit because it is quiet and they can be less involved in or affected by other inmates' problems; it gives them a sense of freedom and responsibility.

The Minnesota Department of Corrections report (1989) on strategies for implementing national policy on female offenders notes that:

one of the penalties of incarceration is that it weakens and even destroys the offender's support system in the community. Before their arrests, many female offenders were dependent on spouses, parents, or others for emotional and financial support. More often than not, however, released female offenders must establish residences, find employment, and attempt to reestablish family ties without assistance. Their fear, loneliness, dependency and frustration are serious threats to their success after their release from correctional supervision.

Most female offenders could benefit from release programs that allow them to gradually assume responsibility for themselves and their dependents. Even if an outside support system is intact, returning to family and community can be an unsettling experience, especially as the offender tries to carry over newly acquired skills and an improved self-image. Post-release programs (e.g. community-based counselling and monitoring) offer the offender needed support, encouragement, and guidance during this critical period.

It has been observed that women (and presumably men as well) tend to romanticize life on the outside when they are in prison. The day-treatment program at Genesis II attempts to assist women with the everyday realities of the 'outside' world: like getting up in the morning (a major undertaking for many women), feeding children properly, being accountable and responsible and so on. Offering a variety of programs from money management to assertiveness training, the staff of Genesis II realized that many of their clients would be unable to participate in these programs unless day-care was also provided. Consequently, Genesis II also has an active parenting component within its program menu.

While many of the programs offered at Genesis II are aimed at addressing issues that may have a history as far back as the woman's childhood, a modified program for released inmates could be developed. It is claimed that ideally it would be best if these kinds of deep issues had already been processed while the woman was incarcerated, so that the focus of a Genesis II-type day-treatment program could be on re-entry issues: crisis intervention, housing, employment, parenting, substance abuse, and so on.

Genesis II uses a contract system somewhat like the idea of mini-MAP agreements discussed below (p. 77; see Appendix L). There are three phases requiring the woman to undertake assigned tasks and activities before she moves on to the next stage. The first phase, lasting 30 days, is primarily an assessment period in which

it is determined if the Genesis II program is appropriate for the particular woman. Phase II, lasting two to four months, consists of two sub-parts: A - involving self-awareness issues as well as practical considerations; and B - involving participation in specific groups addressing issues relevant to the individual woman. Phase III, also lasting about 30 days, is concerned with practical transition issues, being on one's own without Genesis II, and so on¹⁵.

In Wisconsin, parole officers are assigned to inmates during incarceration in order to assist inmates with any community business and their release plans. The parole officer is required to keep at least one annual meeting and may become involved in the institutional programming for the offender. Some parole officers see their clients as often as once a week. Many parolees, identified as substance abusers or high risk cases, are put on intensive supervision for the first 90 to 120 days after release. Wisconsin has also benefitted from the services of Project Return, a church-based organization which initiates socials for women while they are in custody, manages the Women Helping Women program at Taycheedah and maintains contact with them upon release (see Appendix C).

15. It may be of some interest to the reader to know how an agency such as Genesis II has managed to solicit funding. There are number of sources. Firstly, Genesis II has purchase of service contracts with Minnesota counties. Genesis staff have emphasized the cost-effectiveness of their program in terms of long-term savings owing to a reduction in recidivism. It is also suggested that an agency such as this consider diversifying its referral base so that its funding may be provided by a variety of sources. This is a realistic strategy given the fact that many clients' needs overlap - the same programs or core programs are required by many clients irrespective of their referring agency. Consideration might as well be given to taking on adjunct services. For example, Genesis II has been asked by local jail facilities to provide programming services for their inmates but has declined due to an already overbooked agenda. While such variety better ensures adequate funding and is interesting for the staff as well, care must be taken not to take on too much. What these strategies suggest is that an agency such as Genesis II may serve a variety of referral agencies and purposes. This means that it need not be dependent strictly on referrals from departments of corrections. Its services are enhanced by cross-referrals to and from several agencies as linkages are established which help to produce better services to clients.

A number of jurisdictions use half-way houses for substance abusers and other inmates needing further supervision. For example, in Milwaukee, NuStart and Horizon House (capacity of 12) provide a structured environment for ex-inmates. NuStart is explicitly intended for substance abusers and Horizon House is developing a substance abuse program. An area requiring particular attention on release is parenting and family relations. It was claimed that if the Horizon House six-month residency were extended to a year, it would allow for better family supervision, ideally involving a live-in period for mothers and their children towards the end of their stay.

(vi) Other Types of Programs

(a) Recreational Programs

Although this study did not include recreational programs among its priorities for investigation, it became clear that recreational programs are extremely important. This is particularly true for the large sub-population of substance abusers who, as mentioned above, often have little idea about how to use their leisure time apart from resorting to drugs. As well, it is recognized that female inmates tend to avoid recreational activities involving physical exertion with the result that in prison, "women get fatter, men get fitter", as one Australian inmate observed. In some facilities aerobics classes and dancing have been found to be popular; some facilities have invested in exercise equipment (which, it has been found, are used if perceived as 'exercise equipment', not 'body building equipment'). It appears that women inmates require a lot of encouragement and perhaps some educational support to engender greater interest in these kinds of activities.

Planning recreational programs is fairly difficult in institutions--particularly if there are relatively few inmates. Program schedules, inmates' interests, seasonal constraints, security management, staffing requirements, all limit the options available to correctional authorities. A number of lessons have been learned about ways of implementing these types of programs successfully. For example, the staff at North Carolina's Correctional Institution for Women learned that it is important to offer activities which are suitable for older inmates; however, it was important that these programs not be labelled as activities for 'older women'. It has also been found that inmates tend to prefer short-term activities.

(b) Volunteer Programs

Volunteer programs are generally a kind of hit-and-miss affair in many institutions. There is, however, general agreement that volunteers provide much-needed friendship and services for inmates. At times, volunteer programs are not well-developed because the facility is not easily available to potential volunteers. In addition, the recruitment, training and organization of volunteers is a time-consuming job which some facilities have not been able to administer. Training is considered to be particularly important because frequently volunteers are unknowledgeable, though well-intentioned about offenders and the responsibilities of correctional institutions: as one correctional worker said, "they're crusaders, they want to change things." Often, the facility's chaplain is responsible for this service since many volunteers are found in church organizations.

