Women and crime: characteristics of inmates of the Georgia Rehabilitation center for women

Judy Barton Smith
Atlanta University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/dissertations
Part of the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation
WOMEN AND CRIME: CHARACTERISTICS OF INMATES OF THE GEORGIA REHABILITATION CENTER FOR WOMEN

A Thesis

Submitted To The Faculty Of Atlanta University
In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Master Of Arts

By
Judy Barton Smith
Department Of Sociology

Atlanta, Georgia
December 9, 1974
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. Introduction ............................................ 1
Chapter II. Review Of The Literature. .............................. 5
Chapter III. Research Findings .................................. 19
Chapter IV. Summary and Conclusions ............................ 38
Appendix I. Inmate Questionnaire ................................. 46
Appendix II. Occupational Distribution ......................... 49
Bibliography ....................................................... 50
LIST OF TABLES

Table                                                                 | Page  
---                                                                  |---
I.  Years of Age, By Race                                        22
II. Marital Status, By Race                                      24
III. Living Arrangements, By Race                                26
IV. Number and Ages of Children                                  27
V.  Relationship to Person With Whom Minor Children are Presently Residing 27
VI. Educational Attainment, By Race                              30-31
VII. Usual Monthly Income                                        33
VIII. Offense Distribution                                       34
IX.  Offender Status, By Race                                    35
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper is the result of my increasing interest in the status of women and criminal behavior. In order to be able to present ideas and conduct research in both areas I decided to concentrate upon female prisoners of a state prison.

During my efforts to explore female criminality it became increasingly apparent that a sample population would be necessary for the purpose of collecting data and possibly for testing various hypotheses regarding women criminals. In Georgia female prisoners are detained at the Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women (GRCW) at Hardwick, Georgia. There I began the long process of discussing the feasibility of utilizing some of the inmates as a sample population, securing permission to do so from prison officials, and selecting the sample. The Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women (GRCW) was selected because of its accessibility and because of my special interest in that institution, as a native Georgia, in the status of female prisoners in this state.

Methodology

Thirty-nine from a total population of 277 names were randomly selected as possible participants from the Georgia
Rehabilitation Center for Women Population Report, dated June 6, 1974. This document is a computerized listing and provides the following data on each inmate:

1. Name
2. Inmate number
3. Previous convictions
4. Custody
5. Age
6. Race
7. Prime skill
8. Behavior
9. Physical limits
10. Tentative release date
11. Parole eligibility date
12. Major offense
13. Second offense
14. Home county
15. Disciplinary reports
16. Date assigned to institution
17. Transfer / reason -- previous location
18. Escapes / number -- last recapture date
19. Sentences / number -- years and/or months

The thirty-nine women were first to be polled by one of the on-site counselors for the purpose of determining whether they would like to participate and their ability to do so given the limitations of their schedules. This was assigned to the counselors because of their accessibility to the inmates. The twenty-nine women who would ultimately compose the sample were to be selected in this manner. Twenty-nine was the desired number of respondents and represented approximately one tenth of the average daily population of three hundred and was also the maximum number feasible for a study of this kind.

Ten inmates were later substituted for other originally chosen by the counselors on a random basis due to the unavailability
of the originally selected respondents. Their presence in the sample may have altered the composition of the sample, but the difference is not felt to be significant. The final sample consisted of twenty-eight respondents -- twenty-one or 75 per cent of whom were black and seven or 25 per cent were white. The sample is representative of the racial composition of the inmate population from which they were selected.

A common instrument was utilized to interview respondents (Appendix I). The instrument used was a questionnaire designed to elicit maximum information in the areas selected while retaining its simplicity. Eighteen respondents were administered the questionnaire in a group setting. Despite some concern on the part of prison officials as to the ability of the respondents to complete the questionnaire without assistance, all but one respondent was able to do so. The remaining ten inmates were interviewed by either Susan Ross, Belle Harrison or myself, with the interviewer asking the questions and completing the instrument in individual interview situations.

Statement of Thesis

The focus of this paper is the female criminal who has been incarcerated. Criminals, as will be further detailed elsewhere in this paper, are those persons that have been adjudicated guilty of a criminal offense by a legally recognized court. They may or may not be imprisoned. Offenders, for the sake of
clarity, are those persons who are alleged to have or who have, in fact, committed criminal offenses but have not been adjudicated guilty of them by a court of law.

Whether there are or are not significant behavioral differences between offenders and criminals is difficult to determine. There is inadequate data to support conclusively either the position that there are significant differences or that there are not regarding these two groups of people. A major reason for this lack of data is the difficulty of obtaining information on the character or characteristics of offenders who have not been processed through the criminal justice system (arrested, tried, and convicted). As a result, research that seeks to assign a set of characteristics which relate exclusively to offenders and criminals rather than law-abiding citizens commits itself to a virtually impossible task based upon the data available.

Since this research is of a very exploratory nature no hypothesis was presented. It is an effort to provide documentation of the characteristics and criminal behavior of inmates of GRCW and to provide a basis for future research.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of literature in the fields of crime, criminal behavior and criminology revealed a dearth of information on female offenders. As a matter of fact, even those authors who alluded to the differentials between male and female criminals or who mentioned the occurrence of female criminality incidentally were in a distinct minority. It appears from the literature that the study of female criminals constitutes a very insignificant area.

