

Canada's Mother-Child Program: Examining Its Emergence, Usage and Current State

Sarah Brennan

University of Guelph, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

One of many issues a mother must face while incarcerated is separation from her child(ren) for an extended period of time. Empirical findings have consistently highlighted various negative effects for both mothers and their children as a result of this separation. To curb some of the negative effects, Correctional Service Canada's Mother-Child Program offers full- and part-time visitation between children and their incarcerated mothers at various women's federal correctional facilities in Canada. The current study involves an in-depth critical analysis of Canada's MCP by asking three related questions. First, to what extent has the MCP been used since its full implementation in 2001? Second, to what extent is the MCP used today? Third, do any barriers exist currently that are inhibiting the success of the MCP and, if so, how can these be addressed? The results of the study reveal that, since the full implementation of the program in 2001, the participation rate declined from an already low starting point and has remained relatively low since. Further, three main factors were suggested as potential barriers impeding the success of the MCP: correctional overcrowding, a more punitive institutional culture, and a series of changes to the program's eligibility criteria. Recommendations on ways to increase the usage of the program are offered and suggestions for future research are made.

Keywords: correctional visitation; incarcerated mothers; Mother-Child program; Canada

Parmi les nombreux problèmes auxquels sont confrontés les mères en prison est la séparation avec son ou ses enfant(s) pendant de longues périodes. Des résultats empiriques continuent de démontrer les multiples effets négatifs de cette séparation sur la mère et l'enfant. Pour contrecarrer certains d'entre eux, le Programme Mère-Enfant (PME) du Service Correctionnel du Canada offre des visites à temps plein et à temps partiel des enfants dans le milieu carcéral de la mère dans de multiples institutions carcérales au Canada. L'étude en cours constitue une étude critique approfondie du PME du Canada fondé sur trois questions. Dans quelle mesure le PME a-t-il été utilisé depuis sa mise en œuvre intégrale en 2001? Dans quelle mesure le PME est-il utilisé aujourd'hui? Quels sont les obstacles actuels au succès du PME et, le cas échéant, comment peuvent-ils être surmontés? Les conclusions de l'étude révèlent que depuis la mise en œuvre du programme en 2001, le taux de participation, déjà assez faible, a diminué avant de se stabiliser à un niveau encore plus faible. En outre, trois grands facteurs ont été avancés pour entraver le succès du PME : la surpopulation carcérale, une culture institutionnelle plus punitive et une série de modifications aux critères d'admissibilité au programme. Des recommandations seront proposées pour augmenter le recours au programme, ainsi que de suggestions pour des études à venir.

Mots clés: visites correctionnel; mères incarcérées; programme mère-enfant; Canada

Introduction

Research has shown that the impact of incarceration extends beyond those individuals whom are themselves incarcerated (Gadsden, 2003). In particular, incarcerating mothers is commonly associated with negative implications for her family and especially her children (Enos, 2001), including depression, anger, poor school performance, and environmental disruptions (Acoca &

Raeder, 1999; Cunningham & Baker, 2004; Kampfner, 1995; Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). Many of these and other negative effects can be linked to the fact that incarceration involves the separation of mother from child (Cunningham & Baker, 2004), which disrupts the crucial bonding process (Johnston, 1995; Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). To curb some of the negative effects of incarceration, visitation programs exist to give mothers the opportunity to maintain familial relationships and bonds. In Canada, the Mother-Child Program (MCP) “aims to provide a supportive environment that fosters and promotes stability and continuity for the mother-child relationship,” by offering full- and part-time visitation for children with their incarcerated mothers at the federal prisons for women (Correctional Service Canada, 2007, para. 1). Children who participate in the full-time program live with their mothers at the correctional institution whereas part-time participants would have prolonged visits that take place on weekends and/or holidays (Lebreque, 1995). This paper presents an analysis of Canada’s MCP by asking three related questions. First, to what extent has the MCP been used since its full implementation in 2001? Second, to what extent is the MCP used today? Third, do any barriers exist currently that are inhibiting the success of the MCP and, if so, how can these be addressed? Multiple methods were utilized to answer these questions including a review of existing documents and publications, basic statistical analysis, and interviews.

Impact of Incarceration on Mothers and their Children

Significant scholarly attention has focused on the negative impacts of incarceration for mothers and their children (cf. Baunach, 1985; Cunningham & Baker, 2004; Enos, 2001; Hagan, 1996; Johnston, 1995; Kampfner, 1995; Myers, Smarsh, Amlund-Hagan, & Kennon, 1999; Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). Incarcerated mothers describe separation from their children as one of the greatest “pains of imprisonment” they endure (Booker Loper, Carlson, Levitt & Schaefer, 2009; Enos, 2001; Gentry, 2003; Hairston, 1991), which contributes to a range of emotions that compromise their mental health during their time in custody. They frequently report feeling stress (Celinska & Siegel, 2010; Houck & Booker Loper, 2002) and experiencing anxiety and/or depression as a result of being separated from their children (Booker Loper et al., 2009; Fogel & Martin, 1992; Houck & Booker Loper, 2002). A number of other negative feelings, including shame (Celinska & Siegel, 2010), embarrassment, fear, guilt, bitterness, and despondency (Baunach, 1985), are experienced by incarcerated mothers. Practical issues surrounding childcare also plague their minds (Barker, 2009; Baunach, 1985; Enos, 2001; Fogel & Martin, 1992; Hairston, 1991; Kiser, 1991). Trying to find suitable living arrangements for their children (Enos, 2001) and adequate child care (Kiser, 1991), for example, are just two of the many challenges incarcerated women face in securing care for their children.

For children, the negative effects of maternal incarceration have behavioural, emotional, and environmental roots. The effects differ depending on the age of the child and his/her developmental stage (Myers et al., 1999). According to Cunningham and Baker (2004: 2), “it is arguably the impact of the separation caused by incarceration that is most salient for children”. The disruption of the bonding process can create withdrawal and distress in children (Cunningham & Baker, 2004). Research shows that infants and preschool age children whose mothers are incarcerated are more likely to experience depression (Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). Children also have difficulty controlling their emotions (Johnston, 1995).

Overt behavioural issues also appear in the children of incarcerated mothers. Cunningham and Baker (2004: 5) note that adjustment problems “can manifest in a variety of ways including

aggression, difficulty concentrating, multiple absences, and even school avoidance”. Adolescents experience similar effects including poor school performance, which is defined by poor grades, ‘dropping out’, as well as engagement in high risk activities including drugs and alcohol use (Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). As Cunningham and Baker (2004: 6) remark, adolescents “may feel anger at their mothers and at the ‘system’, shame, sadness, confusion and guilt,” in addition to feeling stigmatized and isolated. Johnston (1995) found that older adolescents tend to develop adverse opinions of the justice system, which in turn may lead to their involvement in criminal activity.