At Shakopee, a fairly active volunteers program has been developed involving over 150 volunteers (see Appendix M). While the program does not entail much screening of volunteers (although

they do refuse friends and members of inmates families as well as requiring ex-inmates to have been crime-free for two years), it does require potential volunteers to undergo a training workshop which tends to encourage volunteers to self-screen. This training workshop, running all day on a Saturday (not during an evening when volunteers are too tired), introduces the volunteers to corrections and what is expected of volunteers. If they volunteer is willing to act as an escort, he/she receives custody training as well. Most volunteers are full-time working women who are generally available only during the evenings and weekends--a situation which dovetails nicely with the needs of the institution. Volunteers are encouraged to bring their husbands to social events so that the inmates may have the opportunity of meeting a different kind of man to what many of them are accustomed to. There are some male volunteers who have been used largely as custody escorts.

All volunteers are required to sign an 'agreement' which is considered to be very important because it formally establishes expectations and it makes it possible to 'fire' unsuitable volunteers. All volunteers are asked to commit themselves to at least six months to a year.

Although in the past Shakopee used volunteer's services to transport families for institutional visits, this practice has been abandoned because it appeared that the volunteers were being 'used' by inmates' visitors and the logistics involved in arranging these connections were overwhelming. It was subsequently found that visitors turned out to be capable of making their own transportation arrangements.

(c) Reparation Programs

One institution superintendent suggested that inmates be encouraged to participate in some kind of reparation towards victims of crime--either specifically victims of their own crimes (as in a VORP program) or a general program such as community service. He thought that such a program would be welcomed by some inmates in order to assuage their guilt and would also be appropriate for others in order to encourage a sense of responsibility. The timing of this kind of program would most appropriately be towards the end of their incarceration because at the beginning inmates are typically in a state of denial, disbelief, shock and rebellion.

In Minnesota, inmates are permitted to earn as much as they can but those earning over \$50 per week must contribute 20 per cent a fund for victims' compensation and programs. This approach is considered superior to requiring inmates to pay, for example, for room and board which, it is claimed, barely makes a dent in institutional costs.

Long-term Inmates

It is often noted that long-term inmates tend to be somewhat neglected by prison authorities, lost in the unrelenting task of processing shorter-term inmates (see U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985 and Palmer 1984). Long-term inmates, once they have come to terms with their sentences, generally pose few problems regarding discipline, attempting instead to make 'a home' for themselves in the environment in which they must now live. In addition, it is not uncommon for long-term inmates to be neglected by the outside

world; friends and families often drift away leaving them rather isolated.

The American 1985 survey of correctional management for long-term inmates (reviewed below) identified two themes emerging in both the literature and experiences of the correctional authorities who provided data for the study findings and recommendations. Firstly, it is recognized that confinement in prison for seven, ten, or more years is an experience profoundly different from that of inmates serving shorter sentences. The traditional management method of virtually ignoring the program needs of these inmates until they are within a certain time from release or assigning them to programs developed to meet the needs and resources of inmates is unacceptable. What is needed, it is claimed, is a long-term perspective on what must be realistically viewed as a long-term problem. Secondly, what is unique about long-termers is not the deprivations they experience--for these are experienced by all inmates irrespective of length of sentence--but the amount of time that these deprivations must be endured. In view of the diversity that characterizes long-term inmates (i.e. in terms of type of crimes ranging from the very heinous to repeated convictions for forgery, demographics, backgrounds, and so on), the creation of a single response for long-term inmates simply will, it is argued, not work. What is required is the creation of a number of programs devised specifically for small groups of long-term inmates who share characteristics other than long-term confinement (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:9).

The American survey found that over three-fourths of the states reported considering long-term male inmates in agency planning, but only about 55 per cent indicated they considered long-term females in agency planning, owing, it is claimed, to the small numbers of long-term females and also partly to the kind of neglect

that has characterized the administration of female corrections in many states. Three-fourths of the agencies also reported considering the needs and characteristics of long-term male inmates in planning new or renovated facilities. However, only half took female long-termers into account in this type of planning. The need for such planning, it was noted, was supported by the findings that over half of the agencies did not believe their facilities were optimal for managing either long-term males or females. Numerous studies cited in the NIC report support the position that long-term inmates have needs that differ from or are more severe than those of other inmates. The management of long-termers would be enhanced, it is argued, if the available facilities, programs, and services were designed to meet the greatest of these needs: for example, privacy, stability, the maintenance of family ties (Ibid.:10).

(i) Profiles of Long-term Inmates

The American 1985 survey of programs for long-term inmates reveals slightly different profiles for male and female offenders. It is reported that American jurisdictions are experiencing greater growth rates in their populations of female long-term inmates than male populations (2.3% for women as compared to 1.8% for men). With respect to age, the largest mean percentage of both men and women was in the 30-year-old category. The greatest proportion of long-term males and females were reported to be single both at the time of admission and at the time of the survey: about half of the male long-termers and about one third of the females were single. In general, female long-termers were reported to be better educated than males: about 53 per cent of the females had received a highschool diploma or its equivalent while only about 30 per cent

of the males had reached this level of achievement. About 2.6 per cent of the males and 1.5 per cent of the females could be characterized as mentally retarded or illiterate.

Slightly over half of the male and female long-term inmates were perceived as lacking the skills and experience to support themselves in the community. About 17 per cent of the men and 29 per cent of the women were thought to be suited only for low-skilled jobs. As the level of vocational training rose, male long-termers began to predominate: roughly 18 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women were reported at the highest level (described as possessing demonstrable skills in an occupation and two years of steady employment in a skilled area). With respect to security designations, the largest mean percentage of long-term inmates were classified as medium security: 45 per cent of the men and 42 per cent of the women fell into this classification. For males, the next largest category was maximum security with slightly over 30 per cent of the male long-term population receiving this designation--nearly double that of the females. For females, the second largest classification was minimum security--28 per cent compared to roughly 12 per cent for males.

