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**THE FEMALE OFFENDER:  
TREATMENT AND TRAINING**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The field of criminal justice has been engaged in a prolonged debate about the efficacy of correctional treatment. Several well publicized reviews of the literature on the treatment of offenders have concluded that in correctional rehabilitation "almost nothing works". Many others have rejected such a broad indictment of correctional programs by questioning the adequacy of the negative reviews and the quality of the programs and the research on which they are based.

One example of the shortcomings of the evaluation of correctional program effectiveness is the failure to examine whether there are differences between male and female offenders in their response to correctional treatment. It appears to have been assumed that the "almost nothing works" conclusion applies to females as well as males, but the validity of the assumption seems never to have been questioned. The present study attempted to examine this assumption by a review of the extant literature on treatment and training programs for female offenders.

Correctional agencies have experienced increasing pressure to improve the availability and variety of facilities and services for female offenders. Most of the demands seem to be directed at ensuring the equality of program opportunities for male and female inmates. Little attention seems to have been paid to the question of whether the programs that are being demanded are likely to be effective. There seems to be little point in promoting programs for female offenders which are unlikely to benefit them. The present study sought to identify programs which appeared to be the best investments for an increasing population of female offenders.

Research procedure

A search was made of published and unpublished reports describing treatment and training programs for juvenile and adult female offenders in community and institutional settings. Studies of treatment programs for predominantly male offenders were also examined in those cases where some female clients were included.

Information was also obtained on treatment programs currently provided in correctional settings in Canada and the U.S.

### Issues

The general impression conveyed by this literature is that, in general, treatment and training programs for the female offender are distinctively poorer in quantity, quality, and variety, and considerably different in nature from those for male offenders. In attempting to account for this inequity our report discusses a number of social, political, financial, administrative, and ideological factors which have influenced the development and the nature of programs for female offenders. It also draws attention to a number of social issues which will likely affect the future development of such programs.

### Programs

The literature search revealed a substantial number of reports on a variety of treatment programs for female offenders: group therapy/counselling; peer group programs; therapeutic communities; family therapy; cognitive and moral development training; assertiveness training; behavioral programs (token economies, behavioral contracting, interpersonal skills training). Our report provides a state-of-the-art review in each of these modalities. It also evaluates differential treatment programs, programs for alcohol and drug addiction, vocational training programs, and programs conducted by non-professional staff. Finally it describes a number of child-care and parenting skills programs which have recently been introduced in some correctional settings.

The report draws attention to several important limitations in a number of "in-vogue" correctional programs. It also draws attention to the almost total dearth of treatment-research on alcohol or drug addiction in female offenders. The absence of research on native female offenders is also noted.

## Research

The evaluation of programs for female offenders has had a low priority for researchers. Most research on correctional treatment has not included female clients. Some studies have included females but failed to examine the possibility of sex differences in outcome. Most reports of programs for female offenders are descriptive rather than analytic and provide only personal testimony or impressionistic and anecdotal evidence of program efficacy. Few programs appear to be based on an adequate conceptualization of the causes of their clients' illegal behavior or an objective assessment of their treatment and training needs. Very few programs adhered to a differential treatment model, and few programs examined possible interactions between treatment outcome and client or practitioner characteristics.

## Conclusion

The quantity and quality of research is so limited that general conclusions about whether treatment does or does not work in the case of female offenders cannot be justified.

## New directions

The report describes a number of programs which yielded positive outcome for female offenders or for mixed groups of male and female offenders. These were multi-faceted programs which shared several of the following characteristics: 1. Mobilization of the offender's peers as therapeutic agents; 2. inclusion of the offender's family in treatment; 3. provision of pro-social models; 4. interpersonal skills training; and 5. occupational skills or job readiness training in combination with job development.

No evidence was found of the efficacy of programs which derived from an explanation of female criminality in terms of

biological deficits or psychopathology or which sought to foster the offender's acceptance of traditional feminine roles. It was concluded that an alternative conceptualization of the causes of illegal behavior in females is required - one which emphasizes social and economic factors rather than physical or psychological abnormalities.

It is speculated that correctional managers planning to increase services for females might be best to invest not in traditional "therapies" but in programs which focus on broadening and strengthening the offender's problem-solving ability through interpersonal skills and/or occupational skills training. A social-learning or educational model, it is suggested, might be preferable to the medical/disease model which previously guided correctional intervention with female offenders.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Yea verily ... there is more joy in the  
Charlatan School of Social Work over one  
outcast who gets rehabilitated than over  
ninety and nine crummy taxpayers who foot  
the bill for the whole shebang"

(R. Needham, 1979)

Rehabilitation & Research

Several widely publicized reviews of research on the outcome of correctional programs have concluded that treatment of the offender is an expensive, ineffective and inappropriate response to criminal behavior. It has been proclaimed that almost all programs for the prevention of crime or the rehabilitation of offenders have been unsuccessful.

Martinson's conclusions have been the most popularized (e.g. Lipton, Martinson & Wilks, 1975; Martinson, 1974), but his pronouncements about the failure of correctional treatment have been echoed by many others. For example, Robison & Smith (1971) concluded, "There is no evidence to support any program's claim to superior rehabilitative efficacy." Kassebaum, Ward & Wilner (1971) concluded that "as the reports come in, there is a dearth of good tidings for both the treatment specialists and the program administrators." Ward & Kassebaum's (1972) review suggested that correctional programs not only had failed to decrease recidivism but also had failed to increase inmate docility. Wright & Dixon (1977) concluded that "no delinquency prevention programs can be definitely recommended." Earlier, Bailey (1966) reported that "evidence supporting the efficacy of correctional treatment is slight, inconsistent, and of questionable reliability."

In a recent review of 170 studies on treatment of delinquents, Romig (1978) asserted:

"Behavior modification should not be offered as a treatment modality ... casework should be discontinued ... group counselling should not be relied upon as a vehicle to rehabilitate ... individual counselling and psychotherapy

should be discontinued ... rehabilitation programs that focus only on the teaching of academic skills will fail to reduce recidivism ... job placement, vocational training, occupational orientation, field trips and work programs do not positively affect juvenile delinquency."

Romig also concluded that the following correctional programs have failed:

"Halfway houses, foster homes, group homes, residential centers, self-government, therapeutic communities, confrontation therapy, differential treatment and shortened length of stay."

The oft-repeated conclusion that in correctional treatment "almost nothing works" has received endorsement throughout the criminal justice system. Among many academicians and correctional managers it has fostered a pervasive cynicism with respect to the potential of a treatment approach to offender rehabilitation. It has also engendered feelings of hopelessness among many correctional practitioners and may constitute a self-fulfilling prophecy since few programs are likely to "work" in an atmosphere of pessimism.

The conclusion that treatment has been a failure has not gone unchallenged. It has been noted that there are major shortcomings in the quality of the reviews and in the methodology of the studies on which the reviews are based (e.g., Adams, 1976; Chaneles, 1976; Halleck & Witte, 1977; McDougall, 1976; Palmer, 1975; Palmer, 1979; Serrill, 1975). In painting an almost totally negative picture of correctional rehabilitation the critics may have used too wide a brush. They have been insensitive to essential differences among offenders, correctional environments, types of programs, and practitioner skills. They have too readily accepted the negative results of practitioners who have vainly attempted to treat a heterogeneity of problem behaviors with a single treatment method, and have assessed the outcome of their efforts in methodologically inadequate studies which too often have provided only lip service to the treatment they purport to apply and evaluate. In a review of recent

studies, Gendreau & Ross (1979) and Ross & Gendreau (1980) drew attention to a large number of correctional treatment programs which had been demonstrated, in methodologically adequate research, to be effective in delinquency prevention and/or offender rehabilitation.

The debate about the efficacy of correctional treatment continues - a debate which, for more than a decade, has engendered heated argument throughout the criminal justice system and consumed the cortical energy and rhetorical skills of a host of academicians and practitioners. Ironically, treatment and counselling continue to be mainstays of correctional programming (Messinger & Bittner, 1979).

### The Female Offender

It is remarkable that in ten years of debating the value of correctional treatment, virtually no mention has been made of the possibility that the effectiveness of correctional treatment may depend upon whether the offenders are male or female. Does the "almost nothing works" credo apply equally to male and female offenders? The question never seems to have been asked.

Not only has this question been ignored by the reviewers of the correctional treatment literature, the possibility of sex differences has also, as we shall see, been ignored by almost all of the researchers who have conducted the hundreds of studies on which these reviews have been based.

It is particularly surprising that researchers have not addressed themselves to the question of male-female differences in treatment effectiveness in view of the recent spate of literature on the female offender which has lamented the fact that correctional programs are typically conceived by males for males and only later, often as an afterthought, extended to female offenders for whom they may be thoroughly inappropriate (e.g. Adler, 1975; Adler & Simon, 1979; Bowker, 1978; Contact, 1978; Crites, 1976; Gibson, 1973; Glick & Neto, 1977; Milton, Pierce, Lyons & Furry, 1976; Simon, 1975; Singer, 1973; Skoler & McKeown, 1974; Smart, 1976).

A growing body of criminological literature and media reports on the female offender has also drawn attention to alleged discrimination by the correctional system against female offenders who, it is claimed, are provided with fewer, less varied and poorer quality facilities, services, and programs than are provided for male offenders. Seldom do the proponents of equal opportunity ask whether the programs they seek to make available to female offenders are likely to be effective. There seems little point in promoting programs for female offenders which will not benefit them.

On the basis of a critical examination of what is now a voluminous literature on the female offender, this report discusses the treatment programs which have been provided for female offenders, how appropriate they are to their needs, their cost-benefits, and their outcome.

In corrections, the word "treatment" often connotes "therapy" and as such has acquired a pejorative meaning in the eyes of those opposed to the application of a disease or medical model to corrections. Although we do not attempt to solve the problem of the definition of the term, we wish to make it clear that our research employed a broad conceptualization of the term "treatment". We examined not only "therapies" but a variety of behavior change strategies, social and vocational training programs, and system interventions.

#### Research Procedure

1. Aided by several computerized bibliographic retrieval services, a search was made of the extant literature describing "treatment" programs for juvenile and adult female offenders in community and/or institutional settings.\*
2. Since the vast majority of information on the treatment of female offenders is "buried" within reports on the

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\* Wherever possible in this report we differentiate programs for juvenile, and adult, and status offenders. Unfortunately, this is often precluded by the failure of program reports to provide adequate specification of client characteristics.

treatment of male offenders and cannot be identified through standard bibliographic retrieval procedures, an additional examination was made of the published literature on the treatment of male offenders since 1940. In this case we examined only those programs which had been evaluated within at least a quasi-experimental design and specifically mentioned that female subjects were included in the study.

3. We conducted an informal survey of correctional settings for female offenders in Canada and, through the use of several criminal justice information services, obtained information on treatment programs for female offenders in correctional settings in the U.S.

The investigation was not limited to an examination of methodologically elegant and successful studies but included an examination of programs which had never been evaluated and of programs which had failed.

#### Research Report

The report discusses the relevance and efficacy of a number of treatment modalities which have been used with female offenders: behavior modification; group therapy/counselling; family therapy; peer group programs; therapeutic community; moral development training; assertiveness training; differential treatment; alcohol and drug addiction programs. Also evaluated are vocational training; child-care programs, and services provided by non-professional staff.

A number of fundamental gaps in knowledge about female offenders upon which treatment decisions should be based are noted in the report. Attention is drawn to several clear-cut limitations in a number of "in-vogue" programs for female offenders and questions are raised about the conceptualizations of female criminality which have determined the nature of correctional services for them.

Although our review focusses on treatment and training programs, it raises many issues which should be considered by correctional management in evaluating the wide-ranging recommendations about facilities and services for female offenders which have recently been made (e.g., Adler, 1975; Clark, 1976; Contact, 1978; Glick & Neto, 1977; Milton, et al., 1977).

## II. ISSUES

In this section we wish to highlight a number of socio-political, economic, and administrative issues which should be examined in order to obtain an adequate understanding of the status of correctional treatment of female offenders.

Our review made it clear that, until very recently, the correctional treatment of the female offender has been largely ignored. This neglect has been attributed to a number of socio-political, economic, administrative, and ideological factors:

1. Numerical reality: Even with recent increases in crimes committed by females (e.g. Adams, 1978; Chesney-Lind, 1978; Simon, 1975), the number of female offenders entering the correctional system is extremely low in comparison with that of males whose greater number has commanded greater attention.
2. Less violent crimes: Because their crimes are less likely to be of a violent nature, female offenders are seldom seen as dangerous or as constituting a serious threat to the social order (Haft, 1974; Miller, 1977; Goodman, Maloney & Davies, 1976). Since they present little threat, it is considered they need little treatment.
3. Riots & lawsuits: Although riots and disturbances which might draw attention to their treatment are not foreign to institutions for female offenders, they appear to be less frequent, less dramatic and less publicized than those in male institutions (Crites, 1976; Gibson, 1973; Simon, 1975). Much of the literature on prisons for females suggests that female offenders are more likely to accept their lot in prison; tend to be more docile; are less likely to grieve their conditions (particularly by means of lawsuit); and tend to express their hostility inward against themselves rather than against their environment. (These generalizations have never been subjected to empirical validation).
4. Faith in chivalry: Until recently, because of traditional social expectations about the treatment of women, it may have been assumed that, because they are women, female

offenders would be treated in a benign and gentle way in the correctional setting. As a result there has been less pressure to determine how they actually have been treated.

5. Nonpersons: Female offenders "are twofold deviants: not only have they deviated from the general male standards of conduct by reason of being female, but they have deviated from male standards of female conduct by being offenders" (Adler, 1975, p. 173). Accordingly, in the eyes of the public and the criminal justice system they have often been relegated to the status of "non-persons", undeserving of special attention.

Our review made it clear that, in general, the programs which have been provided for female offenders are distinctively different in nature, quality, and variety from those offered for males. This state of affairs has been justified, or at least rationalized, in several ways:

1. Costs: Because female offenders comprise approximately only 4% of the offender population, an equitable per capita allotment of funds from less than extravagant correctional agency budgets allows only meager resources for program functions for female offenders.\* Generally they have been assigned low priority in program budgets since services can be delivered much more efficiently (in terms of the number of clients treated) by spending available monies in male facilities which tend to be much more densely populated.

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\*Co-correctional facilities have been suggested as a solution to this problem. That this is oversimplistic is shown in a recent discussion of the problems of co-correctional settings (Smykla, 1979).

"Co-ed programs are for the most part still focused on the needs of boys. Co-ed is not co-equal. Girls are accepted but remain second class citizens in the design and funding of programs."

"... when innovation is suggested for men's institutions, the objection is raised: It's too big; when innovation is suggested for women's institutions ... it's too small!"

(Gibson, 1973)

2. Classification: A cornerstone of correctional programming for male offenders, classification is frequently non-existent for female offenders whose small numbers it is reasoned make it prohibitive to provide separate facilities or services appropriate even to their needs for physical security. Accordingly, differential treatment or specialized services are seldom provided. Ironically, it is the existence of classification (by sex) which has resulted in the limited program opportunities available to female offenders by isolating them from the general population and, thus, from facilities and services.
3. Time: Particularly in the case of those who are incarcerated, sentences for female offenders are usually too short to enable them to profit from educational, vocational, or therapeutic programs.
4. Poor prognosis: Because, it is argued, the criminal justice system tends to be chivalrous and lenient towards women who break the law (Adler, 1975), those who enter the correctional system are often thought to be the very worst and to have little potential for change (Singer, 1973). Accordingly it is considered that there is little point in wasting valuable resources on them. (One might think that it would be judged that they are the offenders most in need of services.)
5. Correctional Sexism:

"The criminal justice system, a behemoth dominated by men and male ways of looking at the world, represents the most formal development of cross-sex controls in human society"

(Bowker, 1978, p.XIII)

It has been argued that most correctional services for females have been designed by males and reflect the stereotypical traditional sex role of women in our culture (e.g., Feinman, 1979; Smart, 1977; Bowker, 1978) Since women have not been seen as breadwinners there has been little impetus for providing them with training

programs for meaningful and marketable employment skills. In keeping with their traditional roles they are more likely to have been provided with "busy-work" or "women's work". The implicit syllogism determining the nature of program services for women seems to have been:

- A. Criminal women have deviated from traditional female sex-roles;
- B. Traditional females are non-criminal;
- C. Therefore, criminal women need training in those skills which will allow them to assume their traditional and "proper" role.

