

INMATE-MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

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Edmond, Oklahoma

1976

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
December, 1977

Thesis
1977
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PREFACE

Appreciation for encouragement and assistance in carrying out this research project is gratefully expressed to the chairman of the writer's committee, Dr. Werner Gruninger; and to the members of the committee, Dr. Harjit Sandhu and Dr. Donald Allen.

Without the cooperation of the inmates at the Women's Prison in McAlester and Women's Treatment Facility in Oklahoma City, this study would not have been a success. Their eager assistance is acknowledged.

Gratitude is expressed to Dr. Richard Morrison, statistician from the Math Department, who assisted with the analysis of data.

A note of appreciation is also due to Carol Taylor who typed the final draft and to my parents who have always stressed education.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Women's Prisons

Both the federal prison system and more than half the state systems have separate prisons for women. Although they are not ideal as a nice place to live, most are in better physical condition than are men's prisons. But like male prisons, most female prisons are located in rural areas and are difficult to travel to. The superior physical conditions in women's prisons does not give support to the notion that female inmates have fewer personal problems than men or need assistance any less. Buckley (1974) notes one of the few extensive studies prepared on female offenders was done at the California Institution for Women in Frontera. It is the largest institution for women in the country, so it is probably safe to say that the population there isn't very different from that of other women's prisons. Seventy-eight percent of the women at Frontera were imprisoned either for property crimes or narcotic offenses. Eighty-nine percent had had previous trouble with the law and had been arrested, fined, on probation, or served time. Most of these previous charges had involved narcotics and/or prostitution. Though these women have had a history of trouble with the law, the charges were usually for the same victimless crimes found among women serving short sentences in county jails.

At the last count in 1971 there were thirty-four prisons under the jurisdiction of the United States that housed adult female felons only. These include the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia. States which have only a few convicted female felons (Idaho and Wyoming) contract with another state for their care. Several states maintain separate buildings adjacent to those housing male prisoners. Some states, including Oklahoma, maintain completely segregated institutions for male and female felons. These places, asserts Chandler (1973), may go by the names of training centers, rehabilitation centers, correctional facilities, industrial farms or reformatories. Of these institutions the harsh title of prison appears in only five states. Most states try to soften the designation by using names like those mentioned, but everyone connected with them is always aware that they are still prisons.

And during the first few days or even weeks in prison, the resident feels terribly cut off from all she has known. Losses of personal privacy such as shakedowns or eyes peering at her through a slot in the door at count times are a painful shock. She is in a vacuum, a nonsociety, separated from family and friends and not yet a part of her new social environment. She wonders if she will see her family again. And if so, when and under what conditions (Chandler, 1973).

Chandler (1973) also ascertains that prison routine is of necessity restrictive. However, she feels that they are in themselves self-defeating because of a further decrease of an individual's ability to make desirable personal plans and hold to them. The basic needs (food, clothing, and shelter) are supplied by the state. But the

opportunity to choose one's food, clothing, shelter, and companions is gone.

Female Reactions to Pains of Imprisonment

Studies of female prison inmates have shown that the pains of imprisonment may be different for males than for females. Sharp cleavages between inmates and staff arising from modes of inmate control, loyalty to fellow inmates, fear of personal security and typical male grouping tendencies, are almost nonexistent in female prisons. Deprivations of material goods are different for males; architecture in male prisons differs, since male felons are defined as dangerous persons while female criminality is seen as pathetic; and the objective situation in the female prison is less harsh, according to Gruninger (1973). Female social organization in prison is generally of dyadic marital role relations and kinship structures while the male social organization is a struggle for power.

Many women are arrested on morals charges, such as prostitution, vagrancy, alcoholism, or drug addiction, and many more convicted of property theft such as larceny, bogus checks, and shoplifting. They are as a group more civilized and less violent than men. And if the double standard appears to favor women prior to conviction, it certainly does not work in their favor once they are sentenced to jail or prison. Since the police and courts are generally more lenient with women in the first place, a woman's presence in prison is usually thought to mean that she is truly incorrigible. The label of delinquent or criminal is more damaging to women than men. But women are seen as doing greater harm to themselves than to society (Buckley, 1974).

Williams (1974) observed that when the woman enters prison for the first time, she faces a severe shock and then a period of painful adjustment. The newly incarcerated woman experiences a variety of feelings--anger, hate, deprivation, anxiety, futility and loss of identity. Her experiences upon being convicted of a crime and imprisoned are a series of nightmares. Even the removal of the new inmate's personal possessions is an act carrying meaning beyond the simple process of taking away a quantity of commodities. It destroys some of the woman's self-identity or self-image. The removal of personal possessions is a deeply depriving act. A woman's clothes, jewelry, shoes and especially her purse are extensions of her personality. When these items are abruptly taken away, a part of her is taken away.

Chandler (1973) declares that most of us in the free world would become very hostile if we were locked in a small room with barred windows so high that nothing was seen of the outside except light; if we saw no one except the correctional officer; if we were completely cut off from even the social contacts of prison life, with nothing to do except read one of the few books available. And if a woman's educational level is so low that she can't even read well enough to enjoy adult material, she has nothing to fill her time except to eat when food is brought, take a shower, use the toilet--and generate hostility. She should not be expected to be other than hostile.

The question of what constitutes deprivations for women has been studied. Giallombardo (1966) revealed that although the perception of the female inmates vary from one another, depending upon the stage of the inmate's prison career, one's former commitment history, and/or the ease with which the individual may adjust to the inmate social

system, there is a "hard core of consensus" among the female prisoners that prison life is depriving and frustrating.

It was also disclosed by Giallombardo that the adult female prisoner, in order to cope with the major problems of institutional living, has also labeled the reactions of prisoners according to the mode of response exhibited by the inmate to the prison situation and the quality of the inmate's interaction with other inmates and staff. Although the deprivations of imprisonment were present and felt strongly by the female prisoners, the female argot roles differ in structural form in the sentiment attached to them from the roles assumed by male prisoners. She also pointed out that homosexual dyads cast into marriage alliances, family groups, and other kinship ties formed by the inmates integrate the inmates into a meaningful social system and represent an attempt to create a substitute universe within the prison.

Both Ward and Kassebaum (1975) at Frontera and Giallombardo (1966) at Alderson found that the inmate social structures revolved around homosexual relationships. Giallombardo found the vast majority of inmates to be involved in these at Alderson, while at Frontera, 50 percent were. This compares with Clemmer's finding of 30 percent male involvement in prison homosexuality. In both cases the relationships were not simply for sexual satisfaction, but had a strong affectional and relational component.

