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ESSAY

Reforming, Reclaiming or Reframing Womanhood: Reflections on Advocacy for Women in Custody

Brenda V. Smith*

I. INTRODUCTION

I was asked to present one of the keynote addresses for this important symposium, Behind Bars: The Impact of Incarceration on Women and Their Families, sponsored by the Women's Rights Law Reporter at Rutgers University School of Law in Newark. I am happy to write the introductory essay for this meaningful publication which arose from that symposium. This is a particularly hospitable and appropriate environment for this publication given Rutgers University's important place in feminist scholarship and discourse—both in its graduate and undergraduate programs and in its publication arm—Rutgers University Press. Historically, the Women's Rights Law Reporter has been a critical site for conversation and dialogue on significant and emerging issues in feminist scholarship.

This essay addresses why it is imperative to reclaim the discourse about women in prison and discusses how the other papers that appear in this issue aid in that project.

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1. I would like to thank Belinda Jacobus, Ava Majlesi, Moira Dillaway, Asaf Orr and all of the Women's Rights Law Reporter staff for their leadership and persistence in putting together this important event and this issue of the journal. They worked over the course of two academic years with the challenging schedule and shifting priorities of both students and authors to pull together this important publication.

2. Rutgers University has a number of important spaces for discourse on women, both at the graduate and undergraduate level. Particularly impressive is its Women's & Gender Studies program which was inaugurated as a department in 2001. Rutgers Department of Women's and Gender Studies, http://womens-studies.rutgers.edu/ (last visited Dec. 28, 2007).


II. THE MOMENT

It is necessary to talk about women in prison because we, as a nation, and more particularly as advocates, scholars, free women, and women in conflict with the law, are at a different place than we have ever been in discussing the situation of women in prison. Several factors have come together to create that “moment” including: (1) the increasing numbers of women in custody; (2) research and scholarship on gender responsive strategies for addressing the needs of women in custody; (3) federal legislation which has both worsened and has offered opportunities for advocacy related to women in prison, and (4) the inclusion of the human rights discourse into discussions about the treatment of women in conflict with the law.

5. In this essay, I will refer to both “women in prison” and “women in conflict with the law”. The latter term is a broader concept meant to encompass both women who are in prison and women who have been released from prison. These women have criminal histories and involvement in the criminal justice system that affects their trajectories in society.


10. See generally Andi Rierden, The Farm: Life Inside a Women’s Prison (1997) (discussing the reformatory movement and the history of women’s prisons highlighting the transition of women’s prisons from a place for women of immoral character to a place for retributive style punishment); see also Carole D. Spencer, Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival, 80 Quaker History 24, 36 (1991), available at http://www.whwomenclergy.org/articles/article6.php (remarking that Rhoda Coffin, a prominent Quaker woman, was championed for her trailblazing efforts on behalf of women prisoners); Joanne Belknap, The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime and Justice 158-60 (2d ed. 2001).
The Reform Movement, as it was called, was certainly not about equality. In fact, suffragists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony parted ways with churchwomen who were more concerned with reforming imprisoned women and freeing slaves than with obtaining suffrage and equal rights for women. Both suffragists and the opponents of suffrage, saw the "reformation" project as less radical than women's efforts to assist slaves and women prisoners. Those projects of reformation were consistent with the accepted belief that women, because of their "higher moral character," would and should be working for the poor and less fortunate. Ministering to slaves and prisoners was consistent with church teaching and notions of women's roles as the moral compass for the nation and the family.

The movement's objective of reforming women in conflict with the law lasted well into the 1970s; to some extent this objective still exists in places where women inmates are being groomed for and receive education and training suited for traditional domestic positions, such as secretaries, cosmetologists, seamstresses, domestics and telemarketers.