"The institutions attempted to instill in inmates the ideology of domesticity and the minimal skills necessary for its practice. According to correctional administrators, a girl's delinquency alone revealed that she had not learned to revere domestic pursuits. Instruction in domesticity was allied with the reformatories' marital goals: inmates would become so devoted to and skilled at domestic chores that they would easily attract husbands. It was as if ... a rigorous pursuit of domesticity would compensate for the girls' previous immorality."

(Schlossman & Wallach, 1978, p.77)

Programs are, accordingly, rather lack-lustre.

6. Double-standard justice: It has been argued that the criminal justice system responds to female criminality in terms of its presumed sexual aspects, perpetuates a Victorian view of female sexuality, and responds, particularly in the case of juveniles, protectively and paternalistically to the female offender (Haft, 1974; Morton, 1976). This frame of reference has led to the view that custody itself provides all the treatment necessary since it removes the offender from the "unregulated sexual marketplace ... and forces them to save their sexual favors, moral reputations, and health until they are of marriageable age" (Schlossman & Wallach, 1978, p.76).

It is paradoxical that although women are offered few of the program opportunities that are offered to male offenders, several prevailing assumptions about female offenders would seem to suggest that correctional program budgets would be better spent on female offenders because they have greater needs for such

services, are more likely to accept such opportunities, and are more likely to profit from them:

1. Although it is often assumed that female offenders have adopted a masculine-role identity, the fact that they are female coupled with the stereotypical view of feminine characteristics has led to a not uncommon view that female offenders are passive, compliant, and dependent and thus more likely to evidence help-seeking behavior, more willing to accept a relationship with a counsellor, and more co-operative in rehabilitation programs (cf. Gibson, 1973; Smart, 1976).
2. It has been assumed that women are more likely to experience distress while incarcerated (Gibson, 1976; Smart, 1976) and are, therefore, more in need of counselling services.
3. Theoretical explanations of criminal behavior in females have formed the ideological basis for the development of correctional services for female offenders. Until very recently female crime was explained as the result of anatomical, physiological, or psychological aberrations, abnormalities, or deficiencies in the individual (Klein, 1973; Pollock, 1978). The assumption that she is likely to evidence biological deficiencies or psychopathology has led to the view that she has greater needs for treatment.
4. The assumption that women are more vulnerable to mental illness has led to the notion that females in the criminal justice system require more treatment services, particularly of a medical/psychiatric nature.\*

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\* "...because doctors and psychiatrist 'know' that women complain more about less serious symptoms they will counterbalance this effect by giving them less serious attention". (Smart, 1976, p.162).

For correctional personnel an excellent discussion of the important debate about the sexist bias in psychiatric diagnosis and mental health services can be found in Smart (1976).

5. The emphasis on the female offender as an actual or potential mother has stimulated considerable pressure, particularly in recent years, not only for differential sentencing practices for females but also for the provision of special correctional services (and facilities) for women.
6. As noted earlier, it has been assumed that because of differential arrest, conviction, and sentencing practices adjudicated female offenders, particularly those who are incarcerated, represent a select group of offenders with a higher than normal incidence of deficiencies and abnormalities and therefore a higher need for treatment services (Crites, 1976).\*
7. It has been argued that because women are more easily managed in institutions, are housed in smaller units, and are fewer in number, programs for them including innovative ones, could be more easily implemented, managed and evaluated (Crites, 1976). In fact the rehabilitation model in corrections was pioneered by institutions for women and they have been labelled "laboratories for prison reform" (Gibson, 1976). It is a moot point, however, whether such innovative services were designed for the benefit of the women or whether they were merely "guinea pigs" for the study of programs which could later be provided for the larger population of male offenders. Ironically, many of the programs they pioneered are no longer available to them (Gibson, 1976).
8. The contention that recidivism rates for female offenders is much lower than for males (e.g., Gibson, 1976) has led to the view that women are more likely to benefit from rehabilitative programs than are men.

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\* "... and, sometimes, longer or indeterminate sentences so that they have time to benefit from treatment" (Haft, 1974).

The validity of the foregoing assumptions has not been established but they have motivated correctional management in some jurisdictions to provide some kinds of services more frequently to females than to males. However, the preponderance of evidence supports the conclusion that, in general, female offenders have received far less than an equitable share of program opportunities. For example, the following are among the conclusions of a national study of the range of programs available to the female offender in jails, prisons and community settings in fourteen states in the U.S:

"Treatment in correctional institutions was conspicuous by its absence. Treatment staff ... were most often involved in intake testing, court ordered examinations, and ... prescribing medication. Counseling was often a duty of correctional officers who were not necessarily trained and whose primary role was custodial" "... tranquilizers may be used instead of program to help maintain control in an institutional setting" (p.XV).  
"In many jails religion was the only program offered" (p. XVI).

(Glick & Neto, 1977)

A recent task force on women reported that, in the U.S. "Only five percent of all federally funded juvenile delinquency projects were specifically female-related and only six per cent of all local monies for juvenile justice were spent on programs for females" (Milton, et al., 1977). It has also been reported that female offenders are often held in detention not because they present a threat to society but because of a lack of alternative facilities and/or programs.

It must be emphasized that such major national surveys tend to foster erroneous impressions and gross overgeneralizations about the status of treatment for women offenders because they aggregate the information across facilities, locations, and jurisdictions and typically fail to give attention to those settings in which exceptional service is provided. Although not well publicized, these surveys typically show, as did our own preliminary survey of Canadian settings and the National Advisory Committee in Canada (Clark, 1977), that the availability and quality of services vary greatly depending on the jurisdiction

(e.g. federal vs. state/provincial); the setting (community vs. institution); the facility (jail vs. prison); the location (rural vs. urban); the accessibility to community services; and the particular type of program (e.g., psychiatric treatment vs. vocational training).

A number of recent developments have prevented the criminal justice system from continuing to enjoy the "luxury" of ignoring the treatment of the female offender:

1. Female crimes: The magnitude of recent increases in arrests of female offenders has led to a substantial increase in the number of females entering the correctional system (Adams, 1978; Chesney-Lind, 1978; Simon, 1975).
2. The "new breed": Whether it is realistic or not, there is an increasingly prevalent perception that, for whatever reasons, female offenders of recent vintage are no longer passive and docile but are often well-educated, articulate, aggressive (and sometimes violent) females who "are highly politicized and not at all hesitant about making a point with a raised hand or a balled fist" (Adler, 1974, p.180).
3. Feminism: Although there is considerable argument about whether the women's liberation movement can be held to be responsible for the major increases which have occurred over the last decade in the number of arrests of females (e.g., Simon, 1975; Smart, 1977; Weiss, 1977; Adler, 1977;) there is general agreement that this movement has helped to focus a great deal of attention on the treatment of females in the criminal justice system.
4. Equal Rights: Concern for equal rights for women in general has, with increasing intensity, extended to the case of the female offender, particularly in terms of alleged discrimination in institutional facilities, services and program opportunities (e.g., Arditi, Goldberg, Hartle, Peters & Phelps, 1973; Singer, 1973).
5. Sexual desegregation of criminal justice: Interest in the treatment of female offenders has been greatly enhanced as a result of a recent small but important increase in women's representation in academic programs

in criminal justice and in the correctional labour force, particularly in positions in institutional management, research, professional services, and policy formation.

6. Kingston: In Canada, the interminable discussion on the proposed closing of the Kingston Prison for Women has stimulated correctional agencies to at least consider alternative facilities and alternative programs for female offenders.

Our review of the literature made it clear that, although there may be an increasing pressure on correctional managers to provide more and better services for female offenders, the guidelines that are urged on them as to the form such programs should take are frequently based on conjecture, sentiment, good intentions, and rationality, but seldom on an objective appraisal of the efficacy of such programs.

### III TREATMENT

#### 1. SOCIAL LEARNING/BEHAVIORAL PROGRAMS

Behavioral approaches have been among the most popular of the wide variety of treatment programs which have been employed in corrections during the past ten years. A recent review (Ross & McKay, 1978) of the application of behavioral programs in institutional settings concluded that whereas such programs can sometimes be effective in institutional management by reducing disciplinary infractions and improving participation and effort in academic/vocational training, there is little evidence that they are effective in terms of rehabilitation. On the other hand, the efficacy of community-based programs which employ a behavior-modification component has been demonstrated in several well controlled studies (Gendreau & Ross, 1970). Neither the Ross & McKay (1978) review nor earlier reviews (Braukman & Fixsen, 1975; Braukman et al., 1975; Davidson & Seidman, 1974; Emory & Marholin, 1977; Johnson, 1977) attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of behavior modification programs separately according to the sex of the offenders.

One must be very cautious in generalizing from research on male or mixed subject populations to female offenders. Although many of the behavior modification programs in corrections have included female subjects, none has provided separate analyses. The degree to which the inclusion of female subjects improved the results for such programs, or detracted from them, cannot be determined. (This state of affairs is true for all the treatment modalities we reviewed.)

##### A. Correctional Institutions

The value of behavioral programs for female offenders in institutional settings has not been established. In fact, one study has demonstrated that with female offenders a behavioral program can have a strong adverse effect. Institutionalized adolescent female offenders in three different token economies were found to recidivate much more frequently (as high as 33% more) than matched no-treatment controls (Ross & McKay, 1978).

Nor can one be entirely confident that a token economy program will ameliorate institutional discipline problems. In one token economy program Ross & McKay (1978) found that the incidence of self-mutilation, vandalism, escape attempts, flagrant breach of regulations, and assault increased by as much as five-fold. In two other token economies, major improvements in the subjects' institutional adjustment were found but they were judged to be attributable not to the behavioral aspects of the study but to coincidental changes in the attitude of the staff. Clearly one cannot generalize much from one study, particularly one which involved adolescents with chronic and severe behavior problems, but there are grounds for scepticism about the value of token economies in institutional settings for female offenders. Unfortunately token economies in such settings (e.g. Willingdon, 1979) have seldom been adequately evaluated. It may be that token economies can be an effective institutional management technique for male offenders, but not for females.

On the other hand, there are some studies in correctional institutions for females which have demonstrated the effectiveness of behavioral programs in modifying specific target behaviors such as acceptable behavior in academic classrooms (Meichenbaum, Bowers & Ross, 1968; Seymour & Sanson-Fisher, 1975); adherence to curfews (Alexander, 1976); emotional expressiveness (Ross & Palmer, 1976); prosocial conversational comments (Sanson-Fisher, Seymour & Baer, 1976; Sanson-Fisher, Seymour, Montgomery & Stokes, 1978); self-rewarding behavior (Thelen & Fryrear, 1971); work effort (Seymour & Stokes, 1976); and the elimination of nightmares (Ross, Meichenbaum & Humphrey, 1971). These studies are typically well designed and thoroughly analyzed and the improvements in such behaviors may be valuable in their own right, but the relationship between these behaviors and delinquency and crime is questionable.

#### B. Community-Based Residences

The correctional agency planning to establish a community residence for females will have no difficulty finding literature describing a wide variety of possible types of facilities, services, and programs which might be adopted, or persuasive arguments for their establishment (e.g., Milton, et al., 1975; Arter, 1977; Contact, 1978; Garrell-Michaud, 1978; Marino, 1976; Lerman, Lerman,

Dickson & Lagay, 1974; Miller & Montilla, 1977; Sojourn, 1976; Turner, 1969). There is an abundance of reports suggesting why such settings should be successful, but very few which show if they are.

Corrections appears to have matured beyond the excessive optimism which characterized the group home movement of the 1960's to a recognition that, whereas some group home programs might provide humane and economical alternatives to inadequate family homes or institutions, there is nothing inherent in a community residence which will ensure its effectiveness in terms of reducing the delinquent or criminal behavior of its clients. Effectiveness is much more likely to be determined by the quality of staff and the nature of programs than geography. However, the evaluation of community residences for female offenders is inadequate to the task of ascertaining what program or service components should be provided to maximize the probability that the residence will be an effective alternative to other correctional measures or to leaving the offender alone.

The available research allows few firm conclusions. Although there is evidence that the ability of group homes to ameliorate behavior problems depends on whether the clients are male or female, some studies suggest that they do better with boys (Birkenmayer, Polonoski, Pirs & McLaren, 1975) others that they do better with girls (Palmer, 1972). Presumably, much depends on which girls, which boys, and which group homes.

Research which compares the effectiveness of community residential vs. nonresidential community placement is also inconclusive. One study in recidivism (Minnesota Governor's Commission, 1973) found no differences between 31 girls placed directly in the community and 26 girls placed in a group home which provided a variety of educational and counselling services and contingency contracting. Another study failed to find differences on a large number of measures (including delinquency) between delinquents (male and female) placed in a children's center with a behavior modification program (token economy) and controls

who lived at home. (handler, 1975)\*

Several behavioral programs in community-based residential settings for female delinquents have had positive results. For example, in the Webster Hall Program (Marholin II et al., 1975), fourteen out of fifteen girls in an individualized token economy program evidenced dramatic reductions in tardiness, anti-social and profane verbalizations, and truancy, as well as improvement in academic performance. These results are attributed to the mobilization and integration of various components of the community (parents, school & residence) within the behavioral program so that each supports the contingencies established within the other. Unfortunately, no control group was provided in this study.

Positive results were also reported for the PACE program (Wagner & Breitmeyer, 1975) which included a token economy as one component of a multi-faceted program for "delinquent and emotionally disturbed mentally retarded" male and female adolescents in a community residential program. During a one year follow-up of 100 subjects, sixty-eight percent of the clients who completed the program were able to adjust in the community without return to the residence for illegal behavior with a "slightly higher proportion of females being successes than males". This compares to a 24% success rate for program non-completers. These are dramatic results. It is unfortunate that they cannot be taken at face value. No control group was included in this study. The comparison is between those who "completed" and did "not complete" the program. In addition, the definition of "non-completion" is unusual: "formal recognition ... ability to meet the present expectations of the

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\* On the other hand Taylor, Goldstein, Singer & Tsaltas (1976) found that compared to predicted outcome (without intervention) a group home providing a variety of casework services improved the school adjustment, peer relationships, and self-image of 24, 13-16 year old girls. Another study which used base expectancy tables to compare the effectiveness of a community residence (halfway house) reported a major reduction in recidivism for 22 female ex-prisoners. However, methodological shortcomings limit the reliability of the two positive studies.

institution and future expectations of the community at time of release" (p. 283). One might ask whether such subjects have failed to respond to the program or have been (for whatever reason) released before they are ready. Without this information, the specific meaning of success and the value of these results is highly questionable. Interestingly, when distinctions between "completion" and "non-completion" are removed, about half the subjects (51%) "succeed", and half (49%) "fail".

A series of methodologically sound studies and replications has demonstrated the effectiveness of Achievement Place, a community-based group home for pre-delinquent children, in modifying a wide range of within-program target behaviors (e.g. verbal interactions, school work, home chore completion), and in terms of outcome measures of school attendance and community adjustment (Bailey, Wolf & Phillips, 1970; Fixsen, Phillips & Wolf, 1973; Firigin, Phillips, Timbers, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1977; Phillips, 1968; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1973). Achievement Place is a model for a family-style residential setting for 11 to 16 year old delinquents with thoroughly trained, full-time, husband-wife house parents. Although the program includes a token economy and is often viewed as a total behavioral approach, it also includes academic and interpersonal skills training, family involvement, individualized counseling, and a peer-group self-government component. The Achievement Place model has been adopted in a wide variety of locales throughout North America and includes co-ed homes and at least one home for girls. Unfortunately a separate analysis of the effectiveness of the model has not been reported for female delinquents.