Though it is true that in some areas the deprivation of imprisonment is less harsh, i.e., physical surroundings may be more pleasant, clean cottages, variety in dress style, these differences are merely peripheral to the major concerns of prison life. The problems to be

in female institutions are the same conditions for survival as those which the male prisoner finds necessary to solve in order to survive psychically in the prison environment. And, as with men, these problems have their basis in the disorientation resulting from the abrupt termination of the individuals freedom: the lack of opportunity for heterosexual relations, withholding of material goods, loss of autonomy and responsibility to which life in a prison inevitably leads, attacks on the self through the humiliating experiences incidental to prison commitment, and the lack of security, and privacy; loss of liberty and autonomy being the most uniformly felt deprivation of imprisonment among female inmates.

However, Giallombardo (1966) found evidence that suggests that the other major deprivation suffered by males, the loss of security, occurs on another level of experience for the female inmate. The hardest part of living in prison with other women was in the notion that other women could not be trusted. It was not so much the constant fear of violence or sexual exploitation which created hardship as was the case for the male prisoner, but rather, the strain involved in being in the forced company of women who are believed to be untrustworthy, and capable of predatory tactics. The female inmate fears the consequences of aroused jealousy transformed into verbal attack; and she suffers acute insecurity in confronting and handling the frequent attacks of gossip taking place around her at all times within the prison.

Prison is more harmful to women than to men for another reason, affirms Buckley (1974). The reason stated, is because of what it does to their children. When men go to prison, they usually assume that their wives, or some woman, will take care of their children, even if

it has to be done under the circumstances of welfare budget. But the woman who goes to prison can make no such assumption. In most cases, her children become wards of the state and are placed in foster homes. Often they are shifted from one home to another, growing up in a cycle of neglect, insecurity, and potential delinquency. Whatever the circumstances, women worry about their children when they are absent from them. For women in prison, this worry turns to nightmare as they wonder about their children's welfare and whereabouts and feel remorse for having failed them.

Prison, as stated by Buckley, is more harmful to women than to men for another reason: it has harmful effects on her image of herself as a woman. Society has led the notion that a woman has two socially acceptable roles; her relationship with men and her relationship with children. In this sense a woman finds it very difficult to maintain her image as a woman while in prison because she is stripped of all normal and natural relations with men and because she is stripped of all relations with children.

The Pains of Imprisonment

The studies of both female and male prison culture posit that the adoption of specific roles within the prison culture is the result of the inmate's reaction to the pain and suffering resulting from his incarceration--that imprisonment causes severe deprivation and the inmate must find some means of adjusting to the deprivation to ease the pain as much as possible. Thus the argot term "making it," as used in female institutions, implies that the inmate must make concessions and changes in her usual life style in order to adjust to prison life and make it as painless as possible. Failing to make special adjustments

results in doing "hard time," an argot term familiar to both male and female prisoners (Williams, 1974).

Most of the men who enter prison are confused and uncertain about the social world they have left. They are preoccupied with self and their philosophies are frequently in a state of flux. They have anxiety over the future. What the prison does to them depends upon the degree to which they become assimilated (Clemmer, 1958).

According to Clemmer (1958), every man who enters the penitentiary undergoes prisonization to some extent. He becomes at once an anonymous figure in a subordinate group. A number replaces a name. He wears the clothes of the other members of the subordinate group. He is questioned and admonished. He soon learns the ranks, titles, and authority of various officials. And whether he uses the prison slang and argot or not, he comes to know its meaning. This is necessary because the prison culture consists of the habits, behavior systems, traditions, history, customs, folkways, codes, the laws and rules which guide the inmates, and their ideas, opinions and attitudes about home, education, work, and recreation are influenced by these factors. This prison culture is the social organization of the penitentiary, and the inmate may adhere to these rules.

The inmates are adults before they come to prison. There is much behind them. Attitudes and philosophy of life may or may not be developed. Whatever the conditions, the detection, detention, and trial procedures tend to raise questions and to disrupt philosophical composure. No matter what the state of mind men who enter prison are, as Clemmer (1958, 109) declares, "subject to the pressures of the environment."

Clemmer (1958, 109) also states that:

The speed with which prisonization occurs depends on the personality of the man involved, his crime, age, home neighborhood, intelligence, the situation into which he is placed in prison and other less obvious influences. The process does not necessarily proceed in an orderly or measured fashion but tends to be irregular. In some cases the process works in a cycle. The amount and speed of prisonization vary from man to man and in the same man from time to time.

The degree of prisonization is also believed to be influenced by the inmate's personality, his social relationships prior to incarceration, affiliation with an informal group, type of work placement, and acceptance or rejection of the prisoner code.

Some men become prisonized to the highest degree, or to a degree approaching it, but then reject their entire orientation and show, neither by behavior nor attitudes, that any sort of integration has taken place. They flop out of group life. They ignore the codes and dogmas and they fall into a stupor or become "solitary men." After some months or even years of playing this role they may again affiliate with a group and behave as other prisonized inmates do.

Some men become integrated into the prison culture and others do not; but in either case, such men have no particular conflicts. However, a portion of the men become only partially assimilated and may be said to be on the border, or in the shadows of, two cultures, and not acculturized to either. These men may reject some standards or items of the penal culture and adopt others, but they will not reject all the items of the general culture, nor accept all the items of the prison culture. Thus they are in the shadows of both cultures, and their behavior seems confused and illogical to those other inmates who have become assimilated and cling tenaciously to the precepts of one

culture or the other.

The pressure and unpleasantness of prison life, for some men, is such a shock that they are literally "scared out of" further crime and thus become prisonized to a lesser degree. This fright phenomena is frequently found in persons who at one time were highly prisonized but later rejected the influences of the prison culture and remained at a low level of prisonization.

The essence of Wheeler's theory, called deprivational theory, is that an inmate upon entering an institution encounters many "pains of imprisonment" which make the inmate culture attractive to the inmate as a means to mitigate those "pains." However, Wellford (1967) feels that the supposition that a variable so slightly associated to the degree of prisonization can be translated into a causal explanation of the adoption of the inmate code is not sound. Also, in explaining the U curve findings, Wheeler ignored the fact that one's activities prior to incarceration would determine his degree of knowledge and commitment to the inmate code, since that code strongly reflects the general criminalistic subculture. He feels that it is more logical to assume that degree of normative prisonization is affected by both a situational element, the depriving nature of the institution, and an actor characteristic, the criminal social type.

