



No. 35

Women and Crime: Imprisonment Issues

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Although women still constitute a small minority of prisoners in Australia, the number of women in Australian prisons has increased significantly over the past decade. With this increase in female imprisonment, the need for positive steps to improve women's prison conditions becomes more apparent. This second Trends and Issues dealing with women and crime examines particular difficulties encountered by women prisoners. Its recommendations for improvements in the system should be considered by all correctional administrators.

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Director

Little has been written or done to address the specific concerns of female inmates for the ostensible reason that their numbers are so small in comparison with the number of men in prison. Some of these female issues and their consequences for women prisoners are explored in detail in this article. The intent is not to contrast women's imprisonment with that of men in Australia, but to highlight the specific difficulties that females may encounter.

This Trends and Issues is abstracted in part from *The Forgotten Few: Overseas-born Women in Australian Prisons* (Easteal 1992). A component of the research for that book was gathered by observation of eight women's prisons in New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, in-depth interviews with a sample of 56 overseas-born female inmates and analysis of 125 surveys returned by uniform officers and other prison staff. These three states house almost four-fifths of the women prisoners in Australia. Although the sections below generalise about prison conditions, it is important to note that there is variation by state. Both Victoria and Queensland for example, have been implementing positive programming changes in an attempt to meet the needs of women in prison. The Victorian Corrections Women Prisoners and Offenders Advisory Committee (1991) has produced an agenda for change which includes a discussion of the issues for women inmates and the principles, policies, and plans involved in meeting those concerns. The limited space below does not permit discussion of interstate diversity but discusses the situation primarily in generalities.

One further caveat: all methodologies have their limitations. The potential for unreliability of inmates' comments, short-term observation and prison officers' remarks should be borne in mind. Wherever possible prison staff were contacted in order to substantiate the prisoners' perspective.

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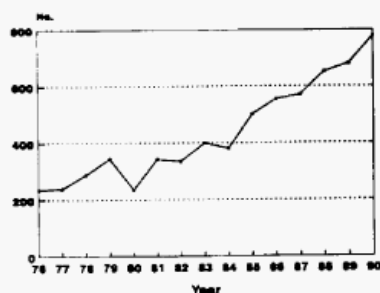
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Figure 1: Female prisoners, Australia: daily averages June 1976-1990



Source: Biles 1976-81; Walker 1982-90.

Table 1: Estimated Reception, and Estimated Actual Time Served, Sentenced Females 1982-90, Australia

Year	Females received	Average time served (mths)
1982	971	4.0
1983	1146	3.6
1984	1439	2.6
1985	2020	2.9
1986	1485	3.8
1987	2455	2.4
1988	2707	2.7
1989	1821	3.2
1990	1460	5.8

Source: Calculated from National Prison Census data by John Walker.

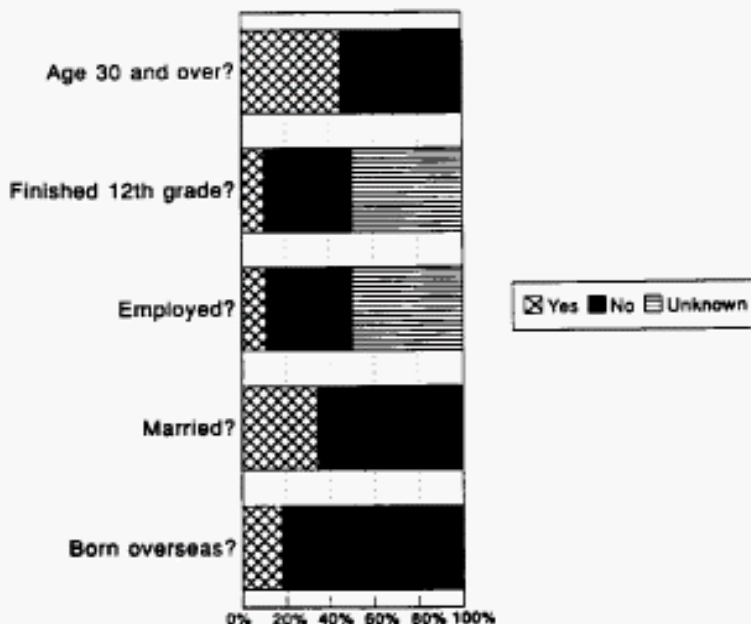
How Many Women are in Prison?

