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REENTERING WOMEN'S NEEDS, PROGRAMS, AND RECIDIVISM:

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

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Abstract

While previous research has examined the special needs of women returning to the community after a period of incarceration, few studies have focused on the association between sociological needs and recidivism. The goals of this study are to evaluate the extent reentry programs meet the special needs of women releasees, to investigate the relationship between self-reported needs and recidivism and to understand whether appropriate reentry programs will attenuate the likelihood of recidivism. This study uses robust logistic regression to analyze data from 333 women who participated in the Serious and Violent Offender Reentering Initiative (SVORI). The findings indicated that financial and academic programs were not judged by these women to be helpful. Second, the likelihood of recidivism increased with the level of needs. Third, receiving academic programs reduces the odds of recidivism, whereas financial programs and program helpfulness are not significant determinants of recidivism. Surprisingly, child care programs and their helpfulness are positively related to recidivism. Future efforts are warranted to dig this issue deeper.

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Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed a growing research interest in prison crowding. Incarceration rates for women in particular rose dramatically by 364% (Blumstein and Beck 1999). In recent years, new research has tackled the issue of female inmates in prison. A number of studies are now available to shed some light on women's reentering into society following incarceration. In addition, Arditti and Few (2006) noted that the increasing number of female inmates is generally composed of mothers, and these women are around age 30, with an average of two children each. Many reentering women seek career counseling. The primary reasons they seek this help are to further their education, regenerate former careers, find guidance for new careers, and obtain employment because they have financial needs. That is, many reentering women have dual roles, they who have to take care of their children as mothers and earn money as workers. In addition, it is obvious that many of these dual roles of reentering women are defined by their work both inside and outside the home, and these experiences are associated with physical and psychological distress. Risk factors associated with this role combination include fatigue, depression, and stress. As a consequence, these women not only need to make vocational choices that will enhance their self-esteem and autonomy, but also need to develop coping strategies that will help them act effectively in their dual roles (Badenhoop and Johansen 1980; Morgan and Foster 1999). For women, especially mothers, incarceration and reentering influence not only their family relationships,

but are primary risk and protective factors as well. Many reentering women have mental health risks, and resource adequacy and parenting stress are significantly related. Family support and sufficient social resources play important roles in successful reentering (Arditti and Few 2006). A review of the literature indicates that reentering women do have special needs. However, only a few discussions investigate whether and to what extent prisons consider the special needs, including biological, psychological, and sociological dimensions, of this special group.

From the biological angle, women have unique medical needs, especially pregnant women. The incarceration and reentering process for pregnant women can be difficult. The women might undergo rape and excessive force, miscarriage and labor, and they are in deep need of effective obstetric care and humane treatment. Besides, women in prison often face ill-treatment (Tapia and Vaughn 2010), and the experience in prison may relate to their life upon reentering.

With respect to the psychological viewpoint, mental problems present difficulties for many incarcerated women. Unhealthy mental conditions derive from risk factors such as depression and parenting (Arditti and Few 2006). For pregnant women especially, separation from their newborn babies can be difficult (Celinska and Siegel 2010).

Viewed from the sociological angle, women have relatively low economic and educational status, and they have dual roles in society (Berg 2010). It is their color, their

under-education, and their subjection to physical, emotional, and sexual abuse at some points in their lives that make conditions for women worse than for men (Arditti and Few 2006). In addition, parental incarceration increases the risk that children have a high possibility for later behavioral and emotional problems (Hoffmann, Byrd, and Kightlinger 2010). It is obvious that the separation of parents and children is a painful and difficult experience. What prisons can do to reduce the side effects is also a concern of this study.

Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST) differs from other strain theories because he focuses more on the occurrence of strains at the individual level by discussing the sources of strains for each individual and the relationship between strains and individual anti-social behaviors (Cullen and Agnew 2011). Strains are related to women's special needs, including their biological, psychological and sociological needs, and have consequences on the women's lives after imprisonment. If incarcerated women's needs are not addressed during incarceration, strains are more likely to be produced and lead to recidivism. The present study focuses on the sociological needs of women who are reentering the community after a period of incarceration.

Based on the final report of the multi-site evaluation of the Serious and Violent Offender Reentering Initiative (SVORI), adult women reported a higher need for a variety of services than the adult men across all data waves and they also reported higher service receipt than the adult men. Among the needs, the following were those most commonly reported:

education, public health insurance, financial assistance, employment, and a mentor (SVORI 2009). While women's needs during reentry are multidimensional, it is obvious that the high needs among reentering women cluster around the sociological dimension and this is the framework for the current study. The specific aims of this study are:

Aim 1. To describe the programs in the sociological dimension provided to women who are reentering into society. Prison programs offer some promise in lessening the negative consequences of incarceration. This study presents the programs and services in the sociological dimension for reentering women.

Aim 2. To evaluate whether the programs in the sociological dimension address women's unique needs. The programs ideally should satisfy women's unique needs. The purpose here is to see whether women do have programs which meet their needs, and investigate whether women who have higher needs report higher satisfaction for the programs they received.

Aim 3. To determine whether women with greater needs in the sociological dimension have greater recidivism. The purpose of the programs is to help women reenter society successfully. The concern here is to see whether women with greater needs in the sociological dimension are more apt to commit crimes upon release.

Aim 4. To examine whether women who received appropriate programs in the sociological dimension experienced lower recidivism after incarceration. Also, women's

feeling about programs will be used as the moderating variable. Theoretically, women who receive appropriate programs that meet their special needs are expected to have lower odds of recidivism in the future. Therefore, one of the contributions of this study is to identify the determinants of successful reentering because these determinants will help to reduce recidivism and provide a solution to prison crowding (Petersilia 2003). Also, the burden on welfare programs would decrease, and the condition of children growing up in recurring cycles of poverty or crime could improve (Arditti and Few 2006).

Literature Review

Do women have special needs? Few articles discuss women's special needs; however, it is obvious that men and women are different not only in biological dimensions but also in psychological and sociological dimensions. It should be noted that women have special needs, which might be referred to as "gender-specific needs," and mostly they are "forgotten offenders" in prison — as Zoia (2005) characterized programs for female inmates as "shoe-horned into a system designed for men." Women in prison often face inhumane treatment and neglect of their special conditions and unique needs. According to some, women's rights need more attention from the public, especially the prison institutions (Tapia and Vaughn 2010). There are some discussions about the differences between reentering women and non-reentering women. For example, reentering women were found to be more self-motivated and to have higher educational goals and grades (Badenhoop and Johansen 1980). However, the concern in this study is whether prisons consider women's special needs based on gender differences. Also, the discussion should focus not on a one-dimensional construct but on a multi-dimensional construct. That is, examining prisons' services for women without considering longer-term reintegration into society is limited (Van Tongeren and Klebe 2010). Therefore, there should a framework based on a multi-dimensional construct. The dimensions are biological, psychological, and sociological (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Women’s special needs — multi-dimensional discussion

Biological	Psychological	Sociological
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pregnant • menstruation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mental health • cognitive development • coping strategies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • child care • financial assistance • academic and vocational guidance

(1) Biological: Men and women have several prominent differences. For example, women have higher frequencies of visits to their primary care clinic and diagnostic services than men, and thus have higher expenses than men for primary care, specialty care, emergency treatment, diagnostic services, and annual total charges. In short, women have higher usage of medical resources (Bertakis et al. 2000). Gender differences in the need for medical services reflect that women have more medical needs than men; needless to say, these differences apply to women in prison.

Many prisons and jails, especially those with few female prisoners, have few special management strategies and little programming to meet the unique needs of incarcerated women (Marcus-Mendoza 2004). What has to be recognized is that women might be pregnant in prisons. There is evidence to show that one out of every four women in prison is pregnant during incarceration, and some have given birth to a baby in prison (NCJRS 1998). In other words, some women have obstetric care needs in routine health care examinations. These women may have unexpected miscarriages in the process of their pregnancy and may have to undergo a dangerous and painful labor period before giving birth. For incarcerated

pregnant women, the separation from their newborn baby is the hardest part. Besides, rape and other excessive use of force by male guards or even other male prisoners against pregnant female prisoners have been widely discussed even though female victims are seldom willing to report their disasters in prison (Amnesty International 2000). Even though women are burdened by the stigma of being “guilty,” this does not mean that their rights should be neglected or ignored. On the contrary, women in prison deserve more concern for their loss of freedom to access the medical services compared with women outside the prison. Incarcerated women should be treated fairly, and the criminal justice system should regard their medical needs as equal to women outside prison. Also, it is necessary to erase the stigma for incarcerated women. For instance, it is important to rethink whether it is necessary to force women to wear shackles during labor and childbirth. According to a report published by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service in 1998, fewer than half of the state prisons have clear medical care policies or programs for pregnant women that are put into practice to protect and take good care of them. Furthermore, what women need in the biological dimension are not only pregnancy services but also care for menstruation. Many women experience stresses associated with incarceration which disrupt their usual hormonal cycle. The prison should provide services for sanitary products and help women relieve painful or problematic periods. For women, the prison entry physical examination includes gynecological and obstetrical evaluations to determine whether they have been sexually

active, are pregnant, have been raped, or have sexually transmitted diseases (Bosworth 2002).