The indigenous-origin theory of the convict social system was questioned by Irwin and Cressy (1962). They observed that many convicts, especially the "thief," brought with them a commitment to a subculture which is not stripped from them, and in fact, prepares them for life in the prison; and many convicts, again especially the "thief," have an identity within and orient their behavior while in prison

toward the larger criminal world of which the prison world is an important part. They also suggest that many of the purely "convict" patterns emerge in youth institutions and are carried into the adult prison as the reform-school youths graduate to adult prisons. The system of roles, values, and norms that exist in the adult prison are the result of two converging subcultures--the thief and the convict subcultures, both of which emerge in other social settings.

Haynes (1948) basic theory is that the behavior of convicts is determined by the convicts themselves. The reaction of convicts to the prison situation is outlined by "traditions, a social hierarchy, mores, attitudes, and a mythology." Traditions, attitudes, and mores of the prison community are directed against the prevailing order of society and personified by the institutional administration. The conflict situation influences all members of the prison community. Punishments and withdrawals of privileges are the instruments for enforcing regulations. Organizations of work and production are governed by officials. Thus, a constant conflict between officials and the inmates is maintained.

Recent organizational analysis of correctional institutions have stressed the duality that exists between the social worlds of the inmates and staff. This view of inmate society has been described by McWhorter (1976) as the "solidary opposition model" in which the inmate remains firmly united against the enemy outside group, the administration. Inmates present a unified front resistance both to the staff and to the organizational objectives of the institution. This solidary opposition model has recently been challenged by studies which focus not so much on inmate society but rather on the various types of

organizational goals and how inmates adapt to them. The new model stresses the adjustment of inmate culture to various organizational goals which may vary along the custodial-treatment continuum.

In spite of all that has been written, Wheeler (1961) feels that a clear danger of pressing the concept of prisonization too far is an explanation of the prison's impact of parole behavior. Another feature of imprisonment appears to have an extremely potent influence. This is the impact on the offender's self-conception rather than upon his attitudes toward the outside world. In many instances, these effects appear to be highly related to the prisonization process. The offender learns to reject society and in doing so comes to accept a conception of himself as a criminal, with an elaborate set of supporting justifications. But much of the impact of imprisonment appears to lie along another dimension of self-image which is the tendency for the offender to internalize the social rejection implicit in his status and suffer the pains of a lowered self-esteem and self-rejection. Self-esteem is restored by participation in a system that enables the offender to "reject his rejectors rather than himself." But if the inmate culture has the problem solving function stressed, and if many men show an adaptive response, it follows that the salience of the culture is reduced as men prepare to leave it. This reduction may be functional in the sense that many of the problems of imprisonment do in fact decrease as the inmate nears release.

Sykes (1948) observed that the major problems with which the inmate social system deals, evolves around the fact of social rejection and stigmatization. This is especially so for those inmates who have become independent of society's values in their self-evaluations.

Five problems were identified by Sykes with which the inmates must cope when he arrives: (1) the material impoverishment of the prisoner, felt to be unjust and inflicted without legitimate cause, also equated with personal worthlessness, (2) psychological rejection of the rejectors, (3) psychological problems created by involuntary celibacy, involving the individuals' status as a male in situations where heterosexuals engage in homosexual outlets (4) the deprivation of personal autonomy in a system of fate control and limitations of choice imposed by the captors, and (5) the deprivation of personal security by reason of the presence of predatory fellow inmates who cannot be trusted to refrain from violence in gaining their ends.

The importation model of the emergence of the inmate subculture and the prisonization process implies that the anti-social content of the inmate normative system and the degree of assimilation into prisoner groups is a consequence of traits and social histories that are external to the situation found in prison; such characteristics exist prior to incarceration and are imported into the prison situation when the inmate arrives, thus upsetting the "pains of imprisonment" theory as evidence for the notion of quality of inmate organization and inmate socialization (Gruninger, 1973).

Sykes (1948) states that there is a new sense of deprivation among inmates today than there was during the early history of jails and penal colonies. He feels that the deprivations or frustrations of prison life today might be viewed as punishments which the free community deliberately inflicts on the offender for violating the law, in part they might be seen as the unplanned or unavoidable concomitants of confining large groups of criminals for long periods. Either way the modern

pains of imprisonment are often defined by society as a humane alternative to the physical brutality and the neglect which constituted the major meaning of imprisonment in the past. Though these deprivations or frustrations may indeed be the acceptable or unavoidable implications of imprisonment, they can be just as painful as the physical maltreatment that they replaced.

Of all the painful conditions imposed on the inmates, none is more immediately obvious than the loss of liberty. This loss is a double one. First, by confinement to the institution and second, by confinement within the institution. But the fact that the individual's movements are restricted is far less serious than the fact that the inmate is cut off from family, relatives, and friends. This, of course, perpetuates isolation and the painful deprivation or frustration in terms of lost emotional relationships is set in motion. But what is more painful is the fact that the confinement of the criminal represents a deliberate, moral rejection of the criminal by the free community.

The prisoner's basic material needs, according to Sykes, are met in the sense that he does not go hungry, cold or wet. They may receive adequate medical care and the opportunity for exercise. But a standard of living constructed in terms of so many calories per day, so many hours of recreation or so many cubic yards of space misses the point in dealing with the individual's feeling of deprivation. This standard of living can be hopelessly inadequate because it fails to provide those subtle symbolic overtones which we invest in the world of possessions. And this is the core of the prisoner's problem in the area of goods and services. He wants the amenities as well as the necessities of life. In our American culture, material possessions are such a

large part of an individual's conception of himself that to be stripped of them is to be attacked at the deepest layers of personality. Thus, in the eyes of some inmates, the prisoner is poor not because of an offense which he has committed in the past, but because the state uses its captives as slave labor under the hypocritical guide of reformation.

What is even worse, most prisons in the United States do not allow inmates to enjoy the privileges of conjugal visits. It is clear that:

... the lack of heterosexual intercourse is a frustrating experience for the criminal and that it is a frustration which weighs heavily and painfully on the prisoner's mind during the prolonged confinement. There might be psychological problems created by the lack of heterosexual relations as well. Latent homosexual tendencies may be activated without being translated into open behavior and yet still arouse strong guilt feelings at either the conscious or unconscious level. The psychological onslaughts, in an atmosphere of known perversions, on his ego will be particularly acute (Sykes, 1948, 71).