B. Reframing Women in Conflict with the Law

In the 1970s, with momentum from the women's rights movement and the entry of women as workers into male prisons and out of women's prisons, correctional institutions began to treat women inmates differently. At the same time that female correctional staff gained entrance into male institutions, male staff began demanding access and rights to work in female institutions. Yet, a counterpoint to this change in treatment was always domesticity—home and children. Consequently, these years saw the rise of programs aimed at enhancing the motherhood opportunities for women in con-
litigation aimed at securing equality for women in custody. Advocates like Ellen Barry, Jean Fox-Way, Gail Smith, and Sandra Barnhill, campaigned for litigation to improve reproductive health care for women in prison; increased programs and visitation for children and mothers; provided legal services to represent women in legal proceedings related to parental rights; and organized programs for women in conflict with the law, caregivers and the children of incarcerated parents. This group of advocates focused on motherhood for a variety of reasons. First, it was politically expedient and powerful to link

19. Legal Services for Prisoners with Children (“LSPC”) was founded in 1978 to focus on legal and social policy issues affecting incarcerated mothers and their families. Legal Services for Prisoners with Children Homepage, http://prisonerswithchildren.org/ (last visited Dec. 29, 2007). Legal Services for Prisoners with Children’s mission “is to advocate for the civil rights and empowerment of incarcerated parents, children, family members and people at risk for incarceration through responding to requests for information, trainings, technical assistance, litigation, community activism and the development of more advocates. Our focus is on women prisoners and their families, and we emphasize that issues of race are central to any discussion of incarceration.” LSPC History, http://prisonerswithchildren.org/history.htm (last visited Jan. 8 2008). Aid to Imprisoned Mothers (“Foreverfamily”) was founded in 1987 in order to focus on children with incarcerated parents. Foreverfamily, with its founder Sandra Barnhill, focuses its efforts on providing children with an opportunity to be surrounded and supported by family. Aid to Incarcerated Mothers (“AIM”) was founded in 1980 as Massachusetts’ first organization to serve women prisoners. AIM Homepage, http://www.aim-mass.org/ (last visited Dec. 29, 2007). AIM, through executive director, Jean Fox, offers women holistic services. Id. See also Prisoners Re-Entry Working Group Homepage, http://exooffenderresources.org/content.php?id=21#homelesswomen (last visited Dec. 29, 2007).

20. See Women Prisoners of the D.C. Dep’t of Corrs. v. District of Columbia, 877 F. Supp. 634, 639-43, 656-62 (D.D.C. 1994), stay denied and motion to modify granted in part, 899 F. Supp. 659 (D.D.C. 1995), vacated in part, remanded, 93 F.3d 910 (D.C. Cir. 1996), cert. denied, 520 U.S. 1196 (1997) (finding that sexual abuse of women in custody violates the Eighth Amendment and that denial of equal educational and vocational opportunities violates the Fourteenth Amendment); Klinger v. Dep’t of Corrs., 107 F.3d 608, 615 (8th Cir. 1997) (finding no constitutional issues with providing differing educational and vocational opportunities to women prisoners as compared to those at the men’s prison); Pargo v. Elliot, 69 F.3d 280, 281 (8th Cir. 1995) (affirming judgment that court’s findings were not erroneous when it found that any differences in the treatment of women were rationally related to legitimate penological interests of security and rehabilitation); see also Canterino, 546 F. Supp. at 207 (W.D. Ky. 1982) (ruling that the prisons’ levels system and the denial of vocational training and education to all female inmates violated both the Equal Protection and the Due Process Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment).

21. Ellen Barry is the Founding Director of LSPC. LSPC Historical Milestones, supra note 21 (referencing settled class action lawsuits filed by Ellen Barry and LSPC on behalf of pregnant women prisoners such as Harris v. McCarthy, Yeager v. Smith, and Jones v. Dyer).

22. Jean Fox-Way is the Executive Director of Aid to Incarcerated Mothers (AIM). AIM Homepage, http://www.aim-mass.org/ (last visited Dec. 29, 2007). AIM provides a variety of services in Massachusetts to incarcerated mothers during and after their incarceration. AIM’s Programs, http://www.aim-mass.org/ (then select “Programs” on the top navigation bar) (last visited Jan. 9, 2008).


24. Sandra Barnhill is a pivotal member of Foreverfamily. See Aid to Imprisoned Mothers: Aid to Imprisoned Mothers History, http://www.takingaim.net/history.asp (last visited Dec. 29, 2007). As an Annie E. Casey Foundation fellow, she was recognized for her ability to bring together diverse groups for a common social goal. See id. Throughout the years, Ms. Barnhill has also authored numerous articles and handbooks, including work published in the Encyclopedia of Childbearing and Corrections Today. Id.