Children can also experience changes in their social environment. Myers et al. (1999) report that changes in caregivers largely depend on the child’s living situation prior to the mother’s incarceration. Research suggests that the majority of these children are in the primary care of their mothers prior to the mother’s incarceration (Fishman, 1983; Greene, Haney, & Hurtado, 2000; Johnston 1995b; Kampfner, 1999; Myers et al., 1999; Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001). As a result, the majority of the children will be placed with their grandparents – particularly their grandmothers – during their mother’s incarceration (Dressel & Barnhill, 1994; Fishman, 1983; Johnston, 1995a). However, it is not uncommon for children to experience one or more changes in caregivers or placement (Acoca & Raeder, 1999; Johnston, 1995; Johnson 1995a), be separated from their siblings (Acoca & Raeder, 1999; Cunningham & Baker, 2004; Johnston, 1995a; Sharp & Marcus-Mendoza, 2001), and/or undergo multiple changes in schools (Cunningham & Baker, 2004). It is clear, then, that children of incarcerated mothers experience instability with regards to their environment during their mothers’ incarceration in addition to emotional and behavioural problems. As a way to address or minimize these negative effects of maternal incarceration, visitation programs that allow incarcerated mothers and their dependent children to spend more time together in custodial facilities have been developed.

Correctional Service Canada’s Mother-Child Program

In Canada, mothers can apply to have their children reside with them at the federal facilities for women through the controversial MCP. Generally, the idea of prolonged correctional visitation has been met with considerable contention. Belknap (2007) summarizes the arguments surrounding this debate:

One of the most controversial debates surrounding the imprisonment of women is whether they should be allowed to keep infants and small children with them in prison. On the one hand, some argue that innocent children should not be raised in prisons. On the other hand, others claim that it is unfair for innocent children to be separated from their mothers (p. 203).

The program provides full-time on-site residency for children with their incarcerated mothers. Children up to the age of four are eligible for this portion of the program (Lebrecque, 1995). For children aged five to 12, a part-time (weekends and holidays) component exists (Lebrecque, 1995). The emergence of the program is linked to the Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women’s (TFFSW) final report entitled *Creating Choices*. The TFFSW was established in 1989 in order to address the many issues facing female inmates at the time at the Prison for Women (P4W) in Kingston, Ontario. According to MacDonald and Watson (2001), geographical isolation was one of the more urgent issues facing female offenders. This issue was especially significant for mothers

as it made visitation with their children difficult. Geographical distance, transportation needs, and cost of travel were just some of the challenges of arranging visitation between incarcerated mothers and children (Law, 2009; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978). The TFFSW was formed to make recommendations on how to solve these and other issues related to female offenders at the federal level.

Creating Choices identified a plan for female offenders, which was to be guided by five principles: empowerment, meaningful and responsible choices, respect and dignity, a supportive environment, and shared responsibility (TFFSW, 1990). A central recommendation of *Creating Choices* was the implementation of five regional facilities and a Healing Lodge for federal offenders in place of P4W. The recommended internal workings of the institutions and the programs to be established provide the most compelling attempt to actualize these five principles for female prisoners in Canada.

According to *Creating Choices*, each facility would have a similar layout that includes a core building and several cottages, where women would each receive a single bedroom (TFFSW, 1990). Cottages would also include “communal living space, a quiet room for study and relaxation, a kitchen, bathrooms, a utility room, a staff office, a yard with a play area for visiting children, garden space, and a veranda or patio” (TFFSW, 1990: 116). *Creating Choices* highlighted the need for a serene and tranquil atmosphere brought about by an emphasis on numerous factors including: “natural light, fresh air, colour, space, privacy, and access to land” (TFFSW, 1990, p. 115). The report also stressed the importance of developing programs for offenders that will facilitate a smooth transition back into society (TFFSW, 1990).

Creating Choices identified the importance of the mother-child relationship. This was significant as it is this recognition that can be credited with the development of Correctional Service Canada’s CSC MCP. When describing the contact between incarcerated mothers and their children, *Creating Choices* emphasized the importance of the opportunity for them to be able to live together. Taking into consideration the needs of the children first and then the mothers, the report recommended that the facilities “provide an appropriate environment to enable a child or children to live with the mother...[a]ny woman who identifies continuing responsibility for her children as an element of her personal plan will be offered a variety of child oriented programs” (TFFSW, 1990, p. 120). One outcome of the recommendation was the emergence of the MCP, which is the focus of this paper.

It is clear that children are negatively impacted when their mothers are incarcerated. The Mother-Child Program seeks to alleviate some of the negative effects experienced by these children and their mothers. Unfortunately, information about the program is sparse. The current study seeks to trace the usage of the program from its inception to its current state. By doing so, factors that may be impeding its usage can be identified so that recommendations on ways to increase program participation can be made.

Methods

Given the paucity of information regarding the MCP, multiple methods were employed in this study. Existing documents and publications and basic statistical analysis were conducted to trace the emergence, usage and current state of the MCP. Interviews with representatives of Elizabeth Fry Societies were used to determine any barriers that may be impeding program usage.

First, existing documents and publications were utilized to establish a basic understanding of the program. A noticeable gap in the literature was the lack of information pertaining to the

number of participants at the various federal institutions for women. In order to establish whether program participation had increased, decreased or remained stable since its implementation, the second strategy for obtaining information about the MCP involved contacting the Women Offender Sector (WOS) of CSC. The WOS provided a document showing the number of program participants at each of the five federal correctional institutions for women – Nova Institution for Women (NIW) in Truro, Nova Scotia; Edmonton Institution for Women (EIW) in Edmonton, Alberta; Grand Valley Institute for Women (GVI) in Kitchener, Ontario; Joliette Institution (JI) in Joliette, Quebec; Fraser Valley Institution (FVI) in Abbotsford, British Columbia; and, the Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge (OOHL) in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. The data range from January 2001 to August 2012. Numbers indicating full and part-time participants every month are listed separately for each institution.

Two important caveats regarding these data are in order. First, the document indicates that “CSC cannot guarantee the accuracy of the numbers provided as these are tracked manually” (CSC, 2012: 1). CSC has since introduced an electronic tracking system to improve the accuracy of the tracking process. Second, given the presentation of the data in aggregate form, it is impossible to tell precisely how many different women and/or children have utilized the program. For instance, if an institution reported one participant each month for eight months, it is not known whether one woman participated for eight consecutive months, whether two women participated for four months each, consecutively, and so on. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether an increase in participation at any given institution is reflective of a new participant or a returning participant. Similarly, it is impossible to determine whether a decrease in participation is due to the mother completing her sentence, a mother no longer being eligible for participation, or the institution no longer being able to accommodate the child(ren).

Despite these limitations, the data provided by CSC still provide valuable insights into the usage of the program. For instance, it is possible to determine a general level at program participation by looking at the percentage of time with at least one participant. Furthermore, the data allow one to determine what institutions have never utilized the program. Finally, the generally low numbers of program participation are apparent through the maximum number of program participants at any given time across Canada. In order to ascertain the general trend of program participation across Canada, the total number of program participants each month (full- and part-time combined) was graphed. The percentage of months with participants was also calculated for both the full- and part-time programs at each institution. To assess any trends in program participation at each institution, the maximum and minimum number of program participants each year for both the full- and part-time program were identified.