(2) Psychological: Three points about the psychological needs of reentering women must be discussed. First is their specific mental health needs. Compared with men in prison, women have higher percentages of psychotic disorders (Lamb and Weinberger 1998). While little research has concentrated on only women, a study by Manderscheid and colleagues (2004) may provide insight to this current study by examining trends in the availability and use of mental health services in state prisons. Generally, mental health services were provided significantly more often by prisons in 2000 than in 1988. However, the percentage of facilities that offered mental health services decreased from 1988 to 2000. That is, more prisoners needed the mental health services by 2000 but they had fewer resources from which to seek mental health assistance (Manderscheid, Gravesande, and Goldstrom 2004).

Second is the emphasis on cognitive development needs. The career counseling for reentering dual roles women should focus on the subjective experience and values of women, which is known as “meaning-centered” models. Higher cognitive development for career counseling can assist women in making good use of multiple alternatives and makes possible a greater sense of self for career decision-making processes. In the meantime, higher cognitive development offers more efficient and more effective coping skills to handle outside environmental stress, especially for reentering dual roles women who have to play the roles of mothers inside the home and employees outside the home (Morgan and Foster 1999).

If women have the power or opportunities to enhance cognitive ability, they are able to solve their own problems (Hayes 1994). Sometimes women returning to society may encounter “a sense of loss of adulthood” and struggle to retain their identities as an adult (Badenhoop and Johansen 1980).

Third, coping strategies are important for reentering women as well. In Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*, the authors defined coping as “constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person (p.141).” The predominant coping strategy for dealing with reentering barriers is avoidance, and there is a defined process which is initial optimism about release, then a desire for abusive substances, followed by a confrontation of practical barriers, and sometimes a feeling of being overwhelmed. These elements of the process also result in avoidance of assistance and substance abuse relapse, both of which contribute to recidivism (Phillips and Lindsay 2010). Celinska and Siegal’s (2010) research on mothers’ unique experiences in prison identified seven strategies for mothers to deal with separation from their children: being a good mother, mothering from prison, role redefinition, disassociation from prisoner identity, self-transformation, planning and preparation, and self-blame. The findings also indicate that mothers used multiple strategies and had a tendency to conduct emotion-focused and adaptive coping techniques. In short, coping resources might include health and energy, positive

beliefs, positive skill solving, social skills, social support, and material resources.

(3) Sociological: Badenhop and Johansen (1980) indicated that reentering women do have special needs, mainly for child care, financial assistance, and academic and vocational guidance. These needs are related to the dual of roles reentering women. These women have to work both inside and outside the home. They need not only act as good mothers at home but also have the ability to earn money or search for their self-fulfillment to show autonomy. To sustain their financial needs, they need academic and vocational guidance. Also, women would be reasonable parents if they received parenting programs in prison, and as they are released from prisons, they require transitional programs, such as reentering court programs that are comprehensive and gender-sensitive (Faris and Miller 2010). Some prison programs and services are directed toward incarcerated parents and their underage children, for instance, general parenting education programs, programs and residential facilities for pregnant women and other parents, subsidized transportation and lodging for visiting children and other family members, child visitation facilities and visitation services, motivation for developing programs for incarcerated parents and their children. The purpose of the parenting-related prison programming is to lessen the negative consequences of parental incarceration — both for children and incarcerated mothers (Hoffmann et al. 2010). Such programs help reentering women meet their child care needs.

The present study focuses on the relationship between female offenders' sociological

needs, prison programs, and risks for recidivism. Recidivism research has shown that women's recidivism might be related to their needs. Agnew's GST provides a theoretical foundation to explain why some strained female individuals turn to delinquency. More specifically, the reasons why the present study adopts Agnew's GST rather than the other strain theories is discussed as below (Cullen and Agnew 2011). First, Merton's (1938) strain model sheds light on differences in crime rates resulting from the different characteristics of social classes. However, it failed to adequately explain criminal behaviors at individual levels. Second, the strain theories proposed by Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) placed more emphases on lower-class criminals. Furthermore, most empirical studies relied on those strain models, and therefore did not fully exploit the potential of the theory. Agnew (1992) substantially revised the assumptions underlying those origins and proposed new directions for a GST. Agnew explained delinquent behaviors at the micro-level. According to Agnew (1992), stress variables derived from a GST play a crucial role in explaining crime and delinquency, including the failure to achieve positively valued goals, a gap between expectations and actual achievements, loss of positive valued stimuli, and presentation of negative stimuli. These sources of strains are more likely to make individuals experience a broad range of negative emotions. Individuals may respond to strains with delinquency in order to alleviate their negative emotions. A set of factors may influence whether or not individuals engage in crime, including coping skills and resources, conventional social

supports, social control, criminal peers, and exposure to situations conducive to crime (Cullen and Agnew 2011).

The core concept of Agnew's theory is "negative treatments," such as difficult temperament (e.g., moody, fussy, irritable, argumentative, and stubborn), hyperactivity impulsivity, attention deficit, insensitivity, limited problem-solving skills, limited pro-social skills, etc. These "negative treatments" might result from family problems or biological factors, and these might lead to anti-social behaviors such as drug abuse, delinquent behaviors, violence, and criminal behaviors (Cullen and Agnew 2011). For those with higher "negative treatment," they are less likely to handle strains and, in turn, have higher possibility to commit crimes.

According to Agnew's theory, reentering women have many sociological needs such as child care, financial assistance, or educational and vocational guidance. When female prisoners reenter society, they may fail to achieve positively value goals. For example, female offenders might fail to take good care of their children, find well-paid jobs, or reach educational goals. Those negative life events may have a significant impact on female recidivism. In short, strains are related to needs, and reentering women's unmet needs lead to strains and increase the risk to reoffend. In other words, when reentering women's needs are satisfied, reductions in recidivism occur.

The discussions above are associated with the research framework of this current study,

but it is crucial to understand the background of the SVORI data and the preliminary findings drawn from the final SVORI report. SVORI funded agencies in 2003 to develop programs to improve criminal justice, employment, education, health, and housing outcomes for released prisoners, and the National Institute of Justice wanted to examine the extent to which the SVORI (1) improved access to appropriate, comprehensive, integrated services; (2) improved employment, health, and personal functioning; and (3) reduced criminal recidivism. Sixteen programs—12 adult and 4 juvenile—were included in an impact evaluation to determine the effectiveness of the programming provided under SVORI. For adult women, the survey involved 11 impact sites, and the sample includes 153 women enrolled in SVORI programs and 204 comparison women who did not receive SVORI programming.

The respondent profile of the SVORI women revealed a high-risk, high-need study group. These women had an average of 31 years of age at the time of the pre-release interview (white 44%; black 41%). The vast majority of women were mothers, and more than half of those with minor children had primary care responsibilities before incarceration. Sixty-two percent had a high school diploma or a General Educational Development (GED) credential (SVORI, 2009). Most women in prison are mothers, and most of them must play dual roles because they work as mother and must also work outside the home.

SVORI's adult women reported a higher need for a variety of services than adult men across all data waves. The reported needs primarily focus on health services and family

services. Nearly 80% of the women reported needing medical treatment, 55% reported needing mental health treatment, and two-thirds reported needing substance use treatment. In general, among the needs the women most commonly reported were education (95%), public health insurance (91%), financial assistance (87%), employment (83%), and a mentor (83%). The women also reported higher service receipt than the men (SVORI, 2009). Thus, women had higher needs in the sociological dimension, and they may also have received more services when compared with men.

It is also worthy discussing racial issues, the concern for black women has been growing. The roots of women's criminality can be seen in their personal context, including political, social, and economic aspects (Arditti and Few 2006). For black women, the condition overall is worse than for other women. Racism and sexism as societal forces negatively impact the lives of black women, which are easily evidenced by their economic standing, their high mortality rate, and their low rate of educational attainment. In American society, black women and their children are the poorest among the poor. The main reasons might be due to their inability to gain knowledge, power, and privilege. Black women as a group in society have experiences that make their lives different from white women and black men just because black women are affected by both race and gender issues (Johnson-Bailey and Cervero 1996). In other words, as color discrimination is added to gender differences, the status of black women is lower and their lives are more of a struggle. Few studies emphasize

reentering black women (Caffarella and Olson 1993; Evangelauf 1992 ; Henry 1985). The lack of emphasis results in the little knowledge we have about black women's needs and recidivism patterns. More explicitly, their special needs are not addressed and have not been a concern for academic researchers (Johnson-Bailey and Cervero 1996).