I felt that it was also necessary to review some of the literature pertaining to crime and criminal behavior in a general sense so that my exploratory efforts would be grounded substantially enough to serve as a basis for further study and comparison and to provide a foundation for understanding the climate in which people, both men and women, are adjudicated guilty of criminal offenses and sentenced to prison. In so doing, the necessity of exploring the relationships between the definitions of crime, criminality, and the facts of crime reporting as they relate to persons serving prison sentences as well as to the general public became apparent.

Definitions of crime are abundant. A few are mentioned here to illustrate the variety of approaches and perspectives
with which a researcher may be confronted. Hopefully by so doing the lack of consensus achieved will be demonstrated. The significance of this conglomeration of definitions is that each determines what is meant by its proponent only he or she speaks of "crime." More pertinently, "... one's feeling about the word 'crime' provides one with the vision for studying crime." As one of the major concerns of our society today, crime requires much more rigorous appraisal than it receives from official members of society. The absence of a common basis for discussion may account for the lack of success officials have had in effectively combating crime. Adding to the confusion are the labels assigned to various kinds of crime, i.e. white collar crime, street crime, violent crime, etc. The implication often received from these labels and discussions is that some kinds of 'crime' are more permissable than others.

Rather than defining crime in static terms, Blumberg prefers to enumerate several factors which he considers to be components of a crime. All five components in his definition must be present for a crime to have occurred.

1. There must be an act of commission or omission.
2. There must be evil intent.
3. The act must involve violation of a specific legal code.

---

4. There must be harmful consequences of some kind, precipitated by the illegal behavior; and

5. There must be a sanction or punishment of some kind imposed for the breach.\(^\text{2}\)

Richard Quinney takes a much more encompassing view of crime. In addition the person who actually commits the deed which is designated as a crime, his analysis involves other persons as participants in the process. Crime is a definition of behavior that is conferred on some persons by others. Agents of the law (legislators, police, prosecutors and judges), representing segments of a politically organized society are responsible for formulating and administering criminal law. Persons and behavior therefore, become criminal because of the formulation and application of criminal definitions. Thus, crime is created.\(^\text{3}\)

He also mentions that these definitions may vary at different times in history and in different locales. It would appear from his statements that the behavior defined as criminal at any given point in time would be subject to the constraints of the cultural and social milieu in which it originates. This definition assigns no responsibility to the person whose behavior is labeled criminal. The implication is that the labelling is imposed by outside forces and that the behavior of the individual is incidental.


The legalistic response, however, defines criminals as "... those ... who have been adjudicated as such by the courts". This definition of criminality assigns no criminal status to those persons who have committed offenses but who, for one reason or another, have not been found guilty by the courts. According to this definition it is not necessarily the violation of the criminal law which determines one's criminal status, but rather, his or her success or lack of success in negotiating and/or eluding apprehension, arrest, and conviction. One might say then, that, in addition to the persons who have violated the criminal code, others who are unable or unwilling to successfully negotiate these three steps may also be labeled criminals.

The definition provided by Walter C. Reckless is perhaps the most nebulous of all. He states that the "... fact of crime is the reporting of a violation of a criminal code. Anything else is not crime in fact." This definition makes no mention of the fact that the criminal code must in fact be violated. The mere reporting of a violation is at best an unsubstantiated claim and should not subject one to the assignment of criminal status. This point of view, which is central

---


to the Uniform Crime Reports of the United States Justice Department, based upon crimes known to the police, is most often quoted when public officials speak of an increase in crime. That the emphasis is placed on reporting of the crime rather than the fact that a crime was committed seems indicative of a tendency to acquire information which under most circumstances would not be considered valid.

The definition which I find most acceptable for the purposes of this paper defines crime from a legal point of view as any act that is prohibited by law and punishable by politically organized society in a formal proceeding. By virtue of this definition any person who has behaved in such a manner is a criminal, whether apprehended, arrested, and convicted. This very logical definition presents some serious problems in terms of its utilization in a documented research paper. It is not possible at this time to identify, and thereby generalize about or characterize as criminals, those persons who have in fact violated the law but who have not been arrested, tried and adjudicated guilty. It is therefore necessary, for the purposes of this research, to restrict the use of the word criminal to those persons who are known to have violated the criminal law by virtue of their arrest and conviction.

Before the processes of apprehension, arrest and conviction begin, a law must be violated. Crimes involve the participation of various sectors of society--at various levels.
For example, unless a violation of the criminal law is known to have occurred and is reported to the police, there is no official response to the act. The violation may then go unnoticed indefinitely. Rarely does the person committing the violation seek voluntarily to make his or her activity known to those charged with the responsibility of establishing and maintaining the laws. Most crimes that become a part of the statistics the public hears about are as a result of their being reported to the police. Statistics compiled by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency reveal that Americans report more than nine million crimes to the police annually.

A recent study conducted by the Atlanta Regional Commission which concluded that half of the city's crimes go unreported provides some support for the statement regarding national rates. In Atlanta the cause of such a large percentage of unreported crimes was attributed to a feeling on the part of the victim that the police cannot solve the crime or would not make an arrest. Information provided by Burkhart suggests that their feelings may be justified.

---


police make arrests on only 12% of all reported crimes. Of the number arrested, only half are found guilty. After suspended sentences, probation and other alternatives to prison are used up, slightly more than 1.5% of all reported lawbreakers are sentenced to prison. One out of 30 people sentenced to prison is a woman.