The inmate also suffers from a loss of autonomy in that he is subjected to a vast body of rules and commands which are designed to control his behavior in minute detail. From the inmates point of view, the triviality of much of the officials' control often proves to be the most galling. They express an intense hostility against their dependence on the decisions of their captors and the restricted ability to make choices must be included among the pains of imprisonment. The loss of autonomy experienced by the inmates is a total and an imposed loss and for these reasons it is less endurable. The prisoner must put up with rules that he feels do not "make sense," such as no food allowed in cells, the denial of parole without any given explanations for the decision, and delayed delivery of mail without any

explanations. The major fact that arises from this is that the frustration of the prisoner's ability to make choices and the frequent refusals to provide an explanation for the regulations and commands descending from the bureaucratic staff involve a profound threat to the prisoner's self-image because they reduce the prisoner to the weak helpless, dependent status of childhood.

The fact that the imprisoned criminal sometimes views his fellow prisoners as vicious or dangerous may be seen as ironic. Other inmates after all, are persons like he, bearing the stigma of convict. The truth is that there are prisoners who attack or exploit weaker and less resourceful fellow inmates. Though every prisoner does not live in constant fear of being robbed or attacked, the constant association with thieves, rapists, murderers, and homosexuals is far from reassuring. The prisoner's loss of security arouses acute anxiety because the individual must be able to cope with it in terms of his own inner resources, his courage or nerve.

Throughout Sykes' study of the maximum security prison at New Jersey State Prison, he found that the dominant fact of consensus among inmates was life in the prison was depriving or frustrating in the extreme.

Because the prison is a situation of deprivation and degradation, it presents special adaptive problems. Sykes approaches the task of explaining this situation by recognizing two adaptive styles. The first is the individual style where the inmates withdraw and/or isolate themselves. The second or collective style maintains participation in the convict social system which through its solidarity, regulation of activities, distribution of goods and prestige, and apparent opposition

to the world of the administration, helps the individual withstand the "pains of imprisonment." In this study, Sykes also found that a question of major concern to the inmates was how to spend their time. This assumes, of course, that the convict is able to cope with the situation. For those who are not able to cope, suicide or psychosis is the way out. Those who do cope can be divided into those who identify with and therefore adapt to a broader world than that of the prison, and those who orient themselves primarily to the prison world. This difference in orientation is in some instances the basis for forming important choices which may have grave consequences for the felon's long term career. This identification also influences the criteria for assigning and earning prestige-criteria relative to things in the outside world or things which tend to exist only in the prison world, such as status in a prison social system or success with prison homosexuals. Moreover, it will influence the long term strategies he forms and attempts to follow during his prison sentence. Those who maintain their basic orientation to the outside are further broken down into those who for the most part wish to maintain their life patterns and their identities even if they intend to refrain from most law breaking activities, and those who desire to make significant changes in life patterns and identities and see prison as a chance to do this. The mode for the former is characterized by the inmate's cutting himself off from the outside world and to attempt to construct a life within prison. The adaptation of those who still keep their commitment to the outside life and see prison as a suspension of that life but who do not want to make any significant changes in their life patterns are those "doing time." The adaptation is made by looking to their future life

on the outside, trying to effect changes in their life patterns and identities, and taking advantages of the resources that exist in prison.

Prisoner Reaction

When Sykes (1956) explored the reactions of men to imprisonment, he described four basic patterns of adjustment to any situation which involves some degree of goal frustration: (1) the active, aggressive use of other people as a means, (2) both manipulation of verbal symbols and by violence, (3) the use of one or the other of these methods of exploitation but not both, and (4) the more passive, withdrawn and conforming mode.

Using a group-administered questionnaire, Wheeler (1961) determined the degree of inmate code adoption for a sample of approximately 200 inmates in a state reformatory. He found that normative prisonization proceeded not only in a linear fashion, but also in a U-shaped fashion when not length of sentence; how long the individual had been in the institution in relationship to his perceived full sentence was used as the independent variable. Specifically, prisonization was lowest during the early and late phases (six months or less before leaving the institution and six months or less after leaving the institution, respectively), and highest during the middle phase. The differences were statistically significant. Wheeler feels the inmate code developed to mitigate the pains of imprisonment. Thus, he assumes that it would be accepted to the greatest degree at that point where the prison experience is most acute, during the middle of the prison term.

In Wolfgang's (1961) follow-up study of a selected group of persons

who had committed murder and had been sentenced to life imprisonment, a persistent significant association was found between age and adjustment in prison. This association is a confirmation of the Glueck's (1934) emphasis on the aging process as the most important factor related to increasing noncriminalism. He also found that adjustment to the prison community was a particularly chronic problem for the murderer, because he generally serves a longer sentence than other offenders. The length of time during which he is subjected to imprisonment provides a basis for analysis of a long-term pattern of accommodation to the prison regime, the custodial staff, and the inmate social system.

Most men in prisons have no chance of being salvaged if they become prisonized to any appreciable extent. Clemmer (1958) concludes from his study in the Illinois prison system that those men who were improved or rehabilitated were men who should never have been committed to prison, and who were prisonized in only the slightest degree. The rehabilitation of habitual criminals is more likely to be the result of treatment which keeps them in prison until they reach an age where they no longer have sufficient physical or mental vigor to commit crime.

The Effects of Incarceration Upon Children

A problem unique to women's prisons is the unresolved question of what to do with the pregnant inmates, the babies born while the mother is incarcerated, and minor children of inmate-mothers.

According to Eyman (1971), a significant number of minor children are affected by the imprisonment of the mother. In any women's prison, more than half of the inmates will be mothers of minor children.

Since the mother-child relationship is viewed by psychoanalysts as

the matrix within which the child's basic personality and character are developed, separation due to the mother's incarceration may take on dramatic and troubling dimensions that might not be present under other separation circumstances. Among the considerations as to who, if anyone, is available to keep the family together and provide the children with material and emotional care; are special and particular elements to take into account such as: Are the moral and social attitudes of the family members and of the community towards a person who commits a crime harsher with regard to the woman offender? What will be the nature and frequency of continuing contact, if any, between mother and child? What rights does she retain as a parent? What stigma, if any, do the mother or father or children attach to her imprisonment? What is the effect upon the present and future functioning of the children?

It has been shown (Bender, 1964) that the effects of the child's lack of opportunity to form an attachment to a mother figure during the first three years of life, the effects of deprivation (i.e., of attention, contact, and affection) for more than six months during the first three years of the child's life, and the effects of changes from one mother-figure to another during the same period would lead to emotional withdrawal and isolation of the child. This in turn would lead to an inability to develop loving ties with children or adults and faulty character formation with a lack of conscience or guilt. The child would also possess feelings of violence and anger resulting in acute conflict, anxiety, and depression which might be expressed in aggressively bad or legally delinquent behavior, or which ultimately might lead to suicide and such a child might become a parent who lacks

the capacity to truly care for her children.