To supplement both the existing documents and publications accessed and the data received from CSC, an interview component involved speaking with representatives of Elizabeth Fry Societies across Canada. The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies (CAEFS) is “an association of self-governing, community-based Elizabeth Fry Societies (EFS) that work with and for women and girls in the justice system, particularly those who are, or may be, criminalized” (CAEFS, 2005). Importantly, EFS have experience working with the population of women who utilize the MCP, giving them key insights into women’s experiences with the program and making them a key group to interview. Furthermore, CAEFS and CSC co-chaired the TFFSW which developed *Creating Choices*, the document that supported and prompted CSC to allow children to live with their incarcerated mothers. Therefore, employees of EFS would have knowledge of the program and be able to provide information about how the MCP developed over time as well as how it is being used today.

Six EFS locations were contacted to participate in the study based on their geographical proximity to the correctional institutions utilizing the MCP. Semi-structured interviews with four EFS employees were conducted between December 2012 and January 2013 and consisted of six questions. Interview respondents were first asked about their familiarity with the MCP. Three out of four respondents indicated that they were quite familiar with the program or provided evidence that suggested adequate familiarity. One respondent indicated limited familiarity with the MCP. The remaining questions focused on such issues as the participation rate in the program, potential barriers impeding program success, and whether or not the program should continue.

Results

Statistical Overview: To what extent has the MCP been used?

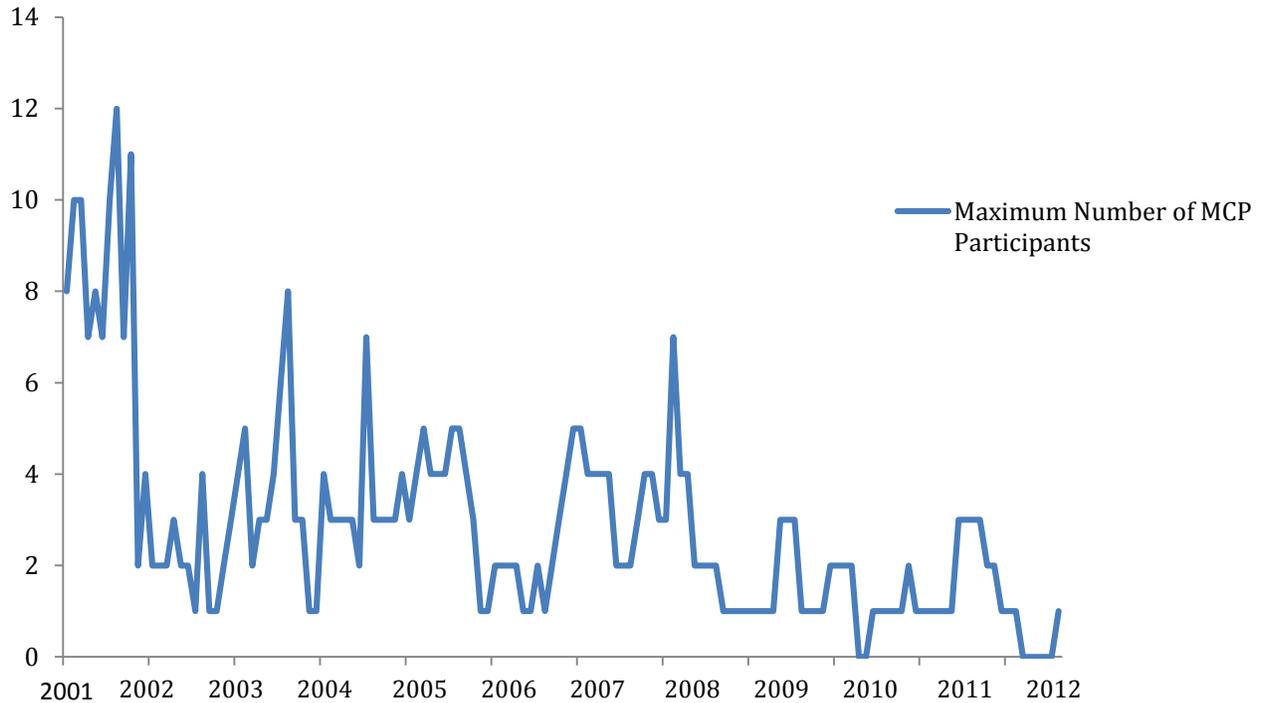
Records provided by CSC were used to establish the extent to which the program has been used. The first three years of data include all institutions except Fraser Valley Institute in British Columbia as CSC began recording FVI's MCP in August 2004. At the time of full implementation in January 2001, there were a total of eight program participants at three institutions (CSC, 2012). Figure 1 shows the total number of full- and part-time participants across Canada on a monthly basis from January 2001 until August 2012. The maximum number of participants at any given time across Canada was 12 in August of 2001 (CSC, 2012). This represents 3 percent of the 375 women incarcerated at the federal level during the 2000-01 fiscal year (CSC, 2003a).

Figure 1 shows that participation in the MCP across Canada was in constant flux but, generally speaking, has declined from an already low starting point since its implementation. Participation dropped in late 2001 from its highest point in August 2001 and has remained relatively low since. In fact, the average number of participants at any given time across Canada was only 2.9 each month (CSC, 2012), indicating that the MCP was hardly used in Canada since full implementation. These numbers represent Canada-wide participation in both the full- and part-time program. A clearer representation of the program emerges when each institution's full- and part-time participation rate is examined individually.

Table 1 shows the percentage of months with participants for the full- and part-time programs at each institution. Some months contained missing data which accounts for the discrepancy in the number of months of data provided. No detailed explanation was provided by CSC for the missing data; however, given that the numbers are tracked manually it is plausible that the missing data are due to human oversight.

Table 1 shows that institutions used the program to varying degrees but that participation was generally low overall. JI has had the highest participation rate of all the institutions for both the full- and part-time program (CSC, 2012). GVI had the second highest participation rate for the full-time program followed by FVI (CSC, 2012). With the exception of JI, the part-time program was rarely used in Canada. EIW has never had any program participants (CSC, 2012).

Figure 1
Total Number of Participants Across Canada from January 2001 – August 2012



Source: CSC, 2013

Table 1
Number of Months with MCP Participants in the Full- and Part-time Program by Institution from January 2001 to August 2012

Institution	Full-Time		Part-Time	
	Months with participants / Months of data provided	%	Months with participants / Months of data provided	%
Joliette Institute	77/132	58	67/132	51
Grand Valley Institute	58/134	43	1/134	1
Okimaw Ohci	22/139	16	8/139	6
Nova Institute for Women	17/138	12	0/138	0
Edmonton Institute for Women	0/132	0	0/132	0
Fraser Valley Institution ⁱ	32/97	33	0/97	0

Source: CSC, 2012 - ⁱ Data are available from August 2004 onward

The maximum and minimum numbers of participants for the full- and part-time program are shown in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. Together, these tables help illustrate individual trends in program participation for each institution. For JI, participation was fairly evenly disbursed over the years covered by the data for both programs. This was also the case for the full-time program at GVI. NI and FVI had a slightly different trend with no reported participants in the full-time program until a few years after it was fully implemented in 2001 (CSC, 2012; CSC, 2002). The OOHl has not had any participants in either program since September 2005.