There are some members or classes of society who are less likely to escape apprehension and prosecution than others. For example, black people in America and other ethnic minorities stand a disproportionate chance of being arrested, convicted and sentenced to prison for violations than whites. This is supported by statistics supplied by Korn and McCorkle which indicate that although seventy per cent of all persons arrested for crimes in this country are members of the white race, thirty per cent of the total arrested are black people. In these instances being black may constitute a 'categoric risk' since that fact alone may make a person more susceptible to arrest and conviction than members of the dominant society.

Also, as noted by Burkart, women seem to be disproportionately absent from criminal statistics. Some criminologists, notably Otto Pollak, feel that crimes committed by women are

---


greatly underreported. He devoted a significant portion of his book, *The Criminality of Women*, to a discussion of the reasons for the underreporting of crimes committed by women. A premise which he set forth was the 'masked' character of women's crimes. By virtue of the kinds of roles women most often perform (mother, nurse, maid, homemaker) they frequently have opportunities to commit crimes which, if committed by men, would be much more easily detectable, according to Pollak. Offenses which he feels are underreported due to this masked effect are shoplifting, thefts by prostitutes, domestic thefts, **11** perjury, and disturbance of the peace. The offenses which he listed as characteristic of the masked nature of women's crimes are also generally regarded as non-serious offenses which may have some bearing in the matter.

Even though there are significantly fewer crimes attributed to women than to men, the incidence of crimes committed by women is reportedly on the increase. Not only do some criminologists feel that women's crimes are underreported, as mentioned earlier, but others feel that those who are arrested receive more lenient treatment in the courts than do men because they are women. Still others attribute the apparently more lenient treatment to the fact that in our society women are

---


expected to be passive and dependent and the male's role is to be the protective provider, which when employed in judicial instances often converts itself to leniency.

Women are also more likely to be treated lightly because it is often assumed that they behave irrationally. The underlying premise here appears to be that women cannot be held responsible for their actions. Their 'misbehavior' is either to be tolerated or disposed of by referral to a resource that is equipped to acquaint them with the proper behavior in a given situation. It stands to reason then that women should be imprisoned only for the more serious offenses or only after repeated arrests for minor offenses.

A recurring theme on the character of female criminality is that women are prone to employ deceit and concealment. Usually this greater exercise of deceit is attributed to women's lesser physical strength, as compared to that of a man, and the greater opportunities that women have for concealment. Concealment and deceit, it can be argued, are desirable components of most crimes. To the extent that they can be measured, there

---


14 Ibid.

is some basis for determining one group to be more or less concerned with concealment and deceit than another. The difficulty arises however, when one attempts to determine whether one is more or less skillful at concealment and deceit than another and why, or whether other forces, i.e. nature of the crime itself, only make it appear so.

Another theory which Pollak advances is the importance of the generative phases in the lives of women.

Particularly because of the social meaning attached to them in our culture, the generative phases of women (menstruation, pregnancy and menopause) are bound to present many stumbling blocks for the law-abiding behavior of women.\(^{16}\)

Pollak seems to be certain that there is a relationship between these periods and female willingness to commit crimes. In a later passage he even states that menstruation must lead to disturbance of the emotional balance of the individual, and is thus potentially crimogenic.\(^{17}\) That a person's normal biological functioning is considered crime-promoting is an area which needs further exploration. It is unlikely that positive correlations can be found particularly when one considers that the majority of people are not criminals. To speak definitively of causation one must be able to isolate factors which


\(^{17}\) Ibid., p. 158.
individually or which in combination with other specified factors or conditions produce the behavior in question. What many researchers attempt to do instead is to identify the characteristics of various groups and/or the extent to which these characteristics are found in the individual group members and the degree to which they can be generalized to other members of the general population. Information regarding the personal characteristics of female criminals and their criminal histories are prerequisites for serious study into the multiple factors which may result in the commission of a crime and the nature of the crimes which they commit.

To assign physical characteristics as explanations of crime, or to assign as causative factors the biological differences between male and female individuals, presumes that individuals have no control over their behavior or that they are unable to act independent of their various life processes.

Many of the theories that concern the incidence of female criminality raise questions about the fact that female prisoners constitute such a small percentage of the total prison population. For example, women are less likely than men to be found guilty of crimes, and there seems to be an aversion to sending women to prison. In most instances, every other available alternative (suspended sentence, probation) will be exhausted before a woman receives a prison sentence. And
even when they are sentenced to prison they are generally
likely to get a shorter sentence than a man would under similar
conditions. Nagel theorized that judges and juries simply
find the idea of women in prison, away from their families,
offensive. A more accurate proposition might be that these
wives and mothers should be at home with their husbands and
children. One might then logically assume that the majority of
the women who do go to prison are hardened criminals.

A study conducted in 1972 at the Federal Prison for
Women at Alderson, West Virginia resulted in a profile of the
typical woman inmate of a federal institution.