Bender's (1964) study further indicated that all the psychopathic children had experienced emotional deprivation, neglect, or discontinuous affectional relationships. It was this "emotional starvation" during the first three years that lead to psychopathy.

In a California study done by Zalba (1964) the data collected disclosed that among other things, the inmate-mother's own rehabilitation and adjustment are sharply affected by her maternal role and her continuing relationship relative to her children. Unless there is clarification and stabilization of the role she is to play in the rearing of her children, she will be faced with demands and crises that adversely affect her ability to utilize the institutional program or successfully complete parole.

Her study of the need for child welfare services among inmate-mothers and expectant mothers was carried out at the California Institution for Women. She held that while many inmate-mothers had personal histories which raised serious doubts as to their abilities to provide adequate mothering for their children, they did express interest and concern about their children, and these expressions were strongly supported by institutional culture. Therefore, the mothers might be amenable, while incarcerated, to offers of child welfare services that would help resolve the future mother-child relationships. She also reported that the inmate-mothers and their children had the same needs for child welfare services as other mothers and children, but welfare agencies tended to think primarily in terms of terminating the formal relationships of inmate-mother and child, usually without adequate knowledge of the mother's circumstances, institutional program of treatment, and probable length of confinement.

In London, Gibbs (1971) revealed that children may have been taken into care when their mother was in prison on a previous occasion and have remained there. If the mother leads a very unstable or criminal existence, she may find herself unable to look after her children properly and they may have been either put by her, or taken into care. There was very little information on how often the children saw their mothers when they did not live with them; however, only twenty-one percent had been away for less than six months, and fourteen percent had been apart from their mothers for five or more years. Although it is not possible to count precisely, it seems that at least one-third of 212 children not living with their mothers must have been in the care of someone else for at least half of their lives. In total, 212 or 42 percent of the children were not living with their mothers before their imprisonment.

Babies in Prison

Years ago the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson followed the practice of allowing inmates to keep their babies, often until they were nearly of school age. There were many of these children at the reformatory, living in the rooms with their mothers and getting attention also from the other women in the same cottages. But Alderson's practice of permitting babies to remain with their mothers has long been stopped, and corrections workers have a sense of disbelief that such a policy ever existed. There is a general reaction against the idea of letting a child bear the stigma of the prison upon him at such an early age. But alternative practices, declares Kevé (1974), that are followed do not appear to be any better.

Minnesota also experimented with a child care program that was actually set up on the grounds of the women's institution. It was discovered by Keve that a nursery for retarded children was maintained for several years. With the cooperation of the State Welfare Department a cottage was set aside for severely retarded girls who were wards of the state. Approximately a dozen prisoners provided care for the children. The issue of stigma never seemed to emerge. The parents of the children were unconcerned about the prison setting and were mainly interested in whether their children received good care. The prisoners who worked with the children were appropriately selected, became very devoted to their charges, and found the work to be much more meaningful and satisfying than most prison jobs. The program was discontinued in 1969 due to administrative and economic reasons that had no relevance to the question of its suitability in a prison setting. The program was never formally evaluated but the general reaction to the program was quite positive.

The instinctive reaction against raising a baby in prison is sentimental rather than practical. The effect of stigma is mainly related to the impact it has on the self-esteem of the person who is the subject of such a mark. For an infant, separation from his mother is far more damaging than his having to live on the grounds of a correctional facility during the first two years of his life. If he has the uninterrupted care and love of his mother, he has the best chance of growing up emotionally normal and unhandicapped by the physical setting which he isn't likely to remember. The average length of time served by a female prisoner is usually between two and three years even in felony cases. This means that if a baby remained with his mother it

would be rare for him to be in prison over four years. Of course, this raises the issue of whether the prisoner-mother's other children should stay with their mother in prison.

Administrators who recognize the unhappy predicament of inmate-mothers have been concerned about finding better ways to reduce the damage to any prisoner who is cut off from normal family relations, especially that of mother and child. A compromise now followed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons permits the pregnant inmate to deliver her baby in a community hospital and then to have a several-day furlough home to get the child settled with her family before she returns to prison. This is felt to be a more sensitive way of handling her predicament, though it is hoped that a still better procedure will be found.

Despite the fact that many inmates had been inadequate or disinterested in performing the mother role before imprisonment, the institutional culture strongly supports expressions of concern about one's children. As part of their response to institutional culture, explains Eyman (1971), some inmate-mothers make unrealistic plans to take their children back upon release. Once paroled, they may not act upon the plans; but if they do, the results could be questionable removal of children from households they had come to know as home. Such precipitous movement of children could detract from the mother's potential for parole success, as well as from the children's chances for a stable social and emotional adjustment.

Other countries have also experimented with allowing children to stay with them while they are incarcerated. In 1954, Midland Region, a local prison in Birmingham, England, had a women's section in a cell block where four small babies were kept. The presence of these infants

in separate cells with their mothers created a much more natural social climate. A mother with a short sentence was permitted to keep her child for as long as two years. It was felt desirable for both mother and infant to keep them together even in the prison for this length of time. In fact, many of the women in this section had large families which they had neglected, but, if they wished, they could take a 90-day class in homecraft taught by a competent instructor in an adjacent building (Hayner, 1971).

It was also reported in the same research from the Askham Grange in England that:

Women are very much upset at the separation between themselves and their families. As far as possible, contact must be maintained. If the children have to be in the care of the local authority, we try to take the women to visit them every three months. Sometimes the children are brought here to see the mother (Hayner, 1971:2).

Women with small children are allowed to keep the youngsters with them up to the age of two years. The prison operates a childrens' playground and facilities for running about and recreation in the open air.

In a Madrid prison visited by Hayner (1971), there were 58 mothers and 48 children present. Some of the women who did not have children of their own in the prison helped care for others' children. Children could go with their mothers to prison if they were less than three years of age and did not have relatives able and willing to care for them. They could remain for as long as three or four years. The children slept in separate dormitories while their mothers slept near them in open-top cubicles containing three beds each.

Having permission to keep their children with them in prison seemed to do something for the mothers. This arrangement also had a

positive effect on the child (Hayner, 1955).