25. See LSPC Historical Milestones, supra note 21 (referencing settled class action lawsuits filed by Ellen Barry and LSPC on behalf of pregnant women prisoners such as Harris v. McCarthy, Yeager v. Smith, and Jones v. Dyer).

26. LSPC was involved in advocating for the creation of the California Mother Infant Care Program (“MIC”). Legal Services for Prisoners with Children: Mother Infant Care Program, www.prisonerswithchildren.org/issues/pwcmc.htm (last visited Dec. 29, 2007). MIC, created in 1978, is a cost efficient method of reunifying incarcerated mothers with their children in a structured and supportive environment that promotes good parenting and recovery from drug addiction. Id.

women in prison and motherhood. While the public may not have been able to sympathize with the concerns of a criminal, they could sympathize with the concerns of mothers and their children. These advocates used the powerful narratives of incarcerated women and their children to push for legislation, including programs and services aimed at enhancing women's capacity to be mothers. This strategy had obvious disadvantages because it required women in conflict with the law to conform to prevailing notions of acceptable motherhood, which are contested in practice and in theory. Women in conflict with the law often experience problems and have difficulty acting as ideal mothers given their lack of resources—income, education, employment and housing—and personal challenges such as criminal involvement, addictions and past histories of physical and sexual trauma. The motherhood movement did little to address these issues.

Another group of advocates, formed by people like, Gay Gellhorn, Elizabeth Alexander and Susan Deller Ross advocated in separate spheres for women in custody. This area of advocacy focused primarily on equality and access to services and programs. While these advocates were crucial in helping to establish that women in conflict with the law had the right to the same services as male prisoners, they were not as comfortable arguing that women had particular needs that an equality approach did not adequately address, such as parenthood, victimization and sexuality.

While the “motherhood” and “equality” movements were not opposed to each other, they rarely collaborated. Instead the separate movements choose to amicably plow their own fields and engage in their own projects of reformation and refiguring of women in conflict with the law—one as mother, the other as citizen—although those terms are not mutually exclusive.

C. Reclaiming the Discourse on Women In Conflict with the Law

We are in a different place today. The focus of the project is to help women in conflict with the law reclaim their roles as care givers, protection and Title IX lawsuit. She also directed the HIV/AIDS Law Clinic at UDC for several years. Professor Gellhorn's biography can be found at University of the District of Columbia David A. Clarke School of Law, http://www.law.udc.edu/faculty/gellhorn.html (last visited Dec. 30, 2007).

31. Elizabeth Alexander is Director of the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU) National Prison Project. Ms. Alexander has published numerous articles on prison law and criminal justice reform and has litigated numerous cases. Ms. Alexander litigated Farmer v. Brennan, 511 U.S. 825, 847 (1994) (holding that “a prison official may be held liable under the Eighth Amendment for denying humane conditions of confinement only if he knows that inmates face a substantial risk of serious harm and disregards that risk by failing to take reasonable measures to abate it.”) and Wilson v. Seiter, 501 U.S. 294 (1991) (vacating and remanding summary judgment of an inmate's claim of cruel and unusual punishment on the basis that the Sixth Circuit applied the wrong standard in assessing whether there was an Eighth Amendment violation). Both cases alleged that certain conditions of confinement constituted cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment. A frequent public speaker, Ms. Alexander has testified before Congress on the subject of health care within the Bureau of Prisons. Bob Witanek, ACLU: Nat'l Prison Project Director Named, Jan. 27, 1996, www.nicic.org/pubs/2005020417.pdf (last visited Jan. 1, 2008).

32. Susan Deller Ross represented the Office of Civil Rights as the Plaintiff-Intervenor in Canterino v. Wilson and headed the Women’s Rights Program at Georgetown Law Center. Professor Ross is Director of Georgetown Law Center's Women's International Human Rights Clinic. Professor Deller Ross's biography can be found at Georgetown Law, http://www.law.georgetown.edu/faculty/facinfo/tab_faculty.cfm?Status=Faculty&ID=317 (last visited Jan. 1, 2008).
workers, and citizens. The goal is to strengthen their identities as sexual, productive powerful beings.