For black women and white women in general, one of the major goals of reentering is to reduce the rate of recidivism. First of all, it is important to distinguish the risk factors and protective factors that are related to successful reentering. The strategy to reduce the recidivism rate is to lessen risk factors and strengthen protective factors. For example, as provided by Arditti and Few (2006), the risk factors for reentering mothers might be depression and parenting stress, and the protective factors would be social support and family resource adequacy. What prisons need to do is provide sufficient mental health services and parenting programs for mothers in prison, and cement their close attachment or ties to significant others. Once women can live healthily, they can have new lives without committing crimes. They can begin their own careers, and be good mothers at home as well. Second, it is necessary to emphasize individual differences and change. According to Mackenzie (2006), almost all the effective programs focus on individual-level change. Those programs that focus on developing opportunities are ineffective. A person may not have the individual abilities and attitudes to take advantage of environmental opportunities and therefore may not have formed a bond with the world of work. For instance, the cognitive

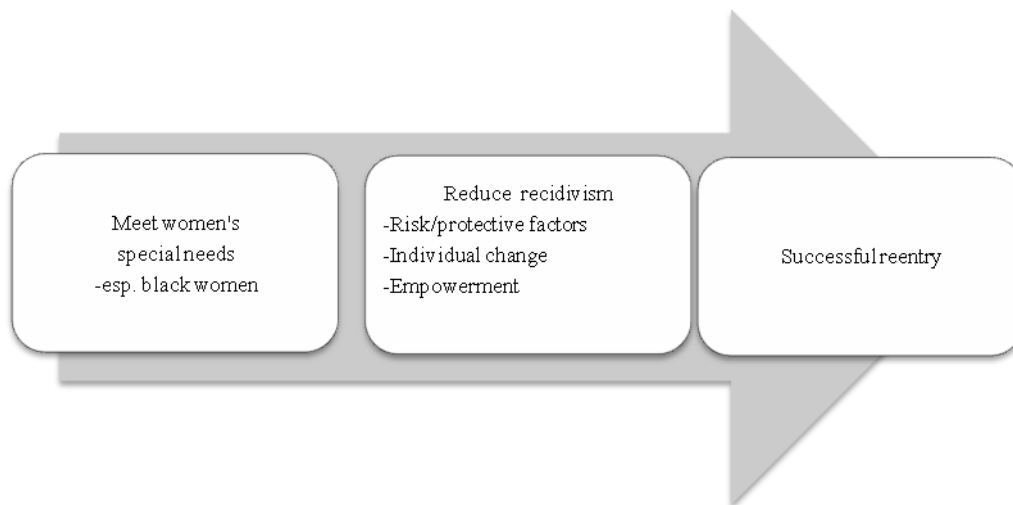
skills programs pay attention to individual-level change in thinking, reasoning, empathy and problem solving. In contrast, life skills and work programs which focus on giving offenders chances in the community might be ineffective. From this viewpoint, two things are needed. First, changes must occur within the individual. Second, the individual environment must provide the opportunity for a bond or tie to form. An interaction between the individual and the environment is required. To quote David Farrington, "It is plausible to assume that offending, like all other types of behavior, arises from the interaction between the individual and the environment" (Farrington 1998, P. 241). Therefore, it seems apparent that effective programs must focus on changing the individual. This kind of change is required before the person will be able to take advantage of opportunities in the environment. This requirement carries an implication for programs for reentering women.

One of the major goals of reentering programs is to have an impact on the high recidivism rates of returning offenders. Furthermore, the emphasis on individual change also implies the construct of power and empowerment at the individual level. Generally, according to Conger and Kanungo (1988), empowerment can be discussed in two different ways: First, empowerment as a relational construct: From the management and social influence viewpoints, power is mainly a relational concept used to describe the perceived power or control that an individual actor or organizational subunit has over others. The relative power of one actor over another is a product of the net dependence of the one on the

other. Second, empowerment as a motivational construct: From the psychological angle, power and control are used as motivational and expectancy belief-states that are internal to individuals. On the one hand, people will perceive they have power or believe they can cope with events, situations, and people they confront. On the other hand, people might feel frustrated as they feel powerless to cope with the demands on them.

What has to be recognized is the dimension of empowerment as a motivational construct. Therefore, for reentering women, it is important to persuade them that they have power and control over their needs and difficulties. Such persuasion works only on an individual level, in women's hearts and subjective feelings. By making reentering women feel useful and powerful, it is possible that they can successfully reenter society and start new lives. The concept of empowerment is indicated as a goal of problem solving for ethnic minorities — especially for black women. How to heal and strengthen black women is important (Solomon 1976). In general, a successful process for women offenders to reenter the community can be generalized as figure 2.

Figure 2. Successful women reentering process



The reentering of female criminals into society following incarceration has been the object of increasing study in recent years, especially under the condition that the population of female inmates has grown quickly. Undoubtedly, the circumstances of reentering women have gathered great importance. Until recently, most studies related to the prison experience of reentering women have concerned certain phenomena. To discuss whether prisons effectively address women's special needs for reentering to society, this study should focus on gender differences in different contexts and discuss the different dimensions that cover women's unique needs in prison. As pointed out by SVORI's final reports, adult women had higher needs than adult men in general (SVORI 2009). The framework focuses on biological, psychological, and sociological dimensions. Also, the framework (see Figure 1) tries to select the essence of each dimension on the basis of literature reviews. For instance, in the biological dimension, the framework pays attention to pregnancy and menstruation issues,

two concerns specific to women. In the psychological dimension, the framework focuses on mental health, cognitive development, and coping strategies, because in contrast to men, women have a higher possibility to have mental problems and are more likely to have lower self-esteem and lower self-confidence. In the sociological dimension, the framework concentrates on child care, financial assistance, and academic and vocational guidance due to the dual roles, mothers and employees, women may need to play when they are reentering into society. This framework specifies what women's special needs in prison are, and why the special needs are important to women's reentering to society. Once the elements of incarcerated women's unique needs are set up in a framework, it enables one to rethink the issues of whether prisons are concerned about women's special needs and whether prisons address those needs effectively. Also, the connection to recidivism can be examined. The study focuses on the discussion from the sociological dimension. For two reasons, this study represents a novel contribution and distinguishes itself from other research. First, this study emphasizes evaluation based on incarcerated women's unique needs in the sociological dimension. Previous research has mainly focused on the special needs of reentering women, and the association between the sociological dimension and recidivism has been largely underexplored. This study tries to evaluate whether prisons do consider reentering women's special needs in the sociological dimension and help these women to successfully reenter society. Only very limited study has been done so far to evaluate whether prisons play

effective roles in helping women reenter society. Such an evaluation is important to make sure prisons' correctional function incorporates the provision of aid to female inmates. This study evaluates the effectiveness of these programs from the sociological dimension to try to determine whether prisons do maintain a correctional function for reentering women. While considerable attention has been given to issues bearing on the role of prisons, a literature on issues of women in prison has emerged very slowly and in a more scattered way. Needless to say, issues on whether prisons consider incarcerated women's unique needs are crucial.

Simply stated, if prisons are not able to help women reenter society effectively, the functions of prisons are called into doubt. Second, this study also concerns the issue of recidivism. One purpose of the correctional system is to reduce recidivism. In the criminal justice system, it is important to lessen the crime rates after offenders' incarceration. As women are released from prisons, the question is: Have prisons been able to reduce the possibilities for women to recommit crimes? The research endeavors to answer whether women with greater needs have greater recidivism after release from prison, and investigate whether women who received appropriate programs have lower recidivism. According to Agnew's GST, if reentering women's special needs can be satisfied, their recidivism rates will significantly be decreased.

It is worth noting that the assessment of risk factors and protective factors is an important step in examining what women in prison actually do need during the incarceration period.

The prisons should also focus on the potential for individual change and empowerment that

reentering women have. Change and empowerment increase capabilities to face and accept the chances in the real world. It is assumed that if women's unique needs are concerns to be satisfied, their recidivism rate will significantly decrease. In short, this study can also identify what prisons can do for reentering women through future policies. The study is related to the prison policies for incarcerated women. To put that differently, the study will reflect what prisons do for female inmates in the present. Based on the framework of comprehensive dimensions, the study may be able to evaluate the degree of women's unique needs and how much prisons do to provide for them. Therefore, it is possible for this study to identify steps that prisons can take to function better to help incarcerated women reenter society successfully.

As described above, there are four aims for this study : (1) To describe the programs in the sociological dimension provided to women who are reentering into society ; (2) To evaluate whether the programs in the sociological dimension address women's unique needs ; (3) To determine whether women with greater needs in the sociological dimension have greater recidivism ; (4) To examine whether women who received appropriate programs in the sociological dimension experienced lower recidivism after incarceration. Examining the following hypotheses may help to reach these aims:

Hypothesis 1: Prison programs do address incarcerated women's special needs.

Hypothesis 2: High needs for special programs are associated with high likelihood of

recidivism.

Hypothesis 3: Incarcerated women who received appropriate programs are less likely to re-commit crimes.

Methodology

Sample

The study was designed to explore reentering women's needs, and the programs in prisons are given. Also, the study is interested in whether prison programs function well, whether women with greater needs have greater recidivism, and whether women who received appropriate programs have lower recidivism. To examine these questions, the method to carry out this study was used secondary data provided by SVORI which is a multi-site evaluation. This five-year Evaluation developed information on the 69 SVORI sites and conducted an intensive impact study of 16 selected sites. The focus of the Evaluation is to determine whether these programs have accomplished the overall goals of the initiative and to determine the relative costs and benefits of the programs. For impact evaluation especially, it examined the effectiveness of SVORI by comparing main outcomes among those who participated in SVORI programming with those who do not participate in SVORI. Three groups of people were measured, including male adults, female adults, and male juveniles — returning prisoners in different sites. The data collection included four in-person interviews with offenders. The interviews were conducted one month before release, and three, nine, and fifteen months following release. Besides, the impact evaluation utilized administrative data obtained from state correctional and law enforcement agencies to examine recidivism (SVORI 2009).

For reentering women, the sample included 153 women enrolled in SVORI programs and 204 comparison women who didn't receive SVORI programming. From the final report on female adults, it revealed that these women are a high-risk and high-needs group. These women had an average of 31 years of age at the time of the pre-release interview (white 44%; black 41%), most women were mothers and had primary care responsibilities before incarceration, and 62% had a high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED) credential. In general, adult women reported higher need for a variety of services than the adult men across all data waves, and these women also reported higher service receipt than male adults. In addition, among the needs the women most commonly reported were education (95%), public health insurance (91%), financial assistance (87%), employment (83%), and a mentor (83%). Besides, nearly 90% of the women who were interviewed at wave1 also participated in at least one of the follow-up interviews. The response rates for the wave 2, 3, and 4 interviews were 68%, 71%, and 77% (SVORI 2009).