American and British research has indicated that the numbers of women gaolled in those countries is increasing (Seear & Player 1986; Bureau of Justice Statistics 1990).

Numerous studies over the past decade have noted the rising female imprisonment numbers in Australia. Biles (1984, p. 44) reported that by 1983 women constituted 3.9 per cent of the prison population, an increase of 1.1 per cent since 1977. These increases appear to have continued significantly from 1985 to 1990.

Although there appears to be a continuous upward trend, women remain a small proportion (5.4 per cent in 1990 June averages) of total Australians imprisoned. Many of the deficiencies of women's prisons are, however, ascribed to the low numbers

Figure 2: Demographic Traits of Female Prisoners, Australia, 30 June 1990



Notes: 1. Total women held = 778
2. The 17.3 per cent of the known group who were engaged in home duties are counted as unemployed

Source: Walker & Hallinan (1991)

of inmates; it is therefore important that two facts are recognised: one, that the number is steadily increasing and two, that their proportion of the entire prison population is larger in 1990 than in previous years.

Factors contributing to rising female imprisonment include: a trend towards lengthier sentences for women; 'truth in sentencing' legislation; a higher proportion of women on remand; and increased frequency of drug offences (Byron 1983; Miner & Gorta 1986; Fitzroy Legal Service 1988; Wynne-Hughes 1988; Victorian Office of Corrections 1990; Women and Girls in Custody Group 1991). Drug trafficking and property crimes carry greater minimum sentences than the types of offences for which females used to be primarily imprisoned, such as prostitution, drunk and disorderly. Thus, Mukherjee and Dagger (1990) found higher rates of female offending from 1973-74 to 1988-89 as measured by increased arrest rates for crimes such as serious assault, robbery, breaking and entering, motor vehicle theft and fraud.

Table 1 shows that the estimated receptions of sentenced females into prison has actually fluctuated since

1982. The increase in census numbers therefore could be interpreted as a combination of lengthier sentences and more remandees gaolled.

Who are they? Sociodemographic Profile

The National Prison Census data provide some insights into the backgrounds of imprisoned women (see Figure 2). However, these data are limited both by the large numbers of 'unknowns' in some of the categories and the census instrument's questions in this area. Half of the incarcerated women are in their 20s; for the most part they are a poorly educated group who were unemployed prior to imprisonment.

Slightly more than one-third were married at the time they entered prison. This represents a distinct upward trend from the 1982 and 1986 data. The census instrument does not include a query about children. However, among Easta's (1992) sample of 56, 59 per cent had dependant-aged children. More than one-third of the total (38 per cent) were single with custody of the children. It must be noted that the sample was biased since it consisted

of only those born overseas, but the sub-sample (n=24) of 'long-term' residents, those who arrived in Australia as children and generally appeared quite acculturated, had similar proportions.

As Figure 2 indicates, four-fifths of all inmates in 1990 were born in Australia. Of the remainder, a significant number are non-English speakers and/or individuals arrested on tourist visas, primarily for drug importation. These women often do not conform to the more normative background factors for female inmates (for example no prior imprisonment, no history of drug abuse) and for many their time in prison is more difficult than for others: language problems, deportation status, and sub-cultural shock impact greatly on their time inside (for more de-tailed information, *see* Easteal 1992).

Perhaps the most critical background variables are those that are not officially counted. One is history of drug addiction. Since three states were unable to provide data and the others' responses do not actually look at presence of addiction, there are no reliable census data on this subject. We are left with guesstimates which vary from 79 per cent to 85 per cent of all inmates (Willson 1987; Miner & Gorta 1987; Women and Girls in Custody 1991); these high proportions were also estimated by both the inmates interviewed and officers surveyed in Easteal's (1992) study. They conform with American studies such as Goetting and Howsen (1983) who found that 79.6 per cent of the women prisoners had been using heroin, methadone, amphetamines or barbiturates prior to imprisonment. In addition, it is conjectured by inmates and researchers on the subject (for example Moss 1986; George 1988; Easteal 1992) that a commensurate proportion of the female prison population are victims of incest and/or battering as children or as adults. This is not surprising since experts in the field of addiction have long recognised a correlation between such abuse and misuse of drugs to compen-

sate for the lack of self-confidence and self-esteem which are by-products of growing up with sexual and physical violence (Finkelhor 1979; Gelinas 1983).