The entry of a human rights discourse into this dialogue with its focus on the rights that we all share as human beings has been exciting and helpful. It has provided additional tools for excavating rights and demands that frankly we, in this country, had given up a while ago. In this way, the work of Dorothy Thomas, Widney Brown, Wendy Patten and Deborah LaBelle was seminal. These women advocates looked at the treatment and circumstances of women in custody through the lens of human rights; they were reclaiming for incarcerated women not just the right for equal program-

ming but the for programs and services that met the particular needs of individual women.37

One of the most significant areas of work that has been done over the past decade has been in the area of exposing problems and creating remedies for women in custody who have been sexually victimized.38 I was fortunate to be involved with this particular area of work when I participated in litigation on behalf of a class of women inmates. We were able to establish that sexual abuse and harassment can violate the Eighth Amendment ban on cruel and unusual punishment.39

In many ways, the sexual victimization of women in custody has been an enduring theme in the story of women in custody. In fact, scan-


35. Wendy Patten is a Senior Policy Analyst at the Open Society Institute in Washington, D.C. Open Society Institute, http://www.soros.org/initiatives/washington/about/staff_bios#patten (last visited Jan. 1, 2008). Ms. Patten currently advocates on U.S. human rights and civil liberties issues. Id. She has also served as the U.S. Advocacy Director for Human Rights Watch and served as the director of research and programming development at the Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative (CEELI). Id.

36. Deborah LaBelle is a Senior Soros Fellow and cooperating attorney with the ACLU who has an impressive body of legal and scholarly work on issues involving women in prison, juveniles, and discrimination against individuals who are lesbian, gay, or transgendered. See Meet the CAAPS Board of Directors, CONSENSUS, (Citizens Alliance on Prisons & Pub. Spending, Lansing, Mich.) Sept. 2004 at 5, available at www.capps-mi.org/pdf/docs/Consensus/September_2004.pdf. Ms. LaBelle authored an article alleging that judicial neglect and gender bias combine to create conditions of incarceration that violate our basic precepts of fairness and humane treatment. Deborah LaBelle, WOMEN, THE LAW, AND JUSTICE SYSTEM: NEGLECT, VIOLENCE, AND RESISTANCE, IN WOMEN AT THE MARGINS: NEGLECT PUNISHMENT, AND RESISTANCE 347 (Jo-

37. See BLOOM ET AL., RESEARCH, PRACTICE AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES, supra note 7 (addressing women inmates' need for gender-specific policies, programs, and services through a summary of multidisciplinary research and practitioner-expertise on gender-responsive strategies).

38. See generally U.S. GEN. ACCOUNTING OFFICE, WOMEN IN PRISON: SEXUAL MISCONDUCT BY CORRECTIONAL STAFF, A REPORT TO THE HONORABLE ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, HOUSE OF REP. 1 (1999) (finding that though sexual abuse of women inmates occurred in the correctional systems analyzed—Texas, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, California, and the District of Columbia—the full extent of the problem is unknown because of poor recordkeeping, inadequate investigation and inmates' fear of reporting) [hereinafter U.S.G.A.O., SEXUAL MISCONDUCT BY CORRECTIONAL STAFF]; see also Smith, A Modern Corollary of Slavery, supra note 12, at 590-604; see also Fifty-State Survey of Criminal Laws Prohibiting Sexual Abuse of Individuals in Custody, http://www.wcl.american.edu/nio/responses.cfm (last visited Jan. 1, 2008) (providing a detailed analysis of each state's laws that deal with sexual misconduct in prisons, as well as those codified at the federal level).

39. Women Prisoners of the D.C. Dept. of Corrs, 877 F. Supp. at 665 ("[T]he lack of privacy within [prison] cells and the refusal of some male guards to announce their presence in the living areas of women prisoners constitute a violation of the Eighth Amendment since they mutually heighten the psychological injury of women prisoners").
dals related to the victimization and impregnation of women in custody initially created the impetus for creating separate reformatories for women staffed by female matrons in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.40

In much the same way, the discourse on sexual violence in penal institutions created an openness to change that we never anticipated. In plotting the trajectory, I want to create a timeline of sorts:

-1993—Women Prisoners litigation established that a pattern and practice of sexual abuse and harassment of women in custody violates the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution.41

-1996—Human Rights Watch releases a report entitled All Too Familiar documenting sexual abuse of women in Michigan and Georgia prisons.