50 per cent are under 30
33 per cent are between the ages of 15 and 24
80 per cent are married
80 per cent are mothers
15 per cent reported making in excess of $100.00 per
week on their most recent job
60% had previous criminal records

Heffernan in her study of inmates of a women's prison
found it useful to distinguish two major classes of inmates
for the purpose of characterizing female criminals. The
first class consists of those women whose convictions were for
some form of homicide or assault, with no record of previous

18
Johnson, Crime, Correction and Society, p. 88.

19
Stuart S. Nagel, "The Tipped Scales of American Justice,"

20
Marcia Hovey, "The Forgotten Offenders," Manpower, 1971,
p. 38.
arrest in other criminal areas. These she labeled as "noncriminal" criminals. The literature indicates that women convicted for these crimes, assault and homicide, are most likely to be first offenders, that the victim is most often a man and that the love/hate syndrome is most often responsible for this homicidal behavior of females.

The other class, as defined by Heffernan, is composed of 'professionals'. Their often extensive offense history may include burglary, robbery, check stealing and forgery. The sale of narcotics is an offense which may be committed by a professional but only if they are non-addicts or if drug use appeared to be a minor factor in their offense pattern.

It is interesting and significant to note that very rarely are women convicted of robbery or burglary. Again the inevitable cultural assignment of roles enters into the sphere of choices that an individual has, even in terms of


25 Heffernan, Making It In Prison, p. 29.
criminal behavior. These crimes are considered 'male crimes' because they present the pursuit of monetary gain by overt action. Prostitution, forgery and narcotics sales represent a similar effort to obtain funds illegally and by overt action. I would suggest that women for one reason or another feel more comfortable in these areas. One obvious factor to be considered is that the risks are not as great nor are the penalties usually as severe as for burglary and robbery. But the selection of these areas of crime rather than others are significant areas for further study.

Toward the clarification and delineation of the nature of women's crimes, one writer suggests that the majority of the crimes committed by women are likely to be more serious than those of the majority of male criminals. There will be a higher proportion of inmates sentenced for larceny, forgery, manslaughter, aggravated assault, and murder than for male felons committed to state prisons. Unfortunately the data to test this hypothesis was not collected in this study.

\[26\] Pollak, The Criminality of Women, p. 29.

\[27\] Johnson, Crime, Correction and Society, p. 88.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH FINDINGS

The questionnaire (Appendix I) revealed interesting data in several categories. The data compiled provides some insight into the backgrounds of the inmates as well as their prospects for adjusting to their prison experiences and their ability to function outside the prison.

The data is presented categorically with tables and statistics employed where it was felt that their use would facilitate transmission of the information.

A. Family Size

Sheldon Gluece in his treatise on female criminality noted that there was apparently a positive correlation between large families and female criminality. The data confirms his findings with a larger than average family size being evident.

There was a range of 0-16 siblings with the mean being 5.8. Slightly more than 42 per cent of the respondents reported that they had six or more brothers and sisters.

What this may be indicative of is that many of the women grew up in very poor families with limited opportunities for upward mobility. What it may also indicate is, that, as children, they received less attention and affection than they needed and were aggressively competitive in their efforts or attempts to
achieve recognition. It must be noted that this information was not revealed directly by the questionnaire and is inferential.

B. Urban Vs. Rural Residence

Large urban areas are reportedly more conducive to crime, and consequently more crimes are committed there than in rural areas. This is evidenced by higher rates of arrest and conviction. The sample results tend to bear out the fact that more of the persons in prison are from urban rather than rural areas. Some consideration should be given to the increased efficiency of police departments which can result from social pressures placed on officials for more enforcement of the laws and the more sophisticated techniques used by urban police departments.

The classification for urban and rural was adopted from the 1970 Census of Population - General Social and Economic Characteristics, Georgia. The following cities and counties were classified as urbanized areas:

- Albany, Daugherty County
- Columbus, Muscogee County
- Atlanta, Fulton County
- Macon, Bibb County
- Augusta, Richmond County
- Savannah, Chatham County

Following these classifications, 42 per cent of the sample was born in urban areas in Georgia, 32 per cent in rural areas of the state and 25 per cent were born out of state. No determination as to the urban or rural location of out of state
origins was made. Of those born in Georgia, 42 per cent remained in the county of their birth or were residing in the county of their birth at the time the crime was committed, 32 per cent had moved to another county in Georgia, and 25 per cent had moved to Georgia from another state.

Sixteen (57 per cent) were reportedly living in urban areas at the time of their crime, 39 per cent in rural areas and 3 per cent reported that they were residing out of state at the time the offense was committed.

C. Age

The Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation Report for 1972-73 gives the average age of their female prison population as 28.98 years and states that 65 per cent of the population is thirty years of age or younger and that the range of ages extends from sixteen to sixty-two years.

The data from the sample indicates that 64 per cent are under thirty-one years of age with 39 per cent under the age of twenty-six and 57 per cent of the women under the age of thirty-six and black (as illustrated in Table I).

Although the black offenders tend to be relatively young the same is not true for the white respondents. Whites thirty years old and younger constitute 10 per cent of the sample, while those thirty-one and over constitute 14 per cent with all of the

---

28 Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation Report 1972-73, unnumbered pages.
latter being in the thirty-one to forty year old age group. This suggests that although blacks are overwhelmingly predominant in the younger age categories with 64 per cent under thirty-one as compared to 10 per cent of the whites, the whites show a disproportionate predominance in the category thirty-one to forty years with both black respondents and whites comprising 14 per cent of this age group.

Table I. Years of Age, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Ages</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D. Marital Status

The information on marital status is contradictory in some instances. The marital profile is quite revealing, however, and the data is useful for comparison with other segments of society.