Who Are They? Offence and Sentence Background

The 'typical' woman inmate is serving her first sentence or remand period in gaol. However, the proportion who are known to be recidivists has risen since 1982. She is most commonly in prison for property offences (43 per cent). As implied earlier, it is speculated that most of these crimes have been undertaken for drug-related reasons. On 30 June 1990, 58 per cent of female prisoners are expected to spend less than one year in prison. The 42 per cent of women who will be imprisoned for more than one year apparently represent the shift to longer sentences for female offenders with an increasing number spending more than one year in gaol. (Figure 3 shows the criminal background traits of female prisoners as at 30 June 1990.)

Issues Affecting Female Inmates

Illegal Drugs

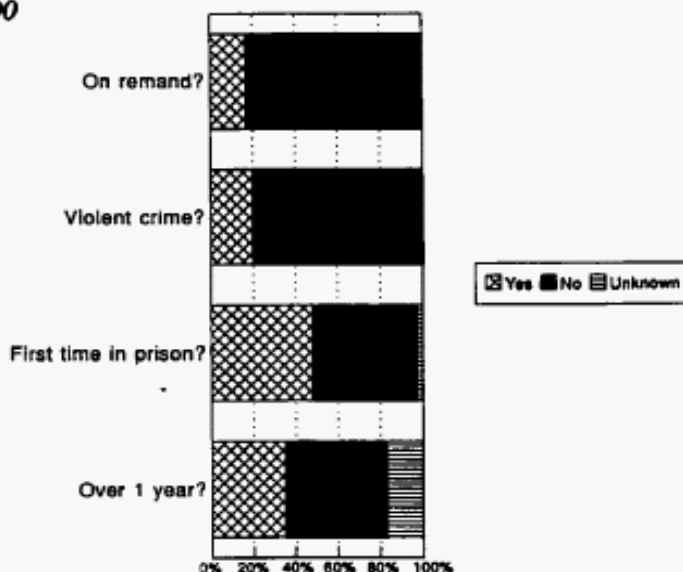
Illicit drugs are rampant in women's prisons according to most of the

inmates interviewed by Easteal (1992) who were quoted below. This is not surprising given that the presence of so many drug addicts 'can produce a desperate and ingenious quest for drugs whilst on the inside' (Pakula 1990). Unfortunately, whether one has an addiction background or not, the entire prison system is affected by the continuous checks against illegal drugs getting through.

The consequences can be both direct and indirect for addict and non-user alike. As several inmates remarked, 'Personalities change and bring out the bad in people'. Random urine checks are conducted in some states. Strip-searches of inmates, and, in some states, of their visitors, can occur, and prisoners' personal possessions may be severely limited.

Inmates in Mulawa, the largest Australian female prison, located in Sydney, experienced the 'ramp' of September 1990 which was implemented throughout the New South Wales prison system as a result of a syringe attack on an officer. Almost all property was removed from prisoners; the new policy restricted an inmate's possessions to underwear, six unframed photographs, two books and some legal paperwork (Egger & Heilpern 1991). As one non-addict said 'I hate it because it stuffs it up for everyone else in here. I mean for the girls that are clean'. Other inmates

Figure 3: Criminal Background Traits of Female Prisoners, Australia, 30 June 1990



Note: Total women held = 778

Source: Walker & Hallinan 1991

have told people not to visit them since they do not wish their family, friends and even children to be humiliated by stripping. Even infants' nappies have been removed to check for contraband.

Yet, some inmates in all states commented that 'There's more in here than out there'. They claimed that drugs are freely available with prisoners often consuming different types of drugs and even smoking their own mixtures with tobacco. 'Drugs are in abundance here and they'll go to any lengths to get them in.' 'They can elude the system and it's like everyone is blind.' Pills (barbiturates, amphetamines, tranquillisers) are reputed to be more common than heroin although the latter can be obtained.