The data provided by CSC were also used to determine the extent to which the MCP is currently used. The most recent data show the number of MCP participants as of August 2012. At that time, the program had only one full-time participant in Canada (CSC, 2012). There have been no participants in the part-time program since 2009 and only two institutions had participants in 2012 (CSC, 2012).

Interview Data: Insights about the low participation in the MCP

The interview data from four representatives of EFS were used to determine whether any barriers exist that are inhibiting the usage of the MCP. Aspects of the institutional environment were identified by a majority of respondents as the primary cause of the low participation. First, in terms of the physical environment, institutional overcrowding meant that there was no room for children. Respondent #4 noted that because women live in cottage-like houses, the environment becomes unsafe for children when the houses are over capacity, which has been the trend in recent years. Second, the inclusion of women classified as maximum security at the institutions themselves was thought to have made the environment more risky and not conducive for children. Third, respondent #1 noted a change in the nature of the institutions themselves; specifically, institutions were described as becoming less about healing and rehabilitation and more punitive.

The next most common response as to why the program has not had a higher participation rate centered on the eligibility criteria for the MCP. In 2008, after requesting a review of the program, Public Safety Canada instituted four changes to the eligibility criteria. The changes include:

- Excluding offenders from the program who have been convicted of serious crimes involving violence, children or those of a sexual nature;
- Restricting the part-time program to children aged six and under;
- Requiring the support of local Child and Family Services before the participation of an offender is approved; and
- Re-evaluating the participation in the program of any offender who refuses to allow her child to be searched for drugs or other contraband before entering an institution (Public Safety Canada, 2008).

Respondent #3 indicated that the 2008 eligibility changes decreased the number of women who would be eligible for the program. It was also suggested that the change in eligibility criteria had

Table 2
Maximum and Minimum Number of Participants in the Full-Time Program by Institution

Institution		Year											
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 ⁱⁱⁱ
Joliette Institute	Max	1	1 ⁱ	2	2	2	1	3	2	0	1	1	1
	Min	0	0 ⁱ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Valley	Max	2	2	2 ⁱ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	Min	1	1	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Okimaw Ohci	Max	6	0	0	1	1	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0	0	0	0	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Institute	Max	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
	Min	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edmonton Institute	Max	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fraser Valley	Max	-	-	-	0 ⁱⁱ	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0
	Min	-	-	-	0 ⁱⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: CSC, 2012

i Data missing. ii Data begins in August. iii Data until August.

indirect effects on potential participants. Respondent #4, for instance, explained that if a mother was housed with an inmate who had committed an offence against a child, a child could not be placed in the same house with that inmate. Therefore, because women are housed together in federal institutions, one woman's charges can preclude another woman from participating in the MCP. Interestingly, all of these factors represent institutional or systemic barriers. It is noteworthy that not a single respondent identified a lack of interest on the part of incarcerated women as a possible reason for the low participation rate in the program.

Respondents also commented on the factors they felt were impeding the success of the program. All of the responses contained at least one factor previously identified in question two: new rules and eligibility criteria changes, overcrowding, the physical environment, and the increasingly punitive nature of corrections. In addition, respondent #1 suggested that the diverse needs of female offenders were impeding the success of the program but did not elaborate. Respondent #3 suggested that the inaccurate perception of women as more violent coupled with the criminalization of certain behaviours has precluded many women from participating in the program. This respondent gave the example of the dual arrest policy for domestic disputes which

Table 3
Maximum and Minimum Number of Participants in the Part-Time Program by Institution

Institution		Year											
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 ⁱⁱⁱ
Joliette Institute	Max	6	2 ⁱ	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
	Min	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Valley	Max	0	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Okimaw Ohci	Max	0	3	5	2	1	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0	0	0	0	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Institute	Max	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edmonton Institute	Max	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	0	0 ⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fraser Valley	Max	-	-	-	0 ⁱⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Min	-	-	-	0 ⁱⁱ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: CSC, 2012

i Data missing. ii Data begins in August. iii Data until August.

has resulted in more women are being charged with assault. According to Pollack, Battaglia & Allspach (2005: 1), mandatory charge policies have resulted in “a startling increase in the number of women arrested, either solely or dually, in domestic violence situations”. Since assault is classified as a violent crime, this would preclude women from participating in the program given the 2008 eligibility changes.

All four respondents indicated that they felt the program should continue. Respondent #2 felt it was beneficial for the women’s rehabilitation and noted that it supports the rights of both the mother and the child. Respondent #3 echoed this latter sentiment, suggesting that the rights of the child should be the primary consideration in accordance with the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This respondent indicated that Canada should be considering the rights of the child during sentencing to prevent incarcerating the mother if at all possible. It was felt that Canada was not currently living up to the UNCRC which clearly indicates that there must be overwhelming reason to prevent individuals from having a relationship with their children. Respondent #3 also indicated that the program could be greatly enhanced by looking at a similar program at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in Bedford Hills, New York. It was suggested that

the MCP could help achieve the long-term goal of corrections which is to contribute to a safer society.

The relationship between being the child of a prisoner and having subsequent involvement with incarceration later in life was also identified. This response suggests a belief that the MCP may benefit the children of incarcerated mothers by making them less likely to be involved with the prison system later in life. Respondent #4 felt it was crucial for children to be able to bond with their mothers, especially during the early years. Likewise, respondent #2 discussed how the program was critical for both mothers and their children. This respondent spoke about the importance of the child being able to develop a relationship with the mother and the importance of this relationship for the mother on her path to reestablish herself within her community and with her family. It was felt that even though there were risk factors, the alternative – no relationship between mother and child – would only create future problems for both.

Respondents were asked what, if any, changes they would make to the program if they had the resources and decision-making power. One response was to effectively implement the program which reflects the opinion that the program is virtually non-existent today. Indeed, respondent #4 spoke about the program being good in theory but that, in reality, it was not being actively utilized. The addition of a prolonged daily visitation component was suggested by respondent #1, whereby a child could stay with his or her mother for a few hours at a time. One respondent suggested that there needed to be a “family environment that supports visitation at every facility” (Respondent #2). In this situation, the institutions would allow for a *real* visitation where the mother has sole responsibility to care for the child and the opportunity to establish a stable tie with the child. Respondent #4 suggested having a house specifically designed for mother and baby. Respondent #3 suggested the program should be expanded and that it should not be viewed as strictly for mothers with young children only. It was noted that programming has not increased with the growth of the institutional population, resulting in reduced contact between prisoners and their families overall.

When given the opportunity, all four respondents provided additional thoughts or comments regarding the program. One respondent spoke about a personal experience viewing the program. Respondent #1 reported that “the experience is opposite of what stereotypes lead us to believe”. This respondent indicated that the child s/he witnessed was safe, well-loved and that it was “like the child had 120 mothers during [his/her] time at the correctional institution”. It was also stated that an inmate’s mothering instincts “kick in” and results in an overall healthier environment for all prisoners. This suggests that children may have a ‘civilizing’ effect in prisons. Respondent #2 alluded to the program’s importance by saying that, without it, children would not have a relationship with their mothers which would be problematic for both. Respondent #3 offered a rebuttal to the argument that the prison environment is sterile and not conducive to supporting healthy development and communication for the children and their mothers. It was felt by respondent # 3, however, that this argument involves comparing the prison environment to a middle-class environment. It was suggested that the women who would be utilizing the MCP would not have access to enriching developmental resources in their communities due to their low socioeconomic status. Therefore, respondent #3 believed that the argument that children participating in the MCP would be missing out on these opportunities is invalid since there are other variables influencing their lack of participation.