In the United States, the caseworker in charge of the child has an inordinant amount of power in making decisions about whether, and when the mother is capable of caring for her child. The only recourse for the woman is in the courts, a path most newly released women are ill-prepared to pursue either financially or emotionally. As a result, the mother often has a fierce emotional battle with the child, the foster parents, or the child-welfare agency. In the end, both mother and child are badly scarred.

In addition to job, housing, and child problems, Buckley (1974) finds that the female ex-inmate faces the difficulty of a strongly disapproving community. She wonders if she can get the community acceptance without which her other problems aren't likely to be resolved. People usually fear women ex-cons almost as much as male ex-inmates, and because they often expect the worst, that is what they sometimes get.

Women who are released from penitentiaries face the same problems in acquiring jobs as men coming out of jails. And the longer they are incarcerated, the more difficult is the adjustment. It is worse if the woman has a child. A woman who has been incarcerated for a long period of time often has trouble regaining custody of her child, as stated before, since the child has been a ward of the state. If there was a close relative willing to take custody while the mother was in prison. The relative may have kept in contact with her, and she may be reunited with the child without much difficulty. If the child was placed in a foster home and the foster parents were diligent about maintaining contact, the relationship may still be intact. But if the child was

with irresponsible foster parents, or was shifted to several homes, contact may have been lost. The child may not want to join the mother after a long and resented separation, or the foster parents may not want to give up custody.

While surveying the literature on female prisoners it was evident that research is quite limited and on incarcerated mothers almost nonexistent. This coincides with findings by Heidensohn (1975), Giallombardo (1966), Ward and Kassebaum (1966), and other researchers that women are involved in recorded crime less frequently than men. As a result, this segment of the prison population has been ignored. However, when Ward and Kassebaum studied the women inmates in California at Frontera and Giallombardo looked at the State Women's Penitentiary at Alderson, they both reached similar conclusions. These conclusions were that women found the "pains of imprisonment" much harder to bear than men, which in turn led to the growth of a compensatory inmate code and culture to ease these pains, and this was quite maladaptive for rehabilitation. In both studies a high proportion of these women had children.

In a study for the California Department of Social Welfare and Department of Corrections, Zalba (1964) focused attention on the relationship of a correctional institution and social agencies working with inmate-women and their children. Gibbs (1971) studied directly the impact of imprisonment on woman and her family and particularly on young children. She found that most of these families were "unstable" and that at least one-third of 212 children not living with their mothers might have been in the care of others most of their lives.

The main objective of this study is to portray a factual picture

of whether the mothers have any type of relationship with their children while in prison, and if so, how often and under what conditions.

We also seek to discover whether the inmate-mothers come from unstable marriages and whether marriage at a young age and/or the start of families at a young age is a factor supporting instability.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to (1) restate the objective of the study, (2) describe the population and sample, (3) explain the research instrument and procedures and (4) state the hypothesis.

Statement of the Problem

The main objective of the study is to determine the relationship between the inmate-mother and child, and to determine if marriage instability is related to young age at first marriage and/or the starting of a family at a young age.

This problem was selected because of the traditional outlook that society has concerning female felons (she must be truly bad to be in prison, unlike men, she does not suffer deprivations), because of the increasing amount of mothers being sentenced to prison, and finally because of the limited amount of research done concerning inmate-mothers.

Population and Sample

Sixty-two inmate-mothers were randomly selected from the two prisons currently housing female residents in Oklahoma. These institutions are the Oklahoma State Penitentiary for Women in McAlester and the Women's Treatment Facility in Oklahoma City. The criterion used to select the universe was mothers with dependent children. Dependence is

defined as those children living at home under the age of sixteen. All mothers regardless of marital status, who had dependent children, were included in this study.

The female felon population in Oklahoma is rather small, (approximately 210), in comparison to other states such as California which houses well over one-thousand women offenders. Since this is the case, the population sample was small in number but adequate in proportion to the total universe.

Instrument and Procedures

An interview schedule which consisted of twenty-one items was administered to the women (Appendix). Other valuable information was added during the course of the interviews. Emphasis in the interviews was placed on the mothers concern for her children and the amount of contact maintained with them. Permission to view intake files to verify responses given with those on record was not granted, so it can only be assumed that information given is reasonably close to the truth.

The interviews were held at each of the two institutions. The sixty-two women were interviewed individually in a room provided for us by the administration. The respondents were somewhat hostile at the beginning of the interviews at McAlester, but when the purpose of the study was explained, this hostility subsided. The rooms at both institutions were well lighted and contained comfortable chairs for the interviews. However, at the Women's Treatment Center in Oklahoma City, there was much moving about because many of the women were on work-release. Since many of the women were at work or was due to report to work, a larger sample could not be procured, thus posing the only major

problem. Nevertheless, it was felt that over half of the women in the institutions who are mothers of dependent children were reached. After the data was collected and coded the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) was utilized in the analysis. This is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis tested by the study was generated from the theoretical propositions and findings in the literature review, and the presentation and analysis of these formal statements constitute the empirical dimension of the study. The hypothesis dealt with an analysis of the respondents on a number of variables such as: 1) age, 2) grade level, 3) marital status, 4) number of children, 5) years institutionalized, 6) placement of the child during the time the mother is incarcerated, and 7) age at first pregnancy.

Formal Hypothesis

1. Inmate-mothers have a marital history of instability and discord. Many of these women marry at a very young age and few view their marriage as successful.
2. Inmate-mothers feel additional frustrations and anxiety because of the inability to control their children's lives.
3. Child welfare agencies give little support to the mothers or the children to lessen the frustrations and anxiety during their sentence execution.

Research Questions

The central concern of the research questions is to determine through tabular analysis the extent of anxiety and frustration felt by the inmate-mothers. Such as:

1. Who cares for the children when a mother is convicted and sent to prison?
2. Will the mother maintain contact with her children?
3. Is she given the right to participate in decisions regarding the care of her children?
4. If she has access to these rights does she exercise them?

The data collected and tested under the stated hypothesis and research questions were the result of one approach to studying the question of deprivations in inmate-mothers. Caution should be exercised in generalizing the findings because this represents a rather restricted attempt to explore an area of limited research. The study should be considered as exploratory research which will require a longitudinal design and a more extensive sample from other prisons.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Characteristics of the Population

Offense

The inmates comprising the population in this study had been convicted of crimes ranging from shoplifting to homicide. The largest percentage (53.2 percent) were imprisoned in both institutions for crimes against property such as bogus checks, forgery, grand larceny and armed robbery. Homicide and manslaughter as a specific crime accounted for only one-third of the convictions. As indicated by Pollock (1957), these crimes were committed by women against members of the immediate family or close friends, i.e., husband, children, or boyfriend. The one case of child abuse reported to the writer is included in this category.