Others stated that although drugs were brought in, they were usually just for the user or a friend. However, at special times of the year, such as Christmas, large quantities 'usually amphetamines' get inside and spread through the addict group. Certainly enough got in to result in a heroin overdose death in Mulawa since the 'ramp'.

Inmates' entire sentence time therefore is heavily influenced by those who are on drugs and by policies that attempt apparently unsuccessfully to curtail that abuse. There is also an additional risk for the women who come into prison drug-free. The stresses of day-to-day life coupled with the availability of chemical relief, illegal or legal through prescriptions, can lead to assertions like the following: 'I've had a few friends in here who never used before they came in and they left with habits'.

High Security Prisons and Intermingling of Security Levels

Wynne-Hughes (1988) in a review of Australian prisons, states that women tend to be put in unsuitable prisons where deficiencies such as few low security placements have been exacerbated by overcrowding. The small numbers of women do not generate enough perceived need or impetus for

building sufficient minimum or open-security prisons. Some effort has been made to ameliorate the situation with Victoria opening Tarrengower, a prison farm for women; Queensland's Albion Correctional Centre and in New South Wales the Norma Parker Centre. The spaces, however, do not meet the demand.

Maximum security translates into high walls of concrete or barbed wire, presence of uniformed officers everywhere with a consequent lack of privacy, little room for individualisation of treatment, use of solitary confinement as punishment, a rigidity and lack of independence in living from day-to-day and according to many of the women interviewed by Easteal (1992), a sharp demarcation between staff and inmates and an ethos which mitigates against rehabilitation.

In addition, the placement of those on remand with maximum security inmates is a frequent subject of controversy. The justification for this process is either that there is no separate physical facility available for remandees and/or that an unsentenced individual is an unknown commodity and hence must be perceived in the most dangerous terms, until proven otherwise. The result, according to both observation and interviews with prisoners and staff, is that an individual with no prior imprisonment or drug history - perhaps an alleged social security fraud offender - may be thrust amongst the toughest element of the prison population (Easteal 1992).

Officer/Prisoner Relations

Bacon (1983) observed that a child-like dependence of female inmates is encouraged by prison staff which is exemplified by the labelling of grown women as 'girls'. Prisoners feel demeaned and unable to exercise any responsibility in their lives (Easteal 1992):

They speak to you like you're down. They're the authority and they want you down all the time. You don't get treated like anything . . . like an animal, like you're in the zoo.

In the beginning, I tried to reason with them, but I learned - they just said 'Just following orders'.

According to both inmates and officers 'easy' or 'hard' time is in part a consequence of one's relationships with prison officers which in most cases is a by-product of how one behaves in general (Easteal 1992). The tough powerful women inmates have an image to maintain which is often expressed in their verbal behaviour and general attitude toward officers. That, plus their other assertive acts, promotes a state of enmity which can result in disciplinary action. However, a few interviewees made positive comments about officers, emphasising that staff treat inmates as they are treated. Most however added that it is all a game with officers 'power tripping'; the 'easy time' prisoner learns quickly to respond in an appropriately deferential tone when spoken to.

Lesbianism and the Inmate Hierarchy

Walking around the New South Wales and Victorian prisons (not in Queensland where until 1991 homosexuality was illegal), it is common to see women holding hands, cuddling on the grass and patting each other's bottoms while walking. Most prison officers appeared to accept that lesbian relationships are commonplace and several noted that when awakening the inmates in a cottage, they frequently encountered couples sleeping together (Easteal 1992).

Although those women who engage in lesbian behaviour do not seem to be a direct threat to those who do not, the indirect consequences for the latter lie in the informal inmate stratification system which may translate into romantic rivalry and subsequent fights (Easteal 1992). Such struggles exacerbate the normal degree of tension which can contribute to the heterosexual first timer's feelings of stress, unreality and general malaise. One such prisoner said that although she had not experienced physical or sexual abuse

while on remand, she had witnessed another woman's brutal rape but believed that she could not intervene or tell anyone. Reportedly drug users, lesbians and recidivists are perceived as a threat to any inmate power groups or hierarchy and are, next to dobbing, the most frequent source of intra-inmate hostilities.