The total percentage of women ever-married is 85 per cent while the percentage of the sample who currently consider themselves married is only 28 per cent. Although the marriage rate of 28 per cent appears to be low when compared to findings of similar studies, it may be accounted for by the fact that a separate category was provided for those women who considered themselves to be 'separated' for reasons other than the fact of their incarceration. See Table II for details. Comparable data on marital status for the state of Pennsylvania reveals that 30 per cent of the female inmates listed themselves as married.

A particularly interesting fact revealed by the data is that 35 per cent of the sample considered themselves separated for various reasons which was 7 per cent more than the total that considered themselves married.

No distinction was made on the questionnaire between common-law and legalized marriages. It was assumed that if the

respondent considered herself to be 'married', whatever the circumstances, that that would be sufficient. This absence of a definition for the relationships promoted a tendency for confusion in some instances which will be noted in a subsequent passage.

Table II. Marital Status By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Living Arrangements

The sample represented a variety of living arrangements. The question which elicited the responses for this category (Appendix I, no. 11) had several possible answers. As phrased, the point was to determine whether the inmate was living alone or with other people at the time the crime was committed and the nature of the relationship between individuals sharing the residence if there was any.

More of the women -- 46 per cent -- reported living in households consisting of wife and husband, or wife, husband and children than any other situation. The percentage of
respondents in relationships of this type was higher for whites than for blacks, with 57 per cent or four of the seven whites as compared to 42 per cent or nine of the twenty-one blacks. Only 28 per cent of the respondents reported themselves married (see question 4, Appendix I) at the time the questionnaire was administered. This illustrates a weakness in the instrument, as mentioned earlier, which resulted from the absence of defined relationships. Other explanations for the conflicting data include three respondents who indicated that they were separated in answer to the question regarding marital status (number 4, Appendix I) and that they were residing with their husbands at the time of the crime in answer to question 11, Appendix I. These separations may be due to their incarceration, although not stated, as well as to problems that have arisen between the time that the crime was committed and the time they were actually incarcerated. Another respondent indicated that she was widowed but had been living with her husband at the time of the crime. As the questionnaire upon closer scrutiny revealed, both her answers were accurate -- she was imprisoned because she was convicted of voluntary manslaughter, the victim was her husband. Another respondent indicated that she was married (common-law) and that she was living with an unrelated male.

Only 10 per cent of the respondents were residing with their children only and all three respondents reporting this arrangement were black. They represented 14 per cent of the
black respondents.

Seventy-five per cent reported living with at least one family member; 85 per cent of the black respondents and 57 per cent of the white respondents.

Of the 10 per cent living alone, none were incarcerated for violent crimes. All of their offenses were within the category of property offenses.

This section also revealed that no white females reported living with an unrelated male although 14 per cent of the blacks did, and no black women reported living with an unrelated female while 14 per cent of the white women did. Table III provides more details of this area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrangement</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With husband</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With husband and children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With other family members</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With unrelated male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With unrelated female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table IV. Number and Ages of Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 month to 2 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 5 years</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10 years</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 13 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 to 18 years</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 and over</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table V. Relationship To Person With Whom Minor Children Are Presently Residing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal grandmother</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal grandmother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step-father</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal aunt</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal aunt</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoptive parents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F. Motherhood

Many of the women are mothers and expressed a great deal of concern about the welfare of their children in informal conversations. Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents had children between the ages of eleven months and eighteen years, 63 per cent of the children are between the ages of eleven months and thirteen years. Table V shows a more complete age distribution.

The children of all but three of the sample respondents (12 per cent) were in the custody of and residing with family members. Table VI illustrates the number and relationships of the children in various custodial circumstances. An interesting observation from the data is that all three of the women whose children were not with family members but with either adoptive or foster parents are white. The two things which immediately came to mind were: 1) the existence of supportive family structures within the black community; and 2) the suggestion that criminal behavior on the part of white women may be considered more of a social liability than for black women. Although unable to positively document either statement conclusively, the data is quite supportive in that the black family members were, in every instance willing to assume responsibility for the children. Another interpretation may be that the white respondents preferred that their children either be in foster care or adopted rather than with members of their natural families. No data was collected to ascertain why the children
were where they were in any instance.

The degree of acceptance that the relatives have for the inmate mother can play a large role in determining the attitudes the children develop toward the mother. For example, if they experience feelings of shame and contempt there may be a tendency to alienate the children. They may even go so far, particularly with very young children, as to tell them that the mother is dead.

No formal provisions exist for the maintenance of contact between parent and child. In most instances some anxiety is relieved if the child or children are left in the care of relatives. When the relatives are disposed to maintain contact with the mother, who may be informed of the development, progress, problems, etc. of the children via mail or weekly visits.

The forced absence from their children for an extended period of time is a major source of frustration for many of the women. The case of women who give birth while in prison is particularly severe. In some instances the baby becomes a ward of the state and is adopted, in others a relative may assume the care and custody of the child. In either instance the mother is denied the opportunity of experiencing and participating in the early and most crucial states of her child's development. The child whom they encounter upon release from prison is then a stranger. The adjustments that must be made by all parties to the relationship would be greatly diminished if a semblance of normalcy could be maintained while in prison.
GRCW has no regularly scheduled family counseling sessions. The regular counselors indicated that because of the inadequacy of staff they are usually confined to crisis intervention. They do make telephone calls to family members for inmates and receive calls from relatives inquiring about inmates. There is not enough time, however, to get to know the inmates or to assist them in resolving any family problems or uncertainties that may exist.