Marital Status. A high percentage of inmates (79 percent) reported that they were married sometime during their lives; 37.1 percent were presently married, 29 percent were divorced, 6.5 percent were separated, 6.5 percent were widowed, and 12.9 percent were single. Only 8 percent of the women were involved in Common Law marriages. The age range of those married at one time or another was from 11 to 21. The figure 11 is subject to doubt and representing perhaps an exaggeration on the part of the respondent. The mean age at marriage was 17, thus, tending to support hypothesis one.

Age. Age is of special significance in a study focused on inmate-mothers and children. The majority of inmates (82.2 percent) were 29 years of age or less, so many had a number of child-bearing years ahead of them. See Table I. The mothers ages ranged from 18 to 47 and the mean age was 28.4 years. The mean number of children per mother was 3.01.

TABLE I
PRESENT AGE OF MOTHERS AND
NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Mother's Age	Number of Children					
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or More
20-23 years	2	3	4		1	
24-27 years	5	8	9	1		1
28-31 years		4	4	1	2	
32-35 years		1	2	2	2	
36-39 years	1	1	1	3	1	
40-43 years			1		1	1
44-47 years						1

Education. Of the 62 women interviewed, 35.5 percent had completed high school while 14.5 percent continued in post high school education as shown in Table II. Those mothers in college were presently attending at the time of arrest. The level of education, as expected, was equivalent to the job skill level. The definition of illegal occupation is: Those whose income is derived from illegal mean, i.e., prostitution and numbers.

TABLE II
EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION OF INMATE MOTHERS

Mothers Education	No.	%	Job Level	No.	%
8th-9th Grade	12	19.4	Unskilled	9	14.5
10th-11th Grade	19	30.7	Semi-Skilled	16	25.8
High School Graduate	22	35.5	Skilled	12	19.4
1-3 years College	8	12.9	Illegal Occupation	3	4.8
Bachelor Degree	<u>1</u>	<u>1.6</u>	No Work	<u>22</u>	<u>35.5</u>
Total	62	100.0	Total	62	100.0

The mean number of years completed in school was 10.7. The range of years completed extended from eighth grade to four years of college. None of the respondents were on study-release during the survey, however,

fifteen had completed the GED while in prison.

In addition to academic learning, a number of the inmates had received or were presently participating in learning a skill or trade. Seventy-seven point four percent of the women felt that they would have sufficient job skills to support themselves and their children upon release.

Crime History. As can be seen in Table III, 38.8 percent of the mothers had been arrested or convicted twice and 61.2 percent only once. In addition, 19.4 percent had juvenile records as well.

TABLE III

AGE OF MOTHER AT PRESENT ARREST AS COMPARED TO
AGE OF MOTHER AT TIME OF FIRST ARREST

Conviction	No.	Percent
<u>Present Conviction:</u>		
18-23	10	16.1
24-27	24	38.7
28-31	12	19.4
32-35	5	8.1
36-39	7	11.3
40-43	4	6.5
<u>First Conviction</u>		
12-15	16	25.8
16-19	7	11.3
20-23	14	22.6
24-27	13	21.0
28-31	6	9.7
Over 32	6	9.7

Over half of those once married reported in the interview, that their present or ex-husbands had also been engaged in crime or were incarcerated. The number of divorces occurring during the time of incarceration was low (6.4 percent).

The mean number of total years institutionalized (2.5) indicated that the inmates had short records in crime involvement. Those with long histories generally dated back to juvenile arrests. These crimes, with the exception of murder, manslaughter, assault with a deadly weapon, and child abuse, were property or drug related. For a complete list of offenses, see Table IV.

TABLE IV
TYPES OF CRIMES COMMITTED BY INMATES

Type of Crime	Number of Inmates	Type of Crime	Number of Inmates
Manslaughter	3	Bogus Checks	5
Murder	3	*Possession of Narcotics	1
Assault with a deadly weapon	2	*Selling of Narcotics	4
Grand Larceny	10	Concealing Stolen Property	1
Armed Robbery	7	Possession of Stolen Goods	1
Burglary	3	Accepting Stolen Property	1
Accessory to Armed Robbery	1	*Possession of Marijuana	2
Possession of Forged Instrument	10	Shoplifting	4
*Possession of Forged Prescription	2	Total	62
Child Abuse	1		
Harboring a Fugitive	1		

*Denotes drug-related crimes.

Childrens' Whereabouts. The extent to which fathers assumed responsibility for their children during the mothers' absence is reflected in the fact that some of the minor children, 19.3 percent of the total universe, were living with their fathers. Despite an assumed disintegration among families of offenders, 77.3 percent of the respondents indicated that relatives (generally the children's maternal or paternal grandparents) constituted the main resource for the care and support of the children. This is clearly revealed in Table V.

TABLE V
WHEREABOUTS OF INMATE MOTHERS' CHILDREN

	Number	Percent
With mothers parents	23	37.1
With their father	12	19.3
In foster care	10	16.1
With mothers sisters	5	8.0
With mothers aunt	4	6.4
With mothers-in-law	4	6.4
Training school	3	4.8
With older siblings	<u>2</u>	<u>3.2</u>
	77	100.0

The difficulties the inmate-mothers might have encountered in providing stable homes for their children could possibly have been aggravated by their tendency to marry men with histories of anti-social behavior. These findings tend to support hypothesis one which states that inmate-mothers have a history of marital instability and discord.

Four mothers of children placed by welfare complained that they were having problems with the welfare agency attempting to persuade them to release custody of their children or place them for adoption. However, these children were either newborn or under two years of age. The mothers did not perceive them as being helpful, but as trying to take away their children without discussing the matter fully with them, or, as in the case of the child abuse observation, by force. This resulted in the women becoming more anxious and frustrated.

Children. Family size ranged from one child in eight of the 62 cases to ten children in one of the cases. The median family size was 3.2 for dependent children. Only 27 percent of children who are not in the custody of their fathers, had had any contact with them. In six cases the whereabouts of the fathers were unknown to the mothers, and in others as mentioned earlier, the fathers were in penal institutions. Description of the fathers was limited for this was not an objective of the study.