-1998/1999—GAO releases reports on women in prison and sexual abuse of women in custody that examined issues affecting women in custody and detailed four jurisdictions’ responses to sexual abuse of women in custody.42

-1999—Amnesty International releases a report documenting widespread sexual abuse of women in state prisons and chronicling other abuses of women in custody that violate human rights such as shackling of pregnant women during labor and delivery.43

-1999—Representative Conyers introduces the Custodial Sexual Assault Act of 1998 aimed at addressing sexual abuse of women in custody by creating a registry of staff involved in sexual abuse of women.44

-1999—United Nations’ Special Rapporteur Radhika Coomaraswamy releases her highly critical report examining the treatment of women in custody in U.S. prisons on a range of issues including sexual abuse, programs and services for female prisoner parents.45

-2001—Human Rights Watch releases No Escape—Male Prisoner Rape in U.S. Prisons,46 detailing pervasive patterns of same-sex male prisoner rape in U.S. prisons and suggesting a sys-

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40. See generally Nicole Hahn Rafter, Partial Justice: Women in State Prisons, 1800-1935, at xix (1985). Rafter details the account of Molly Forsha, who was convicted of murder in the mid-1870s and gave birth to twins while incarcerated at the Nevada State Prison in Carson City, allegedly as a result of sexual activity with the warden. Id. at 98. Rafter also discusses the opening of the Indiana Women’s Reformatory by Charles and Rhoda Coffin in 1873. Id. at 29-33; Sheryl Pimlott & Rosemary C. Sarri, The Forgotten Group: Women in Prisons and Jails, in Women at the Margins: Neglect, Punishment and Resistance 55, 63 (Josefina Figuera-McDonough & Rosemary C. Sarri eds., 2002) (citing an incident of sexual and physical abuse and pregnancy at the Auburn New York State Prison in 1865, which led to the opening of a separate women’s facility).

41. See Women Prisoners, 877 F. Supp. 634.

42. See generally Human Rights Watch, All Too Familiar, supra note 9.


44. See Amnesty Int’l, “Not Part of My Sentence”: Violations of the Human Rights of Women in Custody 5 (1999) (criticizing the U.S. for not following international standards requiring same-sex supervision of female inmates) [hereinafter “NOT PART OF MY SENTENCE”]. This report cites Article 7 of the International Covenant which provides that every person has a right “not to be subject to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.” Id. at 4. See also Amnesty Int’l, Abuse of Women in Custody: Sexual Misconduct and Shackling of Pregnant Women, http://www.amnestyusa.org/women/custody/shackling/index.html (last visited Jan. 3, 2008) (follow up report to “NOT PART OF MY SENTENCE” highlighting the continuing concerns about sexual assault on women in prison).


temic approach to preventing, investigating and punishing prison rape.

- 2003—The Prison Rape Elimination Act\(^\text{48}\) ("PREA") was introduced and unanimously passed. This Act directed resources to preventing, investigating and prosecuting prison rape and providing services and resources to survivors of prison rape.

- 2004—Abu Ghraib prison scandal broke,\(^\text{49}\) exposing sexual torture of prisoners held in custody in Iraq by military police.

These events have led us to a moment where agencies and policymakers have serious questions about the nature of imprisonment in the United States and the feminization of sexual violence. There is no question that PREA passed because it was viewed as less acceptable for men to be raped in prison than women. In fact, the initial drafts of the act only addressed the sexual abuse of men in custody.\(^\text{50}\)

PREA's, with its focus on zero tolerance of prison rape, insistence on data collection, and promise of national standards on the prevention, detection and punishment of prison sexual violence, has meant that prison officials, legislators, and attorneys have had to ask very basic questions:

1. Has the Prison Litigation Reform Act ("PLRA")\(^\text{51}\) created a situation where serious problems remain concealed until they are too serious to deal with except through litigation?

2. Should claims of sexual violence be exempt from the exhaustion and physical injury requirements of PLRA?

3. Are fundamental challenges and changes to the institutional culture of prisons the best way to address sexual violence?