An information sheet provided by the Department of Corrections states that classes in family planning are held weekly. The political, economic and social considerations which influenced the decision to incorporate such a program are not specifically known. It is, however, one of the few programs at the institution which overtly seeks to influence the family life of the inmates.

Table VI. Educational Attainment, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Grade Completed</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* one white respondent did not respond
### Table VI. Continued
Educational Attainment, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Grade Completed</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years of college</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years of college</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. Educational Attainment and Training

The data revealed that the mean years of education completed are 9.8. Thirty-three per cent of the total sample respondents have completed the 12th grade. Although the overwhelming majority of the sample had not graduated from high school, 32 per cent of those who had not graduated had completed the tenth grade. Twenty-five per cent had completed the ninth grade only or withdrawn prior to the ninth grade. One of the respondents stated that she had completed eight years of formal classroom instruction but had received a Graduate Equivalency Diploma while at GRCW.

Racially the statistics were a little more revealing. Seventy-one per cent of the white respondents had completed the tenth grade, although only 42 per cent had graduated from high school as compared to 66 per cent of the black respondents who completed the tenth grade and 23 per cent that finished high school.
One white respondent failed to answer this question (number 13, Appendix I), and one black respondent reported having received no formal education at all.

H. Employment

Closely related to education is their employment history. A majority, 53 per cent, considered themselves to have been regularly employed prior to incarceration. There was a wide range of occupations as illustrated in Appendix II. Most are low status and low paying occupations. Several persons indicated 'crime' or specific criminal activities as their usual occupation.

More than 60 per cent of the respondents reported an income of less than $500.00 per month, 32 per cent indicated an income of $250.00 per month or less. This 32 per cent comprised the largest economic category. Four of the respondents (12 per cent) indicated an income in excess of $700.00 per month--of these, three stated that their income was derived, at least in part, from illegal activities. The fourth, while not stating that a part of her income was derived from illegal activities, was imprisoned for selling narcotics, which, it is logical to assume, may have contributed significantly to her income.

Three persons chose not to answer this question, question 17, Appendix I.
Table VII. Usual Monthly Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$250.00 or less</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251.00 - 500.00</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501.00 - 700.00</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701.00 - 1,000.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,001.00 or more</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inmates are currently employed in varied occupations including laboratory aides, cooks, and nurse's aides. As payment for their work, Central State Hospital provides GRCW with food.

I. Offense Distribution

The results in this area present several suggestions for further research. For example, crimes with victims accounted for 39% of the offenses reported. Included in this category were murder, manslaughter, aggravated assault, cruelty to a child and obstruction of a law enforcement officer.

Within this category 73 per cent of the offenses were committed by blacks and 27% by whites. When looked at in terms of the percentage of the racial group participating, there is much less disparity with 40 per cent of the black respondents involved as compared to 38 per cent of the white respondents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Offense</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Crimes Against the Person</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary manslaughter</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated assault</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty to a child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstruction of a law enforcement officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindering apprehension of a criminal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Crimes Against Property</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft by taking</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car theft</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Drug Offenses</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of narcotics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of narcotics</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some respondents were serving sentences for more than one offense
Table IX. Offender Status, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Offender</td>
<td>Repeater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 - 21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 - 25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 - 50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 - 60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 and over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight black respondents, 29 per cent of the total sample, were involved in these offenses; eleven per cent (three) of the sample respondents were white.

Seven of these offenses (crimes against the person) resulted in the death of the victim -- three were classified as murder, four as voluntary manslaughter. All three 'murders' were committed by black respondents. Three of the four manslaughters were committed by blacks and one by a white respondent.
It appears from this distribution that although relative to their numerical representation in the sample whites were almost as active in this category as blacks, blacks tended to be disproportionately more responsible for crimes resulting in the death of the victim, however, with 85 per cent.

In five out of eleven instances the victim was a relative.

The second major category of offenses is property offenses. Forty-six per cent of the sample respondents were involved in property offenses. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents in this category were black, 38 per cent white.

The blacks in this category comprised 40 per cent of the black sample respondents; the whites comprised 63 per cent of the white sample respondents, see Table IX for more information.

The third category of offenses was that of drug-related offenses. All of the offenses in this category were committed by blacks. Although some white respondents admitted that they had either used or sold drugs none of them were serving sentences for drug related offenses.

The status of first offender is generally applied to those persons who have no previous adult felony or misdemeanor sentences of seven months or more. Any convictions and/or sentences that might have been received as juveniles are not considered in the determination of this status.
Fifty per cent of the sample were reportedly first offenders. Two of the seven white sample respondents, 28 per cent, were first offenders as compared to eleven of the twenty-one black respondents, or 52 per cent which seems to suggest that black women are twice as likely to be sentenced to a state prison, as first offenders, as are white women.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Some segments of society are more likely to be sentenced to prison than others. One's race, sex, and socioeconomic position apparently determine, to a large extent, the likelihood of at some point serving a prison sentence. Black males between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine of low socioeconomic status appear in prison statistics out of proportion to their numbers in the total population.

