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**WOMEN IN PRISON**

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## **CHAPTER 1 — INTRODUCTION**

### **BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The proportion of women in prison in any country's prison system throughout the globe generally varies between two and nine per cent of the population (although there are some exceptions both below and above that range). Armenia is one country with a much lower population of women in prison, reported as 120 women at the start of the study or about 0.00004% of the total population of 3,018,854 (by preliminary estimates of the fall 2011 census) (National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, 2011). Differences in the proportion of women in prison against the general population of a country suggest that the countries of the world have different attitudes and policies about the uses and benefits of imprisonment for women. Much has been written about this topic, as well as about the characteristics of women in prison, including their specific needs, the conditions and treatment of inmates in women's prisons, women's perceptions of the prison experience, society's perceptions of incarcerated women, and prison reintegration programs.

However, before delving into incarceration issues in order to answer questions on what drives women to prison and what types of programs could help women, one must understand the root causes, such as violence against women, and the possible link between gender based abuse and women's involvement in illegal activity. These are probably two of the most compelling questions in contemporary prison-related studies. The groups of women who are most marginalized in society are vulnerable to gender abuse, economic hardships, and involvement in some sort of criminal activity. Better understanding these relationships and developing a comprehensive response through public policy and prison programming is bound to make a difference in reducing both violence against women, and women's subsequent involvement in

criminal activity. Further, understanding these issues would help improve prison programs to afford prisoners a reasonable level of post-prison wellbeing and security.

## **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

This research begins with looking into what women prisoners have in common mostly providing insights into pre-prison lives and types of prison programs best-suited for preparing them to post-prison life. Studies on this topic have helped to inform and orient the research questions regarding pre-prison experience, prison rehabilitation programs, and re-entry challenges.

For example, a survey of women prisoners carried out in Australia found that 88 percent of women prisoners have experienced some form of abuse as a young adult or in their childhood; 50 percent have experienced abuse in both childhood and an as an adult; and a significant number of women prisoners have problems of addiction to drugs or alcohol (Helen Fair, 2005). U.S. studies on female criminal activity patterns show higher percentages for minor property crimes like larceny and fraud, and for simple assault (incidents of physical attack against another person). Data sources also indicate that prostitution continues to be a chief form of female offending, especially on the part of women facing adverse economic circumstances (D. Steffensmeier, and J. Scwartz, 2004).

An integral part of this study is the understanding of how and why women in Armenia wind up in prison. Various studies have examined women's pathways into crime from early and repeated experiences of victimization. Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez (1983) describe the existence of a systematic process of criminalization unique to women that magnifies the relationship between ongoing societal victimization and eventual entrapment in the criminal justice system. Widom (1989) posits that women who were abused or neglected as children had higher arrest rates

as adults than women who had not suffered maltreatment as children or young adults. Robinson (1994) reports that girls' experience of sexual abuse and early sexualization produces increasing isolation and alienation from normative juvenile experiences and, hence, contributed to later criminal activities. Other authors recognize and describe the complex interrelationship between women's victimization and women's offending. Put succinctly, "women and girls commit crime to avoid being further victimized and they experience victimization in the course of committing crime" (Goodstein, 2001).

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES**

The present study deals with several strands of the same issue relating to women in prison. These strands are related to domestic violence throughout the woman's life, economic hardships, relationships with others, perceptions about prisoners, and societal reintegration of prisoners. All of these strands are interrelated and when carefully explored could generate a deeper understanding of women inmates' lives before incarceration, and what might be expected after release from prison. It may even show whether or not they have shared experiences throughout their lives, which led to incarceration. Moreover, besides generating commonalities between female inmates, exploration of these themes helps understand what programs female inmates need during their prison sentence to keep them occupied. Another advantage of exploring these issues would be to discover what the expectations of the inmates are regarding their reintegration into society after their release. Finally, exploring the abovementioned issues may help gain insight into essential prison programs for inmates to help prepare them for reintegration into society and to put them on the right track after release, minimizing the risk of recidivism in the future.

The strands mentioned in the previous paragraph are more narrowly phrased in the research questions and hypotheses of this study, all of which are presented below. The present



study explores the research questions throughout the data collection phase and addresses them in the data analysis section of this essay. Both the research questions and the hypotheses take into account the characteristics of Armenian society and the culture and traditions that are prevalent in it. Additionally, norms and values that Armenian women hold high are considered in interpreting the descriptions, answers, and other accounts collected from the respondents.

**RQ1:** How do girls' childhood years and schooling affect their demeanor and criminal activity in adulthood?

**RQ2:** How does exposure to domestic violence affect women's involvement in criminal activity?

**RQ3:** How do economic hardships experienced by women throughout their early adult life influence involvement in crime?

**RQ4:** How does serving in prison affect women's relationships with friends and family?

**RQ5:** What kinds of programs are needed to prepare incarcerated women for reintegration into society after their release?

The hypotheses of this study are derived from the research questions, and are the following:

**H<sub>1</sub>:** A woman's exposure to domestic violence leads to changes in her demeanor and/or to engagement in criminal activity.

**H<sub>0</sub>:** A woman's exposure to domestic violence does not lead to changes in her demeanor and/or to engagement in criminal activity.

**H<sub>2</sub>:** Economic hardship in a woman's life is a factor in her involvement in criminal activity.

**H<sub>0</sub>:** Economic hardship in a woman's life is not a factor in her involvement in criminal activity.

**H<sub>3</sub>:** A woman's low education level plays a role in her engagement in criminal activity.

**H<sub>0</sub>:** A woman's low education level does not play a role in her engagement in criminal activity.

## **IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

Prison studies have always been of interest to researchers in many fields, as is reviewed in Chapter 2 of this study. Studies related to women and their needs in the largely male-dominated world have also been of interest to researchers. Finally, the combination of both topics is of particular interest and has received great attention by scholars and practitioners. This is true for researchers with different backgrounds and from different country interests, but with an eye for looking into problems that exist in female prisons. The picture is different in the case of Armenia. No studies or research investigations have been conducted in Armenia related to this topic. Although the media occasionally has touched upon the women's prison for various reasons, and international organizations, local NGOs or private individuals have paid some attention to the needs of the inmates or their families, no serious academic study has been conducted on the issue.

This study shall be the first of its kind in Armenia and will hopefully serve as reference for future research on the subject. The study will be a significant endeavor in raising issues regarding the needs of female inmates in country, as well as in increasing interest in the needs of women in Armenia in general, and women inmates, in particular. The study aims to discover the common features of the inmates as it pertains to lifestyle, experiences, and hardships prior to incarceration, which may have affected their adult life and led to committing crimes and winding in prison. Moreover, the study will provide useful insight into the needs of the inmates during imprisonment, particularly from the standpoint of assistance with recovery from prison life before returning to society. This study will also help boost the effectiveness of the prison system in Armenia, at least what regards the female prison, and to some extent serve as a new source of information for the Ministry of Justice of Armenia, the Department of Corrections, and the prison administration. The

specific data gathered in this study may help better understand the needs of the inmates and formulate prison programs accordingly.

## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

For practical reasons and for a clearer understanding of the terms used in this study, below are the meanings of each term, as used in this study:

**“Fraud”** is used to mean forgery of documents; preparation and/or storage and/or use of fake currency and/or stocks; fake entrepreneurship and similar false actions.

**“Drugs”** in the context of a prison charge is used to mean use of drugs, preparation, sale, illicit circulation of narcotics and/or precursors.

**“Robbery”** is used to mean burglary; brigandage; or accomplice in any of these crimes.

**“Prostitution”** means involving another person in acts of prostitution; trafficking and/or exploitation of humans.

**“Murder”** means attempted murder; homicide; intentional harm to someone’s health either resulting or not resulting in death.

**“Violent crimes”** is a charge that is classified under “Murder” above.

## **CHAPTER 2 — LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **FOUNDING OF PRISONS FOR WOMEN**

A brief review of events related to this topic reveals that the first exclusively female prisons in the world were established in the U.S. in 1869 (Indiana Department of Correction, n.d.), and in Toronto, Ontario, Canada in 1880 (Strange, 1985). Since then it gradually became an accepted practice in most parts of the world to accommodate men and women prisoners in separate institutions; Armenia is no exception. The Abovyan Penitentiary in Armenia was originally established in 1958 for juveniles only, but later incorporated the accommodation of female inmates as well. In October 2012 when the study was launched, the inmates' count at the Abovyan prison was 120.

### **LEGISLATION ON PRISONS**

The Abovyan Penitentiary, as well as all other prisons in the Republic of Armenia are required by statute to operate under the Criminal Procedures Code of the Republic of Armenia. However, the existing national legislation regarding prisoners and prison performance does not make any specific reference to women prisoners, it is not gender specific. The only reference to women is made in Chapter 19, Article 153 section 4, of the provision on arrest. According to this section, it is prohibited by law to arrest pregnant women except when suspected of a serious or especially serious offense (Parliament of the Republic of Armenia, 1998).

The referenced legislation of the Republic of Armenia (RA) is under sustained scrutiny by external actors. More specifically, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) works with the Armenian government counterparts in making sure that all the necessary conditions are created and maintained for

protection of prisoner rights. At the request of the RA government, CPT conducted a visit to various detention sites in Armenia in the period 2-12 April 2006, and issued a report. One of the sites visited was the Abovyan Penitentiary, for which the overall assessment of the Committee was positive (European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 2007).

Apart from cooperation with the Council of Europe, Armenia is also a signatory to the United Nations protocols. Specifically, the Armenian government aims at abiding to the “*Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*” adopted in 1955 by the first United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. By consensus, these rules reflect the minimum requirements with respect to acceptable prison conditions set forth by the United Nations. They are the generally accepted principles and practices of treatment of prisoners and management of institutions by all signatories. Further, what regards female prisoners in particular, Part One of the rules states that discrimination of any sort towards prisoners is prohibited, including gender discrimination. It also includes a provision on separation by categories, including the requirement to detain men and women in separate institutions — a provision by which Armenia clearly abides (First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, 1955).

## **PRIOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN PRISONERS**

Although there is ample research on women in prison, there are critics that still posit that there is a lack of gender specific approaches for incarcerated persons and prison systems in some countries. For academic and scientific purposes this does not stand as an obstacle in generating valuable studies. There are many studies that approach the issue in a comparative manner,

comparing and contrasting male and female prisoners, and the conditions in which each of these groups live, their mental and physical health, and other variables. Gary F. Jensen, professor at the University of Arizona and Dorothy Jones, a staff member of the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women implemented a cross sectional study gathering data from female prisoners in the same prison. The main objective of their research was the observation of inmate culture. They concentrated on the relation of traditional situational variables among female prisoners; the relative impact of situational and non-institutional prison characteristics on female prisoners; and the variation in traditional patterns among different categories of prisoners. Some of the major findings showed that situational and background variables played a relevant role in the acceptance of the code of conduct by the prisoners. Abidance to the code of inmate conduct was more apparent in prisoners in the middle phase of their prison sentence; moreover the study found that abidance with this code of conduct grew through interaction with other prisoners (Jensen & Jones, 1976). In some cases codes of conduct enforce the prisoners' sense of belonging or sense of safety, however this does not mean that women are free of difficulties during their time in prison.

Suzanne B. Sobel of the Florida Institute of Technology examined the problems faced by incarcerated women, specifically regarding physical and mental health, and lack of educational and vocational programs in prisons. Her study is also comparative, contrasting the opportunities provided in women's and men's prisons in the United States. In her study she notes that contrary to common belief women's prisons are actually tougher than men's, because they tend to be more punitive and punishment-oriented rather than education-based, offering less rehabilitative programs than offered in men's prisons (Sobel, 1982).

Such a comparative study of the men's and women's prisons in Armenia has not yet been conducted; however observations of the Abovyan women's prison portray quite a friendly and

relaxed atmosphere. Moreover, Sobel's study states that women's prisons are fewer in numbers, have a very heterogeneous population, as opposed to men's prisons, and tend to have more isolated geographic positions (Sobel, 1982). The picture in Armenia is different. The Abovyan Penitentiary is indeed host to a heterogeneous population since it is the only female prison in the country, however in contrast to men's prisons in Armenia it is located in Abovyan city, which is adjacent to the capital and is relatively easily accessible. Accessibility of the establishment is an advantage in the sense that prisoners are more likely to get visits from friends and family. This is important because maintaining relationships with the outside world during incarceration is helpful for the prisoner and eases their reentry into society.

The effect of family bonds in particular should be taken into consideration in order to understand and help incarcerated women through their imprisonment and also afterwards during reentry. According to Dr. George C. Kiser, associate professor of political science at Illinois State University, who explored the family relationships of female inmates at Illinois' Dwight Correctional Center in his 1987 study, changes in bonds are common and worth looking into. At the time of the study Dr. Kiser was teaching a college course on the American Judicial Process at the correctional center (Kiser, 1991). In contrast with Sobel, who states that it is only at first glance that women's prisons in the U.S. seem friendlier when in reality they are harsher when contrasted with men's prisons (Sobel, 1982), Dr. Kiser believes that "institutions for men tend to be more violent, security conscious and dehumanizing" (Kiser, 1991). Although he agrees that women's prisons are different from those of men, he nevertheless states that women's prisons are more conducive to maintaining family relationships, as opposed to men's prisons "which stifle the human capacity for love, understanding, and rationality — traits essential to getting along with human beings in general and the family in particular" (Kiser, 1991).

Further, understanding family relations and family influence helps understand the reasons behind the committed crimes. The answers given by the inmates in Kiser's study suggest that at least some of them considered modifying their behavior, ruling out future crimes since the family price was deemed too high. Hence, maintenance of family relationships of inmates is an important factor that deserves special attention. This can be done through specialized programs for inmates, something which Sobel also stresses by suggesting the development of training programs for female inmates, providing them with education and skills required for adaptation to community life and return to their families. Sobel adds that these programs should be administered by professionals trained in non-sexist theories and technique (Sobel, 1982).

In a study conducted by Dr. Mickey L. Parsons of the University of Texas Health Science Center and by Carmen Warner-Robbins from the Welcome Home Ministries of San Diego, California, the researchers concentrated on describing factors that support women's successful transition into the community and back into their families following their prison release (Parsons & Warner-Robbins, 2002). This study used open-ended interviews with women participating in a faith-based post-prison program. Here, the dominant perceptions for successful transition to the community following incarceration were mainly belief in God, self-determination, hope for the future, and support from fellow program members, friends, family and role models.