In sum, the interview data from representatives of EFS revealed possible explanations for the MCPs low participation rate. Institutional and systemic barriers were identified as key contributors to the MCP’s low participation rate. Despite these barriers to program success, all

four respondents felt the program should continue and offered suggestions on ways to enhance the program.

Discussion

The results of this study reveal that the use of the MCP has declined from an already low starting point since its full implementation in 2001. A closer look at the results suggests that the limited usage of the program might be explained by a series of factors that impacted the program both directly and indirectly, most notably the physical environment of the institutions, the institutional culture, and the program's eligibility criteria. It is important to note that while these factors may help explain the declining participation rate of the program over time, they do not account for the fact that participation never thrived at any point since its full implementation. The consistently low participation rate makes it clear that the program was never really embraced in Canada nor given the opportunity to flourish. Therefore, the factors identified above should not be viewed as exhaustive, and other factors contributing to the participation rate should be explored.

Physical Environment

Overcrowding was identified as a possible contributing factor for the program's low participation rate. The current Conservative government's tough-on-crime agenda has been described as a key contributor to the increasing number of federally-sentenced offenders. According to Mallea (2010: 7), "a burgeoning of inmate populations, the building of new jails, and an American-style 'throw away the key' attitude" is associated with this approach to crime control. Indeed, the total number of incarcerated offenders in Canada went from 33,396 in 2005-06 to 38,560 in 2010-11 (PSC, 2012). Increased correctional expenditures have coincided with the larger numbers of incarcerated individuals. According to Public Safety Canada (2012), federal expenditures have seen a 30 percent increase since 2006-07. For 2011-12, a total of 5,115 individuals were sentenced to federal terms in Canada of which 346 were women (PSC, 2012). This latter number represents a 70 percent increase in the number of women given federal terms in the last ten years (PSC, 2012). These trends have occurred despite the fact that police-reported crime has decreased 26 percent since 1998 (PSC, 2012). These statistics provide support for the idea that a relationship may exist between tough-on-crime approaches to crime control and increased incarceration rates. Therefore, Canada's decision to adopt this particular approach to crime control may contribute to the low participation rate of the MCP by increasing the number of women incarcerated at the federal institutions, which in turn has implications for many aspects of the program.

Table 4 shows the capacity of each institution and the number of inmates at the identified times. It should be noted that the total number of inmates listed only includes those at the five federal institutions and the Healing Lodge and is therefore less than the total number of incarcerated female offenders serving federal sentences across Canada. Notably, women serving their sentences at other locations such as the Isabel McNeil House, the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, and the Regional Psychiatric Centre Prairies were not included.

Table 4 reveals that the number of inmates at these six institutions increased between 2003 and 2010 bringing each closer to capacity. In the case of GVI and OOHL, the number of inmates has nearly doubled, as it did for NIW. Numbers are not available for April 2013; however, as of April 15, 2012 a total of 603 women were serving federal sentences in Canada (PSC, 2012), which

Table 4
Number of Inmates by Institution in Relation to Capacity

Institution	Capacity	April 2003		April 2007		April 2010	
		Number of inmates	+ / - capacity	Number of inmates	+ / - capacity	Number of inmates	+ / - capacity
Joliette Institute	102	61	- 41	72	- 30	87	- 15
Grand Valley	129	63	- 66	121	- 8	123	- 6
Okimaw Ohci	40	22	- 18	24	- 16	38	- 2
Nova Institute	64	33	- 33	65	+ 1	66	+ 2
Edmonton Institute	140	82	- 58	119	- 21	119	- 21
Fraser Valley	80	--	--	59	- 21	57	- 23
Total	555	261	- 216	460	- 95	490	- 65

Source: CSC, 2003a; 2007b; 2010; 2010a

is 48 women above the institutional capacity of 555. This supports the idea that the institutions are operating over capacity and are thus overcrowded. We can identify a potential impact on the MCP by comparing this information with the program's participation rate. Table 5 shows the program participation rate compared to the total number of women serving federal sentences during each of the select time periods.

Generally speaking, the MCP's participation rate decreased from its already low starting point the closer the institutions neared capacity. While the increased incarceration rate may be attributed to crime control policies, the specific way it impacts the program can be attributed to CSC's Commissioner's Directive 768, which states that "[i]nmate accommodation (single occupancy) shall have priority over the Mother-Child Program in both the long and short term" (CSC, 2007a). The combination of these policy approaches has reduced the potential success of the MCP by decreasing the available space for program participation.

Institutional Culture

Interviewees from EFS identified a change in the nature of the institutions themselves as a possible factor impeding the MCP's success. Specifically, institutions were described as becoming more punitive as opposed to having an emphasis on rehabilitation and healing. For example,

Table 5
Total Number of Women Serving Federal Sentences Compared to Number of MCP Participants

Time Period	Total number of female inmates in Canada	Total number of MCP participants
April 2003	261	3
April 2007	460	4
April 2010	490	0
April 2012	603	0

Source: CSC, 2003a; 2007b; 2010; 2014; PSC, 2012

respondent #1 indicated that “institutions were supposed to be about healing” but that policy changes and a crime and punishment agenda made institutions “much more punitive and, therefore, difficult to ensure the safety and security of children”.

Perhaps the first step toward a more security-oriented approach to women’s corrections occurred shortly after the federal institutions opened and relates to the security classification of the inmates. Currently, each institution is classified as a multi-level security facility (CSC, 2010a). Secure Units for women designated as maximum security opened at various times between 2003 and 2005 (CSC, 2010). The opening of the secure units meant that more intense security would be directed to women who were identified as high risk/need. This would occur through constant staff presence and an increase in the use of static security measures, which emphasizes security and control mechanisms (CSC, 2003). For example, the Secure Units would have multiple levels of containment inside (i.e. cells, pods, etc.) and an exterior containment wall (CSC, 2003). Although CSC emphasized dynamic security (i.e. staff and offender interaction and relationship development) in their plan for the Secure Units, the additional static security measures were viewed as exacerbating the power imbalance between staff members and inmates present in the institutions: “we have seen how increased restrictions (though at times necessary) and/or staff disengagement can lead to increased acting-out as offenders seek to balance the ‘power’ shifts” (CSC, 2003, sec. C, para. 6). CSC (2003) noted that the impact of the added security measures on the environment of the main institution should be minimal; however, it is possible that presence of the secure units themselves and the increased supervisory requirements of staff may impact on the cultural environment of the institutions in a more indirect way.