Georgia's female prisoners comprise a very small minority of the prison population -- less than 5 per cent. The reasons for the apparent underrepresentation of women in prisons has been speculated on by various writers. Although it cannot be conclusively stated that women commit fewer crimes than men, there is evidence to support the premise that attitudes toward women's traditional roles, i.e. wife, mother, nurse, have mediated against the arrest, conviction and imprisonment of women in many instances.

Female prisoners in Georgia appear to have a very low priority, possible due to the fact that they represent such a small portion of the prison population. The low priority
is reflected in every aspect of prison life including the inadequate staff, deplorable conditions of the prisons and the absence of any meaningful programs.

Very little is known about the women. For example, a counselor with whom I talked prior to administering the questionnaire indicated that most of the inmates were from Atlanta, the research demonstrated this to be incorrect. An administrator expressed some concern about the ability of the inmates to complete the questionnaire due to the fact that many were functionally illiterate. This too, proved to be incorrect, only one inmate was unable to complete the instrument without assistance. These instances of misinformation are not meant to suggest a widespread condition. However, there is no effort on the part of the staff or administration of the Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women to acquire or maintain information regarding the social characteristics of individual inmates. If their efforts were aimed toward rehabilitation, it would seem appropriate to obtain a comprehensive diagnosis of the inmate's condition at the time she entered prison, thus providing an indication of strengths and weaknesses as well as circumstances that might be particularly stress inducing. Such an evaluation might also provide a means of determining whether the inmate had retrogressed or progressed during her term.

This research demonstrated that there are clearly identifiable characteristics shared by female criminals which, with further refinement, may constitute the basis for more conclusively
delineating a profile of the Georgia female prisoner.

The preliminary data from this exploratory study concluded the following characteristics of the sample:

1) 71 per cent are black; 29 per cent white
2) the average number of years of education completed were 9.8
3) 25 per cent of the respondents had graduated from high school
4) 42 per cent were residing in the county of their birth
5) 70 per cent were born in Georgia
6) 39 per cent of the sample is below the age of 26
7) 42 per cent had six or more siblings
8) 57 per cent were reportedly living in urban areas (of Georgia)
9) 72 per cent were either separated, divorced or widowed
10) 88 per cent of the respondents with minor children had left them in the care of a relative
11) 60 per cent had some job training
12) 53 per cent had been regularly employed prior to incarceration
13) 60 per cent made $500.00 or less per month

Also disclosed by the data were:

1) That persons of one race as opposed to another tend to be more active in one kind of criminal activity than in another. For example, 40 per cent of the black respondents committed crimes involving a victim as opposed to 38 per cent of the white respondents — in absolute terms 73 per cent of the offenses were committed by blacks, 27 per cent by whites.
2) Among property offenses, although 62 per cent of the respondents were black and 38 per cent white, the blacks comprised 40 per cent of the black respondents as compared to the whites who comprised 63 per cent of their respective sample composition.

3) In the category of drug related offenses all of the respondents were black.

4) 50 per cent of the respondents were first offenders.
5) 25 per cent were imprisoned for murder or manslaughter.
6) 32 per cent of the offenses involved a victim.

With these data in mind one can proceed to suggest programs, policies and areas which require further study.

The prison experience can be either a very negative and damaging one or it may provide the impetus and support for a more fulfilling and rewarding future. If the prison experience is basically punitive rather than rehabilitative, the experience will likely have few positive aspects and probably will return the inmates to their communities either as they left or in worse condition. When an adequate staff of trained counselors the inmates feel comfortable with is acquired, the inmates can be helped to understand their situation, its causes and ways of developing themselves beyond their present circumstances. Additionally, counselling could help to relieve anxieties and prepare the inmate for re-entry into what may be a hostile environment.

The counselling staff presently at GRCW is much too small to meet even the minimal needs of the inmate population. There
is one matron per one hundred inmates and only one general counselor. Their efforts are confined to crisis intervention and placing telephone calls to family members.

In the area of vocational training the facility is most inadequate. Most of the women have no marketable vocational skills, and inadequate education to participate in employment opportunities. More opportunities for meaningful employment within the institution or through work release programs would greatly enhance the present program. There is presently no great demand for cooks, maids or laundry workers -- thus, to employ persons in these occupations may be a necessity within the prison, but it does not negate the necessity for training persons to become employed in other areas upon release.

A more broadly-based educational program could considerably improve the outlook for many of the inmates. It could also provide the opportunity for a more normal re-entry into society if more inmates were granted educational releases. At present there is only one general education teacher and no classroom facilities.

Since most of the women have children, one means of reducing anxiety and stress may be to initiate programs that would facilitate the maintenance of normal relationships. For example, structured group sessions in which inmates were encouraged to talk out their anxieties with other may produce supportive relationships among the inmates and also serve as an avenue of dissemination for information on child growth and development.
that may take place during their absence. A program of this kind has been initiated at the Minnesota Correctional Institution for Women and has been successful as evidenced by the fact that there is a waiting list of women seeking participation.

A second means of maintaining family relationships may be the initiation of an aggressive program to encourage visits by family members. Presently the inmates receive visitors in the dining room. This room offers no privacy and lessens the likelihood of meaningful communication. More suitable locations for family visits should be a part of the program of encouraging family support.

Many of the problems experienced at the prison could be better addressed by decentralized community treatment centers. At its present location the women's prison is remotely situated. There appears to be only one reason for its location in Hardwick, Georgia and that is to provide personnel for Central State Hospital. The new facility under construction is also located in Milledgeville although many people, including a former superintendent of GRCW, have questioned its being located there.