Lynne Goodstein's overview of scholarly observations and research findings on women, crime, and justice points out many aspects and stages of women's victimization and criminalization. Terms like "gendered social justice" and "gendered analysis of danger and criminality" are commonly used throughout the volume to emphasize the need for a female-centered approach to these issues (Goodstein, 2001). The thread tying the analyses together is that the author situates violence against women within a societally condoned context of male



dominion. For women who fall into criminal activity as a result of physical or emotional abuse in this male dominated society, the consequences of criminality may be viewed as yet a third level of victimization. To this end the quality of the responses and services of the criminal justice and legal systems should be improved for victims of violence.

## **REFORM PROGRAMS IN PRISONS**

Reform programs have been developed for use in women's prisons since the eighteenth hundreds. One such successful reformatory was the Massachusetts Correctional Institution (1877), which had an all-female staff, an inmate nursery that allowed incarcerated women to remain with their infants while they served their sentence, and an on-site hospital to address the inmates' health care needs. Additionally, several activities were provided to give women opportunities to increase their self-esteem, gain an education, and experience a positive attitude during their sentence. It is worthwhile to look into the advancement of such reformatory programs in the West and to what extent they have contributed to the overarching purpose of preparing incarcerated women for post-prison life.

Programs designed for women in prison and after prison exist in various forms and degrees of richness of content. Research has shown that prison education provides the ability to obtain/improve job skills, thereby increasing the employability of inmates; also, it provides an opportunity for socialization, for increasing self-esteem, and for improved social functioning; moreover it reduces the risk of recidivism, a major concern among specialists of the field.

Another study "PROVE" (Post Release Opportunities for Vocational Education) conducted by Case, et al. focuses on the needs and special circumstances of female ex-inmates, and how those circumstances may become barriers to successful reintegration and continued education

(Case, Fasnacht, Sarri, & Phillips, 2005). This study also notes that educational programs are not enough for successful rehabilitation; family, housing, and health issues need to be confronted through appropriate programs as well, confirming the previous arguments.

Opportunities are immense for an individual reentering society, but so are the difficulties. Just like Case, Christy A. Visher and Jeremy Travis also concern themselves with recidivism in the prisoners' post-release period. Visher and Travis suggest that post-prison reintegration and adjustment depend on four sets of factors: personal and situational characteristics; family relationships; community contexts; and state policies (Visher & Travis, 2003). Much like other research on topics related to prisoner reentry into society, the researchers aim to understand the pathways, the reasons for, and the dimensions of an individual's success or failure after prison. Visher and Travis propose that the best method for this is to conduct a longitudinal research in four stages: life prior to prison; life in prison; the moment of release and immediately following release; and life during the first months and years following prison release (Visher & Travis, 2003). Obviously this is a complex and time-intensive methodology; however it is the only one that holds the potential for fully understanding the issue. In line with what Sobel, Parsons, and Case mention in their study, one of the most important aspects to take into consideration while investigating issues related to women in prison is the health factor. Numerous studies concentrate on the physical and mental health of prisoners, claiming that health rights of prisoners are legally protected by international law and should be protected by corresponding national legislation.

In his study, Rick Lines discusses the health rights of prisoners according to international law, and the mechanisms used to ensure the highest attainable health standards for prisoners. Here, the author implies adequate standards of general medical care, including preventative health and mental health services, as well as environmental health, touching upon the matter of poor

conditions of detention facilities (Lines, 2008). The article examines the approach to prison health of the United Nations human rights system and its various monitoring bodies, as well as the regional human rights systems.

Women's right to good health is also protected under the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women which has a binding power on all its signatories, including Armenia. This document stresses the need for women to be provided with gender specific treatment of illnesses and health issues, and does not discriminate against incarcerated or other women requiring equal treatment to both (United Nations, 1993).

The 2006 report prepared on Armenia by the CPT states that “the health-care staff resources of the prisons visited could be considered as sufficient for the respective prison populations. There were two full-time doctors, two doctors working on a 50% basis, four feldshers<sup>1</sup> and a full-time nurse at Abovyan Prison” (European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 2007). Lines proposes fulfillment of the right to good health for prisoners globally, and recommends expanding existing mechanisms to monitor and promote health rights of prisoners in all countries (Lines, 2008).

Obviously women also have specific health needs which differ from those of male prisoners. The research conducted by Plugge, Douglas and Fitzpatrick emphasizes the development of prison health care services and aims at determining the aspects of women's health — physical, mental, and psychosocial — that change during imprisonment and to what extent. They take into consideration the women's health before imprisonment, in order to provide essential information for improving prison health care systems and the health of the prisoners

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<sup>1</sup> ”A medical or surgical practitioner without full professional qualifications or status in some east European countries and especially Russia”. Definition retrieved from: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/feldsher>

(Plugge, Douglas, & Fitzpatrick, 2006). This is congruent to what Visher and Travis proposed with their longitudinal four stage study, except that the latter concentrates on the narrower aspect of prisoners' health and prison health care. The research by Plugge, Douglas and Fitzpatrick finds that even when there is some improvement of women's health during imprisonment, their health remains much poorer than that of the general public, something which must be corrected by national policies guided by international conventions, such as the UN convention referenced earlier.

Although jails and prisons are different institutions, there are major similarities that are comparable, i.e., health issues of detainees and prisoners. Drapalski et al. explore mental health issues, comparing male and female jail inmates along a wide range of symptoms of mental illness keeping in mind gender differences in treatment seeking (Drapalski, Youman, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2009). The study suggests that women are more likely to have physical and mental health problems before, during and after incarceration suggesting the need for services tailored to meet their unique needs, much like the approach suggested and used by Plugge et al. The study by Drapalski et al. showed that women were indeed more likely to report clinically significant symptoms of anxiety, borderline personality characteristics, somatic concerns and trauma-related symptoms. The research also found that female inmates were more likely to seek and be enrolled in jail-based treatment during their time served (Drapalski, Youman, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2009).

Similar to Drapalski et al., Susan McCampbell also stresses the fact that despite a rapid growth of research regarding women in prison there is still little research on women in jails or on programs to meet their needs, even though progress in the first may lead to progress in the second. McCampbell observes the legal, political and economic aspects of medical and mental health services, crowding of women's housing facilities, and staff training needs, providing

recommendations and possible courses of action designed to tackle these issues, aimed at increasing the general welfare of women inmates (McC Campbell, 2006). The article discusses the many positive effects that gender-responsive strategies may have, something which the international law strongly supports and advocates. Some of the major effects according to McC Campbell will include improving operations inside the jails and prisons in general; improving community relations; increasing alternative sentencing options and thus decreasing jail population; improving staff morale and professionalism; and finally improving risk management (McC Campbell, 2006).

Much has been said about conditions of women's prisons as well as psychological and physical attributes of female prisoners, however the paths leading to incarceration are crucial to understanding the complexity of the issue. These paths in many cases point back to the prisoners' childhood, negative experiences, and traumatizing events during earlier life that should not be neglected. Cathy Spatz Widom investigates the issue of childhood victimization and the derailment of girls and women to the criminal justice system. In the complex sphere of female criminality girls and women may be the victims as well as the offenders (Widom, 1999).

Similar to Visher and Travis, and Plugge, Douglas and Fitzpatrick, Widom (1999) proposes that the best way to examine the correlation between childhood victimization and development of criminal behavior in later stages of life is through longitudinal studies. Widom recommends following abused and neglected girls into adulthood, taking into consideration incidents of girls running away; deficits in cognitive ability and achievement; engagement in relationships with deviant or delinquent individuals; etc. The author suggests that more attention be paid to designing and implementing gender specific intervention policies in the initial phase of

contact with the criminal justice system, aiming at enhancing the opportunities for victimized girls (Widom, 1999).

Childhood victimization is in many cases a result of gender discrimination and abuse, which in turn is closely linked to women's involvement in illegal activity. Girls and women who are most marginalized by society are usually more vulnerable to victims of the above mentioned problems. Although research on incarcerated women who have also been victims of violence prior to their involvement in illegal activities is scarce, nevertheless periodic research results show that the majority of female prisoners have experienced some form of physical or sexual abuse prior to imprisonment (Richie, 1999). According to the findings of the author, there is a strong correlation between women's experience with violence and their involvement in illegal activity. One of the main recommendations of the author is in line with the policies of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the author proposes revising the analytical framework, setting a solid base for new and improved national policies aimed at reducing violence against women, consequently reducing criminality rates of women (Richie, 1999). Aside from preemptive measures of keeping girls and women away from criminal activity, this author also advises prison programs to be more gender specific, helping to address the needs of female prisoners more accurately and preparing them for reentry.

Kay Tsenin, co-author of "Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System" with Beth E. Richie and Cathy Spatz Widom explore female victimization through the lens of prostitution. In the sex trade where the primary victim is the prostitute, there are two judicial approaches for the fight against the phenomenon and the protection of its victims. The first approach is to enforce the law and sentence the guilty, failing to address the core issues of eliminating the phenomenon (Tsenin, 1999).

Obviously this is more of a punishment oriented strategy rather than a rehabilitative strategy, similar to that described by Sobel. The second approach is for courts to become involved in devising solutions on a case-by-case basis by implementing alternative programs run by peer counselors during prison or after release from prisons (Tsenin, 1999). Tsenin recommends moral and qualitative changes such as educating young girls and women of the values of self-worth and educating men and women alike of the wrongfulness of violence against women in general. Something which is once again supported by the above mentioned studies and is most certainly in compliance with international conventions and state legislations.

Programs supporting women in prison should not only be gender specific but also country specific, taking into consideration the specifics of various cultures, their traditions, and national mindsets. Dr. M. Nagesh Kumari conducted a study among incarcerated Indian women analyzing their socio-economic background while trying to understand the nature and extent of their crimes. The study is somewhat comparable to the situation in Armenia and to the Armenian female prison population taking into consideration the fact that both Indian and Armenian women are considered pillars of the family unit. Dr. Kumari, like the previous authors, sought to find appropriate strategies for the rehabilitation of women offenders. He stressed in his study that in-prison programs as well as follow-on programs play a crucial role regarding the achievement of a decent rehabilitation path for women prisoners after release. Some of the multiple measures that he proposed include educational and training programs, and the creation of job opportunities that can be implemented either as preventive or curative steps towards helping women involved in criminal activity (Kumari, 2009).

Although programs for women inmates exist, it is important to take into consideration how female-friendly they actually are. In Baroness Jean Corston's 2007 review of women in the

criminal justice system there was a call for reforming women's imprisonment (Fair, 2009). In most countries any special provisions for women inmates is added on to the normal male provisions, with only slight adaptations. It is only in rare cases designed from scratch to suit a women-centered perspective. Most countries have either failed to deal with imprisoned women in a way which takes factors like health, security, visiting arrangements, and other factors into account or are just beginning to rethink their approach. Finally, a conclusion is that even if development of material needs is apparent in women's prison structures, it must be accompanied with fundamental changes in the culture of all persons involved in the reform process — from prison warden to administrators, counselors and guards.

All the aspects discussed above are crucial for understanding the issues related to women in prison — the reasons behind incarceration and women's needs during and after incarceration. All authors provide apt evidence in their studies proving that for women's successful transition to the community following incarceration a complex multitude of factors are at play. The major issue regarding women in prison is the existence — or lack thereof — of gender specific, country specific programs designed to accompany girls and women, before involvement in criminal activity, during incarceration and after release, as well as in the course of reentry. Moreover, some of the authors connect female criminality to poor mental and/or physical health conditions, exposure to violence and consequently violent behavior, poor living standards, and in some cases lack of sufficient legislation.

Placing emphasis on gender-based violence against women and subsequent criminal activity, the Daphne II Programme is examined to review the methodologies used to measure gender-based violence. The ALTRA project found that



“The proportion of those who suffered gender-based violence was higher among women in prison than among women in the general population. In fact, we understand that the violence suffered is an important factor in their social exclusion process, even before they get convicted by the criminal justice system (approximately, 80% of women in prison in Catalonia have suffered domestic violence; in Hungary, among women who were imprisoned for murder or attempted murder, the proportion of those who have suffered any form of gender-based violence was 86%)” (Oliver, 2007).

Violence against women is ubiquitous in the Republic of Armenia and is at the center of several organizations’ programs. As reported by international organizations or by civil society and local community organizations engaged in advocacy and human rights issues in Armenia, violence against women is of concern mostly from the standpoint of its physical effects on battered women’s health, abuse of their human rights, emotional and mental effects, and possibly also concerned with subsequent crime or collapse of the family unit. Rarely has research or interest in this topic in Armenia been directed toward women in prison, and whether or not (and to what extent) violence against women leads women to be involved in illegal activity and wind up in prison.

This research investigates female inmates who are currently in the Armenian penitentiary for women. The focus of this study is on identifying the key drivers and root causes of their criminal activity, and to profile inmates’ prior family life — particularly from the standpoint of domestic violence, as well as economic hardship, level of poverty, and/or level and type of education. This research also reviews existing special accommodation provisions for women in prison, as well as public laws and correction programs intended to make a difference in the life of women inmates while in prison and upon release from prison. A comprehensive response through public policy and programming may make a difference in reducing both violence against women and their growing involvement in criminal activity.

For the purpose of this study, I have used the definition by the United Nations General Assembly that has defined violence against women as *"any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."* The 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women noted that this violence could be perpetrated by assailants of either gender, a family member, as well as by others.

## **CHAPTER 3 — RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

The methodology used in this research includes ethnography techniques, such as participant observation, key informant interviews, and oral history of inmates to delve deeper into issues of incarceration and to describe the community examined in this research. Life stories from prisoners have offered continuity of themes and new ideas and theories of development as prisoners attempt to re-enter society. In general, this study uses a mixed method — both quantitative and qualitative research — which relies on content analysis from interview notes and oral history accounts, as well as observations. The quantitative method uses a standard questionnaire administered to a sample of 35 inmates from a total population of 120 inmates. Selection of the sample is stratified by criminal offense (code of crime) to ensure that all types of crimes are covered in the study.