In the current study, interviewees noted that the inclusion of maximum security individuals at the institutions made the overall environment more risky and thus not conducive for children. In a study conducted by Worrall & Morris (2011), a positive relationship between prison misconduct and custody level was found with higher custody levels being associated with a greater likelihood of misconduct. Berk & de Leeuw (1999) also found an association between inmate’s security classification score and inmate misconduct in California prisons. Similarly, McCorkle, Miethé & Drass (1995) found higher frequencies of both individual and collective violence in medium- and maximum-security institutions compared to those that are minimum-security. Given that the probability of misconduct increases with custody level, the addition of maximum level security units would contribute to a more dangerous environment. The heightened risk level in the correctional environment is not conducive for children.

The opening of the Secure Units is evidence that the cultural environment of the institutions may have shifted from focusing on rehabilitation and support in favour of a more security-driven control approach. One possible consequence of this shift is a decline in the use of rehabilitative programs (Phelps, 2012). Therefore, policies that contribute to a more punitive correctional environment, such as those that led to the opening of the Secure Units, may explain why the participation rate of the MCP has been declining since its full implementation.

Table 6
Change in Number of Months with MCP Participants After 2008

Institution	2001-2007		2008-2012 ⁱⁱ		Change +/-
	Months with participants / Months of data provided	%	Months with participants / Months of data provided	%	
Joliette Institute	75/76	99	26/56	46	- 53
Grand Valley Institute	51/78	65	8/56	14	- 51
Okimaw Ohci	29/83	35	0/56	0	- 35
Nova Institute	6/82	7	11/56	20	+ 13
Edmonton Institute	0/76	0	0/56	0	0
Fraser Valley ⁱ	0/41	0	32/56	57	+ 57

i Data began in August 2004. ii Data until August.

Eligibility Changes

Perhaps the biggest factor that directly impeded the success of the MCP was the series of changes made to its eligibility criteria in 2008. Although a causal inference cannot be made, Table 6 shows a notable correlation between the MCP participation rate before and after 2008.

Three institutions had large decreases in overall participation rate. JI, which had the highest participation rate of any institution, went from having participants 99 percent of the time from 2001 to 2007 to only 46 percent of the time from 2008 until August 2012. GVI had a similar drop in participation, going from 65 percent to 14 percent. The Healing Lodge went from having participants 35 percent of the time to having zero participants after the 2008 changes. No change was seen at EIW as it never had any participants. Two institutions saw an increase in participation

rate after 2008. NI saw a small increase in participation from 7 percent to 20 percent. This increase is entirely from the full-time portion of the program as Nova did not have any part-time participants. This increase disappears, however, when one considers that NI did not have any participants until 2006. If looking strictly at months with data provided since their first participant in December 2006, the percentage of months with MCP participation drops from 46 percent before 2008 to 20 percent after 2008 (i.e. 6/13 months and 11/56 months, respectively). Lastly, the 2008 changes had a unique impact on FVI, which had zero participants prior to 2008. From January 2008 until August 2012, FVI had participants for 57 percent of the months. Unfortunately, given the nature of the data, it is impossible to determine if the increase is simply reflecting a shift from zero participants prior to 2008 to one or two long term participants after 2008 or many more participants for shorter periods of time.

It was beyond the scope of the current study to attempt to control for factors other than the 2008 policy changes that may have influenced participation in the MCP; however, it is plausible that the policy changes have negatively impacted the participation rate of the program at some institutions. An in-depth look at two of the eligibility changes provides specific evidence of this impact. The first change impacts incarcerated mothers directly by making them ineligible for the MCP based on the nature of their charges. This change involves denying women participation in the MCP based on one factor related to their incarceration (i.e. type of offence committed) which may not accurately represent their level of risk (if any) to children.

Level of risk in correctional institutions is based on seven factors including the seriousness of the offence, behaviour while incarcerated, and presence or absence of mental or physical illness or disorder (Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations (CCRR), 2013: 9). Women are classified as maximum, medium or minimum security based on the results of CSC assessments (CCRR, 2013, s. 18). Prior to the changes made in 2008, only inmates classified as minimum or medium security were eligible (CSC, 2007a). In April 2007, 50 women (representing 11 percent of the women incarcerated in federal institutions) were considered maximum security offenders (CSC, 2007b). This number increased to 58 (or 12 percent) in 2010 (CSC, 2010). Therefore, by utilizing security classification as an eligibility criterion prior to 2008, a little over 10 percent of incarcerated women would have been immediately ineligible.

In 2008, by restricting eligibility based on one factor (i.e. type of offence), Public Safety Canada created a sweeping ineligibility that significantly reduced the number of mothers eligible for the MCP. As of March 21, 2010, 333 women (or 66 percent) of women incarcerated at the federal level in Canada were serving time for violent offences (which include both first and second degree murder and other Schedule 1 offences) (CSC, 2010). Therefore, with this eligibility criterion in place, two-thirds of female federal offenders in Canada are ineligible for the MCP.

The second change in eligibility criteria worth exploring relates to the ages of children eligible for the program. Hartz-Karp points out that restrictions based on children's ages are problematic for two reasons:

In the first instance, there is no “magic age” at which mother/child bonding is no longer important or necessary... Secondly, creating arbitrary age demarcations for infants on the basis of inadequate facilities is inappropriate given the aims of mother/infant prison [programs] (1983: 175-6).

Although the age restrictions for the Canadian MCP concern older children, the sentiment expressed by Hartz-Karp (1983) still stands. Former Minister of Public Safety Stockwell Day

indicated that the safety and security of children was the first priority and that as a result of these reforms, “the program will continue to ensure mother-child relationships are fostered without endangering the safety of a child” (PSC, 2008, para. 3). However, the relationship between this change and the desire to ensure the safety of program participants is lacking. After all, how would the safety of a six-year old participant be any different from a seven-year old? As a result, this particular change appears to suggest an underlying agenda that seeks to eliminate the MCP. Unfortunately, the data provided by CSC do not allow for a determination of how much of an impact, if any, this change had on the program participation rate.

Stockwell Day’s request for CSC to review the program in February 2008 came shortly after a judgment was made in a case involving a mother from British Columbia (Bellett, 2008; Johnson, 2008; PSC, 2008). Lisa Whitford was sentenced to four years in prison after being charged with manslaughter (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008). Whitford had shot and killed her common-law partner while she was pregnant with his child (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008). Mr. Justice W. Glen Parrett, after noting Whitford’s extensive criminal history, noted that “this is the history of a person with severe substance abuse problems who lacks education, conflict resolution skills, and has continuously suffered both sexual and physical abuse” (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008, para. 18). While awaiting trial, Whitford gave birth to her daughter Jordynn who resided with Whitford at the Alouette Correctional Centre for Women in B.C. (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008). The judgment noted that plans were underway to determine whether Whitford would be able to keep Jordynn with her at FVI once sentenced, a decision which was supported by the B.C. Ministry of Children and Family Development (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008). Justice Parrett expressed concern regarding the nature of the MCP program, stating:

It is in many respects startling, to put it mildly, to consider incarcerating in a federal institution the accused’s new child who is still under the age of one. The sentence, however, is for the mother, not the child. Others have the heavy burden of monitoring the best interests of the child and acting appropriately (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008, para. 23).