Clearly the available evidence of the efficacy of community residential centres for female offenders is less than convincing. This does not mean that they are less preferable to institutional placements. It only means that there is a lack of adequate research on this question and that one must argue for or against community residential placement of female offenders on grounds other than their efficacy. In presenting such arguments one must be mindful of the fact that placing a female offender in a group home by no means guarantees that she will be protected from many of the problems which have plagued many institutional

settings for females including self-mutilation, violence, vandalism, suicide gestures and other behaviors which are often stimulated and encouraged by an anti-social group culture which can be just as negative, powerful and damaging as that found in institutional settings (Elder, 1972, Turner, 1969). Research is urgently required to ascertain the prevalence of such problems and to determine what client, staff and program characteristics are likely to obviate them.

C. Home-Based Programs

Tharp & Wetzel (1969) have described a number of individual case studies in which behavioral problems of conduct-problem children (including several females) which ranged from chore and homework completion to fighting, vandalism and stealing were ameliorated by behavioral modification in their home environment. Most of the successful cases directly involved the girl's parents in the program.

Another community-based project attempted to treat a group of adolescents (including five girls) with behavior problems by having them attend a "laboratory" school in which behavioral techniques were used to improve basic reading, arithmetic and interpersonal skills (McCombs, Filipczack, Friedman & Wodarski, 1978). Improvement in reading scores (1.8 grade levels), and mathematics scores (1.7 grade levels) over a school year were found. These gains were higher than for a normative sample (1.0 grade levels). In a one-year follow-up the number of juvenile charges for the treatment group decreased to 12% of that found in the year before treatment. Unfortunately, no control group was provided, the interaction of sex of the client and outcome was not analyzed, and because of inadequate data, conclusions could not be drawn from the five-year follow-up.

A methodologically more adequate study, the "Buddy System", has demonstrated the value of home-based intervention. Buddies are non-professional individuals who are trained and reinforced (by social approval and money) for developing and applying contingency management skills in modifying the problem behavior of delinquent youth. They are encouraged to form warm relationships with the youths assigned to them and to dispense social approval and material rewards for improved behavior. This approach was

found in a well controlled study to be highly effective in reducing school truancy and other problem behaviors (fighting, not completing homework, staying out late, etc.) (Fo & O'Donnell, 1974). Outcome results were also positive. A group of 264 delinquent youths (both boys and girls, ages 10-17) were compared with 178 controls. Youths who had committed a major offence in the year prior to the project, committed significantly fewer major offences during the project year. Outcome appeared better for females but separate analysis by sex was precluded by the small number of female subjects (O'Donnell, Lydgate & Fo, 1980).

It should be noted that this study found support for those who have argued against the "widening the net" phenomenon in diversion programs in which non adjudicated juveniles are involved in programs who would not normally be subjected to juvenile justice system controls.\* For youths who had not committed a major offence in the year previous to the project, their rate of offences increased significantly:

"Current efforts aimed at the preventive and early identification of potential young offenders may result in more harm than good for those youngsters with no serious history of delinquent acts."

(Fo & O'Donnell, 1975, p.524)

Walter & Mills (1980), in a methodologically sound study, substantially reduced arrests and institutionalization for a group of male (44) and female (9) delinquents through a behavioral program which focussed on employment. The program did not stop (as is so often the case) at locating jobs, but recruited and trained local employers in behavioral methods, established employment contingency contracts with the delinquents, and reinforced their pro-employment behaviors and their employers' commitments. Ninety percent of their subjects had no further arrests or institutionalization (69% of controls had one or more arrests, 52% were institutionalized).

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\* Research is required to determine whether this phenomenon applies more frequently in the case of females.

Another exemplary program is the Complex Offender Project (Kloss, 1978; Kloss, 1980) in which a multi-disciplinary team provides intensive and individually programmed services to high-risk offenders - those with psychological problems as well as criminal histories. The clients are probationers (aged 18-30) who have at least one previous juvenile or adult conviction, have previously received some form of psychiatric help or referral, and have a sporadic or poor employment record. 15% are female. The program principles are based on social learning theory and emphasize skill-building (including employment-seeking skills) and contingency contracting. In the first four months after referral, treated subjects, and a control group on regular probation, significantly decreased their arrests, convictions and number of incarcerations. However, during the total span of a 16 month follow-up, treated subjects had less involvement over time whereas untreated subjects gradually increased in the number of arrests, convictions and incarcerations. Treated clients had fewer charges after discharge from probation and also showed benefits compared with controls in enrollment and completion of educational programs and in employment. A separate analysis of this program for its hard-core female offender subjects would be worthwhile.

The Kloss, and Walter & Mills studies are model programs whose results merit replication with separate analysis with larger group of female clients.

D. Contracting/Mutual Agreement/Voucher Programs

In recent years many correctional agencies have encouraged the use of behavioral contracting as a management and /or rehabilitation technique for female offenders. Contracts are formal written agreements between the client and the agency which specify both personal vocational/educational/behavioral objectives which the client contracts to achieve in specified periods of time, and the rewards which will be forthcoming from the agency if the contract is fulfilled. The establishment of a contract requires careful negotiation and the acceptance of responsibility and commitment by both parties. In some Mutual Agreement Programs with female offenders, institutional release dates are made contingent on the completion of the contract. An adjunct to many contract programs are Voucher programs which allow women a specified

amount of credit to "purchase" services from various agencies with vouchers which are provided as part of the contract.

Contracts have been employed in a variety of correctional programs including diversion (e.g., Cader, 1976); day-care (Lampkin & Taylor, 1973); community residential centres (e.g., Quest House, 1975); correctional institutions (e.g., Maryland, 1976); half-way houses (e.g. Minnesota Governor's Commission, 1973); and parole (e.g., Leiberg & Parker, 1975). None of the foregoing have been adequately evaluated.

Several well designed studies have found positive outcomes for behavioral contracting with mixed groups of male and female offenders (Kloss, 1978 1980; Walter & Mills, 1980; Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Wade et al., 1977). These studies include contracting as only one aspect of multi-faceted approaches and it is not possible to determine the particular influence of contracting, *per se*. A study by Jesness et al., (1975) suggests that when reliance is placed on only one technique, such as contracting, the outcome may be positive but it is likely to be less impressive than when complementary techniques are used and is likely to depend even more than usual on the nature of the relationship between client and treatment agent. This study found that contingency contracting used by probation officers did help to yield changes in target behaviors (e.g., truancy, school misconduct) and recidivism but did so much less in the case of client/probation officer matches characterized by low mutual regard. Stuart et al.'s (1976) study of contracting with adolescent "pre-delinquents" also demonstrates that contingency contracting as a single method should not be expected to yield dramatic results. They taught parents and teachers to use contracts in managing behavior problem adolescents. Although school behavior improved, school attendance deteriorated and academic achievement did not improve.

None of the studies on contracting have provided the type of analyses which would allow a specific determination of the efficacy of contracting for female offenders.

#### E. Social Skills Training

Many female offenders may persist in maladaptive behaviors not because of psychopathology but because they simply have not

acquired an adequate repertoire of problem-solving skills or social skills which would enable them to respond in alternative ways to interpersonal and economic stress. It may be significant that behavioral programs which have achieved success with female offenders (e.g., Kloss, 1980; Phillips et al., 1973; Ross & McKay, 1978; Walter & Mills, 1980) share at least one common component: interpersonal skills training.

Positive outcome has also been reported for Carkhuff's Human Resource Development (HRD) Skills training model (e.g. Carkhuff, 1971, 1969a, 1969b). Impressive reductions in illegal behavior were obtained in a juvenile diversion project (Collingwood et al., 1976; 1978). Ten to sixteen year old misdemeanants were referred to police officers proficient in HRD skills who trained them (and sometimes their parents) in interpersonal and problem-solving skills in either a classroom/lecture format or a counselling arrangement. The program also included an intensive assessment component, behavioral contracting, and a variety of other approaches. More than 2,000 male and female delinquents participated in this program. Significantly lower rearrest rates were found for treated delinquents compared with groups who were referred to the program, but did not receive treatment for a variety of reasons (including refusal to participate). Although the adequacy of the comparison groups can be questioned, the outcome data for this project are dramatic. (Collingwood et al., 1978). Replication of this program with improved controls is warranted.

Training in problem-solving and interpersonal skills through modelling, role-playing and cognitive behavior modification approaches has been successful in several well researched programs with male offenders (Chandler, 1973; Ostrom et al., 1971; Platt et al., 1977; Sarason & Ganzer, 1973). These programs should be tested with female offenders.

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\* A comprehensive review of HRD programs in corrections can be found in Holder (1978).

"Why are the more progressive correctional systems so willing to spend money on casework and "therapy" to help women "develop empathy, maturity, unselfishness, warmth and affect" and so little to help to provide the skills and create the conditions under which these personal attributes can flower?"

(Velimesis 1975 p.105)

## 2. GROUP THERAPY/COUNSELLING\*

Perhaps the most widely employed treatment approach in correctional settings for females, particularly in the 1960's, was group therapy or group counselling. It also is the approach which has been most frequently evaluated - not always favorably and seldom competently. Given the wide variety of intervention approaches which are labelled, "group therapy"; the range of offender types, settings and outcome measures; the training, skills, personal characteristics and commitment of the therapists; and the intensity of the program, it should not be surprising that overall the outcome of group therapy is mixed. Some offenders appear to have been helped, some have been unaffected and, for some, their involvement in intensive group discussions with anti-social peer models may have reinforced their delinquent orientations (McCord, 1977).

Failure of group therapy to achieve improvements have been reported in many studies. For example, weekly group therapy sessions with randomly assigned female felons (N=9) in a minimum security institution showed no significant improvement compared to untreated controls on personality measures (M.M.P.I.; semantic differential), or on institutional behavior ratings (Mandel & Vinnes, 1968). Eight inmates at a federal women's prison involved in group therapy five times a week for six weeks evidenced no differences in personality measures (Q - sort) from a random untreated control group (Bailey, 1970). Sowles & Gill (1970) found no difference in the institutional or community adjustment of 15 institutionalized delinquent girls who had been assigned either to 20 weeks of group or individual counselling or to a no-treatment control group. Taylor (1967) reported that, compared to untreated controls, significant positive changes on introspective reports and personality tests were found with 11 delinquent girls in a New Zealand borstal who received 26 weeks of group psycho-therapy. However, although they appeared to commit less serious offences, the treated group did not differ from the controls on reconviction or recall rates during a 6 1/2 month follow-up. Group therapy also failed to yield

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\* A recent review of group treatment of male (and some female) delinquents may be of interest to the reader: Julian III & Kilman (1979).

significant differences relative to untreated controls in the institutional behavior or on various personality measures in delinquent girls in a New Mexico institution (Rothenberg, 1969).

The foregoing studies involved very small samples and only the therapy differentiated the experimental from the control group. Unimpressive outcome has also been found in several studies in which group therapy has been included in multi-faceted approaches with large groups. For example, in a delinquency prevention project in New York a random sample of 200 adolescent girls from a vocational high school was provided with individual casework and group therapy by the professional staff of a voluntary social agency (Meyer, Borgatta, & Jones, 1965). A control group of 200 randomly selected girls was also included. Although it was found that "potentially delinquent" girls could be identified and engaged in therapy, such service had very limited success in abating their delinquency. Lampkin & Taylor (1973) studied the effects of a multi-treatment day-care program (including group therapy) for male and female juvenile delinquents. Juveniles placed in a residential (training school) setting served as a comparison group. In terms of recidivism, little difference between the groups was found except for the girls - the day-care/group therapy girls had a higher recidivism rate. Ketterling (1970) assessed a four-month comprehensive program for women in a county jail which included twice weekly group counselling sessions. The recidivism rate for 108 treated women was found to be not significantly different from that of 108 untreated controls. Finally, Adams (1959) reported that of 94 female subjects in the Los Guillicos program no significant differences were found in parole revocation rates among untreated controls and delinquents involved in individual and/or group psychotherapy.

One could take the foregoing studies as an indictment against group therapy for female offenders. However, each of these studies has serious methodological limitations and in no case can we clearly ascertain the quality of the services provided. Moreover, no study attempted to examine possible differential effects in terms of client or therapist characteristics. They raise serious doubts about the value of "group therapy" but they permit no firm conclusions.

There are, of course, many reports of group therapy with female offenders which have no evaluation component (e.g. Coleman, 1974) or in which outcome is assessed only by subjective impression (e.g. Goldberg, 1974). Some studies yielded improvement in client attitudes but failed to assess changes in illegal behavior (e.g. James, Oxborn & Oetling, 1967; Marvit, 1972; Varki, 1977). Some programs have been evaluated in terms of questionably relevant measures. For example, Maas (1966) demonstrated the beneficial effects of group therapy combined with group psycho-therapy on ego-identity in women in a State Prison. Peirce (1963) found "social group work" in North Carolina's Women's Prison led to movement through the stages of the institution's incentive system, improved work productivity and led to "an almost complete absence of acting out", but failed to provide any evidence to support the contention that these findings were a function of the group work.

The following statements from a report which claimed success for a project in which untrained probation officers provided group counselling to male and female probationers illustrate the cavalier attitude that has too long characterized correctional group counselling and research:

"The probation officers assuming group counselling responsibilities had only the most elementary understanding of group work methods and techniques. We assumed, however, that they did have something to offer in working with groups, and we decided that ... each officer would be permitted to develop his own operational techniques...  
"Each probation officer who participated in the group counselling program was asked to set up a control group of probationers from his caseload...."

(Faust, 1965).

A methodologically more adequate study in an Indiana girls school found support for the efficacy of group counselling. Drawn at random from the school's population and involved in group counselling a group of 9 girls evidenced more positive attitudes, and less recidivism than a randomly selected control group in a one-year follow-up (Redfering, 1972;1973).

The evidence presented thus far could tempt one to conclude either that group therapy for female offenders has been a failure or that it has been a success. Three important studies clearly indicate how much of an oversimplification either of these conclusions would be. McCord's (1977) evaluation of group counselling conducted by trained and supervised probation officers had a differential impact on probationers depending on the sex of the probationer, the probation officer's commitment to the program, The type of delinquent, and the duration of treatment. The counselling group (including a total of 59 females) received two, one hour group counselling sessions per week. Their matched controls received regular placement. Benefits of group therapy were greater for youths (mixed male and female samples) who had less commitment to delinquency and no delinquent siblings. Follow-up of one year after placement on probation showed that females were less often arrested or adjudicated delinquent if assigned to group counselling with a conscientious probation officer. In at least one part of the study, the benefits of group counselling relative to regular probation were much greater for female than for male probationers. It should be noted that the youths could reduce their probation period by regular attendance at group therapy and one must wonder whether similar effects would be found for group therapy without this contingency.

The possibility that the effects of group therapy may depend on the characteristics of the therapist is also supported by a well-designed study which showed that institutionalized delinquent girls involved in group therapy with "good psycho-therapists" (high accurate empathy and non-possessive warmth) made significant gains on a variety of personality measures (including self-concept) and, during a one-year follow-up, spent significantly less time in institutions than an untreated control group (Truax, Wargo & Silber, 1966). In a subsequent study (Truax, Wargo & Volksdorf, 1970) it was found that delinquents who had a "poor" therapist (lacking in empathy, non-possessive warmth and genuineness) did not improve, whereas those who has a "good" therapist did improve on a variety of personality measures.\*

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\* This study (as did a later study (Ross & Palmer, 1976) failed to show that encouraging subjects to discuss emotionally relevant material or to engage in deeper self-exploration improves the effectiveness of group therapy with delinquent girls.

The only reasonable conclusion that can be made about the effects of group therapy with female offenders is that sometimes it "works" and sometimes it "fails" and the difference depends on who gives what kind of therapy to whom.

3. FAMILY THERAPY

It has become axiomatic to assume that the offender's family should be included in correctional treatment programs. More than a mere cliché, the validity of this assumption has recently received impressive empirical support (Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Alexander, Barton, Schiaro & Parsons, 1976; Maskin, 1976; Arnold, Levine & Patterson, 1975; Eyeberg & Johnson, 1974; Johnson, 1977; Kent & O'Leary, 1976; Wade, Morton Lind & Ferris, 1977).