Effort was concerted to maintain neutrality during the entire data collection phase. Personal experiences and/or perceptions of the researcher regarding the people interviewed or the types of crimes committed did not influence the process and/or the outcomes. The study excluded all personal biases in order to generate maximum objectivity in interpreting the results. The quantitative research method applied is deductive in nature, aiming to make inferences from the analyzed data of the sample of the population, leading to inferences about characteristics of the general population.

### **DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

The data collection for this study has taken place in the Women's ward of the Abovyan Penitentiary in the city of Abovyan, Republic of Armenia. Field work was conducted from

November 2012 to March 2013, once a week on a weekly basis. The principal method of data collection in was through a survey questionnaire (See Annex II for the instrument), followed by observations and accounts of oral history by the subjects surveyed. To ensure coverage of the most important elements in this research, the interviewer used a semi-structured format with five open-ended questions; and several other probing or follow-on and case specific questions that were different from case to case. The oral history technique for collecting data gave better insight into the lives of the inmates and a more thorough understanding of the circumstances leading to adversity, hardship, and crime.

The study also includes observations of the primary location of this study — the Abovyan women’s prison in Armenia. Observations were implemented on the prison grounds, and throughout the prison building, the facilities and the occupants. The prisoners’ attitudes towards one another and with prison staffs were also observed, as well as the prisoners’ approach to visitors from outside, including myself. Finally, the relationship between the prisoners and the prison staff/guards was also observed.

All instruments of the study are aimed at testing the hypotheses which correspond to the research questions mentioned earlier.

## **PARTICIPANTS**

The survey was administered to the sample of the population of female prisoners at the Abovyan Penitentiary. The sample consisted of 35 inmates, representing 42% of the entire population of the prison at the start of this study. The sample drawn was randomly selected from each of the strata identified at start to ensure sufficient representation of prisoners from each type of crime committed.

The sampled population is indicated on the list of all female prisoners at the Abovyan Penitentiary, found in Annex I. The list includes information regarding the duration of the prison sentence; the end date of the sentence for each prisoner; and the legal provisions related to the crime(s) committed by each prisoner according to the Armenian Criminal Code. The crimes listed for each inmate are clustered into five types that follow the legal provisions of the law.

Throughout all phases of the study and afterwards, participants were kept anonymous. Also, researcher-inmate confidentiality was respected at all times. Keeping anonymity throughout the study helped create the comfort level needed for inmates to speak out and be honest with their responses or in their oral history accounts. Absent such researcher-inmate rapport, inmates may have felt insecure and less available. This is especially true for Armenian inmates, where the local culture and traditions leave adverse effects on personal openness and ease of expression.

The stratified random sample is representative of all the crime types committed by the population of female inmates at the Abovyan Penitentiary at the start of this study. The crimes have been clustered into five major groups noted below. For detailed understanding of the labels of the group names for the below mentioned crimes, see the “Definition of Terms” section of the study.

- i. Fraud (10 from 35)
- ii. Drugs (7 from 18)
- iii. Robbery (6 from 20)
- iv. Prostitution (3 from 20)
- v. Murder (9 from 24)

All 35 inmates were queried about:

1. Their personal characteristics and childhood highlights (both positive and negative)
2. Their school experience and subsequent education (if any)

3. Their marital and cohabiting relationship
4. Their earlier socio-demographic characteristics
5. Their pre-incarceration socio-demographic characteristics

## **PILOT TESTING OF INSTRUMENTS**

An early version of the survey was administered to measure the degree to which the instrument collects the data needed for the research hypotheses. After the first visit to the female penitentiary, the survey questions were reviewed and revised as needed to increase clarity and curtail issues of instrumentation. New questions were added to extract more information from survey respondents regarding past violence committed against them, their relationships to the offenders, and reporting or not reporting of past incidents. The oral history component was formulated by way of a guide that ensured adequate coverage of special characteristics or insight, not covered in the survey. Lastly, two questions were added to the structured part of the interview seeking more insight on crucial phases of the prisoners' life and future plans. Presented in Annex II is the survey questionnaire.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

The data collected from the survey questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS, generating descriptive statistics and frequencies of select variables. Additionally, correlation analysis was performed with 2-tailed tests using Pearson *R* correlation coefficients. In each of those the level of significance was at 0.01 and 0.05 or 95% and 99%, respectively. Notes from the oral history accounts by the sampled prisoners together with prison observation notes were organized, categorized, and analysed measuring the strength of inmate accounts with respect to each of the following descriptors (using a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being the weakest and 5 the strongest):

1. Economic status during childhood and early adulthood years

2. Experiences of violence in childhood
3. Relations with parents
4. Happiness/harmony in married life, including relations with partner
5. The type of job and satisfaction with job were economically insufficient
6. Experienced controlling behavior and violence from partner
7. The effect of economic hardship in subsequent criminal behavior
8. Committed crime type was of violent nature
9. Need for an improved variety and quantity of prison programs
10. Well-defined plans for life after prison

## **LIMITATIONS**

Although the research was well planned and executed, like all studies, this too has some unavoidable limitations. First, the data collection for the study was carried out from November 2012 to March 2013. Although this is a reasonable period of time, it is inadequate for conducting multiple case studies of this nature where one would want to explore changes in inmate behavior over time (and even after release from prison). Next, the specific circumstances surrounding this topic, such as the prison atmosphere and the unfamiliarity of the respondents with the researcher, may have discouraged some inmates from being more open and trusting at start. Moreover, even after familiarity with the researcher, inmates were hesitant when talking about the actual criminal act, feeling shame, regret, and/or anger and, in some instances, they held back important details.

# **CHAPTER 4 — DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF STATISTICS**

## **DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

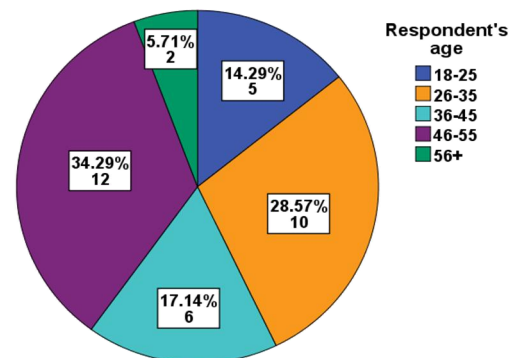
This chapter presents the data gathered from the study using all three instruments mentioned earlier, and the findings of the study. The first sub-chapter includes the findings from the survey, including the profiles of the respondents, the frequencies of answers to various questions, and the correlation analysis of the most significant correlation coefficients. The second sub-chapter will present the findings from the interviews. This is done in an attempt to add more depth to the survey answers and give the background stories of the respondents in order to have a better understanding of the issue being studied. The third and final sub-chapter will present the findings from on the spot observations of the facilities and the grounds of the prison.

## **SURVEY FINDINGS**

### **Demographic Profile of the Respondents**

The demographic statistics of all 35 respondents are broken down into five categories:

- i. Respondent's age
- ii. Respondent's place of birth
- iii. Respondent's marital status
- iv. Respondent's committed crime
- v. Duration of respondent's prison sentence (in years)



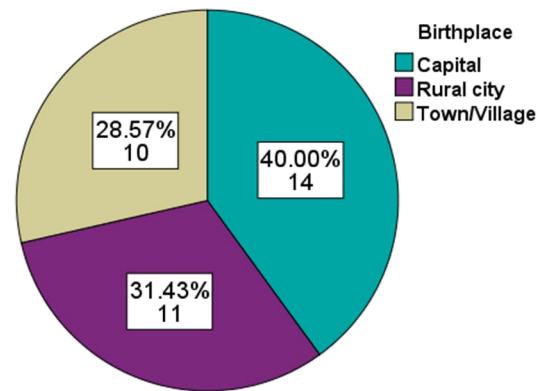
*Figure 1.0: Respondent's age*

Figure 1.0 depicts the age groups and frequency in each group. As is shown, the dominant age is 46-55 with 12 cases and 34.3% of the total number of respondents. It is closely followed by the 26-35 age-group with 10 respondents or 28.6% of the sample surveyed. The 36-45 year olds follow constituting 17.1% of the total respondents or 6 people; whereas the lowest age range of



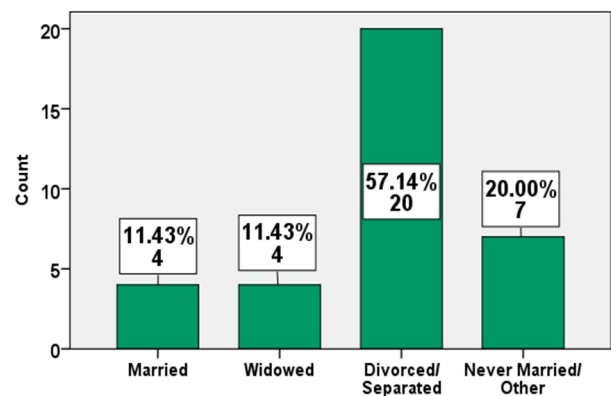
18-25 years olds is comprised of 5 respondents or what is 14.3% of the total sample. The lowest frequency is that of inmates in the 56 years old and above age group, which comprises 5.7% of the respondents or 2 people.

The respondents' birthplace and place of origin is grouped into 'capital', 'rural city', and 'town or village'. The distribution as seen in [Figure 2.0](#) shows that the majority of the inmates, 40% are from the capital city; 31.43% are from rural cities; and 28.57% are from rural towns or villages.



**Figure 2.0: Respondent's birthplace**

The respondents' marital status was examined because marriage is regarded to be integral to a woman's life in Armenia, as explained in the "assumptions of the study". Moreover, relations between spouses play an important role in studies of this type given the wide range of theories related to the consequences of violence in a woman's life. [Figure 3.0](#) shows the percentage distribution of the respondents' marital status. The categories are divided into "Married", "Widowed", "Divorced or Separated", or "Never Married or Other".



**Figure 3.0: Respondent's marital status**

The graph clearly shows that the majority of the respondents, 57.14% are divorced or separated. While 20% of the respondents have never been married; 11.43% of the respondents were widowed; and another 11.43% were still married during the period of their incarceration.

Figure 4.0 presents the percentage distribution amongst the different crimes committed by the respondents. The figure shows that the dominant crime committed by 28.57% of the sample population is “fraud” with “murder” a close second with 25.71%. The next category of crimes is “drugs” comprising 20% of the sample. Crimes listed under the crime type “robbery” are next with 17.14%; and crimes listed under “prostitution” constitute 8.57%.

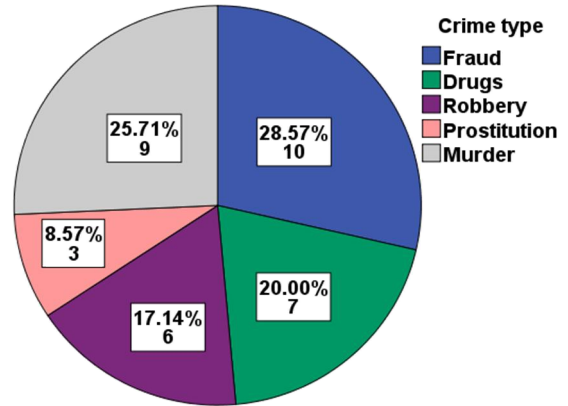


Figure 4.0: Crime type

The final category presented in this section is the duration of the respondent’s prison sentence expressed in years and months. The sentence range of 4.1 – 8 years is the most dominant with 51.43% of inmates in that category or more than half of the survey sample, as shown in Figure 5.0. The sentence ranges 1-4 years and 8.1-12 years have equal shares, each comprising 20% of the sample. Only 8.57% of the respondents are included in the highest sentence category with a range of 12.1-15 years.

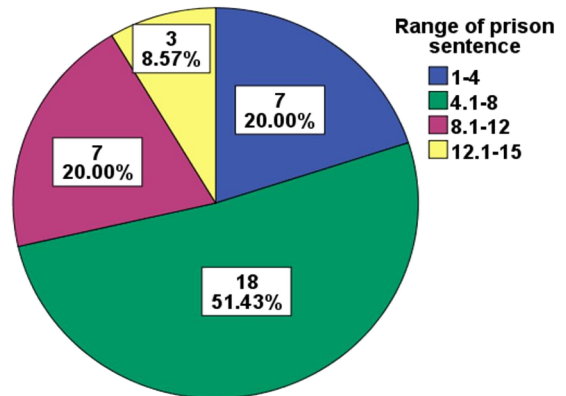


Figure 5.0: Range of prison sentence

## FREQUENCIES

The analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the inmates and their level of education, in relation to their subsequent behavior and involvement in crime are important for the purposes of the study and will be discussed below.

In order to understand the inmates' socio-economic standing during their childhood several factors were taken into consideration, such as the number of household members, in conjunction with the type and size of dwelling where the family lived. According to the statistics drawn from the survey data, 46% of the inmates lived in houses too small in relation to the number of household members in their family, and grew up in relatively poor socio-economic conditions during their childhood. With the exception of one inmate who lived in rich socio-economic condition, the rest of the inmates are classified somewhere in between as a socio-economic middle class group. The categories of economic wellbeing were set according to the number of household members in relation to house size/type as normally defined in Armenia.

However, the respondents' answers to the question regarding growing up in a poor family show a somewhat different image, which is largely due to the fact that it is not accepted to speak poorly of parents or family in order to not show disrespect or ungratefulness. Hence, 22.5% of respondents gave a neutral answer to the statement 'I grew up in a poor family'; 42.9% disagreed or completely disagreed with it; and only 34.6% agreed or completely agreed (Table 1.0).