It was perhaps these comments combined with media coverage of the case that prompted Public Safety Canada to review the MCP.

The judgment was heard on February 6, 2008 (*R. v. Whitford*, 2008). The very next day *The Vancouver Sun*’s coverage of the case utilized the following headline: *Killer to Raise Baby in Jail* (Bellett, 2008; Johnson, 2008). Approximately four months later, Public Safety Canada announced the changes to the program which would have made Whitford ineligible based on the nature of her offence. It appears, then, that the Whitford case and the public discussion it generated spurred on the program review. The many intersecting variables of Whitford’s life were described in both the judgment and media accounts of the case. According to Johnson, the case created divergent views of Whitford as either “a victim deserving of support in her role as mother or as a violent, degenerate, drug addicted criminal who was a danger to both society and her own child” (2008, pp. 50-51). The decision to review the program suggests that public and the federal government’s perceptions of female offenders align with the latter view.

Straying from *Creating Choices*

A commonality exists between three main factors inhibiting the usage of the program. The three suggested factors – overcrowding, a more punitive correctional environment, and the eligibility changes – are illustrative of policies and decisions that stray from the vision and philosophies of *Creating Choices*. Recall that *Creating Choices* envisioned an idealized prison environment that emphasized serenity and tranquility, plenty of space and privacy, was rehabilitative rather than security-focused, and recognized women's particular needs (TFFSW, 1990). A closer look at these factors reveals an inconsistency between *Creating Choices*' recommended plan for female offenders and the actual implementation of this plan by CSC.

First, an institution that is overcrowded would not be able to give women adequate space and privacy. Second, since the rationale for the MCP emphasizes a rehabilitative approach to corrections, an environment that does not support or emphasize such an approach would likely not promote or utilize the MCP. Therefore, policies that contributed to a more punitive environment, such as the development of Secure Units, may explain why the participation rate of the MCP has been declining since its full implementation. Lastly, the combined eligibility changes illustrate attitudes of and approaches to female offenders that are inconsistent with those advocated in *Creating Choices*. These changes involved classifying women based on factors that do not necessarily reflect a level of risk to children. This, by extension, ignores women's needs in relation to mothering. Second, arbitrary age restrictions for children appear to suggest a lack of support for the MCP on behalf of CSC and Public Safety Canada. Finally, the reason behind the decision to review the program (i.e. the judicial comments and the media portrayal of the Lisa Whitford case) reflects attitudes of female offenders that are inconsistent with that for which *Creating Choices* advocated. Since the changes made to the program would have restricted Whitford's eligibility for the program, it seems that Whitford is viewed as an unfit mother based on her offence, rendering her ineligible for any potential benefits the MCP may have had for her and her daughter. Such views reflect disconnects between the vision of the TFFSW and the agency that governs corrections-related policy in Canada. By adopting a view of female offenders in a manner that differed from that advocated in *Creating Choices*, decisions made by Public Safety Canada directly limited the success of the MCP. Given the nature of these barriers impeding the usage of the MCP, it is plausible that the success of the program hinges on its ability to operate in a manner that is consistent with *Creating Choices*.

Recommendations

Identifying recommendations to increase the usage of the program may seem counterproductive for advocates of incarcerated women. For instance, Elizabeth Fry Societies seek to decrease the number of women who are imprisoned in Canada (CAEFS, 2005). If successful, the lack of program participants could be a positive. However, as it stands, the limited use of the program does not seem to stem from lack of interest or lack of incarcerated mothers. Instead it appears that the program usage has been low and declining because of policies and decisions that view female offenders as unfit mothers and correctional institutions as un conducive for children. Therefore, to increase the participation rate of the MCP, numerous policy changes would need to occur to alter these views and make institutional environments align with the *Creating Choices* plan.

First, an increase in the use of community sentences for both mothers and non-mothers would assist with institutional overcrowding. As a result, institutions would have more space for

mothers who do not receive community sentences. Second, CSC should emphasize support and rehabilitation instead of security; classifying women based on security-level should be discontinued. Instead, women's individual needs should be identified and effective programming should be provided. A less ideal alternative working within the confines of CSC's current policy would be to keep maximum security women at separate institutions so that static security could be decreased at the minimum and medium security institutions. This would alleviate many of the safety and security concerns associated with having children in prison. Lastly, the eligibility changes made in 2008 should be reversed: women should not be denied eligibility based solely on the nature of their offence and age restrictions should not be denying older children the opportunity to maintain ties with their mothers.

The implementation of these recommendations requires a shift in the way incarcerated mothers are viewed by government authorities and the general public. One way to approach this task is to disseminate information about MCPs and their associated benefits through various media channels. For instance, some research suggests that women who participate in mother-child programs have reduced recidivism rates (Carlson, 1998; Radosh, 2002). Furthermore, a recent judicial decision related to mother-child visitation found that the cancellation of a provincial-level program violated the mothers' fundamental *Charter* rights (*Inglis v. British Columbia*, 2013). This decision is a welcome addition to the discourse surrounding MCPs as it brings a rights framework to the forefront. It is hoped that such added publicity would increase public support for MCPs to a degree necessary to influence political agendas and make these programs a priority.

Future Research

Future research should be directed toward three main areas. First, given the difficulties associated with the implementation of the above recommendations – namely, the incompatibility between the requirements of the MCP and larger political decisions and philosophies – it is crucial to continue to explore the benefits associated with mother-child visitation with the hope that politicians will eventually acknowledge the importance of maintaining bonds and ties with family. Second, more research is needed to better establish the relationships between the barriers identified by this study and the impacts they have had on the MCP. For example, the specific impact that the tough-on-crime agenda in Canada will have on prison populations over time will need to be determined. Finally, this study revealed varying participation rates for the MCP across Canada with Quebec having the highest participation rate and Edmonton not ever utilizing the program. The generally low overall participation rate and the limitations associated with the data provided by CSC prevented this study from establishing the full extent of this geographical variation. Future research should seek to clearly establish the extent to which this variation exists and the reasons why the MCP may be more successful in certain areas of Canada.