According to the American survey, special management needs of long-term inmates did not differ significantly, for the most part, from those of the general prisoner population. About 6 per cent of the male long-termers and 1 per cent of the females had protective custody needs. Slightly over 4 per cent of the men and about 2 per cent of the women were placed in administrative segregation, while just under 6 per cent of the men and 1.6 per cent of the women were in disciplinary segregation. Chronic health problems were attributed to almost 10 per cent of the men and approximately 22 percent of the women. About 5 per cent of the male and 8 per cent of the females were reported to be mentally ill. Slightly under 2

per cent of the men and just over 3 per cent of the women were designated geriatric. Lastly,, a substantial proportion of both men and women (about 45 per cent) were categorized as substance abusers.

With respect to disciplinary history, over half of the male and female long-term populations, on the average, had committed fewer than two serious disciplinary violations during their current confinement. Less than 20 per cent of both populations were reported as having committed five or more major infractions (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:1-2).

Statistics on Canadian long-term inmates were not available to the researcher at the present time but it is likely that the Canadian profile is roughly similar to the American one.

(ii) Housing Arrangements

According to the aforementioned 1985 American survey, respondents expressed a wide variety of opinions regarding housing for long-termers. They were almost evenly split on whether the housing environment for long-terms should differ from that provided short-termers. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents thought long-termers should be mixed in with the general population--rather than housed in a single institution or unit within an institution. Palmer (1984) reports that correctional staff at Warkworth Prison for men in Canada also supported this policy of mixing long-termers in with the general prison population because most felt that the long-termers provided a stabilizing influence and they preferred this influence distributed rather than concentrated on single ranges. Approximately 80 per cent also indicated a preference for single-

cell housing for long-termers ¹⁶. Fifty per cent reported they had specific areas for female long-termers and about 86 per cent had units for housing these inmates.

Unlike the findings in Great Britain (Genders and Player 1986), it was claimed by American female correctional authorities that combining older female inmates (often long-term inmates) with younger inmates has a positive effect. Older inmates, especially if they are longer-term inmates, sometimes tend to become positive role models for younger inmates, to be nurturing, and also assist in monitoring unruly or destructive behaviour. It is claimed that because they view the prison as their home, they have an investment in keeping it nice and tend not to tolerate vandalism or disruptive behaviour by other inmates. In short, long-term inmates tend to create the atmosphere for the institution.

In North Carolina, long-term inmates are housed in separate living units at the North Carolina Institute for Women (having a population nearing 600). It is thought that this arrangement is advantageous because it permits them to develop a kind of cultural group which offers support and stability, as well as refuge from the ongoings of the general population. Apparently, it was found that not only was institutional management enhanced but also the living conditions in these dorms. The long-termers began to take pride in their surroundings both inside and outside the dorm--to build a home away from home. These dorms have semi-private rooms, a TV lounge area, washer and dryers for each hall, drink machines, study rooms, a small kitchenette and an office for each social worker assigned to the dorms. In smaller institutions, it may not be possible to house longer-term inmates separately because the

16. Without exception, correctional authorities stressed the importance of single-cell housing for all female inmates.

numbers are too small to fill the relatively large capacities of existing housing units; however, it might be possible to establish some mini-units within the larger units. Palmer (1984) notes that similar conclusions regarding the desirability of housing long-termers together have been reached by other authorities.

It was pointed out that the establishment of permanent staff within these units is critical. As well, as mentioned earlier, the optimal arrangement would be to offer long-term inmates single rooms. At the North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women, where it was not possible to provide single rooms, they found that the institution of 'contracts' between roommates reduced infractions by about 50 per cent in twelve months.

Young long-termers are an especially vulnerable group who, according to North Carolina's experience, would do better with other long-termers their own age than with their age peers who are leaving the institution in comparatively short periods of time. It is proposed that a separate dormitory will be established for these young long-termers.

While acknowledging the potential problems (in terms of, for example, jealousy on the part of other inmates concerning special privileges for long-termers: e.g. long-term residents are permitted to organize special entertainment nights, take-out food is ordered in occasionally, grow a garden, etc.) that arise with respect to this kind of housing arrangement, the correctional staff at North Carolina nevertheless viewed separate dorms as the most advisable approach. Their rationale was that these long-term inmates need special treatment and programs because their needs are different and also because, as women inmates, they were not entitled to the same kind of variety available to men who may be transferred to other institutions. To circumvent potential problems staff at NCCIW deliberately did not 'advertise' long-termers' programs thereby

reducing the likelihood of discontent among other prisoners. Canada was warned, however, to be prepared for litigation on this issue as this was the experience of North Carolina. It was also noted that unless correctional staff are educated about the needs of this group of inmates, there is a risk that they too would be resentful. It is important to keep correctional staff routinely informed about the needs and activities of the long-term inmates as well as the reasons for specific programs.

The issue of personal property--e.g. permission to decorate one's own room--is especially sensitive for long-termers. While property disputes often are a great nuisance to correctional staff, some prisons (for example, Shakopee) have recognized the importance of personal property and allow prisoners a fair amount of leeway in this regard ¹⁷.

(iii) Classification Issues

The American survey found that a large majority of correctional agencies had policies that influenced or controlled classification decisions relating to long-term inmates. These policies generally impacted on such areas as housing assignment, programming and work assignments. Slightly more than 90 per cent of the respondents reported that sentence length was one of the factors considered in assigning males to specific institutions; only about 46 per cent used factor for females, largely because most states have only a single female facility. Long-term confinement was equated with the need for maximum security by almost 67 per cent responding to the male survey, but only 32 per cent of those

17. An interesting outcome of the rule against personal property occurred at Huron Valley where it was found that the craft course in ceramics failed because inmates are not allowed to keep personal property in their rooms.

completing the female survey. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of respondents to both the female and male surveys indicated that long-termers could not be assigned to a minimum security facility until after reclassification had occurred. No substantial differences were reported in regard to initial classification for long-term inmates and other prisoners. Slightly more than half of the respondents to both surveys reported that their agencies did not develop individualized incarceration plans for long-term inmates--a fact that is further reflected in the findings about program participation by long-termers (Ibid.:4-5).