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Disagree or Completely Disagree	15	42.9	42.9
Neutral	8	22.5	65.4
Agree or Completely Agree	12	34.6	100.0
Total	35	100.0	

**Table 1.0: Respondent grew up in a poor family**

		Type of crime committed					Total
		Fraud	Drugs	Robbery	Prostitution	Murder	
Poor childhood	Disagree or Completely Disagree	7	3	0	2	3	15
	Neutral	1	2	3	1	1	8
	Agree or Completely Agree	2	2	3	0	5	12
Total		10	7	6	3	9	35

**Table 2.0: Poor childhood and type of crime**

The inmates' socio-economic environment during childhood and early adulthood are crucial to understanding the type of crime they commit and what the main drivers are to crime. The crosstabulation of growing up in a poor family and the type of crime committed is presented in Table 2.0. The data show that the majority of inmates, who committed a violent crime (murder), completely agreed or agreed that they had a poor childhood. None of the inmates incarcerated for prostitution claimed having a poor childhood. None of the inmates incarcerated for robbery disagreed with the statement that they had a poor childhood; they were evenly divided between nodding slightly or agreeing. There is no generalizable pattern in the childhood conditions of inmates who are incarcerated for drugs, since their answers are almost evenly distributed over all three options. Finally, the overwhelming majority of inmates charged for fraud disagreed or completely disagreed to having a poor childhood.

The information collected through the survey shows that 77.1% of the respondents wished to continue their education after high school; yet only 48.6% actually did pursue higher education; and only 40% of all respondents graduated from a higher educational institution. Table 3.0 shows the relationship with level of education attained and criminal activity. Out of 21 inmates who did not graduate from a higher educational institution, 6 committed violent crimes such as murder; while only 3 graduates from higher educational institutions committed the same type of crime. None of the inmates incarcerated for prostitution have higher education; the same is also true for inmates who are incarcerated for robbery. Crimes such as fraud and drugs that require a certain level of intellect have a larger representation of higher education graduates (6 and 5 inmates, respectively) than non-graduates (4 and 2, respectively).

		Crime type committed					Total
		Fraud	Drugs	Robbery	Prostitution	Murder	
Graduated from higher educational institution	No	4	2	6	3	6	21
	Yes	6	5	0	0	3	14
Total		10	7	6	3	9	35

***Table 3.0: Graduated from higher educational institution and type of crime***

## **CORRELATIONS**

The major part of the analysis was devoted to finding cause-and-effect relationships between the committed crime and childhood, economic wellbeing, married life, and any violence that has occurred in the respondent's life. The findings show significant correlations between social and economic condition of the inmates during various phases of their life such as childhood, early adulthood, and adulthood; and relationships with the people who influenced them in one way or another throughout their life such as parents and partners.

Firstly, the socio-economic circumstances of the respondents' early stages of life are presented in Table 4.0. The question regarding the extent to which the respondents believed that they grew up poor is derived from questions on the number of household members and living conditions of the respondents' paternal home; the need for the respondents to work during their childhood years; and to what extent the respondents felt that their paternal home was a warm and comfortable place. As shown in the table below, the correlation coefficient between growing up in a poor family and having to work as a child is very strong (**.632** at a 99% significance level). Respondents who considered themselves as having grown up in a poor family were the ones who had to work at one point or another during their childhood to help their family make ends meet.

	Grew up in a poor family	Had to work as a child	Had warm and comfortable paternal home	Number paternal household members	Type and size of paternal home
Grew up in a poor family	1 .000 35	<b>.632**</b> .000 35	-.246 .154 35	-.219 .206 35	-.219 .205 35
Had to work as a child	<b>.632**</b> .000 35	1 .000 35	-.224 .196 35	-.040 .821 35	.138 .428 35
Had warm and comfortable paternal home	-.246 .154 35	-.224 .196 35	1 .000 35	-.063 .718 35	-.111 .525 35
Number paternal household members	-.219 .206 35	-.040 .821 35	-.063 .718 35	1 .000 35	.321 .060 35
Type and size of respondent's paternal home	-.219 .205 35	.138 .428 35	-.111 .525 35	.321 .060 35	1 .000 35

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 4.0: The respondents' socio-economic profile**

	Felt neglected by parents	Number of siblings	Birth order of siblings	Not raised by parents
Felt neglected by parents	1 .000 35	-.025 .885 35	-.010 .954 35	.250 .154 34

**Table 5.0: The respondents' relationship with parents and siblings**

Next, the respondents' relationship with parents and siblings is measured by the respondent's feeling of neglect while growing up, the number of siblings, and by who raised her during her childhood. According to [Table 5.0](#) there is no significant correlation between the respondents' feelings of neglect by parents, and the respondents being raised by others as opposed to parents, the number of siblings they had, and the birthing order of siblings. Similar correlations are often found in international studies on the same topic, nevertheless they do not apply to the Armenian case.

	Was an excellent student in school	Wanted to continue her education	Was accepted at a higher educational institution	Graduated from a higher educational institution
Was an excellent student in school	1 .020 35	.393* .020 35	.259 .133 35	.202 .245 35
Wanted to continue her education	.393* .020 35	1 .020 35	.393* .020 35	.306 .074 35
Was accepted at a higher educational institution	.259 .133 35	.393* .020 35	1 .020 35	.840** .000 35

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 6.0: Higher education after high school**

Table 6.0 shows the tendencies of respondents wanting to continue their education after school, and their successes in that domain. There is a strong positive correlation of **.393** at a 95% significance level between the respondents being ‘excellent students in school’ and wanting to ‘continue studies at a higher educational institution’. There is also a very significant strong positive correlation of **.840** at a 99% significance level between ‘being accepted at preferred higher educational institution’ and ‘graduation from a higher educational institution’. However as mentioned above the level of education did not determine the crime type of the inmates, since those who graduated were represented in all crime types.

No significant correlation exists between ‘being accepted at a preferred higher educational institution’ and ‘wanting to continue education’; as well as a between the latter and ‘graduate from a higher educational institution’. These two correlations are weaker than initially expected. Many reasons should be factored in, such as the fact that despite the respondent wanting to continue her education on a higher level she was married and did not have the chance to do so.

However, there is a strong positive correlation of **.492** at a 99% significance level between ‘graduated from a higher educational institution’ and ‘marriage was the right step’ as seen in Table 7.0. The conclusion drawn is that educated respondents made a right choice, in their opinion, in

their marriage decisions compared to those who did not continue on to acquiring a higher education.

	Graduated from a higher educational institution	Had an arranged marriage	Marriage was the right step
Graduated from a higher educational institution	1 .106 35	.106 .550 34	<b>.492**</b> .003 34
Had an arranged marriage	.106 .550 34	1 .313 34	.313 .072 34
Marriage was the right step	<b>.492**</b> .003 34	.313 .072 34	1 34

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 7.0: Higher education and marriage**

The permissiveness of the inmates' partners was measured through three questions: "needed husband's permission to work/continue working", "needed husband's permission to visit family/have them visit" and "needed husband's permission to spend time with friends". In Table 8.0 below husband's permissiveness is compared with the type of crime that the inmate

**Crosstabulation**

		The type of crime the respondent is sentenced to prison for					Total	Total %
		Fraud	Drugs	Robbery	Prostitution	Murder		
Husband's Permissiveness	<b>3.00</b>	7	1	2	1	3	14	<b>40</b>
	4.00	0	1	1	1	1	4	11.4
	5.00	0	1	0	0	1	2	5.7
	6.00	0	1	1	0	1	3	8.5
	7.00	1	1	0	0	0	2	5.7
	8.00	1	1	0	0	1	3	8.5
	<b>9.00</b>	1	1	2	1	2	7	<b>20</b>
Total		10	7	6	3	9	35	100

**Table 8.0: Husband's permissiveness and type of crime committed**

committed. Husband's permissiveness 3.00 is when the husband did not allow the inmate one of the above mentioned restrictions; husband's permissiveness 9.00 is when the husband did not allow all three of the restrictions. The data shows that 40% of the sample was submitted to at least one form of the above mentioned restrictions from their husbands and/or partners, who are



represented in all crime categories, with the majority committing fraud (7 inmates); 20% of the inmates were submitted to all three forms of restrictions and are represented in all crime categories, where those incarcerated for robbery and murder are leading.

## **INTERVIEW/ORAL HISTORY FINDINGS**

In addition to the survey, more detailed information on each inmate was gathered using ‘oral history’ approach. For the purpose of analyzing the oral history accounts nine descriptors were identified and coded on a scale of 1 through 5 (where 1 is the lowest in strength and 5 is the highest) as presented in Table 9.0 showing the mean and standard deviation of the categorization. The higher the value of the mean for the descriptors, the more the descriptor is applicable to the respondents, the more they accounted on that issue.

The mean of the 1<sup>st</sup> descriptor, ‘economic conditions in childhood and early adulthood’ is 2.60 with a standard deviation of 1.53. This shows that there were more respondents describing the conditions at the lower end of the scale. The 2<sup>nd</sup> descriptor has the lowest standard deviation (.91) but also the lowest mean, 1.45, indicating that almost all subjects did not speak to having experienced violence during their childhood. The 3<sup>rd</sup> descriptor is similar with the 2<sup>nd</sup>; the mean is 1.57 with a standard deviation of 1.03, meaning that most inmates did not recollect having negative relations with their parents. The 4<sup>th</sup> descriptor has a 3.45 mean and 1.61 standard deviation; here we have a slightly higher representation of respondents who agreed with the statement that they were interested in higher education. The 5<sup>th</sup> descriptor has the highest mean in relation to the rest, 3.60, with a standard deviation of 1.49. The trend for this descriptor is largely shifted to the right, representing more positive positions than negative ones, which in turn translates into more inmates accounting of unhappiness in their marriage and/or with their partner.

Descriptor #6 has a 2.74 mean and a standard variation of 1.40, showing a generally equal distribution of answers across the board.

	<b>Descriptors</b>	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
#1	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	2.600	1.5378	35
#2	Experienced violence during childhood	1.457	.9185	35
#3	Relations with parents were negative	1.571	1.0371	35
#4	Interested in higher education	3.457	1.6151	35
#5	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	3.600	1.4990	35
#6	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	2.743	1.4005	35
#7	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	3.171	1.4448	35
#8	Economic hardship pushed subject to always look for ways to make money	4.171	1.3170	35
#9	Inmate wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	3.229	1.6643	35

***Table 9.0: Mean and St. Deviation of oral history descriptors***

While descriptor #7 has a 3.17 mean and a standard deviation of 1.44, showing a rightward trend of more inmates talking about their partner’s behavior. The highest mean, 4.17, with a 1.31 standard deviation is registered for descriptor #8 regarding economic hardship and the constant need of to look for ways to make money. From the oral histories it was clear that almost all the respondents talked about a relatively low wellbeing and hardship. Finally, descriptor #9 concerns the inmates wish to see different types of educational and vocational programs in prison. Here the answers are almost equally divided amongst the negative, neutral, and positive poles, although nearly all inmates were interested in taking language classes.

As a result of the analysis of the mean and standard deviation of the nine descriptors of the oral history accounts, the conclusion drawn is that none of them represent a normal distribution of events, which are generally closer to the mean.

	Economically depressing childhood/early adulthood	Experienced violence during childhood	Negative relations with parents	Interested in higher education	Unhappy in marriage/partner	Partner drank heavily/used drugs	Partner was controlling/violent
Economically depressing childhood/early adulthood	1 .133 35	.133 .445 35	.221 .201 35	<b>-.599**</b> .000 35	<b>-.263</b> .127 35	-.076 .662 35	-.061 .728 35
Experienced violence during childhood	.133 .445 35	1 .366* 35	.031 .031 35	<b>-.442**</b> .008 35	.051 .770 35	-.066 .706 35	.094 .590 35
Negative relations with parents	.221 .201 35	.366* .031 35	1 .248 35	-.248 .150 35	-.019 .914 35	-.281 .103 35	-.185 .287 35
Interested in higher education	<b>-.599**</b> .000 35	<b>-.442**</b> .008 35	-.248 .150 35	1 .017 35	.017 .923 35	.119 .498 35	.041 .815 35
Unhappy in marriage/with partner	<b>-.263</b> .127 35	.051 .770 35	-.019 .914 35	.017 .923 35	1 .440** 35	.440** .008 35	<b>.603**</b> .000 35
Partner drank heavily/used drugs	-.076 .662 35	-.066 .706 35	-.281 .103 35	.119 .498 35	<b>.440**</b> .008 35	1 .793** 35	<b>.793**</b> .000 35
Partner was controlling/violent	-.061 .728 35	.094 .590 35	-.185 .287 35	.041 .815 35	<b>.603**</b> .000 35	<b>.793**</b> .000 35	1 35

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 10.0: Correlations related to oral history descriptors**

From the oral histories it was clear that some inmates married only for the purpose of escaping from the economic hardships they faced during their childhood and early adulthood at their paternal home. However, the data in Table 10.0 show that there is no significant correlation between having an economically depressing childhood/early adulthood and being unhappy in their marriage/partner (**-.263**). Although a strong negative correlation of **-.599** at a 99% significance level exists between having an economically depressing childhood/early adulthood and being interested in higher education. There is also a similar strong negative correlation of **-.442** at a 99% significance level between the latter and experiencing violence during childhood. These negative relationships go to show that the more the inmates experienced a difficult childhood and early

adulthood in terms of economic hardship and/or violence, the less is the interest in continuing studies beyond high school.

What regards the inmate's relationships with family members many claimed regretting their actions that led to incarceration, and the main reason for this was the consequences they faced.

In line with prior research regarding the impact of education vis-à-vis the likeliness of committing a crime, it can also be concluded that those inmates who were not interested in continuing their education were more prone to committing crimes. As expected there is a somewhat strong positive correlation of **.366** at a 95% significance level between violence in childhood and negative relations with parents. The relationship between the inmates' partner drinking and/or using drugs and being controlling and/or violent is very strong with a positive correlation of **.793** at a 99% significance level. Thus, the results show that those partners who drank and/or used drugs were also prone

to being controlling and/or violent towards the inmate. This leads to another strong positive relationship between the inmates' feelings of unhappiness in their marriage and/or

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat not applicable or Not applicable	5	14.3	14.3
Somewhat applicable or Applicable	30	85.7	100.0
Total	35	100.0	

**Table 11.0: Economic hardship pushed to always look for ways to make money**

with their partner and with their partner drinking and/or using drugs, with a **.440** correlation at a 99% significance level. There is also a strong positive relationship between the feeling of unhappiness in the marriage and/or with the partner and the partner being controlling and/or violent, with a **.603** correlation at a 99% significance level. The overwhelming majority of cases, 85.7% (Table 11.0), agreed that economic hardship pushed them to always look for ways to make

more money. However, despite this fact the statement was found to not have a significant correlation with any of the other descriptors from Table 10.0.