Intervention with the family may be particularly indicated in the case of female offenders since there is reason to believe that family problems are more important among females than among males who are involved in delinquent activities (Elliot & Voss, 1974), and because female recidivists more frequently come from personally and socially disorganized families than do male recidivists (Ganzer & Sarason, 1973; Lambert & Madden, 1975; Maskin & Brookins, 1974; Sarason, 1978; Warren, 1979).

Several family intervention studies have included female delinquent subjects. These include the exemplary family therapy program of Alexander et al., (1973;1976). Their approach differs markedly from the superficial "family counselling" programs which are often provided in correctional services. The Alexander & Parsons' approach is an intensive multi-modal approach which includes careful and detailed analysis of family interaction, modification of family communication, modelling, and contingency contracting. In this program parents are trained in negotiation techniques and various behavioral management strategies. In a 6 to 18 month follow-up of a methodologically elegant experimental study with 86 families (including 48, 13-16 year old female delinquents) their family therapy program was compared to client-centered family therapy groups, a psychodynamic treatment group, no treatment controls, and county wide recidivism rates. Recidivism rates for the Alexander & Parsons' family therapy group ranged from 21% to 47% less than for the other groups. Subsequent research has emphasized that the personal characteristics of the therapist are crucial determinants of the success of this program (Alexander et al., 1976).

Wade et al., (1977) have demonstrated how male and female adolescents can be successfully diverted from further involvement in the juvenile justice system by involving their family in a cost-effective short-term treatment program immediately after their first court referral. This program is also multi-faceted and includes contingency contracting, training parents in negotiating and problem-solving techniques, and fostering clarity of communication among family members. Graduate students, both male and female, from a local university are used as counsellors. Approximately 64% of their adolescent subjects are females. Compared to a recidivism rate of approximately 70% for such adolescents before the program, during the first year of the program, 76% of the 47 first offender adolescents did not recidivate (court appearances). During the second year, 83% of adolescents in eighty four families did not recidivate. At a one-year follow-up only 10% of the treated first offenders recidivated. Moreover, no siblings of treated first offenders have appeared in juvenile court. The program does not select its clients but treats all families referred by the court. It is interesting that less success has been found with repeat offenders, suggesting that early family intervention is important.

Training parents (and teachers) to manage their behavior-problem adolescents through contingency contracting was found by Stuart, Tripodi, Jayartne & Camburn (1976) to significantly improve the evaluations of these adolescents by teachers, counsellors and mothers, and to improve their school behavior. However, school attendance deteriorated and achievement did not improve in the 41 predelinquent boys and girls (16) who formed the experimental group. (The non-treated control group included 29 boys and 18 girls.) Treatment was most effective with black youths from large, low income families whose parents were poorly educated.

Family intervention is not always successful. A study employing contingency contracting, communication skills training and videotape feedback with recidivist male and female delinquent adolescents and their parents failed to show impact on school attendance, compliance with chores and curfews, verbal abusiveness, school grades, anti-social probation incidents, or the Jesness behavior problem checklist (Weathers & Liberman, 1975). The

results of this study raise doubts about the efficacy of family intervention with adolescent offenders who have long histories of illegal behavior or come from more disorganized families (23 of the 28 families were one-parent households) and once more underlines the necessity for intervention early in the delinquent's history.

In a recent report, Byles & Maurice (1977) have described the failure of a family therapy program to reduce the recidivism rate of 154 delinquent children (13% female) under 14 years of age compared to that of a control group of delinquents who were not involved in family therapy. In contrast to the comments made above about family therapy being more effective with those who have a limited history of delinquency, this program was successful only with subjects who had had two previous police occurrences prior to treatment. The other difference between this study and the successful programs should be noted. The successful programs employed well conceptualized multi-faceted family therapy. In this unsuccessful program we are not told what family therapy consisted of except that it was conducted by nine therapists (social workers and nurses) from the Out-Patient Clinic of a general hospital psychiatry department. The training, orientation, and technique of these therapists is not described. Perhaps one could consider this an example of the folly of thinking that any program conducted by any therapist can be expected to succeed (Gendreau & Ross, 1979).

Although correctional research has yielded some effective family intervention strategies, the methodology has certainly not advanced to the point where it could justify the proposal that parental involvement in treatment be made mandatory through legislation (e.g. Janekesla, 1978).

4. PEER GROUP PROGRAMS

It has long been recognized that exposure to or association with anti-social or criminal peers is an important factor in the development of delinquent or criminal behavior. It has also been recognized that the correctional setting, by placing offenders in close association with other offenders, provides the ideal condition for the development of anti-social behavior. The Achilles Heel of any correctional program which hopes to foster pro-social behavior in its client, is the offender's peer group which is likely to work in powerful opposition to the program by punishing pro-social behavior and encouraging and reinforcing anti-social behavior (Buehler, Patterson & Furniss, 1966; Duncan, 1972). The correctional practitioner must not only provide pro-social models, but also must find ways to neutralize the influence of the peer group or to mobilize peer group pressure so that it becomes a force toward pro-social behavior.

In several reports of programs for female offenders mention is made of attempts to influence the peer group relations but this aspect of the program is seldom described in adequate detail. It would be interesting to determine the extent to which peer group aspects of programming have been responsible for the apparent success of multi-modal programs. For example, in the Habilitat program, male and female, adult and juvenile offenders are involved in a residential facility which emphasizes peer relationship training. It has been reported that only one of the 76 high-risk individuals who have completed the program has been re-incarcerated (Marino, 1976).

Peer group functioning has played a role not only in the treatment of female offenders but also in their assessment. In an innovative program Cox, Carmichael & Dightman (1977), reasoning that an adequate assessment of the offender must include an analysis of all the environmental influences, included information from the Delinquent's peers as part of a community-based diagnostic program. The delinquent being assessed selected two youths to provide the assessment committee with information on how she/he performed in his/her peer group. It was hoped that through their involvement in assessment these youths would develop an understanding of the

delinquent's needs for help and would accept an active role in a treatment plan to which they had contributed. Compared to a control group, this diagnostic program led to major reductions in institutional commitments and recidivism for the thirty (male and female) juvenile participants during a ten-month follow-up.

Some research has been done on the application of group reinforcement contingencies to modify peer group behavior in adolescent female offenders. For example, a program conducted in an Australian correctional institution for female delinquents attempted to modify their anti-social conversation. Every time a girl made positive comments to each of seven other girls, the girl and the others to whom she spoke were rewarded. This program led to a significant decrease in the anti-social comments of all the girls in the study (7-10 girls) and in other undesirable behavior such as aggression, swearing and stealing. Interestingly, when such behaviors occurred they were followed by reprimands from peers (Sanson-Fisher, Seymour, Montgomery, & Stokes 1978). Although this study suggests that some peer group interactions can be brought under adult control, it remains to be determined whether these improvements would be sustained in the natural environment in the absence of explicit reinforcement contingencies. It should also be noted that group reward contingencies can too readily become group punishment programs when the group is denied an accustomed reward because of the failure of one or two members to support the group effort. When the majority of clients have to suffer because of the poor performance of the minority, the frustration of the group may result in harsh retaliation against the minority, and heightened opposition to the program which comes to be viewed as punishment and not as reward.

School related behaviors were the focus of another "peer" program reported by (Marholin et al., 1975). Improvements in grades, and "drastic" reductions in tardiness and truancy were reported for adjudicated adolescent girls in a community-based residential program which provided rewards to each girl contingent on the school marks of the whole group. It was reported that the girls frequently encouraged and assisted each other with their homework. One additional finding of this study is particularly

noteworthy. Because of the improved scholastic performance and attitudes of these delinquent girls it was observed that they began to associate with a new peer group of pro-social girls and to avoid former delinquent friends. More research on this and other methods of changing the social network of female adolescent offenders might be worthwhile.

Resident self-government is another strategy which has been used to mobilize the peer group as a positive force in treatment. The success of the community-based Achievement Place programs (e.g., Phillips et al., 1973) may be attributable in part to the system of self-government by residents which oversees a variety of day to day activities and determines some kinds of consequences for individual members. However, this possibility has not, as yet, been evaluated separately from the overall program.

Although it is quite common in the case of male offenders, few programs were found in which female offenders were given the responsibility of directing or managing the program for their own group. The program at the Alderson Institution for female offenders which provides two self-governing ("unsupervised") cottages (Neagle, 1979), and a program at the Niantic Connecticut State Farm (Scharf & Hickey, 1976) discussed earlier appear to be exceptional. Even the community "self-help" programs for drug and alcohol addicts are typically managed by males. Perhaps reflecting the traditional place of women in the larger society and the view that female offenders are passive and dependent, participatory management for female offenders in correctional programs is rare.

Whereas there are few programs which have given female offenders a major role in program management, there are a number of programs in which female offenders have had important responsibility not as managers but as therapists for their peers. For example, Slack & Slack (1976) have described a "triad therapy" program in an Alabama Training School. In this program delinquent girls who had previously evidenced particular behavior problems (ex's") were enlisted to work with a therapist to help another girl who was currently evidencing that same problem. This program was not conducted in a research framework but it was reported that problems (self-mutilation, temper-tantrums, A.W.O.L., etc.), which

had not responded to intervention with a professional therapist, were rapidly ameliorated through inclusion of an "ex" peer in the therapy.

A somewhat similar program in a training school for female adolescent offenders led to major reduction in recidivism among girls who were persuaded to act as "behavioral therapists" for their peers (Ross & McKay, 1979)\*. After a nine month follow-up, the "therapists" had recidivism rates ranging from 26% to 53% lower than untreated controls and three different matched groups of girls who were involved in token economies. This peer therapist program led to the almost complete cessation of major behavior problems which had been prevalent in the institution (assault, abscondance, flagrant disobedience of rules, and self-mutilation).

Intervention programs which effectively mobilize the offender and her peers as a therapeutic force may have considerable potential for the treatment of female offender programs. Not only do they recognize and modify the role of the offender's peer group and the importance of having the offender's associates model pro-social behavior, but they also focus on the offender's strengths rather than on her pathology, and thereby can improve her self-concept and generate expectancies that she will behave as a pro-social person. Moreover, the female offender in programs in which she "acts" as a therapist or as a volunteer worker with retardates or geriatric patients (Neagle, 1979) may come to view herself not as an anti-social but as a pro-social individual. By persuading the offender to be an advocate of prosocial behavior in her peers she may well become committed to prosocial attitudes and behavior herself.

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\* A detailed description of the peer program "co-opting" is provided in Ross & McKay (1980).

## 5. THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY\*

### A. Institutional communities:

The 1960's witnessed the remarkable proliferation of programs based, more or less, on Maxwell Jones' concept of the "therapeutic community". The evaluator attempting to assess the efficacy of therapeutic community approaches to institutional management or offender rehabilitation is faced with at least two problems. First, distressingly little research has been done on the effects of therapeutic communities. Second, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain whether, and to what extent, programs that are labelled "therapeutic communities" (including those which have been evaluated) actually qualify for the label (Jones, 1979). As is so often the case in correctional treatment, the label has become a synonym for almost anything and, therefore a referent for almost nothing.

The available research on female offenders does, not enable firm conclusions either for or against the value of "therapeutic communities" for juvenile or for adult female offenders. Differential response to treatment has been found with juveniles. In the program at the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School in New York the value of a therapeutic community program in improving the institutional adjustment of 14-16 year old delinquent girls and boys was demonstrated (Ochroch, 1957). Sex differences in responsiveness to treatment were found: The boys evidenced a greater involvement in the program than did the girls.

Typically, reports on programs for adult female offenders describe the introduction of the program, extol the virtues of the principles of inmate participation, open communication, and shared decision-making, discuss at length the problems of ensuring staff and inmate cooperation, and fail to justify the program in terms of improvements in the participants' institutional or post-institutional adjustment (e.g. Bohme, Buhe & Schlutero, 1978; Suarez, Haddox & Mittman, 1972; Thompson, 1968).

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\* Romig (1978) has recently discussed the efficacy (or lack of efficacy) of therapeutic community programs for males. His conclusion (which is too strong given the limited number and quality of studies) is that such programs "always fail" (p.169).

An exception is the research conducted at the Vanier Centre for Women (Lambert & Madden, 1976). An in-depth examination of 338 women offenders involved in a "therapeutic milieu" program found a reconviction rate of 22% during the first post-release year with an additional 2% being reincarcerated for parole violation. During the second year, an additional 13 per cent had reconvictions. The meaning of these figures is not clear since no control group was provided and we cannot determine whether a 37% recidivism rate is lower (or higher) than would be expected if these offenders had been treated in any other way, or not at all. Moreover, the recidivism rates tell only part of the story:

"The quality of life experienced by these women after discharge was very disappointing. ...So many were leading marginal existences in terms of emotional, financial, and residential measures... In strictly correctional terms, two thirds of those studied might be labelled 'rehabilitated'; they had no further convictions. But about one half of these was barely making it on the streets" (p. 325).

This study also assessed the interaction of treatment outcome and client characteristics. "High risk" offenders were characterized by: early juvenile criminal involvement; early family problems (instability, criminality, drug or alcohol abuse), serious personal problems (drug & alcohol dependency, emotional disturbance); and unstable employment history.

In the Vanier study it was found that institutional adjustment and outcome depended on the particular cottage to which women were assigned. The most positive results seemed to be related to the degree to which the program in the unit actually conformed to therapeutic community principles. This is an important observation. Frequently, negative outcomes for correctional programs are taken to reflect the inadequacy of the intervention strategy when realistically they should be taken to reflect the inadequacy of the application of the program (cf. Gendreau & Ross, 1979; Palmer, 1978; Ross & McKay, 1979). Therapeutic community principles are readily compromised by institutional realities. One can only speculate whether those "therapeutic Communities" which have failed have been "therapeutic communities" at all.

Maxwell Jones in his later writings (e.g. Jones, 1976) has been very conservative in assessing the potential value of the therapeutic community in correctional settings and has suggested that it should best be implemented with first offenders with a relatively high level of maturity who are resident in a new institution with eager and willing staff. The success of such programs will depend on the personal suitability, cooperation, enthusiasm and application of the staff, the responsiveness of the institutional managers and, as the Lambert & Madden (1976) and Ochroch (1957) studies indicate, on the type of offender. It may well be that with the increased emphasis on community programming in corrections a large segment of the female offender population will not spend sufficient time in institutional settings to profit from a therapeutic community. It should also be considered that the majority of offenders who are unsuited for community-based programs and do spend longer periods of time in an institution may well be those for whom a therapeutic community program is ill-suited.

B. Drug free communities:

A number of residential, self-help, drug free therapeutic communities for heroin and other drug addicts include female offender addicts. There is a dearth of adequate research on the efficacy of such programs not only with female offenders but also with male offenders., and the available evidence for the success of such programs does not allow a determination of the degree to which positive outcome is a function of the program or simply reflects the high motivation of those clients who seek and continue in treatment, and satisfy the criteria for admission (Glick & Neto, 1977). In the case of Synanon, research has been systematically thwarted by program directors and what research is available fails to support the Synanon agents' strong claims of success (Markoff, 1966; Cherkas, 1965; Scott & Goldberg, 1973). The attrition rate is very high (as high as 50%, Scott & Goldberg, 1973) and of those who actually complete the program and leave, at least 75% relapse to drug use within 2 years (Switzer, 1974). For those who complete the program and remain in Synanon, questions must be raised about whether they have substituted a cult dependency for a chemical dependency.

Phoenix House in New York has been more systematically

evaluated and it has been demonstrated that this program results in decreased psychopathology (DeLeon, Skodol & Rosenthal, 1971), and reduction in depression, anger, anxiety and suspiciousness. It has also been shown to reduce criminal behavior for those who completed the program and for those who remained only for three months (DeLeon, Holland & Rosenthal, 1972). Phoenix houses usually include about 25% female addicts, but no separate analysis has been made of their response to treatment.