Some correctional authorities interviewed for this report noted that risk classification is generally a very simple undertaking for female offenders: "you can generally tell as soon as you get to know the inmate", and therefore does not require a highly sophisticated classification system (which usually have poor predictive capacities in any case). At the present time, the Canadian Prison for Women uses a categorization of inmates based on the Wisconsin "Client Management Classification" model which basically groups inmates into behavioral types in terms of what kind of behaviour may be expected of them and what kinds of responses are appropriate. There are four identified types: selective intervention (tending to be relatively stable and pro-social); environmental structure (tending to lack social and vocational skills, intellectually deficit); limit setting (tending to display a criminal identification); and casework/control (tending to manifest long-term emotional problems, substance abuse, lack of goal-directedness). This categorization suggests some of the program needs of offenders within these groups but is fairly unspecific. (See Appendix D for a copy of the Client Management Classification.) It might be argued that a more sophisticated needs classification would not offer anything more than is already being

done through individualized case management. This is clearly a matter that needs further investigation.

(iv) General Participation in Programs

Many of the respondents to the American survey indicated that both male and female long-term inmates tended to be proportionately represented in academic, vocational, and on-the-job training programs. However, a substantial percentage (ranging between 17.8% and 39.3%) also thought that these inmates were underrepresented in such programs, primarily due either to eligibility requirements based on release date or to lack of motivation. Some 10 per cent of the respondents, on average, reported that these academic and vocational programs were not available; this finding was especially true for vocational programming for women.

A large majority of respondents stated that no unique incentives were offered to either long-term or short-term inmates to stimulate program participation. Special incentives, when available, were more likely to be directed at short-termers. The respondents did suggest that some incentives to combat the tendency toward apathy in the long-term population--these included increased privileges, choice of job assignment, higher wages, consideration for custody decrease, and special recognition by means of awards or notations in inmates' files.

The survey also found that work assignments varied considerably depending on the type of assignment and the sex of the inmates. About half of the respondents to the long-term male survey and about 46 per cent of the female survey respondents stated that long-term inmates were proportionately represented in prison industries. The remainder of the respondents were almost equally divided between overrepresentation and underrepresentation of long-

termers in these assignments. It was also noted that 15.4 per cent of the respondents to the long-term female survey said they had no prison industries. Nearly 70 per cent of the respondents reported that long-term males had access to career ladders, but only 30.8 per cent said long-term females had this opportunity. Relatively few agencies (about 38 per cent) stated that they provided long-term inmates with continuity in programming between academic, vocational, and on-the-job work assignments.

(v) Mental Health

With respect to mental health issues, it was reported that in comparison to the short-term prisoner population, long-term inmates typically were not perceived as experiencing a greater incidence of mental health problems. Some exceptions to this finding, however, were reported. Male long-termers, for example, were often characterized as having higher rates of psychosis, personality disorders, and neurosis. Female long-termers were perceived by a substantial number of respondents as experiencing a lower incidence of psychosis, suicide, and substance abuse, as well as higher rates of personality disorders and neurosis. About 42 per cent of the respondents to the female survey indicated that the incidence of mental health problems decreased over time as long-termers tended to adjust to imprisonment. Long-termers' mental health was reported to suffer during the initial stages of incarceration, following unsuccessful appearances before the parole board, and after five years of confinement when family ties for many had dissolved or were beginning to disintegrate (Ibid.:5-6).

One sub-group of inmates which are frequently handled on a kind of ad hoc basis, though they may require considerable attention, are those who are not necessarily psychologically diagnosed but who are severely lacking in social skills. A number of superintendents lamented the fact that they have no unit or programs for these inmates. It was suggested that some modified version of the Protective Environment Unit (which was established as a result of a consent decree) at the Huron Valley Women's Facility in Michigan might be a suitable approach. The Protective Environment Unit is a separate multi-custody living unit (capacity of 26) providing a six-month program of a variety of therapies. P.E. residents are allowed to engage in activities with the general prison population but in addition are provided with specialized counselling.

(vi) Family and Community Ties

A little over half of the respondents to the American survey though that long-term inmates, male and female, tended to receive fewer visits from family and friends as their terms of confinement lengthened. One of the more likely reasons for this decrease in visits, according to respondents, was lack of transportation to facilities that were frequently located some distance from the inmates' hometowns. About one half of the respondents to both the male and female surveys reported that their agencies did not subsidize or provide transportation services to visitors. When transportation was available, it was usually furnished by volunteer or church-related organizations. Most facilities offered programs designed to promote visiting; for example, supervised and unsupervised furloughs, extended family visiting, or conjugal visiting. Survey respondents indicated that supervised furloughs were equally available to long-termers and short-termers. For unsupervised furloughs, however, only about 26 per cent of the respondents said long-term male and female inmates were eligible while nearly 46 per

cent of the male survey respondents and 36 per cent of the female survey respondents reported these programs open to short-term inmates. Very few states indicated that they offered extended family or conjugal visiting programs: three agencies operated such programs for male prisoners and only one had developed such programs for females.

It has been noted that family ties, especially with children, are extremely important to female offenders, both long- and short-termers. The few escapes that are attempted by women are often prompted by a desire to see their families. The importance of programs supporting these family connections was recognized by practically all those interviewed for this report. North Carolina's Correctional Institution for Women has instituted "Family Days" in which inmates are entitled, three times a year, to invite their families for the better part of the day on Saturdays. They are permitted to have picnics and play together in an outdoor recreational area. Staff are also invited to bring their families.

Long-term inmates are also particularly interested in activities and events which bring the outside world into the institution. Thus they are interested, for example, in fashion shows which show new trends and International Food Fair Days.

(vii) Release Preparation

Nearly 90 per cent of those responding to the male survey and just over 60 per cent of those returning the female survey thought that long-term inmates had special pre-release needs. Post-release programming was not as widespread or effective as pre-release programming. About 65 per cent of the respondents to the male survey and 75 per cent of the respondents to the female survey stated that they had established programs to prepare long-termers

for release. Among the efforts to help long-term inmates succeed in the community were prison industries and maintenance programs, which, according to nearly two-thirds of the respondents, helped prepare long-termers for release by developing job skills and good work habits. Only about 32 per cent of the respondents indicated that post-release programs were available to males and just 30 per cent thought their programming was adequate. Twenty-five per cent reported the use of such programs with females, but less than half characterized their post-release programs as adequate. Most agencies without post-release programming indicated they did not plan to develop such programs. Nearly half of the respondents to the male survey and three-fourths of the respondents to the female survey indicated that their parole staff received no training in the supervision or management of long-term inmates (Ibid.:8).