Finally, Table 12.0 shows that 45.7% of inmates somewhat agreed or agreed to having an improved variety of educational and vocational programs in prison. The main reason they wanted

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat disagree or Disagree	11	31.5	31.5
Neutral	8	22.9	85.8
Somewhat agree or Agree	16	45.7	100.0
Total	35	100.0	

it was to keep them busy during their daily life in prison, and to give them new knowledge and skills that could be useful for their reintegration after release from prison. Those who were

*Table 12.0: Inmate wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs*

neutral on the matter made up 22.9% of the sample, however from the oral history accounts it was clear that they would be interested in getting more information on the subject and then making a choice. It is to be noted that 31.5% of those who somewhat disagreed or disagreed with having more educational and vocational programs in prison were usually the loners, the inmates whose sentences were ending soon, or the inmates who claimed knowing everything they needed to know.

## **OBSERVATION FINDINGS**

The field observations were implemented in the women’s prison building on the grounds of the Abovyan Penitentiary, which also included an administrative building for officers and prison staff; a cafeteria; the unit for solitary confinement; and the juvenile prison building.

During the first visit to the prison a staff member guided the researcher around the two floors of the prison and through all the rooms. The first floor of the building could be divided into three sections: common use areas, administrative offices, and prisoners’ sleeping quarters. The

areas of common use included a small laundry room equipped with several washing machines and dryers; a communal bathroom; a small room used as a smoking room/hair salon; a small kitchen equipped with the necessary appliances; a large lounge area with a TV, a piano, and many chairs; and a storage room with cubbyholes for the prisoners. Located on the first floor of the prison were offices used by the administrator, the prison psychiatrist and the prison doctor, respectively. Finally, the sleeping quarter comprised of a large room, fitting approximately 20 single beds and nightstands, and one smaller room designed for prisoners in need of special medical or other care.

The second floor of the building did not include administrative offices, but included several areas of common use such as a small library equipped with a small collection of books; and a bathroom. There were many more sleeping quarters on the second floor, specifically 3 large rooms fitting approximately 20 beds, nightstands and small a television in each, 2 medium sized rooms fitting approximately 5-7 beds and nightstands (one of which was designated to prisoners will chronic illnesses), and finally 3 smaller rooms accommodating 3-4 prisoners. The smaller rooms were in most cases occupied by prisoners who were there with their dependent children.<sup>2</sup> The prison building did not have any cells with bars in the traditional sense.

The prison's security levels — closed, semi-closed, semi-open, and open — had a mere formal nature, the reality was that inside the prison building there was no distinctions per se between inmates who had committed different types of crimes. This is largely due to the fact that it is the only female prison in the country and hosts a small yet heterogeneous population compared to the men's prisons in Armenia; something which Sobel (1982) describes in the case of prisons in other countries. There were no apparent restrictions to the prisoners' freedom of

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<sup>2</sup> The law allows female prisoners to keep guardianship of their children up until the age of 3.

movement throughout the building. The prisoners were also allowed to step outside for a smoke or fresh air.

The Abovyan prison also provided job opportunities to inmates, such as working in the fields or in the cafeteria, paying them the minimum monthly salary of AMD 35,000. Otherwise, the daily activities of the inmates were limited to watching television, reading, cooking and baking, tending to their personal hygiene, participating in other courses randomly organized, including basic in law and psychology.

The inmates treated the researcher with suspicion for the first couple times. All of them were interested in the 'unfamiliar face' every time the researcher visited the prison; some of them would approach the researcher asking questions, others would observe from afar. At the start many inmates did not want to cooperate and take part in the study, however they gradually felt more and more at ease and somewhat less suspicious. At first they also expressed their curiosity regarding the study and its purpose, but mostly to what extent it is directly going to help them while in prison. Most of the inmates socialized with one another, in larger and smaller groups, and appeared to be friendly with one another; there were few inmates however who were loners and preferred to keep to themselves in all aspects of prison life.

## **CHAPTER 5 — CONCLUSIONS**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The aim of this master's essay has been to explore the criminalization process of women in general and of women in Armenia in particular. A criminalization process which passes through various phases until the women reach the point of incarceration. Many studies have been conducted on the topic of women in prison, and many scholars have made great contributions to the sphere. Previous studies have concentrated on several major themes regarding women's incarceration all of which lead to criminal involvement. Some of these themes include childhood violence and abuse of girls leading to criminalization; victimization of women through gender based discrimination in society; conditions of facilities found at women's prisons, health conditions of inmates; programs for prisoners; and finally recidivism among female inmates.

In Armenia, robust scientific studies have not been conducted to look into all or some of these factors affecting female criminalization. This study implemented at the only women's prison in Armenia, the Abovyan Penitentiary, was the first of its kind in the country. Major aims of this study include providing an insight into similarities in of women's life prior to their incarceration; such as childhood experiences, economic conditions, marital relations, and the existence of violence at any point in the women's life.

The quantitative analysis of the survey results in combination with qualitative content analysis of oral history accounts and observations generate the following major findings. As opposed to the findings in many international studies, childhood experiences, especially childhood abuse, violence, and victimization did not play a significant role in the case of Armenian women's criminalization. Moreover, the specificities of Armenian cultural values go to show that inmates



do not resort to speaking ill of their childhood experiences and upbringing, unless they are particularly harsh and unforgettable, out of respect for their parents. The reality regarding their childhood experiences became clear towards the end of the oral history accounts with each prisoner, where they felt more comfortable with opening up to the researcher.

What regards education, the study found that school years and the women's school performance, although important in shaping their later life, was not directly connected to their criminalization. Continuing education after school, however, or the lack thereof, was directly connected to the life choices most of the women made that eventually led them to get involved in criminal activity. The lack of any type of higher education for most of the women resulted in their inability to find sufficiently paying jobs. This in turn led them to constantly look for alternative ways to earn money and was one of the major factors in their involvement in criminal activity.

The lack of any kind of higher education also contributed to many of the women's early marriages, usually to controlling and/or violent partners who also heavily used alcohol and/or drugs. Through survey and oral history account analyses the combination of all these things led to most of the women's feeling of unhappiness in their marriages. Moreover, having a drinking, drug using, controlling, and/or violent partner contributed to most of the women's involvement in criminal activities, and in many cases these activities were violent leading to the murder of their partner.

The combined findings from the survey and from the oral history accounts, lead to the conclusion that all three hypotheses of the study are approved.

## **LESSONS LEARNED AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

The data collection phase of the study was particularly interesting and insightful in regards to the country's prison system and prison conditions, and female inmates' daily life and their interactions. However, the level of trust that the researcher need to gain in order for the inmates to open up to her as much as possible was very difficult to attain in such a short period of time. For more thorough account of the inmates' lives, both before incarceration and during, a longitudinal study would be desirable. This would give the researcher more time with each respondent, it would also allow for a larger sample of the population to be included in the study. Moreover, a longitudinal study, using a time series analysis of the inmates' prison sentence, in the early days of their incarceration, at the middle point of their sentence, and at the end of their sentence prior to release, would better measure the impact that incarceration has on them.

It would also be interesting to conduct a comparative study between male and female prisons in Armenia, to find out to what extent criminalization trends and factors differ for men and for women. This would be a great opportunity to study whether or not there are gender specific differences amongst the factors leading to the criminalization of men and women in Armenia. In other words, the factors that affect women's criminalization are they the same for that of men's, and if so to what extent. Moreover, conditions for men and women vary greatly in Armenian prisons, as so the prison programs offered to them. It is interesting to see to what extent the conditions and prison programs meet the needs of the prisoners according to their gender differences.

As seen in the findings of the present study, a large percentage of the sample female inmates at the Abovyan Penitentiary would like to see a variety of educational and vocational programs. The offered programs are applaudable; however they are not enough in scope and in

variety for the women to acquire necessary skills to help them during their reintegration into society. Moreover, for future research it would be advisable to look into the effect of prison programs offered, in curtailing the number of recidivism amongst the female inmates. Additionally, future research should concentrate on the effect of existing governmental and non-governmental programs in aimed at curtailing the number of women involved in criminal activity in Armenia.

However, such programs are scarce or not adequately communicated to the larger population and especially to vulnerable groups (poor socio-economic conditions, large families, etc.) in the country. But educating the general population on the following issues is crucial in addressing the problem of female criminalization preemptively. The most pressing matters that society as a whole should be educated on are the importance of higher education for women; the importance of correct family planning and untimely marriages; and the fallacy of domestic violence in addition to the definition of domestic violence (since many women in Armenia are not aware of the fact that they are victims of domestic violence). All things considered, the recommendations regarding prison programs are twofold: to increase the variety and quality of prison programs at the Abovyan Penitentiary; and to increase educational programs for the society regarding key themes leading to female criminalization.

Finally, based on the findings of the study it is recommended to adopt legally binding measures in order to prevent one of the main factors contributing to female criminalization; domestic and spousal violence. The legal framework for the Law on Domestic Violence, which is underway in the Republic of Armenia, will come to preempt one of the main reasons damaging women's lives through a series of interconnected events pushing them towards criminalization. However, adopting a new law is time consuming and labor intensive. It requires great political

will among legislators, adequate resources (financial and human capital), and extensive time and effort. Therefore to bring such attempts to fruition, great effort must be expanded by NGOs and the international community. Such effort by non-governmental entities should also include financial and technical support.

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## ANNEX I

### LIST OF INMATES AT THE ABOVYAN PENITENTIARY (NOVEMBER 2012)

Highlighted lines indicate inmate's participation in sample. 'Inmate#' indicates respondent's sequence in Annex III.

<b>Closed Security</b>					
	<u>Inmate#</u>	<u>Sentence according to the Armenian Criminal Code</u>	<u>Crime Category</u>	<u>Prison sentence (years, months, days)</u>	<u>End of Prison Term</u>
1		Art. 34-104, par. 1; Art. 177, par. 3, part 3	Murder	7 yrs., 6 m.	26-Nov-17
2		Art. 104, par.2, part 5	Murder	9 yrs.	24-Aug-17
3		Art. 299, par. 1; Art. 34-303	Fraud	15 yrs.	22-Jul-16
4		Art. 329, par. 2	Fraud	3 yrs., 3m.	21-Feb-14
5		Art. 329, par. 2	Fraud	3 yrs., 3m.	21-Feb-14
6	19	Art. 132.2, par. 2, part 2,4,7	Prostitution	11 yrs.	9-Sep-22

<b>Semi-closed Security</b>					
	<u>Inmate#</u>	<u>Sentence according to the Armenian Criminal Code</u>	<u>Crime Category</u>	<u>Sentenced to (years, months, days)</u>	<u>End of Prison Term</u>
1		Art. 112, par. 1; Art. 119, par. 2, 1, 3	Murder	3 yrs., 11 m., 23 d.	5-Oct-2012
2	16	Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	9 yrs.	11-Jan-19
3		Art.132, par. 3, part 1, 2; Art.132, par. 2, part 3, 4; Art. 190, par. 2, part 1; Art. 325, par. 1; Art. 38-329, par. 1	Prostitution	11 yrs.	13-Feb-20
4	22	Art. 324, par. 2, Art. 175, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	11 yrs., 8 m., 4 d.	2-Apr-20
5		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	7 yrs.	13-Feb-16
6		Art. 34-104, par.2, part. 8; Art. 35-185, par. 3, part 1	Murder	10 yrs., 10 m., 27 d.	4-Sep-14
7	24	Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 215, par. 2; Art. 66	Drugs	8 yrs.	11-Jan-19
8		Art. 178, par. 2, part. 2	Fraud	4 yrs.	5-May-15
9		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 311, par. 3, part 4	Fraud	9 yrs.	4-Feb-19
10	4	Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 215; Art. 2; Art. 268, par. 2, part 2	Drugs	7 yrs., 6 m.	28-Dec-17
11		Art. 278, par. 3, part 1; Art 325, par. 2; Art. 66	Fraud	5 yrs.	30-Jan-15
12		Art. 34-104, par.2, part. 8; Art. 175, par. 2, part 4; Art. 66; Art. 67	Murder	9 yrs.	26-Jan-20

13	15	Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 64	Drugs	5 yrs.	22-Mar-16
14		Art. 175, par. 2, part 1, 4	Robbery	6 yrs.	16-Jul-16
15		Art. 258, par. 3, part 2; Art. 67	Robbery	2 yrs., 9 m.	14-Jan-15
16		Art. 132, par. 2, part 1	Prostitution	8 yrs.	17-Jun-19
17		Art. 132, par. 2, part 2; Art. 262, part 2; Art. 66	Prostitution	8 yrs.	16-Mar-18
18	28	Art. 215, par. 2; Art. 266, par. 3, part 2	Fraud	8 yrs.	19-Nov-17
19		Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	7 yrs.	5-Mar-15
20		Art. 178, par. 2, part 2; Art. 325, par. 1; Art. 66	Fraud	4 yrs., 6 m.	13-Oct-15
21		Art. 132, par.3, part 1, 2; Art. 34-132, par. 3, part 3; Art. 34-132, par. 2, part 11 Art. 132, par.2, part 12	Prostitution	9 yrs.	3-Oct-17
22	31	Art. 132, par. 3, part 1, 2, 4; Art. 132, par. 2, part 2	Prostitution	7 yrs.	16-Dec-15
23		Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 266, par. 4	Drugs	7 yrs.	31-Jan-16
24		Art. 112, par. 1; Art. 112, par. 2, part 6; Art. 66	Murder	5 yrs., 6 m.	17-Mar-16
25		Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	7 yrs. 6 m.	27-Dec-16
26		Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	8 yrs.	13-Sep-17
27	9	Art. 215, par. 2; Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 268, par. 1; Art. 66; Art. 67	Drugs	12 yrs.	26-May-19
28	6	Art. 104, par. 2, part 7, 8, 11	Murder	13 yrs.	28-Jan-20
29		Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	7 yrs., 6 m.	26-Jul-17
30		Art. 132, par. 2, part 5; Art. 262, par. 1; Art. 261, par. 1	Prostitution	7 yrs., 6 m.	12-Sep-17
31		Art. 132, par. 2, part 5; Art. 132 par. 2, part 2, 4	Prostitution	8 yrs.	14-Mar-18
32	29	Art. 104, par. 2, part 5	Murder	15 yrs.	28-Dec-22
33	7	Art. 177, par. 3, part 3; Art. 34-177, par 3, part 3	Robbery	4 yrs.	25-May-13
34	8	Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 66, par. 4, 6	Fraud	8 yrs.	10-Dec-18
35		Art. 132, par. 4, part 1; Art. 131, par. 3, part 1; Art. 266, par. 1; Art. 262, par. 3, part 3	Prostitution	13 yrs.	1-Oct-21
36	3	Art. 165, par. 4; Art. 38-175, par. 3, part 3; Art. 66	Robbery	8 yrs., 6 m.	17-Feb-19
37	2	Art. 132, par. 3, part 2; Art. 132, par. 3, part 1	Prostitution	13 yrs.	26-May-22
38		Art. 104, par. 2, part 4, 7; Art. 177, par. 1	Murder	11 yrs.	15-May-18