No separate analysis has been provided for the outcome of males and females in Odyssey House, another therapeutic community for addicts which differs from Synanon-style programs by emphasizing the goal of helping the clients develop skills which will allow them to cope with the "outside" community and not just with the drug free residence (Densen-Gerber & Drasner, 1974). This emphasis may be particularly important for female offenders to enable them to develop independent alternative lifestyles.

6. COGNITIVE & MORAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING

Closely related to the therapeutic community approach is the highly controversial program for women offenders which was conducted at the Niantic (Connecticut) State Farm for Women (Kohlberg, Scharf & Hickey, 1971; Scharf & Hickey, 1976). At a time of considerable unrest at this institution, staff, inmates and administrators agreed to attempt to generate a new atmosphere by working together to establish the institution's rules and by allowing the inmates to control discipline by settling grievances and conflicts through cottage community meetings. The program was designed to test the hypothesis that the creation of an atmosphere in the prison which the inmates could view as "just" would stimulate the moral development of the offenders. The program was based on the assumption that the criminal has failed to develop an ability to see the rationale of the law from society's point of view and, in effect, has immature socio-legal thought - primitive ideas of social justice. Correctional institutions, it was reasoned, fail to facilitate moral growth and may reduce it, because they create an atmosphere in which the inmates perceive as unjust. By creating an atmosphere in which the inmate had a right to participate in rule setting and other decisions critical to her life, it was hypothesized, the inmate would accept the rules and their treatment as fair and legitimate. The inmates discussed institutional policies on the basis of fairness and morality and were encouraged to see the other's point of view. This program was expected to improve the offender's moral development and, in turn, influence post-release adjustment.

The study compared a treatment group of 24 inmates with a matched group of 12 non-treated female inmates and three additional matched groups of 12 male inmates who received either a traditional institutional program, transactional analysis, or behavior modification. In the moral development program 75% of the inmates viewed institutional rules as fair, as compared to 33% of the non-treated females, 16% of the traditional program male group, 28% of the behavior modification program group, and 66% of the transactional analysis group. Clearly the program led to the perception of fairness. A major improvement was also found in the moral maturity of the treated group. The recidivism rate of 16% for the treated

group, after two years in the community, was described as roughly half the average recidivism rate for similar offenders.

The study's conclusions have been rejected by Feldman (in Muson, 1979) who, on the basis of his own examination of the data and interviews with the inmates, concluded that the program did not improve the inmates moral reasoning or lower the recidivism rate.

It is regrettable that the controversy about the value of moral development programs which attempt to modify the offender's adjustment, by focusing not on psychopathology but on cognitive processes has not stimulated further research. The lack of attention to cognitive factors in treatment programs for female offenders is particularly regrettable in view of the recent developments in cognitive behavior modification (e.g. Meichenbaum, 1977) and in view of recent assertions that criminal behavior (at least in males) reflects faulty reasoning or deficient cognitive development (Ayers, 1980 in press; Sarason, 1978; Yochelson & Samenow, 1976)

Consistent with the view that cognitive factors may be important in the anti-social behavior of female offenders are the results of a pilot study conducted with institutionalized adolescent female offenders by the senior author of the present report. A group of nine girls participated in a six week group program in which they discussed a variety of moral dilemmas (Blatt, Colby, & Speicher, 1974); a matched control group of nine girls participated in discussions on general topics. No measures of moral development were obtained but comparisons of institutional adjustment and three-month recidivism rates showed significant improvements for the treatment group.

Much stronger evidence of the value of intervention which focus on the offender's cognitive development or reasoning is found in the little publicized study by Chandler (1973) who found impressive reductions in delinquent behavior in male delinquents as a result of a program designed to affect cognitive factors (egocentric thought) presumed to be mediating their delinquent behavior. This was an exceptionally well controlled

study as were the studies (also with males) by Sarason & Ganzer (1973), and Ostrom (1971) which also demonstrated major reductions in illegal behavior as a result of treatment designed, in part, to enhance the offender's cognitive (problem-solving) skills. In fact, although the program reports often fail to emphasize it, in many of the recent correctional treatment programs which have been demonstrated to be effective, a common element appears to be an enhancement of the offender's social problem-solving skills, and a broadening, (often through modelling) of his perspective on effective inter-personal coping behaviors (e.g. Collingwood et al., 1978; Kloss, 1978; Phillips et al., 1973; Ross & McKay, 1980; Walter & Mills, 1980).

It is hoped that further research will be directed toward understanding and modifying the female offender's conception of society and the law. Reasoning and problem solving skills, which may be underdeveloped because of lack of exposure to appropriate models, may be an appropriate focus for treatment efforts, perhaps, as suggested by Ayer (1980 in press) through a cognitive developmental or educational approach.

7. ASSERTIVENESS TRAINING

It is surprising that assertiveness training, in spite of the recent popularity it has enjoyed with women in non-correctional settings, has seldom been evaluated as a treatment technique with female offenders. Any enthusiasm treatment personnel do have for this technique should be somewhat tempered by the results of a recent study of assertiveness training with institutionalized female delinquents (Knox, 1976). Thirty-six, 14 to 16 year old girls were randomly assigned to one of three groups: an assertiveness training group, an attention control group which received a lecture on assertiveness, or a no-treatment control group. Although the assertiveness training group did become significantly more assertive than the other groups, this occurred only in the research setting - it did not generalize beyond the "laboratory". No significant differences were found in their behavior in the institution nor did they become more likely to believe that they themselves, rather than others, determined their destiny. Perhaps assertiveness training might be more advantageously conducted with somewhat older females in non-institutional settings where they could practice newly acquired behaviors in a setting which would provide a better opportunity for them to determine or influence what happens to them.

8. DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

The value of differential treatment for female delinquents is suggested by the results of the well known Community Treatment Project (CTP). This large-scale study (e.g. Palmer, 1974; Warren, 1979) included 212 female delinquents (age 13-18). These subjects were randomly assigned to either an experimental treatment or a control program (traditional training school). An individual treatment strategy was developed for each experimental subject based on her I-level (interpersonal maturity) classification (Jesness, 1970). The individual's treatment plan was made by selecting from the following program elements: individual and/or group centered treatment; placement in group homes, individual foster homes or other out-of-home settings; school program based in the CTP community center with tutoring, arts and crafts; extensive recreational opportunities in the CTP center and the community. The girls were supervised by parole agents limited to a caseload of twelve youths who were selected to "match" the agent's skills in dealing with particular kinds of delinquents. A commitment was made to work with these clients for as long as necessary; to act as an advocate with other community agencies; to be available on an almost unlimited basis to the youths; and to provide intensive surveillance of the youths' activities, when required. Cases were followed for a minimum of two years. In general, the success rates for girls were very high compared to their training school controls and to rates for boys. After five years, 91% of the treatment girls had received a favorable discharge compared to 78% of their controls. No experimental girl received an unfavorable discharge, 17% of controls did.

Certain kinds of treatment strategies and agents were found to be more effective with certain kinds of girls. For example, for anxious, conflicted girls with a negative self-concept a treatment strategy that emphasized introspection, focused on feelings and was supportive of the girl's real strengths was found to be most successful. In contrast, with the acting-out girls who denied their feelings, a treatment approach which focused on feelings was found to be inappropriate. Crisis intervention was often used successfully with the latter group. For the

conflicted group as a whole, placement in foster or group homes where staff were "good-listeners" rather than control-focused seemed most important. These girls often come from highly conflicted families and providing relief from this stress was helpful. Also critical to success was improving self-esteem and presence of a strong and nurturant female identification figure.

The CTP project and the I-level classification system has been criticized on various grounds (e.g., Zaidel, 1970; Austin, 1975; Gottfredson, 1972; Robison & Smith, 1971) but this study strongly underlines the need for further research on a classification scheme for female offenders which enables matching client and correctional agent and differential treatment since the effectiveness of any treatment program is likely to depend mainly on the client and practitioner characteristics and on the nature, and quality of their interaction (e.g., Andrews, 1980; Hankinson, 1979).

Although no adequately researched classification techniques have yet been developed for female offenders which could serve as the basis for differential treatment, there is evidence that the assessment process which would be required in a differential treatment approach can itself lead to a reduction in illegal behavior. Cox, Carmichael & Dightman (1977) found a reduction in institution committals and recidivism among female (and male) delinquents who were processed by a community-based diagnostic program which assessed the client's history, personal strengths and weaknesses and her family and environmental resources, and then made a referral based directly on this assessment. During a ten-month follow-up these diagnosed clients committed fewer and less serious offences than a comparison group which did not receive diagnostic services.

Recent factor analytic studies of female offenders may lead to adequate classification criteria which would enable differential treatment (Pierce, Asarnow & Ross, 1979).\*

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\* A number of parole prediction studies have been conducted with female offenders but they have yielded contradictory results and they are beyond the scope of the present report. The interested reader should consult chapters 31&32 in Adler & Simon, 1979. No study showed a relationship between parole outcome and prison treatment variables.

8. ALCOHOL & DRUG ADDICTION PROGRAMS

A link between substance abuse and criminal activity in females has long been acknowledged (e.g., Bowker, 1978; Canadian Corrections Association, 1969; Chambers, Hensley & Moldestad, 1970; Velimesis, 1975). Alcohol and drug offences are among the most common offences committed by females (e.g., Adams, 1978; Simon, 1975) and the criminal activities of many female offenders (particularly shoplifting, prostitution, burglary and forgery) serve as a means of supporting their addiction (Inciardi & Chambers, 1972). In recidivism studies of female offenders drug or alcohol abuse has been identified as a high risk factor (Lambert & Madden, 1975). Estimates of prevalence vary widely, but it is recognized that the number of female offenders who are addicted to drugs or alcohol is substantial (e.g., James, Goshko & Wohl, 1979).

It is by no means clear whether, in general, the female offenders' anti-social behavior leads them to drug/alcohol abuse or whether their involvement with drugs and alcohol leads them to criminal activity (Maglin, 1974; Winick & Kinsie, 1971). Although the directionality of the association has not been established, the nature of this association must be examined in the individual case and treatment of addiction must be viewed as an essential component in a comprehensive treatment program for female offenders. However, it is not at all clear whether they will benefit from such treatment, nor can it be determined which type of program has the greatest likelihood of helping them.\*

The controversy about the success or lack of success of correctional treatment has a parallel in the literature on the treatment of alcoholism. On the one hand, there are those who conclude that "treatment is, in most cases, successful" (Armor, Polich & Stambul, 1978). On the other hand, there are those who reach opposite conclusions:

"In spite of a vast amount of research into many different treatment approaches there is no evidence from recent studies to suggest that

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\* Several studies have found that minimally treated or untreated alcoholics have a high rate of "spontaneous remissions - as high as 50% (Clare, 1977).

treatment favourably alters the outcome of alcoholism ... from what is known about the outcome of non-treatment, there is evidence which suggests that even the most effective programs may only marginally improve on the success rate of non-treatment" (Rix, 1977, p. 137)

Hill & Blane (1967) concluded that post-treatment or improvement rates are less than 50 per cent. Similarly, Emrick (1975) concluded, on the basis of a review of 384 alcoholism treatment studies, that in the majority of cases "significant results were short-term, due to chance or not directly related to life adjustment". Clare (1977) concluded that "... there is little evidence that costly and intensive therapeutic interventions are more efficacious than more economic and simpler approaches in bringing about remission. The case in favour of the significant effects of treatment in alcohol addiction remains to be conclusively established."

Failure to find differences between different treatment modalities has also been reported by Emrick (1975), Ruggels et al., (1975), and Armor et al., (1978), leading Armor to suggest that "the fact of treatment is more important than the method" and Baekeland, Lundwall & Kissin (1975) to wonder "whether we should applaud the treatment programs or the patients they treat." Armor's recent review (1978) suggests that outcome depends less on the kind or amount of treatment than on the client's alcohol history and social background. However, all client and treatment variables explain only a little of the variation in remission rates. This, perhaps, means that the major factor in alcoholism remission is the client's decision to enter treatment.

In large measure the controversy about treatment efficacy stems from the penchant of reviewers to make summary generalizations which are not justified given the quality of the research on which they are said to be based. Research on the treatment of alcoholism is beset with methodological problems. These include failure to control for spontaneous remission or decrease in drinking with age; failure to consider the biasing effect of agencies selecting only those treatment candidates

with favourable prognosis; failure to specify population characteristics; failure to study the characteristics of addicts who fail to enter treatment; and including in program assessment only program completers. A major shortcoming is the lack of standardized measures of outcome of drinking behavior or social adjustment.

Evaluation studies have used different methods, length and intensity of treatment, different measures of outcome, and different populations of subjects with different drinking histories and personal characteristics. Given the complexity of the interactions between outcome, treatment (amount, type, intensity) and client characteristics, any general conclusions about efficacy of alcoholism treatment are likely to be unwarranted and misleading.

Conclusions about the efficacy of the treatment of drug addiction are similarly equivocal:

"Despite the money, the politics, and the professional activity expended in the development of approaches such as methadone maintenance, therapeutic communities ..., the current state of drug abuse treatment is still sadly wanting."  
(Korcok, 1975)

"No matter what the drug of abuse has been, the treatment programs have proliferated with rather questionable outcomes."  
(Schmidt & Davis, 1977).

There are several recent studies which have demonstrated the effectiveness of some forms of treatment with some alcoholics (Azrin, 1976; Hunt & Azrin, 1973; Sobell & Sobell, 1976) and some drug addicts (Peck & Klugman, 1973; Platt, et al., 1977). These studies were well controlled and carefully evaluated and employed treatment procedures which were based on adequate conceptualization of the problems they were designed to modify. They should temper the prevailing pessimism about the potential of treatment of the addictions. However, more important are those studies which have demonstrated that treatment outcome with addicts depends upon the characteristics of the clients treated. For

example, outcome of alcoholism programs has been shown to be related to the client's social stability (employment, residence, family relationship) (e.g., Rosenblatt et al., 1971); socio-economic class (e.g., Trice et al., 1969); and history and duration of alcoholism (e.g., Vogler, Weissbach, Compton, Martin, 1977). In fact, some studies have found that pre-treatment subject characteristics can account for about 70% of the variance in treatment outcome (Vogler et al., 1977).

In view of the demonstrated importance of personal characteristics of the clients it cannot be assumed that the conclusions of evaluators, conflicting though they may be, are appropriate to offenders. It is not possible to determine whether the foregoing conclusions are applicable to the treatment of addicts who are also offenders since research reports generally fail to mention this and very little research has been done with exclusively offender clients (Roffman & Froland, 1976; Platt, 1976; Ziegler, Kohutek & Owen, 1978)\*

There is an even greater dearth of studies with female offenders and although a great deal of interest has been shown in recent years on the special treatment needs of female addicts this has not as yet yielded much research on the treatment of those addicts who are both females and offenders. Further complicating the issue is the tendency of correctional (and other) treatment programs to fail to distinguish between marijuana, psychotropic, and heroin users, and to fail to study the interaction between treatment and addiction type.

There are sound reasons for refusing to accept the view that the available addiction treatment research applies to women offenders or to women in general. Although there are some contradictory results (e.g., Wanberg & Horn, 1970) research has demonstrated that the development of alcoholism in women is considerably different (more rapid and severe) than it is in men

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\* The reader interested in an assessment of the prevalence and quality (but not the outcome) of addiction treatment in prisons (in U.S.) should consult the review by Roffman & Froland (1976). We were unable to find an adequate evaluative review of the correctional treatment of the alcoholic offender. The conduct of such a review should have a high priority given the incidence of addiction in this population and the relationship between crime and addiction.