(viii) Recommendations re: Administration and Programming

The American study on the management of long-term inmates produced a number of recommendations concerning programming. The study notes that much of the programming developed by correctional agencies is focused on the needs of short-term inmates--i.e. programming that typically last from 12 to 24 months and is intended to prepare the participants for imminent release. Moreover, it is claimed that the common practice of postponing the programming of long-termers until late in their sentences wastes their potential to benefit themselves, the agency and the public. According to this study, sentence planning is most advantageous when it is started during the initial reception and classification stages and monitored and modified at subsequent reclassification hearings. For those inmates who are clearly unmotivated to develop

sentence plans, the issue need not be forced. The opportunity to develop sentence plans would be present should inmates decide to take advantage of it. It is pointed out, however, that care needs to be taken to ensure that inmates understand the benefits they will derive from participation. At the time of the study, approximately 31 per cent of the respondents did not believe individualized incarceration plans were valuable to long-term female inmates and of those agencies that did have individualized planning for women, half were dissatisfied with current efforts (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:15-16). Accordingly, the Project Staff of American study recommended that:

Correctional administrators. . . establish sentence planning for long-term inmates as standard practice within their agencies. All long-term inmates should be afforded the opportunity to pursue prison careers.

The American study goes on to consider how comprehensive, unified long-term inmate programs should be administered. It notes that in multi-facility correctional systems such as those dealing with male inmates in the United States and Great Britain, the most advisable administrative strategy would be to centralize this function through the creation of, for example, a staff position responsible for long-term offender programs in the jurisdiction's central office. This office would oversee and coordinate programs and transfers between facilities.

With respect to female inmates whose numbers are relatively very small and who are generally housed within a single facility, a centralized position such as this may not, at first glance, appear to be required. However, the experience of practitioners interviewed for the present study quite clearly indicated that female offenders would also benefit from the creation of this kind of centralized and coordinating position. For example, North

Carolina's new health facility for women was made possible and established, in large part, by the fact that the position of Female Command Manager had been created thereby permitting the needs of female inmates to be represented and reflected in North Carolina's correctional plans and budget allocations. As noted previously, authorities in female corrections repeatedly emphasized the need for the creation of such a position in order to combat the 'neglect' that typically characterizes female corrections.

The American study confirmed this viewpoint. It argued that in order to counter the forces of neglect and, to some extent, punitiveness, surrounding female corrections, greater advocacy is required for female offenders. The report (Ibid.:19-20) recommends therefore that:

Correctional administrators. . .consider creating a top level administrative position with responsibility for the development and implementation of female offender programs. An important component should be the development, implementation, and evaluation of programs for long-term females.

In states where such a position would be considered impractical due to such factors as the size of the female population or the configuration of the organizational hierarchy, correctional administrators should consider developing a citizen advisory commission to serve in an advocacy capacity.

The American report also stressed the importance of providing incentives to long-term inmates. It notes that in most correctional systems, identifiable privileges are usually concentrated at the ends of the security continuum--the maximum and minimum or community levels. At the maximum level, one finds prison industries that pay the highest wages within the prison system as well as a number of diverse institutional programs. At the community or minimum level, there is the opportunity to participate in temporary

release programs and to visit with loved ones more frequently and in more relaxed settings. In many jurisdictions, however, long-term inmates lack such incentives because they are prohibited from participating in certain academic and vocational programs until just prior to release, from being reduced to minimum custody, and from participation in many forms of temporary release. Programs promoting family and community ties also possess a tremendous incentive capacity. Another area in which the introduction of incentives is possible is the prison career. The range of incentives should be patterned on "free world" incentives: for example, recognition, promotion, administrative/managerial opportunities, pay raises, vacation, and profit sharing. Accordingly, the Project Staff recommended that:

Increased consideration should be given to developing incentives for long-term inmates at all custody levels to encourage acceptable behavior, participation in institutional programs and pursuit of a prison career.

Authorities within female corrections have cautioned against using access to regular child visitation programs as a form of incentive, noting that it is the child who may be penalized in such a system. On the other hand, it is claimed that access to enhanced child visitation programs (e.g. weekend visits, living-in programs, furloughs, etc.) may be acceptable as incentives.

In some jurisdictions visited for this study, correctional institutions are using programs such as Mutual Agreement Programming (MAP) and "gain time". For example, North Carolina uses the principle of gain time whereby inmates, instead of drawing a wage, are able to reduce their time in custody through work. Minnesota uses MAP for some of its parolees. It has been suggested that a kind of MAP system should be initiated at the very beginning of an inmate's institutional sentence. In this arrangement, the MAP

program would be broken down into a series of incremental MAP's, a kind of case management technique, whereby the inmate, having agreed to and successfully completed one stage in her program plan, would move on to another agreement and increased privileges, ultimately leading to early release on parole.

The American study of long-term offenders noted that most states have only one prison for women. This means that for the entire time they are incarcerated, females will "do their time in a single institution. There is no opportunity to get away from other inmates or staff who may be problematic. Nor is there much opportunity to move from one setting to another as custody levels are usually reduced. Women may have to wait many years before encountering a new environment such as work release or parole. Men, on the other hand, can expect to be transferred among institutions of varying security levels over the entire course of their confinement. In light of this limitation, the Project Staff of the American study recommended (Ibid.:18-19) that:

Some consideration should be given to means of alleviating the boredom and monotony that some long-term females may experience from being housed in the same environment for all or most of their sentences. Potential strategies for alleviating the tediousness for long-term female inmates could include early release, interstate transfer, interagency transfer, co-correctional facilities, and zoned (by security and custody features) all-female facilities composed of mini-institutions that share central services such as food, laundry, and medical services, but provide distinctive housing and program settings depending on inmates' needs. ¹⁸

18. With respect to co-corrections, not one of the authorities on female corrections interviewed for this study supported the concept. Their experience had lead them to conclude that co-corrections resulted in a situation in which the bulk of staff time was spent monitoring interactions between male and female inmates instead of being used more constructively. In addition, it is claimed that it is impossible to prevent the women from becoming pre-occupied with the politics of male-female relations.