Data collection procedure for reentering women in this study was through pre-release interviews. Pre-release interviews were conducted approximately 30 days before the women were released into society and were designed to obtain data on women's characteristics and pre-prison experiences, as well as incarceration experiences and services received since incarceration. What has to be noticed is that in most sites, women were not randomly assigned to SVORI or non-SVORI conditions. Propensity score models were then used to

improve the comparability between the SVORI and non-SVORI groups (SVORI 2009).

As noted above, this secondary data is appropriate to use to examine research questions.

First, most women in this data are dual-role women, and this meets the discussion points about reentering women in the study. Second, most women's needs are within the sociological dimensions based on the final report. Third, the degree to which the programs satisfy women's unique needs can be examined. Fourth, it can be determined whether higher needs will result in higher recidivism, and whether the provision of appropriate programs can reduce recidivism.

In most cases, social scientists use "reliability" and "validity" to describe topics related to the evaluation of the quality of operational definitions. First of all, reliability is considered related to questions of stability and consistency. For research, the definition of good reliability indicates to the study measure something consistent and dependable (Royce and Bruce 2005). In this study for reentering women in prison, the concerns with reliability may be whether women tell the truth over time. For example, do they really have a child? Another concern may be related to whether their feeling about the programs is subjective, insofar as it is hard to measure personal feelings objectively through survey questions. Second, measurement validity refers to the congruence or "goodness of fit" between an operational definition and the concept it is purported to measure (Royce and Bruce 2005). In this study, the sample numbers for pre-release women are 357, including 153 for SVORI participants

and 204 for non-SVORI participants, and the total sample numbers in this dataset pre-release individuals are 2,054 (male adults, 1,697 ; female adults, 357). That is, pre-release women account for 17.38 % in this dataset. In 2009, the majority of the total correctional population was male, and 18% was female (U.S. Department of Justice 2010). From this viewpoint, it seems that the percentages for women in this dataset and for women in the whole correctional population are similar. To put it another way, the sample for reentering women is representative of the real world, and the study for reentering women has validity.

Measures

There are four aims for this study: (1) To describe the programs in the sociological dimension provided to women who are reentering into society; (2) To evaluate whether the programs in the sociological dimension address women's unique needs; (3) To determine whether women with greater needs in the sociological dimension have greater recidivism ; (4) To examine whether women who received appropriate programs in the sociological dimension experienced lower recidivism after incarceration. To satisfy these research aims, there are three main research questions as below (see Appendix).

Hypothesis 1: Prison programs do address incarcerated women's special needs.

First of all, the study examined whether prison programs function well for reentering women. Stated another way, the study focused on whether prison programs address women's special

needs. For this question, the study measured the degree of women's needs and how women feel about the programs they received. This study focused on three sociological needs of women: (1) child care; (2) financial assistance and (3) Academic and vocational guidance. For each need three questions which were asked before they release (Wave 1) from prison and the self-reported responses were summated into a scale to measure the degree of the need. Response choices were a lot, a little, and not at all. Therefore, scale scores ranged from 0 to 9. High scores indicated greater needs. The child care scale asked the women if they had needs for child support payment, learn parenting skills, and child care after release. The Financial Assistance scale measured needs for financial assistance, public financial assistance, and learn money management skills. In addition, the academic and vocation scale measured needs for more education, learn other life skills, and a job after release. The self-report survey also asked the women about their feeling of programs they had received. In the Wave 1 survey they were asked how helpful was these programs, and the response choices were very helpful, somewhat helpful, a little helpful, and not at all helpful. The scale scores ranged from 0 to 12. Higher scores refer to more helpful for the programs they received.

Hypothesis 2: High needs for special programs are associated with high likelihood of recidivism. Second, the study examined whether women with greater needs have greater likelihood of recidivism in the future. In this case the independent variables are the degree to which the women report having child care needs, financial needs, and academic needs as

measured by the scales described above. These official measures, from the National Crime Information Center (NCIC), of recidivism are based on whether women offenders are re-arrested within 24 months for violent crime, drug crime, property crime, public order crime, and other crimes. The study created a variable for recidivism which represents that women in prison recommit any crime (violent crime, drug crime, property crime, public order crime, and other crimes). That is, women are considered recidivists if they were re-arrested within 24 months of release. To observe whether other factors have influences on the result, the study added other variables into the models as control variables. These variables include whether women are primary caretakers for children under 18, their duration of incarceration, demographic variables (i.e., age, race, and marital status), and socioeconomic variables (i.e., highest level of school completed, currently in school, and whether they ever had job).

Hypothesis 3: Incarcerated women who received appropriate programs are less likely to re-commit crimes. Third, the study examined whether women who received appropriate programs had lower recidivism. Two sets of models are examined. First, for the full sampling analyses, the independent variable is whether women received programs which include child care programs, financial programs, and academic programs. The self-report survey asked the women whether they have received programs since they have been incarcerated. Response choices were yes and no, and therefore, scale scores ranged from 0 to 3. The dependent variable is recidivism. Secondly, for investigate those women who have

received prison programs. The independent variables are women's feelings toward programs which include child care programs helpfulness, financial programs helpfulness, and academic programs helpfulness. The dependent variable is recidivism. As mentioned in hypothesis 2, the study also added other variables into the models as control variables.

Methods

Quantitative data analysis was performed. The analysis was used the STATA statistical software package. To test the three research questions as already noted above, the following methods are used:

Hypothesis 1: Prison programs do address incarcerated women's special needs.

First, to determine whether prison programs function well for reentering women, the study run a gamma test and Kendall's tau-b test to measure whether prison programs address incarcerated women's special needs. These three sets of examinations are the association for child care needs and child care programs helpfulness, financial needs and financial programs helpfulness, and academic needs and academic programs helpfulness.

Hypothesis 2: High needs for special programs are associated with high likelihood of recidivism. Second, to examine whether women with greater needs have greater recidivism in the future, the study run robust logistic regression models. Logistic regression is appropriate way to analyze a dichotomous dependent variable and this method allows usage

of both categorical and continuous independent variables. The independent variable is women's degree of sociological needs (child care needs, financial needs, and academic needs), and the dependent variable is recidivism. Four models were to be run as follows: (1) child care needs: variable of child care needs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added socioeconomic variables to Model 3; (2) financial needs: variable of financial needs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2 as control variables. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3; (3) academic needs: variable of academic needs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic variables to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3. As running these logistic regression models, the study regarded other race, never married for marital status, and degree of vocational school graduate, some college, and college or higher as reference categories.

Hypothesis 3: Incarcerated women who received appropriate programs are less

likely to re-commit crimes. Third, to measure whether women who received appropriate programs will have lower recidivism, the study run robust logistic regression models and two sets of models are examined. First, for the full sampling analyses, the independent variable is whether women received programs which include child care programs, financial programs, and academic programs. The dependent variable is recidivism. Four models were to be run as follows: (1) child care programs: variable of child care programs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added socioeconomic variables to Model 3; (2) financial programs: variable of financial programs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic variables to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3; (3) academic programs: variable of academic programs is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic variables to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3. Secondly, for investigate those women who have received prison programs, the independent variable are

women's feelings toward programs which include child care programs helpfulness, financial programs helpfulness, and academic programs helpfulness. The dependent variable is recidivism. Again, four models were to be run as follows: (1) child care programs helpfulness: variable of child care programs helpfulness is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added socioeconomic variables to Model 3; (2) financial programs helpfulness: variable of financial programs helpfulness is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic variables to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3; (3) academic programs helpfulness: variable of academic programs helpfulness is the only independent variable in Model 1. In Model 2, the study added socioeconomic variables to Model 1. In Model 3, the study further added duration of incarceration and demographic variables to Model 2. In Model 4, the study further added whether women are primary caretaker for children under 18 to Model 3. Again, the study regarded other race, never married for marital status, and degree of vocational school graduate, some college, and college or higher as reference categories.

Results

Descriptive statistics for the participants

Overall, the analysis examines the responses of 333 reentry women in prison. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the participants. Among them, 191 were re-arrested within 24 months for violent crime, drug crime, property crime, and public order crime, among others. As for demographic characteristics, the total number of black participants is the same with that of white (142, 42.64%) and the average age was roughly 32 years old. Regarding marital status, 57 (17.12%) were divorced and 45 (13.51%) were married, and nearly half of the women were never married (56.46%). With respect to educational attainment, thirty-seven percent of the respondents did not complete high school, whereas another thirty-six percent had high school diploma or GED and equivalent. Almost forty percent were in school at the time when being interviewed. Among those currently in schools, seventy percent of them did a GED course. More than 95 percent ever had jobs. Figure 3 shows the flow chart of how to obtain the final sample (249 mothers) from the original data (357 women) for the analysis of child care needs. Out of the total number participants, about 83 percent (276 mothers) have living children. Among them, roughly 75 percent (249) have children under 18 and for those with children under 18, more than 40 percent were the primary caretakers. Only 95 women (28.52%) received child care programs. Compared with women without recidivism, more women with recidivism were black and most of them were never married. Also, they were

more likely to have living children and in general to have more children.