39	32	Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	4 yrs. 6 m.	23-Nov-15
40		Art. 112, par. 2, part 6; Art. 38-112; Art. 66	Murder	7 yrs.	17-Sep-17

<b>Semi-open Security</b>					
	<u>Inmate#</u>	<u>Sentence according to the Armenian Criminal Code</u>	<u>Crime Category</u>	<u>Sentenced to (years, months, days)</u>	<u>End of Prison Term</u>
1		Art. 266, par. 1, 4; Art. 268, par. 3	Drugs	6 yrs.	14-Jul-15
2		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	4 yrs.	12-May-15
3		Art. 175, par. 2, part 3	Robbery	6 yrs.	3-Jul-15
4	10	Art. 112, par. 2, part 14	Murder	8 yrs.	28-Mar-13
5		Art. 179, par. 3, part 1; Art. 325, par. 2	Robbery	5 yrs.	28-Sep-14
6		Art. 266, par. 2, part 2	Drugs	5 yrs. 6m	30-Sep-17
7	26	Art. 266, par. 1	Drugs	3 yrs. 6 m.	15-May-15
8	18	Art. 178, par. 2, part 2	Fraud	6 yrs.	6-Apr-16
9		Art. 132, par. 3, part 1, 2; Art. 132, par. 2, part 3, 4	Prostitution	7 yrs.	9-May-15
10		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	3 yrs. 5 m. 29 d.	16-Jun-14
11		Art. 177, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	4 yrs. 9 m. 9 d.	10-Mar-15
12		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 324, par. 2; Art. 334; Art. 66	Fraud	4 yrs. 1 m. 7 d.	19-May-14
13	1	Art. 112, par. 2, part 6	Murder	5 yrs.	21-Jun-17
14		Art. 38-175, par. 2, part 1, 4	Robbery	5 yrs. 11 m. 26 d.	24-Oct-16
15		Art. 266, par. 2, part 5	Drugs	3yrs.	18-Jul-15
16		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	5 yrs.	15-Apr-15
17	12	Art. 266, par. 2, part 2	Drugs	5 yrs.	26-May-15
18		Art. 177, par. 2, part 2, 4	Robbery	3 yrs. 6m.	17-May-13
19		Art. 268, par. 2, part 2	Drugs	1 yr.	21-Jun-13
20		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	6 yrs.	9-Feb-16
21		Art. 112, par. 1	Murder	3 yrs. 2m. 25 d.	11-Sep-13
22		Art. 38-138, par. 2, part 3, 5; Art. 38-139, par. 2, part 3	Murder	10 yrs.	10-Sep-18
23	34	Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 198, par. 2, part 1	Fraud	5 yrs. 5 m. 22 d.	15-Jan-16
24		Art. 262, par. 2, part 5, 6	Prostitution	3 yrs.	13-Jun-15
25		Art. 266, par. 1; Art. 268, par. 1	Drugs	5 yrs. 3 m.	29-Sep-16
26		Art. 266, par. 2, part 2; Art. 268, par. 2	Drugs	7 yrs.	5-Dec-13
27		Art. 266, par. 2, part 2; Art. 64	Drugs	11 m. 27 d.	29-Jun-13
28	5	Art. 112, par. 2, part 14	Murder	6 yrs.	18-Feb-18

29		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 325, par. 2; Art. 66; Art. 38-325, par. 1	Fraud	5 yrs. 7 m. 1 d.	5-Dec-16
30		Art. 261, par. 2; Art. 262, par. 2, part 1	Prostitution	4 yrs.	15-Jun-16
31		Art. 261, par. 2; Art. 262, par. 2, part 1	Prostitution	4 yrs.	15-Jun-16
32		Art. 258, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	3 yrs. 2 m.	3-Apr-14
33		Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 215, par. 2; Art. 271, par. 1	Drugs	9 yrs. 6 m.	25-Jan-15
34		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 67	Fraud	5 yrs.	4-Sep-13
35	11	Art. 38-175, par. 2, part 1, 3	Robbery	7 yrs. 6 m.	12-Aug-16
36	27	Art. 189, par. 3	Fraud	3 yrs. 6 m.	17-Mar-15
37		Art. 266, par. 2, part 1, 2	Drugs	4 yrs. 6 m.	23-Mar-14
38		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 179, par. 3, part 1; Art. 252, par. 2, part 3; Art. 66; Art. 69, par. 3	Fraud	4 yrs. 3 m. 5 d.	19-Mar-16
39		Art. 38-175, par. 2, part 1, 4; Art. 165, par. 4	Robbery	6 yrs. 6 m.	4-Dec-18
40	21	Art. 177, par. 2, part 2, 3; Art. 67	Robbery	4 yrs. 6 m.	17-Mar-15
41		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 325, par. 1; Art. 66	Fraud	4 yrs. 2 m. 2 d.	19-May-15
42		Art. 179, par. 3, part 1; Art. 376, par. 1; Art. 66	Robbery	5 yrs.	8-Sep-17
43		Art. 132, par. 3, part 1, 2	Prostitution	9 yrs.	25-Jul-17
44		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	5 yrs.	10-Feb-15
45		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	5 yrs.	29-Oct-16
46		Art. 266, par. 2, part 2	Drugs	5 yrs.	9-Sep-13
47		Art. 104, par. 2, part 8	Murder	14 yrs.	22-Mar-15
48		Art. 132, par. 1	Prostitution	6 yrs. 6 m.	25-Feb-17
49		Art. 262, par. 2, part 5	Prostitution	3 yrs.	30-Jun-15
50		Art. 205, par. 2	Fraud	2 yrs. 8 m.	15-Mar-13
51		Art. 177, par. 3, part 1.1	Robbery	4 yrs.	15-Aug-16
52	25	Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	10 yrs.	12-May-13
53	13	Art. 202, par. 2, part 2	Fraud	6 yrs.	22-Mar-16
54		Art. 177, par. 2, part 1, 3	Robbery	1 yr. 3 m. 16 d.	24-Jan-14
55		Art. 35-266, par. 3, part 2	Drugs	6 yrs. 6 m. 2 d.	21-May-14
56		Art. 132, par. 2, part 2	Prostitution	7 yrs.	22-Jul-15
57		Art. 132, par. 2, part 1, 2, 4	Prostitution	4 yrs. 11 m. 9 d.	31-Aug-16
58		Art. 179, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	4 yrs. 2 m. 5 d.	26-May-15
59	17	Art. 189, par. 3	Fraud	2 yrs. 8 m. 5 d.	27-Aug-13
60		Art. 178, par. 2, part 2	Fraud	2 yrs. 7 m. 7 d.	27-Oct-14
61		Art. 131, par. 2, part 1, 7; Art. 176, par. 2, part 1, 4	Prostitution	4 yrs. 6 m.	8-Aug-15
62		Art. 178, par. 2, part 2; Art. 178,	Fraud	2 yrs. 9 m.	17-Jun-13

		par. 1; Art. 66			
63	35	Art. 112, par. 2, part 1, 4	Murder	5 yrs.	25-Dec-13
64	20	Art. 104, par. 1	Murder	7 yrs.	12-Apr-16
65		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; 325, par. 2	Fraud	9 yrs.	7-Nov-17
66	23	Art. 178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	3 yrs.	17-Jan-15
67	33	Art. 179, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	5 yrs.	1-Apr-14
68		Art. 34-178, par. 3, part 1	Fraud	3 yrs.	23-May-15
69		Art. 179, par. 3, part 1	Robbery	4 yrs.	12-Jan-14
70		Art. 34-104, par. 2, part 6	Murder	8 yrs.	14-Jul-15
71		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1, 3; Art. 325, par. 1	Fraud	8 yrs.	11-Jan-16
72	14	Art. 178, par. 2, part 2	Fraud	4 yrs.	23-Jun-13
73	30	Art. 215, par. 2; Art. 266, par. 3, part 2; Art. 66	Fraud	10 yrs.	25-May-17
74		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1, 2; Art34-178, par. 3, part 1, 2	Fraud	9 yrs.	9-Jun-16
75		Art. 178, par. 3, part 1; Art. 179, par. 3, part 1; Art. 252, par. 2, part 3; Art. 38-214, par. 2; Art. 66; Art. 69	Fraud	6 yrs. 3 m. 27 d.	11-Apr-18

## ANNEX II

### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### General Demographic Profile

1. Age
  - \_\_\_\_\_
2. Origin/Place of birth
  - \_\_\_\_\_
3. Number of members in the household
  - Now \_\_\_\_\_
  - Before \_\_\_\_\_
4. Place and type of dwelling:
  - Now \_\_\_\_\_
  - Before \_\_\_\_\_

#### Childhood

1. Type and size of paternal home
  - \_\_\_\_\_
2. Number of members in your paternal household
  - \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many siblings did you have?
  - Number of brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - Number of sisters \_\_\_\_\_
4. Which child are you?
  - Eldest
  - Middle
  - Youngest
  - Other \_\_\_\_\_
5. Did your parent(s) punish you as a child? (*If 'No' skip Q6*)
  - Yes

No

6. What type of punishments were you given as child?

- Denied basic necessities
- Not allowed to play
- Not allowed to go outside the house
- Not allowed to visit friends/have friends over
- Were verbally abused
- Were physically abused
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

7. What types of games did you play while growing up?

- Card games
- Board games
- Pencil and paper games
- Imagination/role playing games
- Computer/console games
- Outdoors games
- Sports games
- Educational games
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

8. During your childhood, who were the working members of your household, and what work did they do?

- Father
- Mother
- Grandmother
- Grandfather
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

Which of the following statements best describes your childhood? (*Likert scale, where 5 means totally agree; 4 somewhat agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 2 somewhat disagree; 1 totally disagree*)

	<b>5</b> <i>totally agree</i>	<b>4</b> <i>somewh at agree</i>	<b>3</b> <i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	<b>2</b> <i>somewhat disagree</i>	<b>1</b> <i>totally disagree</i>
My childhood years were the best years of my life					

My paternal home was a warm and comfortable place to live.					
My parents were a loving and peaceful couple.					
As a child, my parents and grandparents were very supportive of me and of my siblings.					
As a child, my parents paid the most attention to my studies and school performance.					
As a child, I had to help in household chores and did not pay attention to my school work.					
As a child I was free to have friends over and visit my friends.					
Growing up, I and my siblings were mostly brought up by others, instead of our parents.					
As a child, I was the most neglected compared to the relatively more supportive treatment of my siblings.					
I grew up in a poor family, where both my parents had to work to make ends meet.					
As a child, I had to work to earn money and help my parents make ends meet.					
As a child, my family had good relations with our relatives.					
As a child, my family had good relations with the neighbors.					

School record

1. Which were your favorite subjects in school?

- Math
- Physics
- Chemistry
- Foreign languages
- Armenian language
- Armenian literature
- Physical education
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

Which of the following statements best describes your school years? (*Likert scale, where 5 means totally agree; 4 somewhat agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 2 somewhat disagree; 1 totally disagree*)

	<b>5</b> <i>totally agree</i>	<b>4</b> <i>somewh at agree</i>	<b>3</b> <i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	<b>2</b> <i>somewhat disagree</i>	<b>1</b> <i>totally disagree</i>
I enjoyed going to school.					
I was excited about learning new things.					
I was an excellent student.					
I liked my teachers.					
I was treated well by the teachers.					
I felt safe at school.					
During the day I wanted to stay at school for as long as possible.					
I had good friends in school.					
I stayed after classes and played games with my school friends.					
I stayed after school and studied.					

Continuing education

1. After school did you wish to continue your education? (*If 'No' skip questions 3-6*)
  - Yes
  - No
  
2. Did you parents support you in your decision?
  - Yes
  - No
  
3. What kind of higher educational institution did you wish to continue at?
  - University
  - Vocational school
  - None
  
4. Were you independent to choose how to continue?
  - Yes
  - No
  
5. Were you accepted at your desired institution?
  - Yes

No

6. Did you graduate?

Yes

No

Career ambitions

1. Have you ever held a job?

Yes

No

2. At what age did you first start working?

• \_\_\_\_\_

3. What was your first job?

• \_\_\_\_\_

4. What was your last job before incarceration?

• \_\_\_\_\_

5. How many people were dependent on your income?

0-1

2-3

4-5

5+

Which of the following statements best describes your career/work life? (*Likert scale, where 5 means totally agree; 4 somewhat agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 2 somewhat disagree; 1 totally disagree*)

	<b>5 totally agree</b>	<b>4 somewh at agree</b>	<b>3 neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>2 somewhat disagree</b>	<b>1 totally disagree</b>
I enjoyed the work I did.					
I felt that I was appreciated at my job.					
I was paid a fair amount of money for the job I did.					
I was equally treated with my female coworkers.					
I was equally treated with my male coworkers.					



My family was supportive of my work.					
I was independent to decide how to spend the money I earned.					

Married life

1. Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married? (*If (5) then skip this section*).