(ix) Programs Specifically for Long-term Inmates

The American report on the management of long-term inmates (U.S. Department of Justice, NIC 1985:40-44) notes that in some cases existing institutional counselling services may not be sufficient and refers to a report on long-term female inmates which documents the difficulties counsellors have dealing with long-termers: their despair, depression, boredom and lack of hope. The report notes that while incarcerated, the long-termers feel their best opportunities are to work in those positions that offer the most money per day, and these are usually not in programs. It was further stated that even if a long-termer was motivated toward learning a skill or already proficient at one, the staff would not let them assume any real positions of responsibility within the institution, and consequently there was no incentive in trying to better one's position. It was felt that the only way to get a long-termer motivated, if not by the hope of sentence reduction, was to offer them more responsible positions within the facility and also a higher pay scale to go along with these positions.

The report observes that the solution to this problem is obvious but difficult to implement. Counsellors need to be trained to better deal with long-termers' problems, and systems must provide more incentives to motivate long-termers to participate in programs that will improve their self-esteem, their mastery of skills that interest them, and their adjustment to incarceration.

There is now a growing body of knowledge concerning the stages of adjustment long-term inmates generally pass through during their periods of confinement. One psychological model of adaptation to long-term confinement has been developed by Camille Graham Camp,

a former correctional administrator, based on the work of Kubler-Ross with terminally ill patients.

The first stage that long-term inmates experience is denial. Inmates refuse to accept their long sentences being convinced that something will soon free them from prison. The behaviour exhibited in this stage is avoidance, evidenced by filing appeals or scheming escapes. Once long-term inmates begin to accept reality, they move into the next psychological phase, the **mourning stage**. Suicidal thoughts and attempts, depression, withdrawal, excessive sleep, initiation of divorce, and denial of visits are manifested during this stage. Prisoners despair over their past actions and current situations. They take the blame for their situations instead of blaming others, berate themselves, and begin to mourn the fact that they are being denied so many of the pleasures of the outside world.

This attitude eventually gives way to **rebellion**, the third stage. Institutional rules are seen as particularly oppressive; inmates perceive correctional staff as "the enemy". Long-termers also direct hostility at other prisoners, and they may feel the need to lash out at their surroundings. Dissension and even violence may erupt during this stage, or inmates' responses to anger take the form manifested before incarceration. This may be as mild as joining the prison's inmate-operated newspaper staff or as severe as joining a prison gang. Once the initial shock of long-term imprisonment starts fading and the affection and support of the free world dissipates, inmates will look for new support systems within the institution.

At some point along the way, most inmates, even the ones who have been rebelling strenuously, start thinking in terms of conforming to the goals and aims of the institution, not necessarily because they have internalized these ideals, but because they

believe that their cooperation will lead to a reduction in their sentences or, at least, a more comfortable environment. This fourth stage in the model is called the **adjustment stage**. This behaviour may eventually be a large factor in inmates' rehabilitation, even though, at this point, it is still a game. Unfortunately, it is during this stage that some men and women become institutionalized.

During the adjustment stage, prisoners may become what the administration calls "the ideal inmate". Their relationships with correctional officers may be relaxed and pleasant. They may perform their jobs well, adopt responsibility well, and show initiative or they may work tirelessly at community projects. For most inmates, this is the end of the cycle. Either they will maintain the behaviour manifested at the adjustment stage or, due to external or internal factors, such as frustration, family problems, or the denial of legal appeal, they will regress to an earlier stage and become fixated there or work through the cycle once again.

The sixth and final stage is **socialization**. In the minority of cases, during the course of self-improvement endeavours (adjustment stage), long-termers stop perceiving themselves as criminals and begin to disassociate from prisoners who they consider are still criminals. They surrender to what is, begin to self-actualize through creative growth, recognize problems and plan for the future. Although the behaviour pattern at this phase may be similar to that during the adjustment stage, the inmates are now intent on pleasing themselves, not the system. They are wary of being involved with the criminal justice system, tired of being separated from those they love, and fed up with all the other deprivations of prison. In addition they may have many fears concerning their ability to function in the outside world. They may worry that they do not have sufficient skills to make a comfortable living and resist the temptation of crime. Inmates may have poor self-images

and worry about having the social graces to attract friends or keep meaningful jobs. They simply may not have sufficient optimism to think that they can function adequately outside of the prison. Before leaving prison, long-termers need psychological support that addresses these trepidations.

Along the same lines, Palmer (1984), describes the phases of adjustment identified in the Lifesavers program at Warkworth Prison for men, using the Kubler-Ross's model. Warkworth has also made use of the prison career approach mentioned above in the section on vocational programs in order to assist long-term inmates' adjustment and give them a sense of purpose.

North Carolina has developed a somewhat similar model of stages for long-term female inmates, comprised of three major behavioral phases. This model has been labelled the "chameleon syndrome" ¹⁹ because not unlike the chameleon who changes colours to protect itself against its hostile environment, the long-termer changes behaviour for the same reason--as a protective measure against her hostile environment.

The first phase, labelled the white phase and lasting from one to three years, includes the following: denial, strong family support, belief in the 'knight in shining armour' who will rescue her, maintains innocence, free thinking, intrinsic thought process, acknowledges she is in prison but it is too painful for her to deal with the reality. The treatment thought appropriate for this phase included short-term relationship counselling and crisis intervention. Programs required during this phase include: child custody/placement services; law library services; any activities that involve community persons (e.g. long-termers monthly Community Volunteers Activity); intense orientation program; religious

19. Copyright 1985 - Pat Vincitorio

activities; Family Day Program (when inmates families may visit and eat together during the better part of the day); Parenting in Prison; Long-termers in Prison (LIP) Dorm Meetings ²⁰; and job assignments.

The second phase, called the blue phase, lasting three to six years, is typically characterized by: awareness of reality, depression, hopelessness, acceptance, loss of identity, loss of family support. The type of treatment indicated in this phase is reality therapy, identity crisis intervention and anger groups. Programs appropriate to this stage include: vocational training programs, university degree programs, Family Day Program, Parenting in Prison, and LIP Dorm Meetings.