(e.g., Wallgren & Barry, 1970). Treatment outcome has been found to depend on the sex of the clients (Christenson & Swanson, 1974; Voegtlin & Broz, 1949; Fox & Smith, 1959; Pemberton, 1967). There are also marked differences between the sexes in the factors which are related to outcome. Davis (1966), for example, found that voluntary commitment, dependency and marital difficulty were correlated with positive outcome with women but not with men. Similarly, Bateman & Petersen (1972) found several educational, social, intellectual and vocational variables which were correlated with post-treatment abstinence in women but not in men. There also is some evidence that female alcoholics drink for different reasons than do men (Wilsnack, 1973a, 1973b 1976); that the onset of problem drinking is more likely to be related to stress (Beckman, 1975; Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976); that women are less likely than men to have school and anti-social problems before the development of alcoholism (Tamerin et al., 1976; Curlee, 1967); and that they are less likely to have alcohol-related automobile accidents or legal difficulties, or to have experienced a job loss because of drinking (Tamerin et al., 1976; Curlee, 1967). There are also reports that female alcoholics have a higher degree of psychiatric dysfunction (particularly depression and suicide attempts) than males. Podolsky (1963) and Belfer et al., (1971) have suggested that sex-related hormonal factors are significantly related to the drinking experience of female alcoholics. Differences have also been found between male and female drug addicts on factors (including substance choice) which might markedly influence the efficacy of treatment efforts (Bowker, 1978; James & d'Orban, 1970; Wiepert, d'Orban & Bewley, 1979).

The outcome of treatment for drug addiction also seems to depend on the sex of the client. For example, a recent study of 13,268 clients discharged from drug treatment programs found "more positive outcomes for women in treatment since women experience more social prejudices than their male counterparts, and encounter greater barriers in completing treatment" (Rosenthal, Savoy, Greene & Spillane, 1979, p.45). On the other hand Christenson & Swanson (1974) found poorer success rates for women.

Differences between male and female addicts in the offender population have been little studied (Eveson, 1964) but

the importance of possible differences is indicated by recent research which has shown that "in males a history of delinquency has no significant bearing on the outcome of drug dependence, whereas in females a history of delinquency carries adverse prognostic significance" (Wiepert et al., 1979, p.21).

Although there is a paucity of research on the efficacy of correctional treatment of female addicts\*, the research demonstrating differences between male and female addicts suggests that they should be treated differentially. This suggestion is supported by a growing literature on the treatment of female deviants which has argued that effective programs for female addicts must be based on an awareness of the negative impact of addiction on feminine roles and self-image (Bahna & Gordon, 1978; Kaubin, 1974; Christenson & Swanson, 1974; Miller, Sevsig, Stocker & Campbell, (1973)., and a sensitivity to the female addict's special needs and difficulties in rehabilitation (e.g., Schultz, 1974; Velimesis, 1975; Mandel, Schulman & Monteiro, 1979; Levy, & Doyle, 1974). It remains to be seen whether behavior therapy, reality therapies, rational authority, guided group interaction, role modelling, problem-solving skills training, and training in alternative (and marketable) vocational skills which have been shown to have potential with male addicts (Hunt & Azrin, 1976; Sobell & Sobell, 1976; Platt et al., 1977) have value with female offender addicts. Female offenders who are also addicts may need special programs (Ketterling, 1970) and it is possible that the feminsit concerns with the need for non-sexist programs for female addicts will stimulate the provision of specialized programs and research for female offender addicts.

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\* or male offenders (Helms, Scura & Fisher, 1975).

#### IV VOCATIONAL TRAINING

"... a female ex-offender has two strikes against her. Her sex and record put her at the bottom of the list of the unemployed and unemployable..."  
(Haft, 1974, p. 4).

It has been suggested that the nature of the offences commonly committed by women, and the general life situation of many female offenders, indicate that economic need may be a major determinant of their criminal activity (American Bar Association, 1975; Milton et al., 1976; Spencer & Bererochea, 1972). A national survey of women's correctional programs in the U.S. found that in the two months prior to incarceration female offenders were slightly more likely to have been employed than women in general but also more likely than other women to be employed in unskilled domestic service jobs (Glick & Neto, 1977). Surveys have indicated that incarcerated women (at least in the U.S.) are poor, under-educated and lack vocational training, but 70-90 per cent will have to be self-supporting upon release (Haft, 1974; Skoler & McKeown, 1974; Velimesis, 1975).

Vocational training is seen by many as an obvious solution. Employment may be a critical determinant of successful rehabilitation (e.g. American Bar Association, 1975; Lambert & Madden, 1975). Expanded opportunities for vocational training and employment have been called for in most recent reports on the female offender (American Bar Association, 1975; Milton et al., 1976; 1977; Gibson, 1976; Haft, 1974; Potter, 1979; North, 1975; Velimesis, 1975).

In general, institutions for male offenders have more and better vocational programs than do institutions housing women (e.g. American Bar Association, 1976, 1977; Haft, 1974; Potter, 1979). One survey of adult institutions reported an average of ten vocational training programs per institution for incarcerated men compared to 2.7 programs for women (Arditi & Goldberg, 1973). This imbalance also exists at the juvenile level. In an American Bar Association survey of juvenile institutions (Milton et al., 1977) it was reported that the average number of vocational

training programs for boys was 5.5; for girls, 3.3. The employment of qualified vocational instructors reflected this distribution.

In addition to being few in number, the programs usually available to the female offender are limited to training for jobs traditionally held by women (Gibson, 1973; Velimesis, 1975). These are generally not well paid. Moreover, more than 50% of adult female offenders have had prior training in the same fields which are typically taught in correctional institutions (cosmetology, clerical, and nursing, (Glick & Neto, 1977).

"In those institutions where vocational training programs have been established for female offenders, they are almost always limited to training women as domestics or other 'women's' occupations, such as hairdressing, typing and sewing ... men may receive training in such higher paying occupations as auto repair, electronics, radio and television repair, printing, baking and carpentry."

(Haft, 1974, p. 3,4)

In institutions for female juveniles, the most frequently offered programs were: cosmetology (56.2%); business education (56.2%); nurses aide instruction (50%) and food services (37.5%). In comparison, facilities for boys offered programs like auto mechanics, small engine repair and welding (Milton et al., 1977).

In many institutions, there is a high correlation between the housekeeping needs of the institution (food services, laundry, cleaning, sewing) and the "vocational training" offered (Velimesis, 1975; Gibson, 1973; Potter, 1979; North, 1975). Skills developed in this way may be largely irrelevant to those required in the labour market (Spencer and Berecochea, 1971). As well as serving institutional needs, this type of program often emphasizes a restrictive domestic role for women.

"Many women's institutions pride themselves in turning out good housekeepers; the emphasis is on behaving like a 'lady' or looking attractive and keeping things clean and neat."

(Haft, 1974, p.4)

"Femininity" is often a goal of programs for female prisoners, e.g. teaching ~ "the difference between the arts and playing pool, between baking a cake and playing softball... how to walk, talk and carry themselves." (Potter, 1978). Another correctional goal is marriage:

"By and by, three or four years from now, some nice fellow will come along, and you will love him, and he will love you, and you will get married, and live right. That ought to be the aim of a girl like you, to look forward to the time you have a good home and a good man."

(a judge, quoted in Schlossman & Wallach, 1978, p.74).

This goal is shared by many of the women themselves:

"Instead of seeking the independence of a job skill, they seek 'someone' they can depend on."

(Gibson, 1976)

For the majority of adult female offenders, this fantasy is in stark contrast to the reality of life on release. They will most likely be cast in the role of breadwinner, for themselves and also for their children (Velimesis, 1975).

"These ... programs completely fail to recognize that on release the women will have to be the sole support of themselves, and in all probability an average of two children, and that certification as a clerk-typist does not provide sufficient income to meet these responsibilities."

(Miller, 1977, p. 149)

The adolescent offender often has a similar dream for her future: a future of homemaking and child rearing while supported by a husband. In view of current statistics and the likelihood of becoming a single parent, this is unrealistic (Milton, et al., 1977). This vision of the female role and way of life is becoming less and less tenable, for women in general as well as for the offender. The U.S. Department of Labor reports that nine out of

ten women work, most out of economic need (Milton et al., 1977). Recent projections of trends in child rearing practices and family structures suggest that, even in a two parent family, the working mother is rapidly becoming normative (Uzoka, 1979).

To a large extent, the vocational opportunities offered in corrections reflect the economic structure and traditions of the larger community. However, the female offender attempts to enter the labour market with many handicaps.

"Because she is female she suffers from a number of well-documented discriminatory practices which affect all women who want to work - less pay for equal work; less opportunity to enter the better paying blue-collar job market; more credit problems; less access to advantage of veterans preference; and fewer support services such as child care to allow her job flexibility.

Because she is an offender she suffers from the prejudice of prospective employers; she is blocked from obtaining a license for many occupations; she is considered unqualified in the language of much civil service legislation for state and city employment; and she has problems in all jobs which require bonding."

(Milton, et al., 1976, p. 35)

Outcome research: Evaluations of vocational training programs for male offenders in probation or institution settings have, almost without exception, concluded that such programs have little effect on post-program employment performance or criminal behavior (Cook, 1975). Our review of the current status of vocational training programs for female offenders indicated that these opportunities are not equally available to men and women, and that the programs that do exist for women are unlikely to provide skills that will lead to economic self-sufficiency. Therefore, it is not too surprising that the few research studies that have been conducted have not shown clear relationships between vocational program participation and outcome variables like employment or recidivism.

Spencer Berecochea (1971) evaluated the ceramics, cosmetology, power sewing, landscaping, vocational housekeeping and nurses aid

training at the California Institution for Women. Conclusions were based on a comparison of outcomes for 225 women who had been enrolled in vocational training programs and 154 women who had been assigned to institutional work in areas where vocational training was offered. Both groups, comparable on background factors related to parole outcome, were released on parole in 1968 and status was determined at 6 and 12 months after release. Not included were women with no vocational training and those working at institutional assignments unrelated to training programs. Overall, the utilization of training was small, fewer than one-third were employed in the trades for which they had been trained in prison. Pre-prison work experience was identified as a critical determinant of employment. Placement rates were highest for women who had pre-prison experience in the training field. Employment was lowest for those with no previous work experience. At 12 months, only 43% of the original study groups was available for employment; the remainder had been returned to prison, absconded from parole, or were unavailable for personal reasons. Recidivism rates for women who had received vocational training and the comparison group were not significantly different. The authors conclude:

"The study failed to demonstrate that vocational training has any effect upon parole outcome."

(Spencer & Berecochea, 1971, p. 30)

They speculate that low utilization of vocational training may be due in part to the failure of programs to raise the vocational level of trainees from unskilled and semi-skilled status. Lack of placement services is also cited as a contributing factor.

"... programs offering professional training in marketable skills with follow-up job placement services may hold substantial rehabilitative potential."

(Spencer & Berecochea, 1971, p. 32)

In illustration, they report that participants in a pilot program (n=11) which raised their vocational level from nurses aid to

nurse, and provided job placement on release, maintained employment in follow-up periods from 6 to 14 months.

A program for female jail inmates also failed to demonstrate program effectiveness (Ketterling, 1970). Four month courses in grooming, child care, remedial reading, business filing and vocational/group counselling were provided. When recidivism rates, employment status, and reliance on public assistance of the 102 participants were compared with 108 women who did not participate, no statistically significant differences were found. The author suggests that the large number of women with alcohol problems in the treatment group and changing arrest policies during the two sample periods may have adversely affected the demonstration of program impact.

#### Shortcomings

A number of hypotheses could be developed to account for the failure to demonstrate effectiveness of vocational programming in reducing recidivism and the unclear relationships between such programs and securing and maintaining employment. For example, the kind of training commonly available provides skills which are not in demand (Milton et al., 1975). (This is particularly likely where the woman is incarcerated in an area distant from her home community.) Few jurisdictions appear to plan on the basis of job market demand. The qualifications received through institutional training are often not acceptable to community employers. While there is an increasing use of accreditation of programs, this represents a fairly recent development. In many instances the duration and quality of training is inadequate, Vocational training is often only a euphemism for institutional maintenance:

"scrubbing floors becomes' vocational  
housekeeping! Scrubbing clothing  
becomes vocational laundry!

(Quoted in Crites 1978, p.102)

Training is often irrelevant. Potter (1979) reports on an 8 week program in "cashier merchandising", a dressed up version of

grocery store checking. Commercial supermarkets train cashiers on the job for such work in two or three days. It has also been noted that the training options provided within the institution may not meet the vocational needs or interests of the participants. Few of the women involved in institutional power sewing intend to pursue this as a career. Finally, the jobs for which women have been trained, if they can find employment, do not often pay well enough to meet basic financial obligations. Prostitution may be a more lucrative alternative (Haft, 1974).

### Recent Developments

"Corrections should forget the image of the fallen woman and, instead, view her as a woman who needs skills to change the conditions of her life"

(Milton, 1977, p.50)

To remedy the apparent failure of conventional approaches to meet the perceived need of the female offender for vocational skills and services, a number of innovative strategies have been developed. These programs vary widely in method of service delivery (institutional, community based, work release, educational release); point of intervention in the criminal justice process (pre-trial; probation; during incarceration; close to release; on parole) and adjunct strategies (mutual Agreement Programs, vouchers; behavioral contracting; supporting social services; vocational counselling; financial maintenance) as well as program components more directly related to employment (occupational awareness, job orientation, pre-training, vocational skill development, job placement, employer contacts and support). Specific descriptions have been reported by Milton, et al., 1976; 1977; Contact (1976); Potter (1978) and North (1975).

None of these programs have been rigorously evaluated, but preliminary reports suggest that major gains might be achieved by a combination of program components: adequate duration and quality training in a marketable skill together with coaching in job-seeking skills, job placement and continuing contact and support

of employers. The impressive results of Walter & Mills (1980) behavioral employment intervention program indicate the value of such mult-faceted approaches. This methodologically sound program dramatically reduced delinquent behavior in female and male delinquents by helping them obtain jobs, recruiting and training employers, using employment contingency contracts with the delinquents, and reinforcing employer's commitments.

### Non-traditional occupations

In response to demands for vocational training that will provide marketable skills in occupations that yield a good rate of pay, some jurisdictions have instituted training in occupations which have not been traditionally entered by women. In some co-educational institutions, programs initially developed for men have been opened to female inmates as well. For example, institutions at Fort Worth and Lexington have women enrolled in apprenticeship programs in carpentry, welding, and heavy equipment operation (Potter, 1979). In a few prisons for women, and community based facilities, programs have been developed specifically for women in a variety of non-traditional jobs, e.g. auto-mechanics, electrical maintenance, plumbing, welding and steam-fitting. In some instances inmates can transfer credit hours to a Union Hall (Potter, 1979). It should be noted, however, that the number of women participating in such programs is usually very small.\*

The most detailed documentation of projects in training female offenders for non-traditional jobs is the report of a three year project conducted in the Washington D.C. area (Hargrove and Fawcett, 1978). Candidates were selected to replicate the distribution of female probationers (in the Washington, D.C. area) for age, race, educational level and number of dependents. Seventy per cent were first offenders. The program offered extensive personal support to the women involved in every phase of the multi-faceted program: job development, pre-training, training programs with tutoring, placement and follow-up. Personal services ranged

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\* An exception is the program at Maryland Correctional Institution which trained 140 women in non-traditional jobs between 1972 and 1979.

from friendship and counselling during crises to assistance in filing anti-discrimination law suits against an employer. Women were trained and placed in jobs as construction workers, electronics technicians, appliance repair persons, auto-mechanics, secretaries, meat cutters, custodians, warehouse workers, and printing apprentices.

The financial gains made by these women were substantial. A follow-up of 20 women (which excluded those still in training) showed an increase from the average entry income of \$3,924 per year to an average at follow-up of \$10,547. The top earner was receiving \$16,636 while the majority (75%) were earning between \$7,740 and \$11,589. In terms of program completion and job maintenance, 41% (n=39) of the total group were successful in maintaining a placement for three months after a year in the program. An additional 19% (n= 18) were classified as "pending", i.e., at the time of the evaluation had not yet completed a full program year, or were recently placed. Thirteen of the 18 were considered likely to meet the criteria for the "successful" group. Twenty-three per cent (n=22) of the participant were excused before placement for reasons like pregnancy, medical problems, drug or alcohol addiction, child-related difficulties or mental retardation. Within this group, 13 were assessed as being not sufficiently mentally healthy to be trained for placement in demanding jobs. The clearly unsuccessful participants were terminated for the most part, at the pre-training stage (18%, n= 17). Only four women were fired by employers for poor job performance. Although follow-up data was not entirely complete, only four women were reported as recidivists.