Figure 3. Women with childcare needs

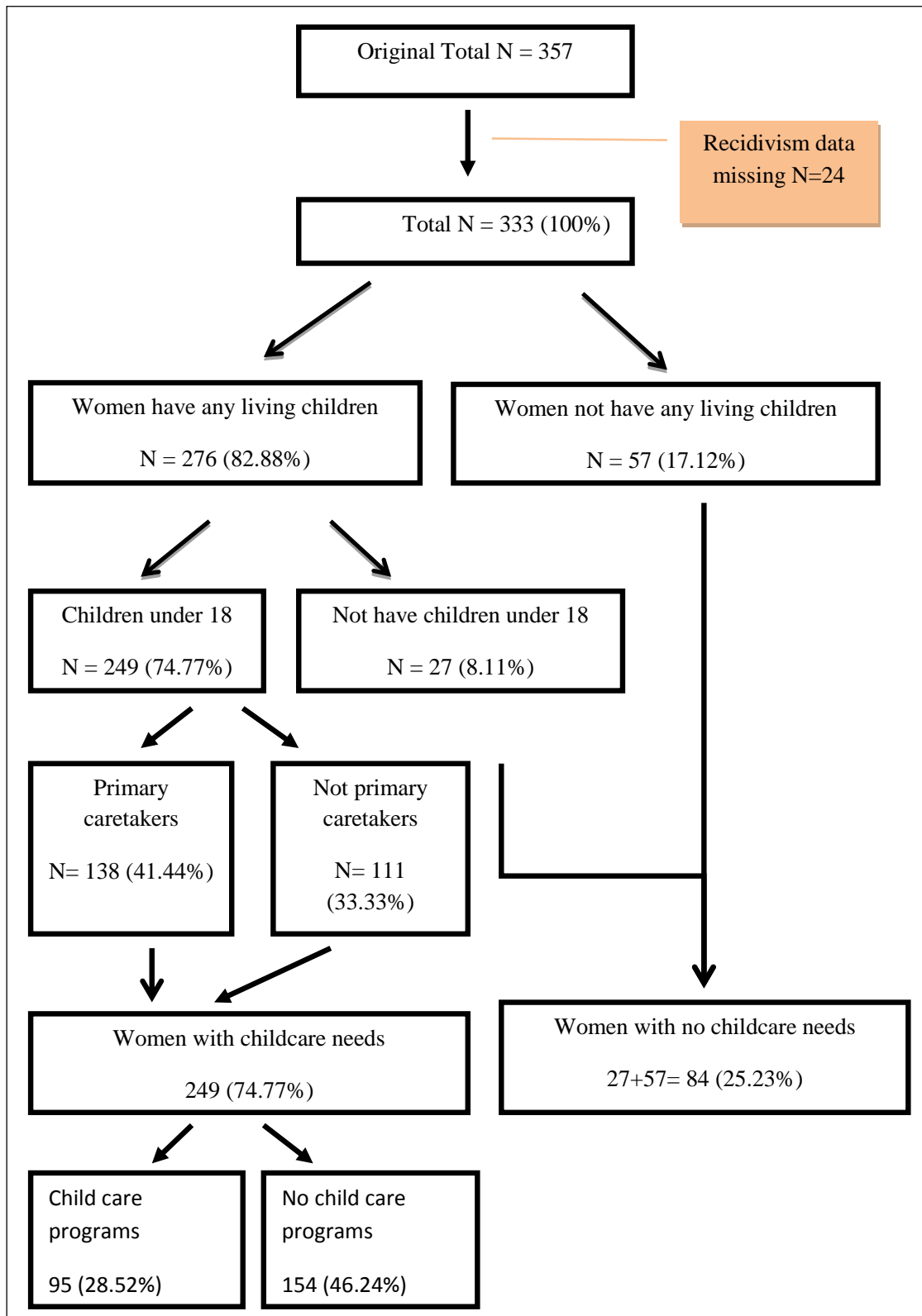


Table 1. Descriptive characteristics of reentry women, by recidivism ¹²

	Overall ³	Women with recidivism	Women without recidivism
Number of Respondents	333(100)	191(100)	142(100)
Age	31.56(6.70)	31.58(6.31)	31.54(7.21)
Duration of incarceration (years)	1.74(2.11)	1.56(1.59)	1.99(2.64)
Race			
White	142(42.64)	78(40.84)	64(45.07)
Black	142(42.64)	89(87.43)	53(37.32)
Other	49(14.71)	24(12.57)	25(17.61)
Marriage status			
Married	45(13.51)	27(14.14)	18(12.68)
Separated	37(11.11)	23(12.04)	14(9.86)
Divorced	57(17.12)	33(17.28)	24(16.90)
Widowed	6(1.80)	3(1.57)	3(2.11)
Never married	188(56.46)	105(54.97)	83(58.45)
Have any living children (% yes)	276(82.88)	162(84.82)	114(80.28)
Number of children	0.81(4.71)	1.10(4.58)	0.41(4.86)
Have children under 18 (% yes)	249(74.77)	149(78.01)	100(70.42)
Primary caretakers (under 18) (% yes)	138(41.44)	76(39.79)	62(43.66)
Highest level of school completed			
4 th -11 th grade completed	126(37.84)	71(37.17)	55(38.73)
12 th grade completed/GED and equal	120(36.04)	70(36.65)	50(35.21)
Vocational school graduate/ some college	74(22.22)	45(23.56)	29(20.42)
College or higher	13(3.90)	5(2.62)	8(5.63)
Currently in school (% yes)	75(22.52)	46(24.08)	29(20.41)
If currently in school, type of school attending			
High school courses	8(2.40)	5(2.61)	3(2.11)
A GED course	53(15.91)	32(16.75)	21(14.78)
Vocational training	5(1.50)	3(1.57)	2(1.40)
College courses	6(1.80)	4(2.09)	2(1.40)
Some other type of schooling	3(0.90)	2(1.04)	1(0.70)
Ever had job (% yes)	319(95.80)	182(95.29)	137(96.48)

Notes:

¹ Recidivism here refers to women who commit any crime (violent, property, drug, public order, and other crime) and re-arrest within 24 months after release from prison. Re-arrest indicators data based on NCIC arrest records.

² For continuous variables, the values are shown by Mean (Standard Deviation), and for those categorical variables, the values are shown by Number (Percentage).

³ The total number of women in SVORI is 357. Overall number of respondents here is after recoding the missing values (. = 24).

Descriptive statistics of variables

Descriptive statistics of variables, including the results by recidivism status, are presented in Table 2. About 60 percent of the respondents were re-arrested. Those with recidivism seem to have higher needs for all child care, financial and academic programs; however, they only tend to report higher children care helpfulness and financial helpfulness than academic helpfulness. In addition, receiving academic programs seem to be more prevalent than getting child care and/or financial programs, regardless of participant's recidivism status.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of variables, by recidivism¹²

	Overall	Women with recidivism	Women without recidivism
Dependent variables			
Recidivism	333(100)	191(57.35)	142(42.64)
Independent variables			
Needs³			
Child care needs	4.11(2.79),n=333	4.38(2.77),n=191	3.73(2.78),n=142
Financial needs	6.72(1.67),n=333	6.93(1.61),n=191	6.44(1.71),n=142
Academic needs	7.23(1.49),n=333	7.45(1.36),n=191	6.93(1.59),n=142
Programs⁴			
Child care programs	1.11(0.32),n=95	1.15(0.36),n=63	1.03(0.17),n=32
Financial programs	0.51(0.80),n=333	0.46(0.75),n=191	0.59(0.86),n=142
Academic programs	1.28(1.01),n=333	1.19(0.97),n=191	1.39(1.04),n=142
Programs helpfulness⁵			
Child care helpfulness	3.81(1.42),n=95	4.04(1.55),n=63	3.34(0.97),n=32
Financial helpfulness	4.96(2.57),n=116	4.75(2.52),n=62	4.62(2.65),n=54
Academic helpfulness	6.09(3.14),n=245	5.83(3.04),n=136	6.42(3.25),n=109

Notes:

¹ The values are shown by Mean (Standard Deviation).

² The child care (child care) dimension includes child support payment, learn parenting skills, and child care after release ; financial assistance (financial) dimension includes financial assistance, public financial assistance, and learn money management skills ; academic and vocational guidance (academic) dimension includes more education, learn other life skills, and a job after release.

³ The need scale for each variable is 3= a lot, 2= a little, and 1= not at all. After create a total scale, the (Min, Max) = (0,9).

⁴ Three questions for programs are all treated as binary (1= yes, and 0= no) and the sum of these three answers was used directly for financial and academic program (ranging from 0 to 3). However, for child care program, those who did not meet the selection criteria would have the score of zero and they are treated as missing values.

⁵ Three questions related to programs helpfulness all used a scale from 1 (not at all helpful) to 4 (very helpful). The sum of the answers to these questions (ranging from 1 to 12) is directly used in the analysis but those who have score of zero would be treated as missing values as they have never received the programs and could not evaluate the helpfulness of programs.

Association analysis

Hypothesis 1: Prison programs do address incarcerated women's special needs.