- (1) Married
- (2) Widowed
- (3) Divorced
- (4) Separated (Not because of incarceration)
- (5) Never married

2. Where did you and your spouse live?

- (1) Separate rented apartment
- (2) Separate private apartment
- (3) With partner's family
- (4) With your family
- (5) Other \_\_\_\_\_

3. Number of people in the household

- \_\_\_\_\_

Which of the following statements best describes your married life? (*Likert scale, where 5 means totally agree; 4 somewhat agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 2 somewhat disagree; 1 totally disagree*)

	<b>5 totally agree</b>	<b>4 somewh at agree</b>	<b>3 neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>2 somewhat disagree</b>	<b>1 totally disagree</b>
My family supported my decision regarding the person I married.					
I had an arranged marriage.					
I married the person I loved.					
I felt happy in my marriage.					
Marriage was the right step for me.					
My husbands' and my relations were loving and peaceful.					
My husband treated me with respect.					
There was equality in the division of household chores.					
My husband and I had arguments.					
Others were involved in my husband's and my decision making processes					

I needed my husband's permission to work/continue working.					
I needed my husband's permission to visit my family/have them visit.					
I needed my husband's permission to spend time with friends.					

Prison life

1. Type of offense

- Embezzlement
- Forgery
- Breaking and entering
- Fraud
- Banking violation
- Shoplifting
- Burglary
- Stealing
- Customs/Tariffs Laws violation
- Tax Law violation
- Destruction of property
- Prostitution
- Murder
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

2. How many years of prison were you sentenced to?

- \_\_\_\_\_

3. How much has passed currently?

- \_\_\_\_\_

4. Do you get regular visits by:

- Family                     Yes             No
- Children                 Yes             No
- Best friend              Yes             No
- Other \_\_\_\_\_       Yes             No

5. Number and frequency of allowed visits

- Regular \_\_\_\_\_
- Extended \_\_\_\_\_

## **ANNEX III**

### **INMATE PROFILES/ORAL HISTORIES (SAMPLE OF 35)**

Inmate #1 has never met her father; growing up she was in bad relations with her mother, and was brought up by her grandmother. She blamed her mother for the things that have gone wrong in her life, and did not approve of her mother's fiancé in the past. She felt as if she had only known love and support from her grandmother. Her mother was not aware of her incarceration until recently. Her grandmother had encouraged her to work as a prostitute and covered up for her since she was 14. She was careful not to mention anything about prostitution, but at the same time claimed that she was involved with an older married man who took care of her and her grandmother in return for her "being with him when he wanted". According to her there was a "sensual connection" between them, "but of course materialistic needs are important too". The reason for her incarceration was not prostitution; it was physical harm to another. She is an artistic person and would like to have more arts and crafts clubs in prison, as well as English language courses. Inmate #1 hopes to "start from zero" after her release and wants to start a proper family of her own and pursue her interest in singing.

Inmate #2 incarcerated now for the 3<sup>rd</sup> time; all three times it is for trafficking, promotion of prostitution and related crimes. Relations with her mother have never been as good as she wanted them to be, and after her mother's death she hasn't been in touch with her father. She was forced by her mother to get married to a man she was repelled by. She was unhappy in her marriage and eventually divorced, having two boys from the marriage. After serving her 1<sup>st</sup> prison sentence she started seeing the man she loved, worked to support him, but was eventually disappointed by him as well, stating that "all men are liars". Her boys when younger did not know what kind of work she did, growing up they understood but said nothing. She herself has no regrets, claiming that the

girls she trafficked into prostitution were aware of what they were getting into. She also referred to those girls as “merchandise” and seemed to have alienated herself from the fact they are humans. When asked about wanting to have some programs in prison she replied “I know everything I need to know”. Her plans after her release were to join her sons and live with them in Russia.

Inmate #3 comes from a poor family which relied on welfare to make ends meet. She has only basic education, despite wanting to continue at some vocational institution she has not had the chance. She married at a young age through an arranged marriage to a man who was presented to her family as a wealthy man and who will take good care of her. During their marriage she grew unhappy with his possessive and uncommunicative character, and found out that he is married and has a family abroad. After a while she divorced and started seeing another man from whom she became pregnant. She showed him a home for the purpose of borrowing money, however her boyfriend and his friends ended up robbing that home, which led to her arrest. She was submitted to physical abuse by law enforcement officials despite declaring her pregnancy. In prison she would like to have some classes regarding the use and importance of informational technologies. After her release she is afraid of being labeled and seen as nothing more than a criminal by the people her gang robbed as well as by others.

Inmate #4 comes from a wealthy background, had a pleasant childhood, and has good relations with her family. She has a university degree and has always been interested in educating herself. A year after graduating she married and moved to live abroad. She has one daughter from her marriage and described her marriage as a right step for her since she had a very loving and respectful husband. Her husband preferred that she did not work and gave her everything she needed. After her husband’s death she was introduced to drugs by a friend and became more and

more addicted, slowly increasing the dosage and relying on heavier types of drugs. She is incarcerated for the illegally smuggling drugs into the country and circulating them. However, she describes herself as a law abiding citizen and when asked how she came to be in such situation her reply was that she was going through a depressive phase in her life.

Inmate #5 had an average childhood with nothing special to report, she was an average student in school who later on graduated from a vocational educational institute and had a job with a minimal but sufficient pay. She married having her family's support; despite not having permission from her husband to visit friends and family; and her mother in law not being fond of her, she considered herself happy in her marriage, and had two children. Nevertheless, she divorced from her husband, and started dating and living with another man (for more than 18 years). She mentioned being very jealous of him and one day at a friendly gathering she got into a fight with a woman who she thought was a threat to her relationship. This fight resulted in the inmate stabbing and killing that woman's partner. She still maintains the relationship with her boyfriend and gets visits from him in prison. Her interests include sewing and would like to have a sewing club in prison.

Inmate #6 was not too open about the details regarding her life. What regards her childhood years; she had a normal childhood in a loving family. In school she was an average student and wanted to continue her education in medicine as a doctor, then as a nurse, but her family was against both. She was never married but was dating a man for 2 years up until her incarceration. She ended up participating in an organized gang raid of the home of a person very close to her family. Despite the gang's intention to rob the home for money, they ended up murdering the home owner who was home at the time. Inmate #6 turned herself in after the crime but she did not mention the names of the other accomplices. She regrets what happened from the very first moment and does

not shy away from constantly repeating how wrong her actions were. She is interested in learning more about and seeing more activities in the prison related to gardening.

Inmate #7 had a normal childhood, a strict but loving mother, and she was a good student in school. She got married against her will to a man she was not attracted to or interested in. She considers marriage as a wrong step in her life and did not consider herself happy while married. She lived with her husband's parents and was the only one in the household who worked to support everyone. Despite providing the only source of income she was psychologically oppressed by her husband who did not work and yet constantly made her feel bad about herself for working. She eventually sought a divorce which was given to her after a long fight in court. She was incarcerated for robbery but considered the most critically negative point in her life getting married and her marital life.

Inmate #8 was not eager to learn new things during her school years but later on continued her education in two universities, one in Yerevan, and one on Moscow specializing in journalism. She worked as a journalist at a young age but later worked in the public sector and was happy about her job and the relatively prestigious social standing that came with it. She is now divorced and describes her relationship with her ex-husband as loving and respectful "only in the beginning". They had many fights and disagreements all of which were centered on financial issues and the economic hardships they faced as a household. Inmate #8 was incarcerated for fraud and admits that she is glad to be in prison now, otherwise she would have gotten into more trouble. Regarding programs for prisoners she was pessimistic stating that there's so much negativity in the prison that nothing interests her.

Inmate #9 did not have much to say about her childhood besides it being normal and without any out of the ordinary incidents. She wanted to continue her education and earn a university degree in law and preferably become a judge however she did not get accepted. She had an arranged marriage with a much older man, whom she did not love and consequently was not happy throughout the marriage. She describes her husband as a drug addict and jealous person who did not treat her with respect. They often had fights because of his constant jealousy and she needed his permission to work, visit friend and family. She never tried drugs stating that “what is bad is bad”; however she got involved in selling them and that is why is incarcerated. She is now divorced, and when asked about future plans; she does not have anything planned. She also mentioned that any new program in prison would be good for them; it is also important to keep traditions such as ‘Women’s day’ alive by organizing concerts and similar events.

Inmate #10 talked about her childhood and school years with fondness. She was especially close to her father. She was not able to get accepted to a medical college which was her first choice, but managed to study and graduate from a chemistry college. Inmate #10 was married twice. Her parents did not approve of her 1<sup>st</sup> marriage; she had an abortion at one point; and eventually divorced him. She claims that she “needed it” when asked if marriage was the right step, but added that she was only a child back then and did not know better. Her 2<sup>nd</sup> husband, whom her parents approved of, treated her well up until the point when she discovered that he was having an affair. She nevertheless stayed with him, while he became more violent and more jealous, beating her, restricting her from working, visiting friends or family, and mistreating their children. She is incarcerated for murder, the murder of her 2<sup>nd</sup> husband. She admits feeling betrayed by both her husbands. After her release she intends on getting a job and helping out her daughter financially, who is also in an abusive marriage.

Inmate #11 had a very good and comfortable life during her childhood and adolescent years. She was a good student up to 7<sup>th</sup> grade and wanted to continue her education after school; instead however, she eloped and got married. She admits regretting not attending school. Her husband was a gang member and spent most of his life in prison; her uncles also led a similar lifestyle. She had unstable jobs and worked to support her husband's gang activity, eventually becoming more actively involved in it. She was incarcerated as a result of a gang raid and robbery. She was pregnant at the time of her imprisonment, although her child was born dead. She eventually got divorced but the phenomenon she considers most critical in how her life turned out is her husband's routine gang associations. She is not interested in any in-prison activities or programs she just wants to be released and plans on leaving the country.

Inmate #12 came from a family where both parents did not work due to health issues, so the household relied on welfare. Her favorite subject in school was English and she would have liked to continue her higher education in English, however she did not get the chance. When she was 16 she started stealing small amounts of money from shops. She escaped from home and afforded to live on her own only by stealing. She was incarcerated for that same reason and has regrets now as she looks back. She considers the most critical point in her life the influence of her peers and her resorting to petty theft. She is eager to return home after her release and reconnect with her family, especially her mother. She misses them, has regrets about her actions and wants to live at home again.

Inmate #13 had an unusual childhood; her father died when she was very young, and deeply affected by this she assumed the role of 'man of the house' in her family from a young age. She was a good student in school until dropping out from 8<sup>th</sup> grade, and was indifferent in what regards continuing her education. She worked in construction since she was ten years old, and has done



'manly' jobs ever since. She looks, dresses, and acts like a man, and is referred to by a man's name. She does not want to get married and claims that she is interested neither in men nor in women. She is not interested in friendships with women either describing that it is hard for her to get along with women. She was incarcerated for using fake currency at a store, which was given to her by a friend; she suspects that she was set up. She works on the prison grounds and sends most of her salary to her mother. After her release she plans on returning to construction and continuing where she left off with her life.

Inmate #14 grew up in a conservative family, and lived with her mother and brothers. Her parents did not live together, she only saw her father during visits. In school she was only interested in foreign languages, but did not want to continue her education after school. Her mother wanted her to continue on to medical school and was against her marriage, but she got married nevertheless. She has 5 children, 4 of whom live abroad and 1 is at an orphanage in Armenia. Her husband died, and looking back she does not consider marriage as a right step for her. It is her 2<sup>nd</sup> time in prison; both times she was imprisoned for fraud (such as forging visas). The reasons for taking this route in life were the difficult socio-economic conditions she faced; and she was also convinced by a friend. Regarding her future plans after prison she is worried about not being able to get her family back together. Her 3 daughters are more understanding than her older son.

Inmate #15 was a good student in school and later on continued her education in medicine. She got married to the man she loved but was happy in her marriage only for a short time. He did not treat her with respect and they often had fights. He left the country and has not returned since, nor have they had any contact with each other since, and are now divorced. A relative offered her the opportunity to get rich fast and because of poor economic conditions she believed him and accepted the offer. This is what got her involved in the sale of drugs, leading to her imprisoned;

which was according to her the most life-changing point in her life. In prison she would like to have more job opportunities around the grounds, more cultural and sporting events, as well as some legal and English language courses. After her release she plans on looking for a job and is ready to face the difficulties that come with being incarcerated at some point in life.

Inmate #16 was born with defects of the central nervous system and was always at a disadvantage in all aspects of life. Her family has paid great attention to her and her health but she her condition has not improved. Her features and body are distorted and her speech is impeded. She went to a boarding school, but always had difficulties learning and even holding a pen. She always had the yearning to find a job and work but was unsuccessful due to her health situation. She never got married, but was dating and living with an older man whom she loved, for 7 years. He was an abusive alcoholic and demanded that she bring him money and alcohol. She used to beg for money or steal it, and now understands that she was being used. One day she decided that she had enough of him and that lifestyle and killed him in their home while he was drunk. She left the body untouched throughout the day and the night, confessing about her crime to the police only the next day. She now says she should have “got up and left” instead of killing him. She plans on returning to her paternal home after prison and living with her father.

Inmate #17 was from an average family what regards their economic standing. She was a good student in school and continued her education and graduated from the state university. She eloped and married a man who was “very strict but very smart; he did not put any limitations [on me] so that I wouldn’t leave him”. She admitted forcing herself to stay and not being pleased with herself while in that marriage. She finally got divorced and “did not even pity the children”- something which the cultural values suggest doing. She was incarcerated for fraud, specifically fake entrepreneurship, but was also involved in other illegal doings. She was a manager of a strip club,

while also promoting prostitution. She believed that she had not done anything wrong; that she was only trying to make it in life, and “help people” who were working for her through the businesses that she had established. It is her deep conviction that the system is to be blamed for the situation in which she is now, for it punishes people who have done nothing wrong. She plans on leaving the country as soon as she is released.

Inmate #18 was very proud of herself for being an excellent student in school and for holding a degree from Moscow University. She loved her job and prized herself for being a university professor before her incarceration. She also spoke highly of her husband, and described them as a loving couple and a team. This team she mentions was involved in fraud and abuse of their professional position to conduct an illegal business transaction. Her husband is also currently serving a prison sentence. She states that the prison programs provided in the women’s prison are too routine-like, and turn them into zombies. Moreover, she insists that the security levels at the prison do not work properly. Her future plans are to go back to her previous job and continue life treating this nothing but an “undesired event” that could have happened to anyone. She adds that “no one is insured against something like this”.