In 14.5 percent of the families the children visited their mothers at the institutions once per week, 12.9 percent once a month, and 11.3 percent twice a month. The children of three families visited their mothers once every two months and 12.9 percent visited sporadically. Four of the mothers in the survey had not seen their children since being

incarcerated but they had been confined for only two months or less. The majority of mothers (37.1 percent) stated that they very much wanted to see their children but had advised relatives caring for the children not to bring them to the institution.

The reasons given for this request were: 1) they were convinced that visiting the institution or seeing their mother under such conditions would be a harmful experience for the children; 2) the distance, in many cases, from the home to the institution was too great for small children and for those living in other states; 3) and finally, many families did not want the children to know that the mother was in prison. One mother reported that the family had told the children that the mother was dead. This appeared to raise the mothers frustrations as stated in hypothesis two.

Although 79 percent stated that their children had remained with them since birth, past studies (Zalba, 1964 and Freud, 1956) have shown that grandparents often acted as parents for the children as well as for the mothers, who moved into and out of the home. The grandparents generally take the children back each time the mother gets into trouble or leaves for a short while.

Fifteen of the mothers in the sample stated that their children had developed behavior problems (fighting, withdrawal, crying, sleep, toilet training) as a result of being away from them. Half of these mothers felt that the problems were being managed adequately while the remainder viewed the handling of problems as inadequate or did not know how they were being treated. However, the mothers' general impression of their childrens' welfare was favorable in 90.3 percent of the cases. Among those mothers whose children were placed in foster care (9.7 percent),

only 6.5 percent felt they were receiving adequate care. Evidently, this was not enough to ease their worry. The mothers also stated that there was no one to turn to who might help them with these problems. When asked if they perceived welfare as a possible helping service the inmates replied negatively.

However, most mothers felt that they had not had enough contact with welfare to determine whether they would be helpful, thus rejecting hypothesis three.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Review of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the effects of imprisonment on inmate-mothers and their relationship with their children of a randomly selected number of women in two state institutions. The central theoretical assumption was that inmate-mothers feel additional frustrations because of the inability to control their children's lives. The survey was conducted during the spring semester of the 1977 school year. The study involved an interview instrument designed to obtain information about the mothers age, education, age of first arrest and first pregnancy, marital status, and whereabouts of her children. Sixty-two females comprised the sample. Their responses were coded and analyzed with the Statistical Analysis System (SAS). The nature of the relationship to the mother between seven variables, age, grade level, marital status, number of children, total years institutionalized, nature of child placement while mother was incarcerated, and age at first pregnancy determined the amount of frustration and anxiety suffered by the mother. Attempts to verify the stated purpose took form in several hypotheses and research questions. The results are summarized in the section that follows.

Summary of the Findings

Hypothesis One stated that inmate-mothers have a history of marital instability. Many marry at an early age and few view their marriage as successful. The findings showed that the age range of marriage for the women may have been from 11 through 21 years with the mean age as 17. The hypothesis of marital instability was supported.

Hypothesis Two was that inmate-mothers feel frustrations and anxiety because they often have no control over their child's lives. Those women whose children were placed by welfare told of the worry they encountered when told by the welfare agency of the decision to place their children in foster homes. They felt that it would be very difficult to regain custody of their children once they were released. They also feared that they would lose contact with their children. The hypothesis of maternal frustration due to loss of control of children was also supported.

Hypothesis Three was concerned with child welfare agencies giving support to the mothers and children to help lessen the anxiety of being away from each other. Two mothers reported that they had been harrassed by welfare agencies and that upon their conviction the children had been taken away immediately. But the researcher learned that in these two cases the mothers had neglected their children many times. One other mother reported that welfare workers had constantly been looking over her shoulder since the birth of her child. However the respondent had been convicted of child abuse in the death of her first child. Hypothesis Three was rejected because of a lack of statistical support.

Three additional research questions were examined by this study which were concerned with the extent of anxiety and frustration felt by the mothers. In response to who cared for the children while the mother

was incarcerated, it was revealed that 77.4 percent of the children resided with relatives, 19.4 percent were placed under foster care and 18.2 percent remained with their fathers. The fact that 37.1 percent of the mothers chose not to see their children under the conditions which existed points out that mothers more than likely will not have a working relationship with their children while in prison nor prior to her release. And if she has no communication with her children the odds are great that she does not participate actively in the decisions concerning their care. But she does have the right to make such decisions if she has maintained legal custody.

Recommendations

Since it has been shown that the effects of the child's lack of opportunity to form an attachment to a mother figure during the first three years of life would lead to emotional withdrawal and isolation of the child, efforts should be made to keep parent and child in contact as much as possible. It is evident from this study that more permanent and enduring arrangements need to be developed for the benefit of both the children and the mothers. The goal of correctional administration should be to stabilize the mother-child relationship.

Among the cases studied there were not indications of family-oriented planning for the future of the children. This was especially true in the cases of agency placement of children in foster homes. And since the mothers own rehabilitation is affected by her continued relationship with her children, the need for family planning and family mental health programs are needed. If agencies such as planned parenthood and community counseling institutions, child guidance or community

recreations could make a weekly visit on a set aside family night, this might alleviate some of the inmates' frustrations.

Other various agencies (manpower, lawyer referral service, Native American) could also resolve needs of the inmate-mothers in cases where she needs assistance in the placement of her children, in the plans for the children's care, give assistance to the mother in working out her feelings toward her children, particularly if children are placed in foster care or adopted, and in referring them for work or medical care.

Post release plans should be arranged by the women and the different helping agencies. But care should be exercised in that the plans and goals set up are made by the inmate. They must be goals that she feels she can attain. If she feels that she has some control in her life and those of her children, the plans might seem worthwhile to her. When these needs are met the outcome of the mothers success upon release could be much greater.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What was your age on your last birthday?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is the last grade in school that you completed?
4. How many children do you have and what are their ages?
5. Did you work before being incarcerated?
6. If yes, what was your occupation?
7. At what age were you first arrested?
8. How many juvenile offenses have you committed?
9. What was the offense you committed that was responsible for your being here now?
10. How many adult convictions have you had?
11. How many years altogether have you been institutionalized?
12. What was your age at the time of your first pregnancy?
13. Where are your children now? Foster Home? ___ Relatives? ___
14. How often do you see your children?
15. Who supplies the support for them while you are away, i.e., who buys their clothes, school supplies, medical bills, and food?
16. Do you get any support from family and friends?
17. How many years has your children lived with you?
18. When did your prison sentence begin?
19. When will you be released?
20. What are your plans when you are released?
21. Do you have any job skills that can be used when you are released?

VITA²

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Master of Science

Thesis: INMATE-MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

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