Even within this type of power struggle some women who are first-timers and not defined either by themselves or other prisoners as habitual criminals, can separate themselves from the political machinations and live quietly - as long as they indeed keep quiet about what takes place around them. The gang/rape image of 'B-grade' prison-life movies does not appear to be the norm in Australian women's prisons. Many inmates admitted that they had been terrified and had expected such scenarios but had been pleasantly surprised that they could just stay quietly by themselves without too much trouble.

Medical Care

It has been noted that women prisoners may have a greater need for competent medical care than males since they suffer from more emotional/mental stress that can translate into both psychological problems and physiological manifestations (Biles 1982; Combined Community Agencies 1990). These stresses, according to the latter report derive from being gaoled, separated from their children, general lack of information and continuity in staffing, and 'cold turkey' withdrawal from drugs.

Comments about medical care by the vast majority of all interviewees in the three states were highly negative and derogatory (Easteal 1992). A medical practitioner in one women's prison was described as: 'a real butcher who knows nothing about medicine', 'on drugs' (by a large number of inmates), 'disgusting', 'it's like he's overdosed', 'horrible', 'probably can't get a job elsewhere', 'off the planet', 'you get the dregs of society'. When an officer was asked

about the competence of this doctor, she laughingly said that she wouldn't see him with a hurt toe nail. Another staff member (non-uniform) stated 'You wouldn't take your dog to him'.

Aside from allegations of incompetence, other comments centred on delays in receiving medical attention and the attitude of the doctors and nurses.

Counselling

Theoretically, in most of the prisons women can seek counselling from a number of non-uniform staff including Welfare or Correctional officers, psychologists, psychiatrists, drug/alcohol counsellors and clergy. In reality, the inmates at each facility visited, tended to denigrate all of the potential assistance except one; the type of practitioner varied according to the prison (Easteal 1992). The primary complaints centred upon lengthy delays before one could see the psychologist (one woman had been waiting for eight weeks at the time of the interview); alleged violation of confidentiality; and a failure to be treated as 'people'.

Welfare officers serve specific functions guiding the women with legal, child and post-release matters. However, Mulawa for example, has only two welfare officers to service the entire inmate population of 330. They try to help but there are too many people. They are therefore only able to give 'bandaid' service due to their high caseload. Fairlea (Victoria) and Brisbane Women's Correctional welfare counsellors are much better situated with ratios of between 1:25 to 1:60.

Considering the high rate of victimisation in the life histories of women inmates estimated earlier, one might expect to find support groups organised for survivors of incest, and/or physical abuse as a child or an adult. There are none.

Methadone and Drug Withdrawal

There are few drug rehabilitation placements within the various prison

systems. K-division (Victoria) is the only prison in the three states to offer a program for women (Easteal 1992). If one considers that about four-fifths of the women coming into prison are drug addicted, there is little available. In Victoria and New South Wales methadone programs are available although in the former state only those already on methadone are able to continue. A proper diet is a prerequisite since methadone has long term effects on bones and teeth. However, there is a lack of education about the erosion of calcium and minerals because there are so many methadone users and few staff educated in the drug and alcohol field. For example, only one Drug and Alcohol worker is available to service the needs of the Mulawa prison population.

In Queensland methadone is only given to pregnant addicts much to the chagrin of some non-pregnant addicts. In that state as in the others, withdrawal is not usually monitored medically, for example in a hospital or clinic, but takes place alone in a cell with some chemical assistance depending on the prison (according to inmate interviewees and prison staff informants, Easteal 1992):

Addicts either go in horrid back cells in the psychiatric unit or to the hospital . . . they are either given something to help them or nothing at all. The wing officer may contact the drug and alcohol officer but they may not because they just follow orders . . . aren't taught to think for themselves' (Staff Member).