About the Author

Sarah Brennan is a MA candidate at the University of Guelph in the Criminology and Criminal Justice program. Her research interests include correctional visitation and the impact incarceration can have on family dynamics. She can be reached at: brennans@uoguelph.ca

References

- Acoca, L. & Raeder, M. S. (1999). Severing family ties: The plight of nonviolent female offenders and their children. *Stanford Law & Police Review*, 11(1), 133-151.
- Barker, J. (2009). Coping strategies of women offenders. In J. Barker (Ed.), *Women and the criminal justice system: A Canadian perspective* (pp. 143-172). Toronto, ON: Emond Montgomery Publications Limited.
- Baunach, P. J. (1985). *Mothers in prison*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Belknap, J. (2007). *The invisible woman: Gender, crime, and justice*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Bellett, G. (2008). *Killer to raise baby in prison*. Vancouver Sun. Retrieved from <http://www.canada.com/vancouver/news/story.html?id=f7bcadfe-2647-4c87-92cc-400f2f11864b>
- Berk, R. A. & de Leeuw, J. (1999). An evaluation of California's inmate classification system using a generalized regression discontinuity design. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 94(448), 1045-1052.
- Booker Loper, A. L., Carlson, L. W., Levitt, L., & Scheffel, K. (2009). Parenting stress, alliance, child contact, and adjustment of imprisoned mothers and fathers. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 48, 483-500.
- Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies (CAEFS). (2005). Retrieved from http://www.elizabethfry.ca/caefs_e.htm
- Carlson, J. R. (1998). Evaluating the effectiveness of a live-in nursery within a women's prison. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 27(1-2), 73-85.
- Celinska, K. & Siegel, J. A. (2010). Mothers in trouble: Coping with actual or pending separation from children due to incarceration. *The Prison Journal*, 90(4), 447-474.
- Correctional Service Canada. (2002). Regional women's facilities: Operational plan. Retrieved from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/fsw12/region_women_facilit_fsw12-eng.shtml#_6_3
- Correctional Service Canada. (2003). Secure unit operational plan: Intensive intervention in a secure environment. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/secureunitop/secure-unitop-2003-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2003a). Women offender statistical overview. Retrieved from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/wos14/statisticalov_wos14_e.pdf

- Correctional Service Canada. (2007). Mother-child program. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/pro02-5-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2007a). Commissioner's directive number 768: Institutional mother-child program. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/plcy/doc/768-cd.pdf>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2007b). Women offender statistical overview. Retrieved from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/wos33/docs/wos33_stat-ovrvw_2007-eng.pdf
- Correctional Service Canada. (2010). Women offender statistical overview: Fiscal year 2009-2010. Retrieved from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/wos_Stat_09_10/wos_stat_09_10-eng.pdf
- Correctional Service Canada. (2010a) Institution profiles. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/region/inst-profil-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2012). MC summary 2001 - 2012. Received via e-mail September 25, 2012 from the Women Offender Sector.
- Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations SOR/92.620. (2012). Retrieved from <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/SOR-92-620.pdf>
- Cunningham, A. & Baker, L. (2004, December). *Invisible victims: The children of women in prison*. London, ON: Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System. Retrieved from http://www.lfcc.on.ca/Voices_Report-Invisible_Victims.pdf
- DeKeseredy, W. S. (2009). Canadian crime control in the new millennium: The influence of neo-conservative US policies and practices. *Police, Practice and Research*, 10(4), 305-316.
- Dressel, P. L. & Barnhill, S. K. (1994). Reframing gerontological thought and practice: The case of grandmothers with daughters in prison. *The Gerontologist*, 34(5), 685-691.
- Enos, S. (2001). *Mother from the inside: Parenting in a women's prison*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Fishman, S. H. (1983). The impact of incarceration on children of offenders. In M. Frank (Ed.), *Children of exceptional parents* (pp. 89-99). New York, NY: The Haworth Press.
- Fogel, C. I. & Martin, S. L. (1992). The mental health of incarcerated women. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 14(1), 30-47.
- Gadsden, V.L. [Ed.] (2003). *Heading home: Offender reintegration into the family*. Lanham, MD: American Correctional Association.
- Gentry, P. (2003). Damage to family relationships as a collateral consequence of parental incarceration. *The Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 30(5), 1671-1684.

- Greene, S., Haney, C., & Hurtado, A. (2000). Cycles of pain: Risk factors in the lives of incarcerated mothers and their children. *The Prison Journal*, 80(1), 3-23.
- Hagan, J. (1996). The next generation: Children of prisoners. *Journal of the Oklahoma Criminal Justice, Research Consortium*, 3, 19-33.
- Hairston, C. F. (1991). Mothers in jail: Parent-child separation and jail visitation. *Women and Social Work*, 6(2), 9-27.
- Hartz-Karp, J. (1983). The impact of infants in prison on institutional life: A study of the mother/infant prison programme in Western Australia. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 16(3), 172-183.
- Houck, K. D. F. & Booker Loper, A. (2002). The relationship of parenting stress to adjustment among mothers in prison. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 72(4), 548-558.
- Inglis v. British Columbia (Minister of Public Safety)*. (2013). B.C.S.C. 2309.
- Johnson, R. (2008). Mothers, babies and jail. *University of Maryland Law Journal of Race, Religion, Gender and Class*, 8, 47-70.
- Johnston, D. (1995). Effects of parental incarceration. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents* (pp. 59-88). New York: Lexington Books.
- Johnston, D. (1995a). The care and placement of prisoners' children. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents* (pp. 103-123). New York: Lexington Books.
- Johnston, D. (1995b). Jailed mothers. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents* (pp.41-55). New York: Lexington Books.
- Kampfner, C. J. (1995). Post-traumatic stress reactions in children of imprisoned mothers. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents* (pp. 89-100). New York: Lexington Books.
- Kiser, G. C. (1991). Female inmates and their families. *Federal Probation*, 58, 56-63.
- Law, V. (2009). *Resistance behind bars: The struggles of incarcerated women*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.
- Lebrecque, R. (1995). *Study of the mother-child program* (FSW No – 24). Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/fsw/fsw24/toce-eng.shtml>.
- MacDonald, M., & Watson, L. (2001). Creating choices, changing lives: The transformation of women's corrections in Canada. *Corrections Today*, February, 70-73,127.

- Mallea, P. (2010). The fear factor: Steven Harper's "tough on crime" agenda. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- McCorkle, R. C., Miethe, T. D., & Drass, K. A. (1995). The roots of prison violence: A test of the deprivation, management, and "not-so-total" institution models. *Crime & Delinquency*, 41(3), 317-331.
- McGowan, B. G., & Blumenthal, K. L. (1978). *Why punish the children?* Hackensack, NJ: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.
- Myers, B. J., Smarsh, T. M., Amlund-Hagen, K., & Kennon, S. (1999). Children of incarcerated mothers. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 8(1), 11-25.
- Phelps, M. (2012). The place of punishment: Variation in the provision of inmate services staff across the punitive turn. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40, 248-357.
- Pollack, S., Battaglia, M., & Allspach, A. (2005). Women charged with domestic violence in Toronto: The unintended consequences of mandatory charge policies. The Women Abuse Council of Toronto.
- Public Safety Canada. (2008). Minister Day tightens rules for Mother-Child Program to ensure child protection. Retrieved from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/media/nr/2008/nr20080627-1-eng.aspx>
- Public Safety Canada. (2012). Corrections and conditional release statistical overview. Retrieved from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/res/cor/rep/2012-ccrso-eng.aspx>
- Radosh, P. F. (2002). Reflections on women's crime and mothers in prison: A peacemaking approach. *Crime Delinquency*, 48(2), 300-315.
- R. v. Whitford*. (2008). B.C.S.C. 1378.
- Sharp, S. F. & Marcus-Mendoza, S. T. (2001). It's a family affair: Incarcerated women and their families. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 12(4), 21-49.
- The Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women. (1990). *Creating choices*. Correctional Services Canada.
- Worrall, J. L. & Morris, R. G. (2011). Inmate custody levels and prison rule violations. *The Prison Journal*, 91(2), 131-157.