Participant characteristics related to outcome were also reported. Offenders who are already working at menial and low-paying jobs, particularly those who have longer periods of steady employment and basic work skills and orientation, may be "best-risks" for programs designed to improve their economic standing. On the other hand, women who have children below school age have special problems even when day care options are made available. It may be that the demands of maintaining small children, usually as a single parent, are not compatible with the intensive training and commitment required for entry into non-traditional jobs.

Statistically, this group is "risky" in job training and placement. The authors suggest that part-time options be made available so that full entry may come later, when children are school aged and family demands are less intense.

Job placement was a critical component of the project. Women were not accepted into the program until jobs were arranged that they would have on completion of training. Co-operation from employers was also crucial. Promises of jobs in the future were occasionally not maintained, creating major placement problems. On-the-job harrassment was also a problem in some instances. Co-operation of unions at the local level was particularly important for entry into apprenticeships as well as job placements. A lack of co-operation in ensuring fair hiring practices was a major stumbling block for women in the construction trades.

To cope effectively, women trained and placed in non-traditional jobs must have the personal strength to "take it". Extensive personal support is required as well. Pregnancy poses special problems for women in occupations involving physical exertion. Often a pregnant woman must resign earlier than would be the case in more sedentary occupations. Pre-training was used extensively to compensate for the basic skills which many women lack and most men acquire in growing up: applied math, tinkering with motors, basic mechanics, use of tools, etc. To make the program work, the trained women must be able to compete on an equal skill basis to maintain jobs. The diversity of opportunities offered is also important. Even within the scope of non-traditional jobs, personal dispositions, interests and aptitudes must be taken into account.

#### Conclusions:

In general, the literature supports the view that vocational training programs offered to female offenders are different in quantity and quality from those for male offenders and tend to reflect a stereotypical view of women's role as wife, mother and housekeeper. Not surprisingly, there is little evidence that the programs which are provided significantly affect either future

employment or recidivism although there is some evidence that a multi-faceted program stressing job preparedness and placement together with employer support and encouragement may have potential.

Training women for non-traditional jobs, usually in trades, appears to provide an increasingly popular approach. The costs of such programs, especially where they are developed specifically (as opposed to expanding existing programs) is likely to be high. However, the successful trainee who does secure employment is likely to make a substantial gain in income.

The proportion of female offenders involved in non-traditional programs has been small, but may be at least as great as found in the general population. Interestingly, a national study of U.S. correctional institutions found that only 3% of the women offenders aspired to non-traditional jobs (Glick & Neto, 1977). Certain kinds of women may be better risks. While data is incomplete, it appears that women who have worked in any capacity previously, who are somewhat older than the average offender, and whose children are at least of school age may be "good risks". Personal qualities like emotional stability, "independence", and persistence may also be important.

As yet, there are no data comparing recidivism and employment outcomes for women trained and employed in non-traditional jobs to those trained and employed in more conventional "female" occupations. Indeed, securing employment may prove more difficult for women in non-traditional areas unless job development and placement are an integral part of the overall program.

V CHILD-CARE PROGRAMS

In response to a recognition that many female offenders are mothers and that the majority are of child-bearing age, many corectional agencies have provided special facilities, and/or programs designed to improve the parenting skills of actual or potential mothers, or to decrease the extra hardships for incarcerated mothers and children that are presumed to result from their separation.

A survey of 81 federal and state prisons in the U.S. found that 39 institutions offered no special services or programs related to the needs of inmates' children, but the remainder provided services ranging from basic referral services to day nurseries (McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978). Program quality varies considerably. The geographic location of some institutions precludes children's visits. The rules in some institutions severely limit the frequency of visiting by children or prohibit physical contact and, in some instances, children are prevented from visiting by those who are looking after them. The following programs reflect the increasing flexibility that has begun to characterize many, but certainly not all settings. Many institutions do provide special visiting privileges and facilities for children. Clara Waters Community Treatment Centre enables children to visit on weekends whenever they wish and to stay overnight in the inmate mother's room. The Nebraska Centre allows children to stay with their mothers for up to 5 days at a time. In some instances (e.g., Askham, Grange and Styal prisons in England) mothers may keep their children (up to age 4) in prison with them. A woman's prison in Frankfurt, Germany, ("Prisons for Moms and Kids") allows inmate-mothers and children (under 6) to live together in prison. At the Purdy Center in Washington, women on work release programs may live in apartments on the institution's grounds and have their children for weekends. An inmate at the Purdy Center also may arrange to have her children placed in foster care in homes close to the institution where she can visit on a regular basis. This program enables the natural mother to have some input into child-care through supervised meetings with the foster mother. These programs at Purdy are bolstered by counselling services and, in addition, an on-campus nursery school is provided which services children from the community four days a week, and children of inmates one day a week. This program, as

do other programs in various correctional institutions, also offers training for inmate-mothers in parenting skills.

One might justifiably ask whether if the female offender can be adequately supervised with her children in a house on institutional property, why she could not have been more appropriately housed in a community residential center in the first place without the necessity of incarceration, or whether it might not be better to parole her to such a center when it is determined that she does not require institutional care.

Since our primary interest in this report is in evaluation of correctional programs we have mentioned only a few of the programs for women offenders and their children. The interested reader will find further description in the following sources: Buckles & Fazia (1973) Greening (1978); Kilroy-Silk (1978); McGowan & Blumenthal (1978); and Potter (1978).

There is an almost total absence of adequate evaluations of the effects of such child-care programs on either the offenders or the children. It is interesting to know that, for example, of the 91 mothers who went through the "Prison for Moms and Kids" in Germany (Greening, 1979) only one recidivated. However, information on recidivism of the mothers is of very limited value as a measure of the success of programs which have such far-reaching social and ethical ramifications for the mothers, the children, and the correctional agency. There are many unanswered questions which must be examined in this matter. There is an obvious lack of adequate information on even the most basic questions such as how many female offenders have children and of those how many had them in their care prior to incarceration:

#### Number of Mothers

Reports of how many female offenders have dependent children vary. Buckles and La Fazia (1973) report that 70% of women incarcerated (on felony charges) at the Work Release Project at Purdy Treatment Center have children. Wayson (1975) reported that 71% of women offenders in Washington, D.C. had children. Similarly, in a national mail survey of correctional agencies, McGowan

and Blumenthal (1976) found that 67% were mothers. American Bar Association publications (Milton et al., 1975 & 1976) report figures from 70% to 86%. Velimesis (1975) reviewing a number of research reports found that more than two-thirds of female offenders are mothers. In contrast to these findings, several investigators have set the proportion lower. For example, Neto (1976) in a major survey of U.S. prisons, found that 56.3% of her sample had one or more children living at home. In Canada, Rogers & Carey (1979) report that about half of their sample of incarcerates and probationers in Ontario had children.

Part of the variability in these reported figures is accounted for by the number of offenders who are mothers and the number who had children in their care at the time of involvement with the criminal justice system. For example, the New York survey reported by McGowan and Blumenthal (1976) indicated that one-quarter of the prisoners' children did not live with their mother; Neto's samples indicated that close to one-third of white incarcerates with children did not have them living with them. Rogers and Carey (1979) found that, of the 50% who had children, 67.6% of incarcerates and 35.2% of their sample of probationers had children who were not in their care prior to incarceration or contact with a correctional agency. An English sample of incarcerates found that 42% of dependent children were not living with their mother prior to her imprisonment (Gibbs, 1971). Other reports apparently do not distinguish between these two categories: mother/children placed elsewhere vs. mother/children in her care.

#### Number of Children

Nor do we have adequate information on the number of children. Accurate statistics are seldom kept. However, given knowledge of the average age of female inmates it can be estimated that, in terms of age, close to half of the children involved are pre-school age (less than five or six); more than two-thirds are likely to be younger than 10 or 11.

The available research suggests that the most prevalent arrangement for children of incarcerated female offenders seems to be placement with relatives (seldom with fathers) (Neto, 1976;

Rogers & Carey, 1979; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976, Milton et al., 1976; Skoler & McKeown, 1974). The extent of disruption involved for the children is difficult to assess. In the sample reported by McGowan and Blumenthal (1976) incarceration did not lead to a disruption in physical environment for the children, suggesting that extended family living was common, (many mothers are single parents). In contrast, Roger's and Carey's (1979) sample reported that although the majority of children previously living with their mothers were also placed with relatives, this represented a change in physical environment for 60% of the children.

Foster care seems to be used for placement for 10 to 12% of the children (Rogers & Carey, 1979; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976; Skaler & McKeown, 1974). However, somewhat more than this proportion may have been removed from the mother's care prior to her arrest or removal.

The majority of inmate mothers plan to care for their children on release. But how many actually do is not clear. Maintenance of a relationship between the mother and her children during their separation may be critical to their successful reunion on her release.

#### Contact During Incarceration

The great majority of women (80%) maintained contact with their children while in prison (and with the substitute caretaker) (McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976). However, Rogers and Carey reported that two-thirds of their incarcerated sample had not actually seen their children since imprisonment.

Although institutional facilities and regulations vary, a number of common concerns about children's visits have been expressed. Particularly where institutions are removed from the offender's home community, transportation may present insurmountable difficulties in terms of cost, and time. The substitute caretaker may feel that visit to prison is inappropriate for the child and/or may have strong negative feelings about the child's mother. Facilities for visits in many prisons are inappropriate. Inmates and children may find visiting without physical contact (through glass, screens, or

telephones) particularly stressful.

Incarceration: Impact on Mothers

"... women in prison not only suffer the same deprivations that men do - the loss of liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy and security - but additionally are deprived of the mother role and suffer acutely when separated from their children."

(Velimesis, 1975)

That women suffer more than men because of separation from their children is a popular, if untested, assumption. They probably at least report more distress. Many investigators (e.g., Burkhart, 1973) have described the loneliness experienced by incarcerated women due to separation from their children. Some inmate-mothers may experience lowered self-esteem and guilt from the realization that they are failing their children; some experience fears that their children will be taken away from them permanently; some may fear that they will lose their children's affection as they form bonds with substitute parents, or as time fades their memory of their mother; some fear that their separation will be viewed as rejection, or that substitute parents will turn them against them, or will prevent their return to her after release. A major identity crisis may be engendered for those women whose identity was defined primarily in terms of their mothering role. The post-institutional adaptation problems facing any released offender may be greatly magnified for the mother who must handle not only her own problems but the problems of her children which may have been magnified by the separation or by inadequate care.

On the other hand, some mothers may experience incarceration as an escape from the stresses they have experienced in child-care. Whether they do or do not experience debilitating anxiety over separation from their children, their concern is unlikely to be challenged and may legitimize the avoidance of other issues like anti-social behavior, vocational preparation, and realistic life plans (Buckles & LaFazia, 1973).

It has been demonstrated that loss of an important

relationship may have some effect on intra-institutional adjustment and the eventual outcome for the female offender. In a survey reported by the American Bar Association (1975), family ties were judged to be among the most important factors in successful rehabilitation. A positive relationship between the strength of family ties and success on parole or reduced recidivism has also been reported from a variety of sources (for example, McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976; Lambert & Madden, 1975; Kikstra, 1967). Indeed, this relationship seems to be a remarkably consistent finding.

### Impact of the Child

"... the negative effects of incarceration are fairly clear. Based on child development research, it is evident that separation from his/her mother may damage a child both socially and emotionally. Also to be considered is the stigma associated with incarceration."

(Rogers & Carey, 1979, p. 33)

Although there is limited research on such issues, it is frequently suggested that children are likely to be adversely affected by their mothers' incarceration (e.g. Gibbs, 1971; Miller, 1974). The extent of harm may be related to the child's age and personality, the nature of the mother/child relationship, the cause and duration of the separation, and the quality of substitute care provided.

In considering the cost of incarceration of female offenders it has been suggested that in addition to the tangible costs of aid to dependents through welfare, the long-term social costs should also be included (e.g. Wayson, 1975). While a relationship between incarceration of the mother and future criminality of the child has not yet been unequivocally demonstrated, it is one factor to consider (Wayson, 1975)\*

There is no clear evidence that the female offender is by definition an inadequate mother or role model for her children. Some imprisoned for child abuse and/or neglect, most probably are; others, whose children have been removed or placed in foster care prior to her incarceration, may also be. Some whose

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\* Incarceration of the father may also be critical.

children are cared for primarily by relatives, may have little genuine interest in taking on parental responsibilities. Still others may have the required nurturing and life skills to rear children, or may have the motivation and interest to acquire such skills. The prevalence of family breakdown, evidenced by the number of children not in their mothers' care prior to incarceration might suggest that many are not "good risks". But this has not been adequately assessed, nor has the adequacy of the mothering provided by parent substitutes (foster parents, relatives, etc.)

## Incarceration

### 1. Impact on the Family Relationship

The relationship between involvement in the criminal justice system and disruption of the mother-child relationship is not clear. For many offenders and their children, family breakdown may have occurred prior to the mother's arrest or incarceration. It has been suggested that family breakdown may be just one of a multitude of social adjustment problems: (economic, emotional, marital), and criminal activities (Rogers & Carey, 1979; McGowan and Blumenthal, 1976; Gibbs, 1971). However, regardless of the cause or the timing of the family breakdown,

"... women prisoners and their children are families very much at risk; unless there is some positive intervention, the incarceration of a mother is likely to create not only temporary distress for the child, but also long-term strains on the mother-child relationship."

(McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976, p. 127)

## Conclusions

In view of the foregoing, it is essential to evaluate the various visiting arrangements and child-care program options on a large number of dimensions. Institutional visiting needs to be assessed not only in terms of impact on the child and the mother, but also in terms of impact on the other inmates who do not have children or who have children with whom they can have no

contact. The variability of data on such basic matters as the number of inmate-mothers or the number and age of children, etc., necessitates local needs assessment. Also required is assessment of the individual's child care skills and the adequacy of alternative placements, and the reality of the individual's future plans.

The introduction of some form of "Pooh's Corner" facility or activity into correctional institution settings may have a humanizing effect and may help to blur the distinction between correctional and other social agencies but careful examination needs to be made of the financial, administrative, legal, political, ethical and philosophical implications of criminal justice's child-care activities. To date, research on such correctional programs has provided little information on the degree to which they are beneficial to inmate mothers and whether they are beneficial to the children of female offenders.

VI SERVICE DELIVERY BY NON-PROFESSIONAL STAFF

a) Volunteers

The involvement of unpaid volunteer workers or non-profit private agencies in correctional services for female offenders is widespread. Volunteers most frequently relate to female offenders in terms of recreational/leisure time activities but many programs use volunteers (both male and female) to provide other services based on a one-to-one relationship, e.g., supportive counselling, academic tutoring.

The Sisters United program provides a model for such programs (Sykes & Green, 1978). Trained volunteers are matched with delinquent 11-17 year old girls and involve them in various activities (e.g. arts/crafts; tutoring; sports; cultural events) four afternoons per week for 6 to 12 months. A cost-benefit analysis of this program has shown a recidivism rate of less than 2% from 1972 to 1976 for 164 young females "in conflict with the law" at an annual average savings of \$3,188 per girl over girls in state-related community-based programs. The adequacy of this research is open to question, but these results should stimulate more carefully designed cost-benefit studies of volunteer services for delinquent girls and for adult female offenders.

Whereas many of the volunteer programs for female offenders focus on somewhat traditional feminine activities (home decorating, beauty-care, dress-making, etc.), there are several innovative programs which are noteworthy. For example volunteers have played an important role in a therapeutic camping program which has reported impressive results. The Girls' Adventure Trails in Texas is a short-term diversion program in which delinquent girls participate in a four week wilderness trip (Hovatter, 1979). Ten girls participate in each trip together with three staff. During the trip "reality oriented group techniques" are used to teach problem-solving, group co-operation, and responsibility. Unlike other therapeutic camping programs, this program includes a component for parents. While the girls are camping their parents are involved in counselling designed to teach parenting skills which can help maintain the girl's changed behavior after she returns from the trip. Six months of follow-

up counselling by trained volunteers is provided for the girl and her parents. Follow-up contact and the results of a two-year preliminary study of over 750 girls who have participated in the program suggest that "about two-thirds of the girls made significant attitude and behavioral improvements and were able to reasonably maintain their gains during the follow-up period". More rigorous evaluation studies of this program is required.