Prescription Drugs

The Fitzroy Legal Service (1988 p. 10) estimated that female prisoners are twice as likely as the males in Victoria to be prescribed tranquillisers for the same symptoms. Studies in New South Wales and Queensland confirm the excessive use of medication in their women's prisons (Brown et al. 1988; Combined Community Agencies 1990). Easteal's (1992) sample overwhelmingly expressed strong views on this subject, which,

with the exception of the recent medical no-drug policy shift in Queensland, substantiates prior findings. Women commented that those 'who want to get it, can get it'. According to many respondents anti-depressants or tranquillisers such as Largactil and Tryptynol are especially common and according to some, are given in such high doses that hallucinations occur. (An official prison source in Victoria, however, disagreed and said that although these drugs were given out twenty years ago en masse, that currently only two women were prescribed Largactil. A New South Wales' prison worker felt that it was still doled out along with a broad range of other psychiatric drugs. In some of the prisons, one does get the impression from prisoners that medication is almost routinely dispensed to the majority upon their arrival, perhaps in lieu of counselling or other non-pharmaceutical support. The prisoners' perception of why prescription drugs proliferate varies. Some feel 'that there's so much stress here that body ailments are common that require medication'. 'After being here a while and seeing how people can get so violent, I started to realise that some people need a release'. The majority feel, however, that drugs are overdosed.

Suicide and Self-inflicted Injuries

If one believes that attempted suicide is a plea for help, one might be shocked by the prison response. Easteal (1992) found that officers' reaction to self-mutilators may be harsh according to inmate respondents. In addition, several officers expressed the view that self-mutilators are attention seekers or are trying to get a hospital transfer; thus these officers expressed limited sympathy.

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found that 18 per cent of the reported incidents of self-inflicted harm during a six-month period in 1989 involved females; 70 per cent of these took place in prison (Fleming et al. 1990,

p. 10). Data from the Royal Commission also showed that from 1980 to 1989, there were six suicides and seven accidental deaths in women's prisons. The rate of suicide for the female prison population has been described as high by researchers throughout the 1980s (Hatty & Walker 1986; Fitzroy Legal Service 1988; Pritchard 1988). According to Bacon (1983) those who suicide had previously signalled their need for help, perhaps through self-inflicted injury. Punished instead of assisted, for some there was apparently no other way to cope with their emotional distress.

Keeping Busy^{3/4} Work

The primary impression gleaned from observation and interviews is that the work opportunities within the women's prisons (particularly in New South Wales) are inadequate either due to: lack of enough placements; limited types of employment; and/or the low wages received (Easteal 1992). The availability of jobs varies from prison to prison. At Fairlea for instance, an officer reported that the only inmates without work are 'those who are lazy [expletive] and don't want to work'. Women on remand routinely are at the end of the queue for employment. Given that at least in New South Wales there are fewer positions than inmates this is particularly problematic since the new prisoner cannot move out of the maximum security section until she is working. The repercussions are also of course financial. With no salary paid into her account, the prisoner may have to survive on prison products supplemented with a minimal unemployment payment.

The industries are still largely 'female' occupations – sewing, word processing, pottery/plaster shop. Nurseries and desk-top publishing (new industry at Mulawa) are the only exceptions. Placement in any industry is not the norm since these jobs are the most desired. Many inmates work in non-industry jobs mostly doing menial tasks such as cooking, cleaning and laundry.

State to state, menial to industry, the wage varies officially from \$0.50 to \$60 per week (the salary of the 56 inmates who were interviewed by Easteal ranged from \$9 to \$35). This is particularly poor pay when one considers that some of the women, particularly those in clerical positions, may work ten hours a day, six days a week. Those doing full-time education earn significantly less than an industry wage.

Education

This area is particularly difficult to generalise about since two of the three states, Victoria and Queensland, seem to have implemented positive changes in the past several years whilst New South Wales – at least at Mulawa – has reduced its in-house offerings. Opportunities for pursuing education full-time have also shrunk.

Other problems expressed by inmates, particularly in New South Wales and Victoria, concern officers' attitudes, poor communication and the general environment which they believe is 'inconducive to studying or just wanting to learn' (Easteal 1992). Poor communication involves both learning about available opportunities, lengthy waits in seeing the education officer, and lack of information concerning the status of one's application.