4. Are prisoners victims too?

5. Should we revisit the ban on the use of VAWA\(^\text{52}\) funding for persons in custody to address the needs of victimized men and women in custody?\(^\text{53}\)

6. Should we prosecute women staff who abuse female and male inmates to the same degree and with the same vigor that we do with male staff?\(^\text{54}\)

7. What is a permissible continuum of sexual behavior in institutional settings?\(^\text{55}\)


\(^{53}\) See Smith, A Modern Corollary of Slavery, supra note 12, at 592 (discussing VAWA I and VAWA II laws that prohibited the use of funds for any persons in custody, meaning that “the significant number of women in prison with histories of physical and sexual abuse both prior and during imprisonment are ineligible for services funded by VAWA II”).


\(^{55}\) See Brenda V. Smith, Rethinking Prison Sex: Self-Expression and Safety, 15 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 185, 225 (2006) [hereinafter Rethinking Prison Sex] (discussing the continuum of sexual expression in correctional environments the main concern of which is whether the state has an ability to regulate that expression); see also Brenda V. Smith, Continuum of Sexual Behavior in Institutional Settings, developed under NIC Cooperative Agreement 06S20GJJ1 (PowerPoint presentation on file with author) (outlining the continuum of sexual behavior in prisons).
8. Can there be consensual sex between inmates; can there be consensual sex between staff and inmates?  
9. Should the loss of sexual autonomy be a necessary corollary of imprisonment?  
10. Could conjugal and family visiting programs like those established in other countries help prevent sexual violence in custody?  
11. Given that we now know that prisoners engage both voluntarily and involuntarily in high-risk behaviors that affect the communities they return to—should we invest in preventive measures such as condom distribution in prisons?  
12. Are credible grievance systems that have assurances of confidentiality and protection from retaliation sufficient to inform prison administrators of problems or is resort to external accountability systems—inspector generals, ombudsmen, oversight committees—the most effective way to intervene in institutional abuse issues?  

IV. CONCLUSION  
This is an important moment and the papers that are published in this issue of the Women’s Rights Law Reporter will provide important material for discussions and debate on the project of reclaiming rights and possibilities for women in conflict with the law. Phillip Gentry’s reflections on his three decades of work with incarcerated mothers provides a useful counterpoint to my critique of the “motherhood” movement.  

We should also listen to the voices of and examine important testimonials of former women prisoners and their children. Makeba Lavan’s narrative about her mother’s imprisonment, its impact on her and her resulting work with youth at Sing Sing Prison in New York is a good example of this; she represents the infusion of youth and exciting new advocacy in this area. Lavan’s perspective is supported by Tanya Krupat’s important work which addresses the impact of parental incarceration on children. Krupat argues that incarceration and the separation of children from their parents creates societal invisibility for children of imprisoned parents. This invisibility has both tangible and intangible consequences for the 

56. See Smith, Rethinking Prison Sex, supra note 55, at 201 (noting that there “is an inherent imbalance of power between staff and inmates [where] [c]orrectional staff control every aspect of the prisoner and the prison experience; housing, recreation, discipline, communication with the outside, and even the length of an inmate’s sentence”).  
57. See generally id. (indicating that one loses control over one’s personhood in prison, including sexual autonomy as part of the punishment).  
58. See id. at 231 (arguing that conjugal and family visits give greater opportunities for prisoners’ sexual expression).  
59. Id. at 229 (noting that “the rate of infection for hepatitis and HIV . . . among the prison population is three times that of the general population, and affects female inmates at a higher rate than males”).  
well-being of children who are affected by parental imprisonment.⁶⁴

Carole Eady’s paper charts her experience as an incarcerated mother affected by the Rockefeller Drug Laws and provides an important reflection on the prison experience from the perspective of women who continue to live with the consequences of their imprisonment—long sentences, difficult reentry into society, and loss of familial relationships.⁶⁵ Dr. Kathy Boudin’s essay discusses parole and the denial of possibilities for violent women offenders. Boudin’s essay draws on her prison experience and challenges assumptions related to advocacy for mothers, particularly those who were convicted of violent offenses and are serving long sentences.⁶⁶ My hope is that these articles and this symposium issue will begin the important work of assisting women in conflict with the law and help them to reclaim their roles and rights both as women and citizens.

⁶⁴. See Lashanda Taylor, *Resurrecting Parents of Legal Orphans* (unpublished article, on file with author) (suggesting an alternative to termination of parental rights for parents whose children are in the foster care system beyond fifteen months and with few prospects for adoption).