Inmate #19 had an average childhood, was a medium student at school, and continued on to studying law at university. Her studies were cut short, and she did not graduate, due to the fact that she got married. She describes herself happy only at the beginning of her marriage, and her husband treated her with respect only at the beginning. Her husband was very strict not allowing her to work, or visit friends or family. She eventually divorced him and was dating another man at the time of her arrest, who is now also under custody. Inmate #19 is incarcerated for the promotion of prostitution. The woman whom she was coercing into prostitution was the one who

reported her to the authorities. Regarding future plans she is still unsure since her sentence is quite long, but she assumes that her first steps will be finding a job.

Inmate #20 had a pleasant childhood and spoke highly of her parents. She was a good student in school, and had a Russian education. She continued on to higher education but got married and did not graduate. Her husband was an alcoholic, about which she was aware of from the beginning, and “always tolerated” it; he was also very controlling, choosing when and where she may work. She admitted not being completely happy in her marriage, but nevertheless tolerating it. One day when she grew tired of his drinking, she threatened to divorce him, and as a consequence was attacked from behind. According to her accounts she stabbed in several times, but realizing what she did she alerted relatives and sought medical help. She admits to destroying the evidence out of shock of what she did, and admitted to the crime, but she nevertheless does not admit that she had intention to kill. In prison she would prefer to have more Russian themed programs. She considers the moment when she snapped and stabbed her husband the most critical moment in her life.

Inmate #21 had a normal childhood, her school record was good, and she wanted to continue her education in law and become a judge, but in reality studied pedagogics; her uncle decided that the former is “not a profession fit for a girl”. She was married against her will, to a man who was formerly twice divorced; she did not consider herself happy at any point during the marriage. Her husband was an alcoholic who physically abused her during their many fights. She is now divorced but her comments on tolerating such behavior were “we’re Armenian; we think one day it might get better”. After her divorce she lived with whoever relative would take her in and was facing economic hardships. This was the reason for her to commit fraud, and be incarcerated. When asked about the most crucial point in her life she replied “I shouldn’t have gotten married,

so that I wouldn't be in this position now". Regarding in-prison programs she was very ill-disposed stating that whatever there is or will be she will not take part in it. Her future plans are to leave the country with her children in hopes of finding a job abroad.

Inmate #22 was brought up in a family which urged her to first get a higher education and then a job. She studied to become a beautician but was unable to graduate because of her imprisonment. Despite her family's values and complaints she eloped and lived with the man she loved. She was happy only for the first month, after which her partner did not treat her with respect, hit her, was jealous, and put restrictions on where she should work and who she may associates with. As a result she left her job, but stayed with her partner. She and her partner are both incarcerated now for robbing and burning down a house of a common friend, which resulted in his death. She was pregnant and her child was born while she was serving her prison sentence and stayed with her until he was three years old. She is very eager to learn English and would like to have courses in prison; she also paints, and actively participates in all the offered programs. She is no longer in touch with her partner and for her future plans hopes of becoming famous through her art.

Inmate #23 studied law and had her parents' full support; however she got married and did not graduate. Her marriage was to a man much older than her, whom she did not love, and was not happy in her marriage. She divorced him but found herself in a difficult economic condition when she needed to find money for her child's surgery. She borrowed the money from a neighbor who she trusted. After returning the borrowed money her neighbor did not give her any written, notarized proof that she paid off her debt and claimed that she still owed money. The result was a public fight and the involvement of law enforcement officials, a lawsuit, and finally her ending up in prison. She is not interested in programs in prison and does not partake in any of them. After her release she wants to reunite with her parents and son.

Inmate #24 was a good student in school and continued her education, acquiring a university degree in economics. She was never married but was dating a man until her incarceration. She worked at the post office and was fond of her work. However through her position as a post office worker some relatives used to send her packages from abroad, the contents of which were unknown to her. The second time she received such a package she was when she was imprisoned. Those packages contained illegal drugs, about which she claims not having any knowledge of. She was already in custody when a similar package arrived in her name for the third time. In prison she would very much like to have language course to keep herself busy. One of the things she wishes is finding love and getting married. She includes this in her future plans along with living a better life.

Inmate #25 was born outside of Armenia in a wealthy family, but moved back when she was young. Her father was a wine taster at a factory and had developed a drinking problem, and used to beat her. Their relationship was peculiar because when her father saw her bruises he showered her with gifts and special treatment, until the next time he beat her. She coped with this by saying “it is okay to suffer for a short moment in order to get what you want later”. Moreover she was taught from a young age that everything must be compensated. Regarding her education she did not attempt to continue it after school. For many years she has worked as a prostitute, starting because she was curious and continuing for the money. She is divorced and has two children, one of whom has always lived with her sister and is not considered her own anymore. She is incarcerated after getting into a fight which resulted in a death. After her release she has every step plans; visiting her mother’s grave, and reuniting with her father and daughter. She would like to see programs in prison which would prepare the inmates for life after their release.

Inmate #26 was raised by strict parents and has dropped out of school from 6<sup>th</sup> grade to take care of her siblings. She wanted to restart her studies, or pick up a trait but her family was in a poor economic condition and could not afford her education. She ran away from home once because of the economic difficulties, but was brought back. She married at a young age to a man 16 years older than her, in order to get away from the everyday economic difficulties her family faced and in order for her to have a companion. After the first few months the couple had constant arguments, her husband was very jealous and controlling, and towards the end of their marriage physically abused her. After her divorce inmate #26 met a girl who introduced her to drugs, pursuing her into trying drugs and circulating them for her. This became the reason for her incarceration, even though she claimed not knowing that she is participating in illegal actions, and now regrets it. Leaving home and getting married for the wrong reasons were the most critical steps in her life which brought her to this condition.

Inmate #27 claims having a careless childhood despite growing up in socio-economically bad conditions. She dropped out of school from the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and got a job as a cleaning lady. She got married to get away from the poor conditions of her paternal home, but grew to love her husband, who treated her with respect, and made her feel happy in her marriage. She had 2 children with him, but was widowed after her husband got in a car accident. She faced economic hardships and was forced to send her children to boarding school; but she also managed to get a job at the school and near her children. Some relatives convinced her to open an office with them and do business with companies abroad, claiming that they will take care of everything; all she needed to do was provide her signature. She was incarcerated for having her signature on documents used to practice fake entrepreneurship, and regrets trusting those people. After her release she is eager to

reunite with her children and unite with a man she is dating who keeps her optimistic about the future.

Inmate #28 is well educated, and has a degree from nursing college; however she has never worked in her life. She got married and had children; had a loving husband with whom she was very happy with. Her family experienced “a streak of bad luck”; her husband died in the Nagorno Karabakh war and so she relied on welfare to make ends meet; her brother also died. While visiting relatives in France she was asked to bring back some medicine for a relative, which turned out to be an illegal drug. She was incarcerated for importing and distributing illegal drugs. She knows that offering to transport drugs was a wrong step, but is not discouraged by the fact that she was tricked. She is very much respected by her daughters, takes care of her disabled aunt, and is eager to finish her prison sentence and be reunited with them and continue with her life.

Inmate #29 was well educated and skilled in computer technologies and English language; later on she also had a well-paying job. She always had good relations with her parents and tried helping them out with whatever she could. She got married to a lieutenant in the military and was happy in her marriage in the beginning. However, he abused alcohol use and they later on had constant arguments during which he was very aggressive with her. She was incarcerated for the murder of her husband but was not willing to elaborate more on the issue. She still has a long time to serve, during which time she would like to refresh her English by participating in language classes. Her future plans are to find work and help her parents as much as she can, considering how they’ve suffered too much for her.

Inmate #30 was raised by her grandparents. Her father died when she was 2 years old and her mother lived and worked in the U.S. for 12 years. She had a good education, studying at the



economic university specializing in economic engineering. She was married but was treated with respect by her husband only during the first year of their marriage. She was unhappy after the first year and eventually got divorced; he is now imprisoned as well. To make a living she imported products from abroad and sold them, her incarceration was directly connected to the opportunities she had in her work. She was incarcerated for illegally smuggling drugs into the country. This is her second prison sentence, during the first she met her husband who worked on the prison grounds. When thinking of her future she is worried; she only imagines herself doing what will make her children happy; she wants to move to the U.S. and find a job. In prison she would like to have foreign language courses and some internet courses, to prepare her for life after prison.

Inmate #31 described her childhood as peaceful and calm, despite having a strict father who used to beat her occasionally; moreover they lived in poor economic conditions. She helped her mother around the house, sold bread to earn money, and took care of her siblings. As a result she skipped school often, did not want to continue her education afterwards, and got married at 17. Her first husband, from whom she had a daughter, was a good man but died very young. She got remarried to a man from the criminal world who often got arrested; she had her second daughter from this marriage, but eventually divorced. She is now married for the third time, only on paper as she claims, for legal reasons. She is incarcerated for trafficking, along with her are her two sisters who were also involved in prostitution. She denies being involved in trafficking but later on admits to making loads of money from that work. In prison she would like to have some sort of computer/internet access or more telephone access to keep in touch with relatives. She has some money saved and might open a small business after her release; her main priority is providing her children with everything they need.

Inmate #32 comes from a large family background. In school she did not pay much attention to classes, continued her education at the Physical Education College, and became a gym teacher later on. She got married and felt happy in her marriage, describing her husband as “a kind man, but a drinker”; he died from health problems. She has 4 children who she brought up on her own, all of whom are now living in Nagorno Karabakh. She has a double personality, one where she is a good low-key person, and the other where she is a risk taker. The latter probably played a key role in her incarceration, when she borrowed a large sum of money and was charged with fraud (despite claiming to have returned the money). This is her third time in prison, and she wishes there were more work opportunities in agriculture for the prisoners around the prison grounds. She is a protective mother and is proud that her children understand the reasons for her actions; she would like to go live with them after her release.

Inmate #33 had a normal childhood, was an average student in school, and went on to studying economics in university. During her university years she eloped and married a man she did not love. She specifically states being happy in her marriage “only for the first 17 days”. Seeing the state in which she is in, her father took her back and ended the marriage. After graduation her first job was at a bank where she was very well paid and was used to earning good money. She then had a different job where the pay wasn’t as good, and she faced economic difficulties. This is what led to her imprisonment. She stole a large sum of money from the cash register but did not imagine getting caught. Her parents died from the stress they were inflicted from their daughter’s actions and imprisonment. Inmate #33 now deeply regrets everything, and states that all she wants is to get out of prison. She is not interested in prison programs, stating that “nothing will make her happy”. She is very confused and is unable to think of future plans.

Inmate #34 lived in poor conditions with her large family. She dropped out of school after 6<sup>th</sup> grade and did not want to continue her education in any sphere. Throughout her life she had low class jobs such as being cleaning lady. She got married and was happy in her marriage; she is still married but in retrospect she does not think marriage was a right choice for her since her husband drinks too much, which is the only reason they have arguments. Throughout her life she has been very poor. Even though she made money by buying and selling clothes she was tempted to steal money from several houses, along with two other which was the reason for all three of them to be incarcerated. In-prison programs do not interest her, she only wants to get out of prison and take care of her family.

Inmate #35 grew up in very poor social and economic conditions. She claimed being an excellent student in school and yet did not know how to read and write; she was never interested in learning or getting a higher education. She worked as a cleaning lady and held other low class jobs throughout her life. She married and claimed being happy in her marriage, even though arguments and constant fights were inevitable with her husband; he was aggressive and controlling, not letting her free to visit friends or family. The reason for her incarceration was the murder of her husband during a sexual act. She explains that it was as a result of an argument and that she did not have intent to kill. She is not interested in any in-prison programs and in general shies away from voicing her opinion. After her release she wants to find a job and take care of her son.

## ANNEX IV

### INMATE PROFILE/ORAL HISTORY DESCRIPTOR TABLES (SAMPLE OF 35)

The markings correspond to what extent the listed statements are applicable to each respondent.

Where 1 = “completely not applicable”; 2 = “somewhat not applicable”; 3 = “neutral”; 4 = “somewhat applicable”; 5 = “completely applicable”.

#### Inmate #1

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative					X
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs				X	

#### Inmate #2

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed			X		
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative					X
4.	Not interested in higher education		X			
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times		X			
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

#### Inmate #3

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	

6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #4**

		1	2	3	4	5
10	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
11	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
12	Relations with parents were negative	X				
13	Not interested in higher education					X
14	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
15	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
16	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
17	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
18	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #5**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education			X		
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times		X			
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money	X				
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs				X	

**Inmate #6**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs				X	

**Inmate #7**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #8**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times		X			
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #9**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs					X
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #10**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				

3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money	X				
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #11**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education		X			
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times		X			
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #12**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative			X		
4.	Not interested in higher education			X		
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #13**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		

7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #14**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed				X	
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #15**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #16**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed				X	
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs					X
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				



**Inmate #17**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed			X		
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X			X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #18**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #19**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #20**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				

3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs					X
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money	X				
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #21**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs					X
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #22**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education		X			
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #23**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	

7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #24**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #25**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed	X				
2.	Experienced violence during childhood					X
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education		X			
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #26**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood		X			
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education		X			
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs		X			
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #27**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #28**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed			X		
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs	X				
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times	X				
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money				X	
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs			X		

**Inmate #29**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs					X
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money	X				
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #30**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed				X	
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				

3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner	X				
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #31**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed				X	
2.	Experienced violence during childhood				X	
3.	Relations with parents were negative		X			
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner				X	
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #32**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education				X	
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner		X			
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs					X

**Inmate #33**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed		X			
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education					X
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner					X
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	

7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times				X	
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				

**Inmate #34**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood	X				
3.	Relations with parents were negative	X				
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner		X			
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs				X	
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times			X		
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money					X
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs		X			

**Inmate #35**

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Childhood and early adulthood were economically depressed					X
2.	Experienced violence during childhood			X		
3.	Relations with parents were negative			X		
4.	Not interested in higher education	X				
5.	Unhappy in marriage or relations with partner			X		
6.	Partner drank heavily and even used drugs			X		
7.	Partner was controlling and even violent at times					X
8.	Economic hardship pushed subject to look for ways to make money		X			
9.	Wants to see different types of educational/vocational prison programs	X				