As a further means of rehabilitation and/or preparation for release the inmates need to have the opportunity to exercise some responsibility and make some decisions. The child-like roles that prison employees force them to assume are regressive and only serve to make re-entry all the more difficult.
Another suggestion for assigning more responsibility to the inmates is in the area of compensation for their work. Although salaries may not be feasible, officials should minimally consider a system of credits which can be redeemed either at the prison store or for earned days off for home visits and/or days off the original sentence.

This exploratory research has revealed a need for much more extensive study on virtually every aspect of female criminal behavior. Essential to research on female criminality is the conscious effort to transcend the stereotypes associated with women which are erroneously based on female physiology. Among these are allegations about the innate deceitfulness of women, irrationality of their behavior, and the supposition of emotional imbalance during the generative phases.

It has been suggested that when women are involved in crimes they are often in association with a man, with the male as initiator and playing the major role. My findings indicated that 53 per cent of the respondents had committed the offense (for which they were incarcerated) with a man or that a man was somehow involved in the offense. A more in-depth study might determine the nature and extent of male involvement including the extent to which marriage influences a woman's participation in crime, i.e. the influence of a husband's or other male associate's criminal activity and test a hypothesis of associational etiology.
Another study might explore the extent to which treatment differs for male and female offenders who commit the same crime under similar circumstances. To be considered would be rates of arrest, conviction and length of sentence. Other aspects could include the extent to which the offenders' life histories were similar.

Other areas which provide valuable insight are the incidence and nature of juvenile offenses, the extent of peer influence, the influence of community institutions, factors influencing the nature of one's participation in criminal activities and the selection of one activity over another. A study of sentencing practices for crimes with victims including close scrutiny of individual cases to determine whether there is a discernible pattern of commission and adjudication might also provide insight.

Generally speaking, female prisoners in Georgia are forgotten people. Prior to the sentencing of a young white coed (in early 1974) to GRCW there had been virtually no interest in the women who constitute the population of Georgia's women's prison. That they are predominantly poor and black only adds to the ease with which they were and continue to be forgotten.

As more attention is focused upon the condition of females in prison a clearer understanding of them will hopefully be forthcoming. More research and the initiation of sound programs geared to rehabilitation rather than punishment will greatly improve the outlook of female offenders.
APPENDIX I

INMATE QUESTIONNAIRE
Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women

Date ___________ Time ___________
Respondent's Name __________________________ ID No. ___________
Interviewed By: ________________________________

(For questions 1-3 please fill in the blanks.)

1. Where and when were you born?

Date _______ Month _______ Year _______ City _______ County _______ State _______

2. How old are you now?

________

3. What is your race?

________

The questions in the next section are to obtain information about your family background. Please answer as fully as you can. (Some of the questions in this section ask that you mark an "X" by the appropriate answer, others will require that you complete a blank.)

4. What is your marital status?

married _____
divorced _____
separated _____
single _____
other _____; Explain _______________________

5. How many children do you have?

_____ 

6. What are their ages?

_________________________

7. Where are your children now?

_________________________

8. Who is taking care of your children now?

_________________________
9. Is this person related to your children?

10. Where were you living when the crime you are convicted of was committed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Street</th>
<th>City, State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

11. Were you living
   alone
   with your husband
   with your husband and children
   with your children only
   with other family members
   with unrelated male
   with unrelated female

12. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

The questions in the next section ask questions about your educational and employment history. Please answer as fully as you can. (Again, some questions can be best answered by marking an "X" while others will require a statement.)

13. Check the number of grades or years of college completed.
   4th grade
   7th grade
   10th grade
   12th grade
   1-3 years of college
   4 years of college

14. Have you ever had any job training?

15. If so, what kind of training did you receive and where?

16. Prior to being in prison did you work regularly?

17. What is your usual employment?

18. What is your usual monthly income?
   $250.00 or less
   251.00 - $500.00
   501.00 - $700.00
   701.00 - $1,000.00
   $1,001.00 or more per month
19. What is the source of your usual income?

20. Does anyone else contribute to the income of your household?

21. What crime were you convicted of?

22. What was the sentence?

23. How old were you at the time this crime was committed?

24. Was there a victim involved?

25. If there was a victim involved, was this person related to you?

26. If this person was related to you, what was the relationship?

27. Was there another person involved with you in this crime?
   Yes _____   No _____

28. Were they convicted of any offense?
   Yes _____   No _____

29. Was this other person a man or a woman?

If you are a first offender you do not need to answer the questions in this section.

30. Have you been convicted of any other criminal offense(s)?
   Yes _____   No _____

31. If you have been convicted before, please list the other offenses and the sentences served.
   Offense   Sentence

32. How old were you the first time you were convicted of a crime?

33. What was the first offense you were convicted of?
34. How much time, in all, have you spent in prison?

Thank you very much for your participation. If you have any questions about the research or would like to see a copy of the finished paper please feel free to contact me at:

Atlanta University, School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Again, please remember that your name will not appear on any documents associated with this research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factory work</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food service</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashier</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picking cotton</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topless dancer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towel inspector</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartender</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautician</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embalmer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse's aid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babysitter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone operator</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Georgia, State of. Department of Offender Rehabilitation, 1972-73. (No publication information given.)


-50-


Newspapers


Periodicals