Gamma and Kendall's tau-b were performed and the results indicated some significant effect. As shown in Table 3, the result of (1) child care needs and child care programs helpfulness showed no significant association in general based on $P < 0.05$. There is no evidence for the argument that child care programs address special needs among the respondents; (2) financial needs and financial programs helpfulness showed a significant negative association, with Gamma being -0.14 (ASE=0.08, $p < 0.10$), and Kendall's tau-b being -0.11 (ASE=0.07, $P < 0.10$). Explicitly the higher the financial needs, the less the women feel programs are helpful. The negative statistics indicates that higher financial needs are connected to worse perception of program helpfulness. This may lead to the argument that financial programs do not address these women's financial needs; (3) academic needs and academic programs helpfulness showed a significant negative association, with Gamma being -0.06 (ASE=0.06, $p < 0.10$), and Kendall's tau-b being -0.05 (ASE=0.04, $P < 0.10$). That being said, stronger academic needs are associated with weaker feeling of academic program helpfulness. Thus, academic programs do not address these women's academic needs.

The same analyses were implemented by women's recidivism status and shown in Table 3. More specifically, no matter for women with recidivism or without recidivism, there is no association for child care needs and child care programs helpfulness. For financial needs

and financial programs helpfulness, there is no association for these two groups. One plausible explanation is that the sample size of each group was reduced and the standard errors increased. In addition, academic programs are not address these women's academic needs in prison.

Table 3 .Association between needs and feeling of programs, by recidivism

	Overall	Women with recidivism	Women without recidivism
Child care needs and child care programs helpfulness	Gamma= 0.11 ASE=0.11 Kendall's tau-b= 0.08 ASE=0.08*	Gamma= 0.20 ASE=0.14 Kendall's tau-b=0.14 ASE=0.10*	Gamma= -0.07 ASE=0.21 Kendall's tau-b= -0.05 ASE=0.16
Financial needs and financial programs helpfulness	Gamma= -0.14 ASE=0.08* Kendall's tau-b= -0.11 ASE=0.07*	Gamma= -0.04 ASE=0.13 Kendall's tau-b= -0.03 ASE=0.10*	Gamma= -0.28 ASE= 0.12 Kendall's tau-b= -0.23 ASE= 0.10*
Academic needs and academic programs helpfulness	Gamma=-0.06 ASE=0.06* Kendall's tau-b=-0.05 ASE=0.04**	Gamma= -0.10 ASE=0.08* Kendall's tau-b= -0.08 ASE=0.06*	Gamma= -0.03 ASE=0.08* Kendall's tau-b= -0.02 ASE=0.07*

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Regression analysis

Hypothesis 2: High needs for special programs are associated with high likelihood of recidivism.

Hypothesis 3: Incarcerated women who received appropriate programs are less likely to re-commit crimes.

Child care

Table 4 includes the robust logistic regression results for the four nested models of child care needs. First, Model I shows that child care needs had a significant ($p < 0.05$) positive association with recidivism, without controlling for other covariates. Specifically, given a one unit increase in the financial needs score, the odds of recidivism increased by 8%. Note that the increase in the odds is not a linear function of the child care needs score. The magnitude of the odds ratio of child care needs remained stable in Model II, Model III, and Model IV in which socioeconomic, demographic, duration of incarceration, and primary caretaker variables are introduced. As shown in Model III and Model IV, duration of incarceration had a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) negative association with recidivism. In summary, incarcerated women's child care needs are positively associated with the odds of recidivism.

Table 5 shows the modeling results for child care programs. Model I indicates that child care programs had a moderately significant ($p < 0.10$) positive association with recidivism, without controlling for other covariates. Specifically, a one unit increase in the child care programs score seems to increase the odds of recidivism by almost 6 times. The magnitude of the odds ratio of child care programs remain moderately significant ($p < 0.10$) in Model II in which primary caretaker variable is added to the model. Primary caretaker variable had a significant ($p < 0.05$) negative association with recidivism. That is, acting as a

primary caretaker had 61% decreased in the odds of recidivism. As presented in Model III and Model IV, race of white and black had a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) positive association with recidivism. In contrast to other minority groups, black and white participants were both more likely to recidivate. The odds were at least 3.6 times more. Surprisingly, receiving child care programs was found to be positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism.

Table 6 contains the modeling results that only focused on those who received child care program in prison. It is clear that there is a significant ($p < 0.01$) positive association between child care program helpfulness and recidivism (Model I). Roughly 50% increase in the odds of recidivism is observed with a one unit increase in the child care programs helpfulness score. Adding more independent variables to Model I did not seem to affect the associations between child care programs helpfulness and recidivism. Similar to previous tables, primary caretaker is negatively related to the odds of recidivism. Incarcerated women who had better perception of the child care programs are positively related to the odds of subsequent recidivism.

The results above seem to support the second hypothesis that incarcerated women's reports of child care needs are positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism, but not confirm the third hypothesis that incarcerated women who received appropriate child care programs are negatively related to the odds of subsequent recidivism. To put it more

concretely, receiving appropriate child care programs is positively rather than negatively related to the odds of subsequent recidivism.

To examine whether there is interaction effects between child care needs, child care programs, and child care programs helpfulness, the research created two interaction terms and add them to the models. As shown in Table 7 and Table 8, there is no support for the interaction effects. This indicates that odds of recidivism can only be explained independently by child care needs, child care programs, and child care programs helpfulness.

Table 4. Logistic regression results of child care needs (N=333)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Child care needs	1.08	0.04	**	1.15	0.09	*	1.16	0.09	*	1.16	0.09	*
Primary caretaker (under18)				0.95	0.04		0.94	0.05		0.94	0.05	
Duration of incarceration							0.91	0.04	*	0.90	0.05	*
Demographic Variables												
Age							0.99	0.01		1.00	0.01	
Race												
White							1.18	0.40		1.20	0.42	
Black							1.66	0.59		1.72	0.61	
Marital status												
Married							1.16	0.43		1.19	0.44	
Separated							1.44	0.55		1.46	0.57	
Divorced							1.18	0.40		1.18	0.40	
Widowed							0.84	0.70		0.82	0.68	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed										0.72	0.23	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma										0.92	0.27	
Currently in school										1.41	0.44	
Employed										0.55	0.33	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table 5. Logistic regression results of child care programs (N=95)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Child care program	5.84	6.30	*	5.95	6.33	*	4.18	4.43		6.01	5.55	**
Primary caretaker (under18)				0.39	0.18	**	0.35	0.19	*	0.36	0.23	
Duration of incarceration							0.86	0.09		0.79	0.10	
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.02	0.06		1.06	0.06	
Race												
White							3.61	2.84	*	5.35	5.47	*
Black							4.29	3.78	*	6.94	8.14	*
Marital status¹												
Married							2.24	1.69		2.34	1.65	
Separated							2.07	1.74		1.91	1.67	
Divorced							1.08	0.90		1.22	1.13	
Socioeconomic Variables²												
4 th -11 th grade completed										0.24	0.17	**
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma										0.67	0.44	
Currently in school										2.23	1.38	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

¹ No respondent was classified as widowed, and hence this group was excluded in the analysis.

² No respondent was classified as non-employed, and hence this group was excluded in analysis.

Table 6. Logistic regression results of child care programs helpfulness (N=95)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Child care program helpfulness	1.52	0.24	***	1.53	0.26	***	1.53	0.30	**	1.58	0.32	**
Primary caretaker (under18)				0.40	0.19	**	0.36	0.20	*	0.38	0.24	
Duration of incarceration							0.89	0.09		0.83	0.10	
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.03	0.06		1.06	0.06	
Race												
White							3.95	3.21	*	5.29	5.46	*
Black							3.95	3.52		5.91	7.03	
Marital status¹												
Married							2.49	2.01		2.67	2.01	
Separated							1.57	1.34		1.45	1.32	
Divorced							0.79	0.69		0.87	0.82	
Socioeconomic Variables²												
4 th -11 th grade completed										0.25	0.18	**
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma										0.73	0.49	
Currently in school										2.42	1.48	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

¹ No respondent was classified as widowed, and hence this group was excluded in the analysis.

² No respondent was classified as non-employed, and hence this group was excluded in analysis.

Table 7. Logistic regression results of child care programs – showing interaction effects (N=95)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Child care program	0.52	1.08		0.53	1.06		1.27	2.68		8.22	18.63	
Child care needs	0.62	0.22		0.62	0.22		0.79	0.31		1.15	0.55	
Child care program * Child care needs	1.53	0.41		1.54	1.40	*	1.24	0.36		0.95	0.33	
Primary caretaker (under18)				0.40	0.19		0.36	0.19	*	0.37	0.24	
Duration of incarceration							0.85	0.09		0.78	0.10	*
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.02	0.06		1.06	0.06	
Race												
White							3.55	2.80	*	5.28	5.40	
Black							4.19	3.73	*	6.59	7.70	
Marital status¹												
Married							2.14	1.64		2.37	1.68	
Separated							2.09	1.78		2.03	1.81	
Divorced							1.09	0.91		1.24	1.17	
Socioeconomic Variables²												
4 th -11 th grade completed										0.23	0.16	**
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma										0.65	0.42	
Currently in school										2.44	1.65	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

¹ No respondent was classified as widowed, and hence this group was excluded in the analysis.

² No respondent was classified as non-employed, and hence this group was excluded in analysis.