The final phase, the green phase, lasting anywhere from six years to release, entails personal growth, re-socialization, re-establishing a support system in the outside world and family role confusion. The treatment for this stage includes family therapy, de-institutionalization, coping group, assertiveness training, and family role clarification. Programs thought to be appropriate for this phase include: any programs that will assist in the resocialization process (e.g. work release, study release, home passes, etc.), LIP Dorm Meetings, and Aging Programs.

It is clear from the foregoing descriptions of long-term inmates' phases of adjustment, that long-termers present certain needs during different phases of their confinement. While some facilities have been able to implement some programs that respond to these needs, no facility offers a complete inventory of programs. Fortunately, from an administrative perspective, many of the programs indicated for long-termers overlap with programs

20. The Longtermers in Prison (LIP) program is designed to encourage the sharing of information and give long-termers the opportunity to present ideas about how the social work component of the institution can better meet their needs.

suitable for the general inmate population. It is anticipated, at least in the United States, that correctional institutions' populations will contain increasing numbers of long-term inmates as greater numbers of offenders are incarcerated for longer periods of time. In Canada, where the number of female long-term inmates is extremely small, greater use of community agencies and volunteers might be used to augment existing programs for long-termers.

Summary and Implications

There are a number of general observations that can be made about correctional programs for female inmates. Firstly, genuine improvements and effective innovations are still in their early stages. It is only recently that the personal efforts, commitment and lobbying of numerous women have produced the beginnings of much-needed changes in female correctional programming. Many jurisdictions are still labouring under conservative and indifferent regimes regarding female corrections. Nevertheless, improvements are being made albeit slowly and with the inevitable false-starts that often characterize change. Thus, many of the programs reviewed for this report were seen as promising new beginnings capable of modification and improvement.

Secondly, much of the success of the programs reviewed here is owing, in large part, to the particular personalities, efforts and magnetism of the individuals responsible for them. This is a common finding for successful programs but also a troubling one

because there is no guarantee that such people will always be available and forthcoming in developing such programs.

Thirdly, those jurisdictions in which improvement has been most noticeable have had the political and financial support of legislatures and have also created a senior management position within their departments of corrections responsible for coordinating and overseeing female corrections.

There appears to be a common theme running through female corrections in all jurisdictions--at least, in North America. Basically, this consensual view adopts a holistic approach to female correctional programming. There appear to be two reasons for this kind of orientation. Firstly, it is generally agreed that female offenders are often people with severely low levels of functioning: they present multiple problems often originating in early childhood experiences and reinforced by their present circumstances. In addition, greater knowledge and sophistication regarding the 'business of changing people' and recognition of the fact that things like recidivism are highly complex phenomenon, has led to the present view that remedial interventions must attempt to treat the whole person. Thus we find that programs dealing with educational and vocational up-grading, for example, also attempt to address such things as self-esteem and values clarification. Similarly, substance abuse programs attempt to cover a variety of issues from anger and violence to financial management. Programs are not viewed as having discrete and exclusive areas of specialization but are, instead, multi-dimensional. Throughout all of the programs in female corrections is an overriding concern with dependency--an issue about which there is still relatively little

knowledge but which appears to affect so much of female offenders' lives ²¹.

Some areas of programming have shown greater development than others. For example, substance abuse programs in the United States --probably owing to the American war on drugs--reveal a variety of innovative approaches. The American experience is cautionary, however, in so far as it suggests that it is important to know the clients receiving these programs. The WAC program, for example, appeared to be too radical for some of the inmates; the Passages program too intense. On the other hand, both of these programs contain some very positively received components as does the Beloit Project.

In contrast, institution's vocational testing and training programs, while presenting some promising approaches, do not appear to have received the same attention and support that one would think they warrant. In view of female inmates' need for assistance in this area, it is somewhat surprising that they have not received greater backing. When litigation has supported these programs it has often been poorly focused. It does not appear to be a matter of correctional authorities not knowing what could be done. In

21. The reader is referred to a recent work on the subject of dependency which promises to make a major contribution to greater understanding of this problem, viz. Bonds of Love by Jessica Benjamin, New York, Pantheon Books (1988). It is also curious to notice the 'particular flavour' of much of the counselling of women that is occurring today. For example, a number of programs refer to a kind of 'bill of rights' in which women's rights to, for example, be treated with respect, take time for themselves, to say no and not feel guilty, to ask for what they want, and so on, are affirmed. Looked at one way, these kinds of 'healing messages' are reminiscent of current television advertisements for shampoo in which the woman says "I deserve it" or "I'm worth it", etc. This is not to say that these messages are mistaken or wrong. What appears to be happening here is a kind of 1980's popularization of some of the insights gleaned from research in early childhood development and the woman's movement from which it has been observed that many children (male and female) and women have been damaged in our society from negative messages and experiences. To some, these kinds of messages may appear narcissistic. According to Benjamin's analysis, however, the narcissism which has been attributed to present generations does not constitute a value judgement but is instead an analytic/clinical term recognizing a symptom of the damaged developmental process experienced by the majority of children growing up in modern Western societies and persisting into adulthood. In any case, it may be that what we are now witnessing is a 1980's translation of this kind of understanding which may change and take on a different version in the next decade depending on further sophistication and insights, though still addressing the same problem.

fact, many of the programs reviewed for this report appeared very constructive. It appears that somehow vocational assessment and training are still a low priority within female corrections.

Relatedly, pre-release and post-release programs are also, for the most part, poorly developed. Repeatedly, correctional experts emphasized the need for extended pre-release and post-release services for inmates whether in the realm of employment, housing, parenting or substance abuse. Once again, it did not appear to be a question of inadequate knowledge or ideas.

Some of the kinds of programs reviewed here do better in larger rather than smaller institutions. For example, comprehensive vocational programs--in order to provide variety and flexibility while at the same time avoiding formidable per capita costs--work best in larger institutions. On the other hand, all of the other areas of programming appear to be capable of implementation in either large or small facilities. This is especially true if these programs are largely provided by outside consultants and community agencies, colleges or social services departments--a strategy that is universally recommended.

To assist in the development and staffing of these programs as well as to create the necessary linkages for after-care, it has been suggested that community advisory councils be established such as the one operating in Michigan. In many communities, councils like these already exist (e.g. inter-agency councils with representation from battered women's organizations, sexual assault clinics, housing authorities, and so on) and it may not be a very difficult matter to broaden their mandates or create sub-committees which will assist inmates. Or, alternatively, it may be advisable to establish separate councils as the agendas of existing councils are often pretty full, and so as to ensure expertise in corrections.