Visits/Children

When asked about the worst aspect of being imprisoned, every woman who has children mentions the separation from them and/or her concerns about their welfare (Easteal 1992).

Children living in prison are restricted by age (generally infancy) and location (for example Mulawa has no facility for children having closed it in 1981 (Maher 1988; Miner & Gorta 1986), nor do Barwon and Fairlea, although purportedly the latter is planning to set up such a program). In Tarrengower (Victoria) and Albion (Queensland) younger-aged children can live with their mothers.

The only links with the children that remain may be letters (difficult

when the child is very young), phone calls (limited by number and time) and visits. The latter can be infrequent or out of the question due to physical distance. Even if visits are possible, they can be difficult. The amount of security and, in some places, lack of play equipment and rules concerning mother/prisoners' movement, may in fact hurt their relationship and exacerbate the mother's anxiety (Hancock 1988): 'It depends on who's on. One time, I'm allowed to have my daughter on my knee; another time, a different screw won't let her'. 'When my daughter came I wasn't allowed to move from my chair.' [Note: movement is regulated to deter the passing of drugs.] (Easteal 1992).

Additionally, if only one visit a week is permitted (often the case on remand) it can become a difficult choice . . . which child or friend. Finally it must be noted that withdrawing amenities as part of discipline includes cessation of visits or box visits (non-contact with glass partition); these punishments although directed at the woman also affect her children (George 1988).

Conclusion

Lack of real work, educational opportunities and counselling translate into poor rehabilitation (if that is the goal of our penal system). This also translates into idle time and lack of self-esteem which, when coupled, can result in self-destructiveness and other types of violence. In some of the prisons, the main type of 'assistance' on offer is pharmaceutical which undoubtedly serves many purposes within the prison context, such as social control and a substitute for the more time-consuming therapies. It is ironic that the system is orientated toward the eradication of illegal drugs but continues to use methadone and psychotropic drugs in what has been described by both inmates and some prison staff in an indiscriminate fashion (Easteal 1992). Some possible solutions follow:

■ Fundamental societal changes

If drugs are responsible for the vast majority of females' criminal acts, the obvious but most difficult resolution is to address the structures and values in our society which contribute to addiction among many women: the plethora of familial and extra-domestic factors that can lead to low self-worth and deep sense of shame.

- Gender sensitive individualisation Unit management (officers assigned to a small group of inmates and working less on supervision and more on welfare matters) if applied correctly can help to individualise each woman's imprisonment experience. Instead of treating all women homogeneously, a close prison officer/inmate relationship can ostensibly gear the services to the particular inmate's needs. Disregarding the dignity of a woman who has never taken drugs in her life by strip searching her and/or her relatives, by requiring her to urinate in front of someone, by confiscating her personal items, ideally, would not take place under such a system.

- Improved programming and services Women's prisons need to offer better educational, work, counselling, and drug rehabilitation programs. Increased opportunities for having one's children live in the prison could be provided particularly if more low security facilities were constructed. There is tremendous variation by state which can fluctuate over time depending upon politics and personnel. Nation-wide standards that meet the special needs of women need to be established.

- Non-custodial sentences Why are some of these women in prison? Why aren't they doing community service or home detention or a drug rehabilitation program? The judicial or correctional response would undoubtedly concern the issue of deterrence. It is also true that some women are given non-custodial

sentences (for example, in 1989, 18 per cent of these dispositions were given to women as opposed to 5.2 per cent of prison sentences). Nonetheless, these queries seem particularly relevant when the inmate has no prior record, has dependant-aged children, and her offence was non-violent; in other words, she does not seem to represent a threat to society. Given the financial costs to the taxpayer for gaoling these women (approximately \$40,000-\$50,000 per person per year), it would seem to make sense, particularly if their offence involved money, to allow them to serve the community or live at home whilst working to repay whatever they stole or defrauded. Home detention or electronic surveillance is not available in most states. Lack of child-care facilities for children of mothers on community service orders apparently limits their disposition by judges. When one considers the ultimate cost saving either directly or indirectly (how do you measure the cost of irreparable emotional damage incurred during imprisonment?), it is surprising that more alternative sentencing options are not developed and employed.

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