Table 8. Logistic regression results of child care programs helpfulness – showing interaction effects (N=95)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Child care program helpfulness	1.00	0.50		1.04	0.57		1.99	1.22		1.96	1.25	
Child care needs	0.73	0.29		0.75	0.33		1.16	0.57		1.25	0.76	
Child care program helpfulness*	1.08	0.10		1.07	0.11		0.95	0.11		0.95	0.13	
Child care needs												
Primary caretaker (under18)				0.40	0.19	*	0.35	0.20	*	0.38	0.24	
Duration of incarceration							0.88	0.09		0.82	0.10	
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.02	0.06		1.06	0.06	
Race												
White							4.11	3.33	*	5.38	5.40	*
Black							4.19	3.68	*	6.05	7.00	
Marital status¹												
Married							2.61	2.10		2.76	2.09	
Separated							1.56	1.36		1.54	1.45	
Divorced							0.79	0.70		0.89	0.86	
Socioeconomic Variables²												
4 th -11 th grade completed										0.25	0.18	**
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma										0.71	0.46	
Currently in school										2.55	1.64	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

¹ No respondent was classified as widowed, and hence this group was excluded in the analysis.

² No respondent was classified as non-employed, and hence this group was excluded in analysis.

Financial

This section was focused on the financial programs. Using the same analytic strategies, the financial program needs were first examined and the results were in Table 9. Some findings are notable. First, Model I shows that financial needs had a significant ($p < 0.01$) positive association with recidivism, without controlling for other covariates. Specifically, a one unit increase in the financial needs score seems to be related to 19% decrease in the odds of recidivism. Adding socioeconomic, demographic and other covariates does not alter the finding in Model I greatly. As presented in Model III and Model IV, there is a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) association between duration of incarceration and black with recidivism. In summary, stronger financial needs are related to higher likelihood of recidivism.

The focus of Table 10 shifted to the association between receiving financial programs and recidivism. As shown in this table, there is no significant association between financial programs and recidivism. In other words, women's recidivism is irrelevant to whether they received financial programs, and the number of programs they had in prison. And as presented in Model III and Model IV, black had a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) positive association with recidivism.

Among those who received financial programs in prison (Table 11), there is no significant association between financial programs helpfulness and recidivism. More explicitly, whether or not women recidivated was not relevant to their feeling about the

financial programs. However, duration of incarceration, age, white, and 4th-11th grade completed become determinants of recidivism.

The results here did not provide strong support for the hypotheses. The second hypothesis that financial needs are positively related to recidivism seems to be bolstered by the analytic results. However, the third hypothesis is not confirmed as the regression results suggest no association between financial programs, financial programs helpfulness and recidivism.

Table 9. Logistic regression results of financial needs (N=333)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Financial needs	1.19	0.08	***	1.19	0.08	***	1.19	0.08	***	1.18	0.08	***
Primary caretaker (under18)										1.01	0.02	
Duration of incarceration							0.91	0.05	*	0.91	0.04	*
Demographic Variables												
Age							0.99	0.01		0.99	0.01	
Race												
White							1.26	0.43		1.27	0.43	
Black							1.81	0.63	*	1.78	0.62	*
Marital Status												
Married							1.28	0.46		1.23	0.44	
Separated							1.46	0.55		1.41	0.53	
Divorced							1.37	0.47		1.33	0.46	
Widowed							0.73	0.61		0.76	0.64	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.82	0.25		0.75	0.24		0.75	0.24	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				1.04	0.30		0.97	0.28		0.97	0.29	
Currently in school				1.38	0.41		1.41	0.44		1.39	0.43	
Employed				0.75	0.44		0.60	0.36		0.58	0.35	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table 10. Logistic regression results of financial programs (N=333)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Financial program	0.81	0.11		0.82	0.11		0.83	0.11		0.83	0.11	
Primary caretaker (under18)										1.02	0.02	
Duration of incarceration							0.91	0.04		0.91	0.04	
Demographic Variables												
Age							0.99	0.01		1.00	0.01	
Race												
White							1.21	0.41		1.22	0.42	
Black							1.85	0.65	*	1.80	0.63	*
Marital status												
Married							1.29	0.47		1.21	0.45	
Separated							1.48	0.56		1.41	0.55	
Divorced							1.26	0.42		1.21	0.41	
Widowed							0.79	0.69		0.83	0.74	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.83	0.25		0.75	0.24		0.74	0.24	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				1.04	0.30		0.98	0.28		0.98	0.28	
Currently in school				1.32	0.39		1.35	0.42		1.32	0.42	
Employed				0.74	0.42		0.60	0.35		0.58	0.34	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table 11. Logistic regression results of financial programs helpfulness (N=116)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Financial program helpfulness	1.01	0.07		1.04	0.08		1.02	0.09		1.01	0.08	
Primary caretaker (under18)										1.06	0.06	
Duration of incarceration							0.77	0.06	***	0.78	0.06	***
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.08	0.03	**	1.08	0.03	***
Race												
White							0.28	0.20	*	0.31	0.22	*
Black							0.96	0.60		1.02	0.66	
Marital status												
Married							1.73	1.01		1.48	0.90	
Separated							1.54	1.08		1.54	1.07	
Divorced							1.20	0.80		1.03	0.68	
Widowed							0.81	1.48		0.85	1.41	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.76	0.39		0.32	0.21	*	0.30	0.21	*
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				0.79	0.39		0.56	0.30		0.58	0.32	
Currently in school				0.79	0.45		1.27	0.89		1.30	0.93	
Employed				0.28	0.31		0.20	0.25		0.22	0.28	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Academic

With respect to the academic programs, the results of academic needs are included in Table 12 and the major findings are summarized as below. First, Model I shows that academic needs had a significant ($p < 0.01$) positive association with recidivism, without controlling for other covariates. That is, a one unit increase in the academic needs score is associated with 26% increase in the odds of recidivism. Adding more variables to Model I did not have impact on the association between academic needs and recidivism. In addition, duration of incarceration had a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) negative association with recidivism. Clearly, academic needs are positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism.

The Model I in Table 13 shows that receiving academic programs had a moderately significant ($p < 0.10$) negative association with recidivism, without controlling for other covariates. Explicitly, a one unit increase in the academic programs score is found to be correlated with 18% decrease in the odds of recidivism. The statistical significance of the relationship between academic needs and recidivism was even conspicuous ($p < 0.05$) in Model II in which socioeconomic variables are introduced. However, adding more variables to Model II did affect the association between academic programs and recidivism. And as presented in Model III, black had a moderately significant ($P < 0.10$) positive association with recidivism. To sum up, participants' receiving academic programs is negatively

associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism in general.

For those women who received academic programs in prison, there is no significant negative association between academic programs helpfulness and recidivism (see Table 14).

Duration of incarceration seems to have a persistent effect on the odds of recidivism. In general, women's recidivism had no association with their feeling of the academic programs.

To revisit the hypotheses based on the findings, the hypothesis 2 that incarcerated women's reports of academic needs are positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism was supported, but not strongly support hypothesis 3.

Table 12. Logistic regression results of academic needs (N=333)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Academic needs	1.26	0.09	***	1.27	0.09	***	1.28	0.10	***	1.27	0.10	***
Primary caretaker (under18)										1.01	0.02	
Duration of incarceration							0.90	0.05	*	0.90	0.05	*
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.00	0.01		1.00	0.01	
Race												
White							1.22	0.43		1.23	0.43	
Black							1.72	0.62		1.70	0.62	
Marital status												
Married							1.28	0.45		1.24	0.44	
Separated							1.62	0.63		1.57	0.62	
Divorced							1.35	0.47		1.32	0.46	
Widowed							0.88	0.67		0.90	0.69	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.72	0.22		0.64	0.21		0.64	0.21	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				0.91	0.27		0.83	0.25		0.84	0.25	
Currently in school				1.28	0.39		1.33	0.41		1.32	0.41	
Employed				0.66	0.43		0.53	0.34		0.52	0.34	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table 13. Logistic regression results of academic programs (N=333)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Academic program	0.82	0.09	*	0.79	0.09	**	0.84	0.10		0.84	0.10	
Primary caretaker (under18)												
Duration of incarceration							0.93	0.05		0.93	0.05	
Demographic Variables												
Age							0.99	0.01		1.00	0.01	
Race												
White							1.19	0.40		1.20	0.41	
Black							1.78	0.61	*	1.73	0.60	
Marital status												
Married							1.30	0.48		1.22	0.46	
Separated							1.39	0.53		1.32	0.51	
Divorced							1.27	0.43		1.21	0.41	
Widowed							0.77	0.69		0.82	0.74	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.79	0.24		0.73	0.23		0.73	0.23	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				1.04	0.29		0.99	0.28		0.99	0.29	
Currently in school				1.59	0.50		1.55	0.51		1.52	0.50	
Employed				0.77	0.45		0.62	0.38		0.60	0.37	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table 14. Logistic regression results of academic programs helpfulness (N=245)

Variable	Model I			Model II			Model III			Model IV		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Sig.
Academic program helpfulness	0.94	0.03		0.93	0.03		0.95	0.04		0.95	0.04	
Primary caretaker (under18)										1.01	0.03	
Duration of incarceration							0.89	0.05	*	0.89	0.05	*
Demographic Variables												
Age							1.01	0.02		1.01	0.02	
Race												
White							1.35	0.58		1.36	0.59	
Black							1.96	0.89		1.91	0.86	
Marital status												
Married							1.67	0.73		1.59	0.71	
Separated							0.31	0.62		1.27	0.61	
Divorced							1.89	0.75		1.82	0.73	
Widowed							0.50	0.53		0.52	0.55	
Socioeconomic Variables												
4 th -11 th grade completed				0.78	0.29		0.72	0.29		0.72	0.29	
12 th grade completed/ GED and equal diploma				0.86	0.29		0.83	0.29		0.83	0.29	
Currently in school				1.46	0.50		1.51	0.55		1.47	0.54	
Employed				0.43	0.38		0.30	0.29		0.29	0.28	

* p<.10; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Discussion and Conclusions

In summary, three hypotheses were examined in this study. The principle findings are explained below.