In another study (Ganter, 1976) a comparison of female juvenile offenders on regular probation supervision with those receiving counselling services by volunteers showed no overall difference in rearrest rates, although the girls in the counselling group evidenced less serious offences. However, as this study and other studies of volunteer programs in corrections make clear, evaluating programs on the basis of "overall" rearrest rates is overly simplistic. Volunteers (like professional therapists) differ markedly in their ability to effect change in delinquents (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980). Volunteers whose clients recidivated less held attitudes which emphasized acceptance of their client's basic needs, worth, personal liberty, responsibility, and willingness to change, were sensitive to the problems of adolescence and were willing to give information on contraception. The clients of the more conservative volunteers who held these attitudes less strongly had higher recidivism rates.

b) Paid Non-Professionals

Non-professional staff have played an important role in community based programs as foster parents for delinquent youth. The selection, training, supervision, and effectiveness of foster parents for female delinquents has seldom been studied. The availability of suitable foster parents is also a recurrent problem particularly in the case of female delinquents (Milton et al., 1977). It was, in fact, partially responsible for the discontinuation of one promising program: the PROCTOR program, a home-based detention program in which single young women were selected and trained to provide daily care and supervision for delinquent girls, aged 13-17, in the proctor's house or apartment (McManus, 1976). Proctors provided short-term (3-4 week) services of the kind usually provided by child-care or social workers and functioned as

independent, self-employed, subcontractors serving not only as caretaker and counsellor but as a model of positive and self-sufficient life styles for women. Both descriptive study and a three year evaluation attest to the success of the program - concluding that it had considerable value, particularly for female offenders who require individual attention but reject parental-style supervision (Pappenfort, 1976).

c) University Students

An exemplary model of a service delivery approach which is both efficient and effective is the "buddy" system (described earlier - p.21 ) which uses non-professional but highly trained "mediators" as behavior change agents with male and female delinquent youth (Fo & O'Donnell, 1974; O'Donnell, Lydgate & Fo, 1980) "Buddies" are recruited from the local community and trained in contingency management techniques and in established relationships with delinquent youths. "Buddies" can earn up to \$144 a month contingent on their performance as contingency managers. Their training and supervision is provided by graduate students who earn internship credits for their participation. The students are, in turn, directed by professionals - university faculty.

The service delivery model followed in the "buddy" system project has been deployed in a number of the most effective correctional treatment programs (e.g., Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Lee & Haynes, 1978; Seidman, Rappaport, Davidson, 1976; Wade, Morton, Lind & Ferris, 1977). Referred to as the "triad model" of therapeutic intervention, it increases the availability of low-cost social and mental health services by having such services delivered directly to the clients (targets) by a person (mediator) who is trained and supervised by a professional (consultant). Since the consultants have minimal, if any, contact with the clients this organizational plan can have important cost savings which can be effected without lowering the quality of service. For example, Wade et al. (1977) with a paid staff of only one full time co-ordinator/counsellor and one half-time secretary, provided family therapy services to 321 families (including 63.8% female delinquents) in a four year period with

a recidivism rate of 14.7% as compared to a 70% rate reported for the previous year. Direct services were provided by trained graduate students who earned practicum course credits.

Similarly in the CREST project, Lee & Haynes (1980) deployed a small number of graduate students, paid as teaching assistants, to supervise a large number of other unpaid student volunteers who provided counselling services to male and female probationers. The project yielded persistent & impressive benefits. The total acts of misconduct for the CREST group declined by 79% compared with a 4% decline for regular probationers. The average monthly rates of misconduct for 30 delinquents in the CREST group dropped 82% while the monthly rate for controls on regular probation rose 29%. In a 24 month follow-up, 59% of the CREST group sustained an offence free record for the final 18 month period. (Piercy & Lee, 1976).\*

The therapists in Alexander & Parsons' (1973) successful family therapy programs were also graduate students whose participation earned them practicum credits. Recidivism rates for their delinquent clients (including 48 females) were almost half as low as for no treatment controls.

The research literature has established that not all non-professionals, like professionals, are effective with all types of clientele, but there appear to be major benefits which can accrue to correctional managers in providing service to female offenders in collaboration with a university-based program. Such arrangements can result in treatment efficacy and cost-benefits and may, in general, improve the quality of care that is provided.

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\* This CREST is not a toothpaste.

## VII CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

The evaluation of treatment and training programs for female offenders has been largely ignored by researchers. Although there are innumerable reports of popular and, sometimes, innovative programs, the typical program description is a sensationalized, exotically descriptive narrative about a program venture whose evaluation is impressionistic and innocently free of data except by way of personal testimony and anecdote. There are very few carefully designed studies which could provide useful objective data for planning meaningful programs and services.

Most research on the treatment of offenders does not include female subjects, and those projects which do include female offenders typically fail to examine possible sex differences in treatment outcome. Often it is not possible without a careful search of tabular data in appendices to determine from project reports whether female subjects were included in a study. Many project reports simply make no mention of the sex of the subjects and the reader is left to assume, correctly or not, that they were male offenders.

### Atheoretical

The vast majority of programs which we reviewed were theoretically inelegant and/or theoretically barren. Many programs appear to have developed in response to a "fad" rather than to a careful conceptualization of the female offender's problems. The failure of such programs should not lead to an indictment of treatment, but may simply reflect the fact that the program was based on an erroneous perception of the causes of the offenders' illegal behavior.

Most treatment programs for female offenders have been derived from an understanding of female crime in terms of psychopathology. The lack of evidence of the success of such programs raises doubts about a medical/disease model of female criminality. Explanations of female criminality in terms of presumed anatomical or physiological deficiencies have, in addition to their other shortcomings, failed to stimulate effective treatment

programs\*. It remains to be determined whether more recent conceptualizations which attempt to explain criminal behavior in females in terms of social and economic factors will provide better models for effective correctional programming.\*\*

Needs Assessment:

In addition to an adequate conceptualization of the causes of their illegal behavior, the development of effective treatment programs for female offenders requires an adequate assessment of their needs. This was seldom provided in the programs we reviewed. The lack of profile data on female offenders in general is a distinct handicap for program developers, but also required (and typically overlooked) is an assessment of the needs of the individual offender - including an assessment from the perspective of the offender herself. Where individual assessments have been provided they have usually been limited to personality assessment and have given short shrift to environmental and economic factors which may be stronger determinants of the offenders' illegal behavior.

There is some evidence that the provision of a comprehensive diagnostic service for female offenders in which various social agencies and community members (including the offender's peers) collaborate in client assessment can significantly reduce illegal behavior (Cox et al., 1977).

It should be noted that whereas correctional management has recently paid increasing attention to obtaining profile data on incarcerated adult females, the juvenile female offender and the female probationer have been largely ignored.

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\* Reports by Hippchen (1976) and Von Hilsheimer et al., (1977) claiming success for nutritional treatment of offenders do not indicate whether female clients were included.

\*\* Transactional Analysis may be "the most frequent treatment modality utilized" (Glick & Neto, 1977), but such programs for female offenders have seldom been described in research reports. The same applies to reality therapy which was first developed in a California Training School for female offenders. (Glasser, 1965).

The most notable absence is information on the Native female offender.

#### Replication of Failure:

We found no study which reported having examined the treatment history of female offenders and we can only wonder, whether, as they proceed through different segments of the correctional system, female offenders are involved in the same treatment programs which have been tried with them in the past in unsuccessful rehabilitation efforts. For example, analysis of vocational training services revealed that many institutional programs train offenders in those areas in which they already have been trained. A similar study should be made of this phenomenon in the case of treatment programs.

#### Program Components

There is an almost total absence of process evaluation in the treatment research literature on the female offender. It is reasonable to suggest, particularly in the case of multi-modal intervention, that researchers, rather than being content with global evaluation, assess the relative contribution of particular program components to determine what is essential, what is detrimental and what is merely extravagant.

#### Criteria for success

The question of determining what are appropriate measures of treatment success or failure is at least as problematic for female offenders as it is for male offenders (Palmer, 1979). The problem is complicated further in the case of juvenile offenders who are disproportionately represented among status offenders (Chesney - Lind, 1973; Landau, 1975). It is difficult to determine whether success can be judged in terms of the client's ability to evade further involvement with the criminal justice system when there are doubts about the justification for her involvement in the first place, and when the lack of further "offences" might indicate not changed behavior but only changed status as a result of increasing age.

### Nonsexist/Feminist Principles

Critics of correctional services have lamented the fact that programs for females have typically derived from sexist explanations of female criminality, or have been conceived and conducted by males who do not understand women's problems (or their social/political/economic causes) and/or by females who have perpetuated sex-role stereotypes for women (e.g. Feinman, 1979).\*

Our literature search revealed that, in spite of all the polemic, few studies on the treatment of female offenders have addressed the question of the interaction of sex of the therapist and treatment outcome. Nor did we find treatment programs which explicitly indicated that the therapists involved adhered to the principles of nonsexist therapy or feminist therapy (Rawlings & Carter, 1977).

Questions have been raised about the advisability of training female offenders to adopt non-traditional occupational and social roles since, it has been argued (Adler, 1975; cf. Baunach & Murton, 1973; cf. Scutt, 1978), recent increases in crime rates for females are partly attributable to the "liberation" of females and their changed social roles. However, the relationship between women's liberation and crime has by no means been established (Adler & Simon, 1979; Smart, 1976; Weis, 1976) and as Velimesis (1975) suggests,

"the jail and prison populations are psychologically about as far removed from the predominantly middle-class 'women's movement' as one could imagine".

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\* Whereas some writers argue that only women should treat women (e.g. Chesler, 1972) others argue that non-sexist and feminist men who are knowledgeable about women's problems are better qualified than female practitioners who are sexist in their approach (e.g. Rawlings & Carter, 1977). Ironically, in a recent article Scott (1977) has stated that male therapists are preferable for work with female offenders!

On the other hand, those correctional programs which encourage female offenders to conform to traditional female roles and goals are no longer "politically attractive" and may be wasteful since most female offenders may already have adopted such roles (Glick & Neto, 1977; Widom, 1979).

### Correctional Staff

Recommendations for increasing the representation of female staff in corrections have frequently been made (e.g. Brodsky, 1974; Schoomaker & Brooks, 1974; Velimesis, 1975).

Staff training has been demonstrated to yield improvement in correctional officer's sensitivity to the needs of female offenders and to improve the offenders' emotional adjustment (Katrin, 1974; Shapiro & Ross, 1973). Such training has seldom incorporated feminist principles.

### Differential Treatment

The correctional literature has begun to reflect an acknowledgement that female offenders are a heterogeneous group and many pleas have been made that different treatment be provided to individuals in accord with their needs. Unfortunately there is as yet very little research that would enable us to determine on what basis differential treatment might best be provided. Partly because of the small number of female offenders, little interest has been shown in developing classification criteria for them (Datesmen, Scarpitti & Stephenson, 1975 ; Widom, 1978). The development of such criteria may be fostered by recent factor analytic studies of female offenders (Pierce, Asarnow & Ross, 1979), and recent research on the effectiveness of different supervisory styles with different types of probationers ( Andrews & Kiessling, 1980). Continuing to pursue homogeneous goals for a heterogeneous population is likely to continue to be fruitless.

Rather than studies which seek to determine whether programs succeed or fail, studies are needed which examine why programs succeed or fail. It is possible, for example, that a

program failed because it employed the wrong method given the client, setting or staff characteristics and the goals of treatment.

### Addictions

One of the most noticeable shortcomings in the literature is the lack of treatment-research reports on female offender alcohol or drug addicts.

### Native Offenders

Equally apparent is the absence of research or descriptions of programs for native female offenders.

### What works?

The quantity and quality of research on the treatment of the female offender is so limited that general conclusions about whether treatment does or does not work, cannot and should not be made.

The literature reviewed in earlier sections does include some programs which have demonstrated positive outcome on recidivism in methodologically adequate studies (quasi-experimental or experimental design) (Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Collingwood et al., 1978; Cox et al., 1977; Fo & O'Donnell, 1974; Kloss, 1978; McCord, 1977; Redfering, 1973; Ross & McKay, 1978; Truax et al., 1970; Wade et al., 1977; Walter & Mills, 1980). Limiting the conclusions that can be drawn, most of these "effective" programs included female and male subjects and did not report separate analysis for females nor report interaction of outcome and sex of the client. Only the Redfering (1973), Ross & McKay (1978), and Truax et al., (1970) studies included only female subjects.

Some tentative speculations can be presented as to what appear to be promising program characteristics.

Generally it appears that "effective" programs share at least some of the following characteristics:

1. Multi-faceted approach

No programs were found to be successful which relied on a single intervention technique. Effective programs incorporated a multi-modal intervention strategy perhaps reflecting at least two factors which characterize female offenders:

1. they comprise a heterogenous group of individuals with widely different problems;
2. most individual offenders are likely to have multiple problems. No single treatment modality is likely to be effective with all of these problems.

2. Social Skills Training

The most prevalent programs for female offenders have been based on a medical or disease model. There is very little evidence that such programs have been effective. Our review suggests that more optimism can be held for programs which explain the offender's problematic behavior not in terms of psychopathology but in terms of deficits in social and problem-solving skills and which "train" (rather than "treat") the offender in relevant social skills following a social learning or an educational model (e.g. Collingwood, et al., 1978; Kloss, 1978; Ross & McKay, 1978; Walter & Mills, 1980).

"Until someone devises a method to change a disrupted, drug-abusing, abusive, low income, and sometimes hysterical family into a middle-income family of affectionate, self-controlled, and tolerant persons, correctional programs will have to concentrate on developing competent, self-controlled, independent young women ... who can do more than survive with or without legal husbands"  
(Velimesis, 1975).

3. Neutralization of the offender's anti-social peer group or mobilization of the peer group as a pro-social force. (e.g. Cox et al., 1977; Phillips et al., 1973; Ross & McKay, 1978).

4. Pro-social models

The service delivery approach of many of the studies we reviewed used college undergraduate and graduate student "therapists" and other non-professional staff in cost-effective programs (e.g. Fo & O'Donnell, 1975; Marholin et al., 1975; Wade et al., 1977). An important factor contributing to the success of such programs may be the exposure of offenders to individuals who model prosocial behaviors and attitudes and/or adaptive problem-solving strategies.

5. Inclusion of the offender's family in treatment:

The importance of involving the offender's family in correctional treatment has been indicated (Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Wade et al., 1977) and it may be that family therapy which stresses training parents in communication, negotiating and other parenting skills may be particularly appropriate with the female client.

6. Occupational skills training and preparation:

There is little evidence that vocational training alone is likely to be an adequate rehabilitative service. Nor is job placement alone, nor simply training the offender in job-seeking behaviors. An adequate vocational program may require a combination of some of the following:

1. good quality training of sufficient duration to ensure that the offender actually progresses from unskilled to skilled or at least semi-skilled status;
2. training in skills for traditional or non-traditional vocations which are
  - a) of interest to the offender
  - b) appropriate to her ability
  - c) in demand on the job market
  - d) financially rewarding
3. training in job-seeking and job-maintaining skills;
4. job placement;

5. employer preparation;
6. follow-up counselling. The Hargrove & Fawcett (1978) and the Walter & Mills (1979) projects provide models for such comprehensive programs.\*

Although we cannot conclude that "almost nothing works" with female offenders, we reiterate that we found no evidence of the efficacy of programs which viewed the female offender in terms of biological deficits or psychopathology or in terms of her rejection of traditional feminine roles. Our speculations about the factors underlying "effective" programs suggests that an alternative conceptualization of female criminality which stresses social and economic factors may have greater potential for correctional rehabilitation.

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\* Because the sentences of many female offenders are so short, and correctional budgets so low, long-term trades training is often unrealistic. A priority of program planning should be the identification of markettable skills which can be taught within time and financial constraints using either correctional or community resources.

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