While some jurisdictions have been experimenting with options such as electronic surveillance (as is Canada), there were no other radical alternatives being tried at the present time. One of the main thrusts in American corrections--male or female--is the construction of new facilities. In this regard, some of the thinking that has been applied to the design of female facilities has been innovative and progressive and Canada would do well to seek the advice of those who have already gained some experience in this area if the construction of new Canadian facilities is planned.

Overall, program development in female correctional institutions appears to be in a period of innovative flux. It has been observed that some of the innovations in female corrections will benefit male inmates as well if they are reproduced. There appear to be no shortages of ideas--merely the limitations of funding and political will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelberg, E. and C. Currie (1987) - Too Few to Count, Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers
- Australia, New South Wales (1985) - Women in Prison Report of the NSW Task Force on Women in Prison to the Hon. John Akister M.P. Minister for Corrective Services
- Axon, Lee (1987) - Women in the Criminal Justice System: an International Survey Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General
- Berzins, Lorraine and Sheelagh Cooper (1982) - "The political economy of correctional planning for women: the case of the bankrupt bureaucracy" Canadian Journal of Corrections 24(4):399-416

- Cobden, Jane and Graham Stewart (1984) - "Breaking out: a perspective on long-term imprisonment and the process of release" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):500-510
- Genders, Elaine and Elaine Player (1986) - "Women's imprisonment" British Journal of Criminology 26(4):357-371
- Goodman, Jane, J.M. Hoppin and R.H. Kent (1984) - Opening Doors, A Practical Guide for Job Hunting Rochester, Michigan: Continuum Center, School of Human & Educational Services, Oakland University
- Gorta, Angela (1984) - "Preliminary information on women in prison for the Women in Prison Task Force" South Australia: Department of Correctional Services
- LaPrairie, C.P. (1984) - "Selected criminal justice and socio-demographic data on native women" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(2):161-169
- Lipton, D.S. (1989) - "The theory of rehabilitation as applied to addict offenders" New York, NY.: Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc.
- Lipton, D.S., and H.K. Wexler (1988) - "The drug crime connection invests correctional rehabilitation with new life" published as "Breaking the Drug-Crime Connection--Rehabilitation Projects show Promise" Corrections Today August 1988:1-11
- Massachusetts, Advisory Group on Female Offenders (1988) - Services for Female Offenders in Massachusetts Report submitted to the Department of Correction and the Governor's Anti-Crime Council Boston, MA: Department of Correction
- Mathews, Ruth, J.K. Mathews and K. Speltz (1989) - Female Sexual Offenders, An Exploratory Study Orwell, VT: The Safer Society Press
- McCollum, S.G. (1989) - "Mandatory literacy for prisons" The Yearbook of Correctional Education Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons
- Minnesota, Department of Corrections (1986) - The Woman Offender in Minnesota (including Appendices A and B) St. Paul, MN: Department of Corrections

- Minnesota, Department of Corrections (1989) - Strategies for Implementing National Policy and Female Offenders St. Paul, MN: Department of Corrections
- Morash, Merry and Lila Rucker (1988) - "A critical look at the idea of Boot Camp as a correctional reform" unpublished paper, personal copy
- North Carolina, Department of Corrections (1989) - The Female Command, A Comprehensive Look at North Carolina's Management of Female Offenders Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Corrections
- Norway, Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartment (1986) - Correspondence with Wenche Skjaeggstad, Head of Division, Department of Prison, Probation and After-care, Ministry of Justice
- Palmer, W.R.T. (1984) - "Programming for long-term inmates: a new perspective" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):439-457
- Porporino, F.J. and E. Zamble (1984) - "Coping with imprisonment" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):403-421
- Rafter, N.H. and E.A. Stanko (eds.) (1982) - Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief Boston: Northeastern University Press
- Ryan, T.A. (1984) - Adult Female Offenders and Institutional Programs, A State of the Art Analysis Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections
- Ryan, T.A. and J.C. Woodard, Jr. (1987) - Correctional Education: A State of the Art Analysis Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections
- Schreiber, Tatiana and The American Friends Service Committee (1988) - Places like This: Women in Prison An Audio Documentary (personal copy)
- Toch, Hans (1984) - "Quo vadis?" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):511-516
- U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections (1985) - Managing Long-Term Inmates Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice

Walford, Bonny (1987) - Lifers Montreal: Eden Press

Wexler, H.K., D.S. Lipton and K. Foster (1985) - "Outcome evaluation of a prison therapeutic community for substance abuse treatment: preliminary result" paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Diego, November 1985 New York, NY: Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc.

Wexler, H.K., D.S. Lipton and B.D. Johnson (1988) - "A criminal justice system strategy for treating cocaine-heroin abusing offenders in custody" Issues and Practices Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice

Wexler, H.K. and R. Williams (1986) - "The Stay 'N Out therapeutic community: prison treatment for substance abusers" Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 18(3):221-230

Wilson, T.W. (1986) - "Gender differences in the inmate code" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):397-405

Wisconsin, Task Force on Women in the Criminal Justice System (1984) - The Wisconsin Women's Network Task Force on Women in the Criminal Justice System - Recommendations and Supporting Material Madison, WI: Task Force on Women in the Criminal Justice System Wisconsin Women's Network

Wormith, J.S. (1984) - "The controversy over the effect of long-term incarceration" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):423-437

Yochelson, Samuel and S.E. Samenow (1976) - The Criminal Personality, Volumes I, II and III New York: Jason Aronson

Zubrycki, R.M. (1984) - "Long term incarceration in Canada" Canadian Journal of Criminology 26(4):397-402

STORAGE

SOL GEN CANADA LIB/BIBLIO



0000016217

Date Due

JUN 26 1993			
OCT 16 1995			
01 MAR 30			
08 NOV			
29 NOV			
24 JAN 03			
00 JUN 95			
09 JUN 04			
21 OCT 04			

HV Axon, Lee.
 9507 Model and exemplary
 A9 programs for female
 1989 inmates : an
 international review.