Hypothesis 1: the findings suggested that all three types of prison programs did not address incarcerated women's special needs. In addition, there is no association between child care programs and child care programs helpfulness. The results did not vary by women's recidivism status.

Hypothesis 2: it was found that incarcerated women's reports of needs, including child care needs, financial needs, and academic needs, were all positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism.

Hypothesis 3: this study suggested that, among incarcerated women who received academic programs, more help they received was associated with lower odds of subsequent recidivism, but there was no association between their feeling about academic programs and recidivism. With respect to financial programs, there was no association between these programs, their helpfulness, and recidivism. Child care programs had a positive, rather than negative, correlation with recidivism. Additionally, there was no interaction effect between child care needs, programs, and programs' helpfulness.

In addition, this study suggested that, aside from programs' effects on recidivism, variables such as duration of incarceration and inmates' race could predict the likelihood of

recidivism. The four fundamental findings summarized here are worth further discussion and are presented again, in order, below.

First, the results suggest that financial programs and academic programs do not address incarcerated women's special needs. This might be due to budget limitations; perhaps if more resources were available for programs, these programs would be better able to meet the needs of incarcerated women. Clearly, incarcerated women do have very different needs and obstacles—especially by the time change that gender role tend to become economically independent. These women do need “gender responsive” programs to address their unique needs. However, some of (and/or the full extent of) these needs might be going neglected at the moment due to budgetary restrictions. It is plausible, after all, that financial and academic programs may be the programs most directly compromised by budget shortages (Kruttschnitt, 2010).

Second, incarcerated women's reporting of “need” are all positively associated with the odds of subsequent recidivism. These results may be understood when one considers the strains experienced by these women. General strain theory (GST) indicates that strains or stressors might increase the likelihood of recidivism. These strains may arise from the failure to achieve goals, the loss of positive stimuli, and the presentation of negative stimuli. For women reentering society, their strain remains if they are not able to engage with these issues successfully after release from prisons. Recidivism might be one way of reducing strain (e.g.,

theft to satisfy monetary needs), of seeking revenge against the source of the strain, or of alleviating negative emotions (e.g., through illegal drug use). GST also indicated that individuals with poor coping skills and resources and low levels of social support are more likely than others to deal with strains through crime (Zahn, 2009). In this study, most women committed public order crime, property crime, and drug crime. In other words, it seems possible to suggest that their strains persisted even after release from prisons.

Furthermore, several of the links between programs and recidivism uncovered in this study merit cautious interpretation. For one, the results suggest that there is a positive rather than negative correlation between child care programs and programs' helpfulness with recidivism, unexplainable by any interaction effect. This finding could be interpreted in two ways, which are elaborated below:

(a) More child care programs and higher recidivism: since these women had child care needs, they received child care while in prison, and such needs might have persisted after their time in prison. Therefore, they might have had post-incarceration child care transition programs, which would also have left them under greater supervision from people (e.g., teachers, social workers, or even probationers) who might have prevented them from recidivating. Alternatively, the explanation may simply be that there were, in this study, relatively few incarcerated women who received child care programs overall. These women who do not have access to child care programs while in prison may, subsequently, have no

access to such programs upon release either. This would be a pity, since some researchers have identified that children may be a catalyst for positive behavioral changes among women offenders (Kruttschnitt, 2010). The other interpretation might be that these women are serious offenders and they received more child care programs as they were in prison.

(b) Better feelings about available child care programs and higher recidivism: although these women felt satisfied with child care programs while in prison, they might have realized that what they had in prison was actually far from enough to satisfy their needs and that the programs could not, ultimately, reduce their strains in any means. These women, therefore, recidivated after release.

Another perplexing (and perhaps counterintuitive) finding was the lack of any significant association between financial programs and programs' helpfulness with recidivism. This may mean that the financial programs never satisfied the women's needs when they were in prison to begin with.

Less surprisingly, the results indicated that receiving academic programs while incarcerated was negatively related to the odds of subsequent recidivism; these results are consistent with some findings that link education to lower recidivism rate, especially among women offenders. For example, vocational training and work release programs are well known to be effective in reducing recidivism (Kruttschnitt, 2010).

Finally, race, duration of incarceration, and primary caretaker were significant

predictors of recidivism for these women. The relationship between recidivism and duration of incarceration might reflect that women with long sentences are influenced by the deterrence effect and hence they are less likely to recidivate. That is, it may have appeared that their recidivism rates were lower largely because they had had less time (and, thus, a diminished window of opportunity) for committing crimes thereafter; had the study been able to control for time since release, recidivism rates between the two groups might have turned out to be more similar.

Regarding race, especially black women had a higher likelihood of recidivism than others. As mentioned above, racism and sexism as societal forces negatively influence the lives of black women. Being subject to the negative influences of both race and gender inequalities, black women are particularly vulnerable. Therefore, race and gender should both be taken into account when considering significant risk factors for recidivism risk (Hawkins, 2003). In addition, if women are primary caretakers, they would take their children into account before they recommit a crime.

The results obtained from this study may have a number of practical implications. First, social resources for incarcerated women are relatively low, and policymakers may need to be more aware of the special needs to which these women are subject sociologically. Second, the quality of mothers' bonds with children is the most important predictor for incarcerated women; it is possible that children could act as catalysts for positive change and decrease the

likelihood that their mothers would recidivate. Bonds with children are also important since the children of incarcerated mothers are often at greater risk of school failure, delinquency, mental health problems, and drug abuse, etc. (Kruttschnitt, 2010). That said, social programs for incarcerated females could possibly benefit not only these women, but also their children.

Third, these data support the idea that academic and vocational assistance is important for reducing women's odds of reoffending. Fourth, such findings support the concepts of female focal concerns. According to Steffensmeier and Allan (1996), "organization of gender" refers to things such as norms, identities, arrangements, institutions, and relations by which human sexual dichotomy is transformed into something physically and socially different. The female focal concerns identified in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) are nurturance role obligation, beauty, sexual virtue, other's image, emotional needs, care about others, sustaining significant relationship, etc. Mothers in prisons are, mostly, the primary caretakers of the children they raise, and they might have additional special needs based on such female focal concerns.

Finally, it is necessary to be more aware of the changing socioeconomic, political, and historical factors—that is, social change—influencing rates of female offending in general. For instance, with an increase in the number of women playing dual roles (i.e., caretaker and breadwinner), women today tend to experience greater economic insecurity and marginalization (Steffensmeier, 1993).

This research provided some understanding for incarcerated women's needs, programs,

and program helpfulness, but the study was limited in some ways that might be addressed in future research. For instance, although the SVORI data did include some incarcerated women, the number seems to be too small to have sufficient statistical power. This study was also unable to draw comparisons between male prisoners and female prisoners, even though gender is known to be a strong predictor of offending (Burgess-Proctor 2006). It should be kept in mind that this study focused primarily on risk factors; future studies could expand this line of inquiry by exploring protective factors for these women, within-individual change, and empowerment. All of these issues warrant future efforts.

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Appendix. Main research questions

		Needs -A lot (3) -A little (2) -Not at all (1)	Programs -Yes (1) -No (0)	Programs helpfulness -Very helpful (4) -Somewhat helpful (3) -A little helpful (2) -Not at all helpful (1)
Child care	Child support payment	<i>(If R has any children under 18)</i> How much do you need child support payments for your children? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	<i>(If R has any children under 18)</i> Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance with getting child support payments for your child? (Yes, No)	<i>(If yes)</i> How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Learn parenting skills	<i>(If R has any children under 18)</i> How much do you need to learn parenting skills? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received any parenting classes? (Yes, No)	<i>(If yes)</i> How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Child care after release	<i>(If R has any children under 18)</i> How much do you need child care for when you are released? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	<i>(If R has any children under 18)</i> Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance with finding child care? (Yes, No)	<i>(If yes)</i> How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Coefficient alphas	0.31	0.18	N/A

Financial assistance	Financial assistance	How much do you need financial assistance, including short-term loans or housing deposits? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance accessing financial assistance, including short-term loans or housing deposits? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Public financial assistance	How much do you need public financial assistance, such as disability benefits or welfare? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance accessing public financial assistance, such as disability benefits or welfare? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Learn money management skills	How much do you need to learn money management skills? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance with money management? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Coefficient alphas	0.41	0.51	0.67
Academic and vocational guidance	More education	How much do you need more education? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received any educational services, such as GED or basic education classes? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)

	Learn other life skills	How much do you need to learn other life skills? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received assistance with other life skills? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	A job after release	How much do you need a job for when you are released? (A lot, A little, Not at all)	Since you have been incarcerated this time, have you received any employment services or assistance with finding a job for when you are released? (Yes, No)	(If yes) How helpful was this service? (Very helpful, Somewhat helpful, A little helpful, Not at all helpful)
	Coefficient alphas	0.42	0.44	0.43