

AN EVALUATION OF THE PARENTING PROGRAM AT THE NEBRASKA
CORRECTIONAL CENTER FOR WOMEN

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AN EVALUATION OF THE PARENTING PROGRAM AT THE NEBRASKA
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University of Nebraska, 2010

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ABSTRACT: This thesis evaluates the parenting program at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women (NCCW). I examined whether (1) program participation had any effect on inmate mothers' attitudes toward corporal punishment, (2) whether program participation increased the extent of contact between inmate mothers and their children, and (3) whether General Strain Theory (GST) was applicable to a population of incarcerated mothers, with simultaneous consideration given to the possible influence of participation in the parenting program at NCCW. I hypothesized that program participants would have more appropriate attitudes toward corporal punishment than other inmates. Further, I hypothesized that program participation would increase mothers' contact with their children, and that increased contact would reduce the strain mothers experienced. I then examined the relationship between strain, anger, depression and institutional misconduct. My findings did not support the first hypothesis that program participants would have more appropriate attitudes toward corporal punishment than non-participants. However, my findings did support the second hypothesis that program participants would have more contact with their children than non-participants. Finally, there was partial support for the applicability of GST to incarcerated mothers (i.e., as an explanation of institutional misconduct).

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Chapter One

Introduction and Background

Introduction

The primary purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the parenting program offered to the general population of female inmates at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women (NCCW). I will attempt to ascertain whether the parenting program makes a difference in the lives of inmate mothers. I will examine whether program participation increases the frequency of contact that inmate mothers have with their children. I will also examine whether knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques is higher among program participants than non-participants. Additionally, unlike other scholars who have evaluated the effect of inmate participation in parenting programs, I will examine whether participation directly or indirectly reduces inmate strain, and the influence of these variables on the likelihood of institutional misconduct.

Evaluations of parenting programs are warranted when one considers that many children now have parents serving time behind bars. Prison populations in the U.S. have increased substantially over time (Sabol, Couture & Harrison, 2007; West & Sabol, 2009).¹ For example, between 2005 and 2006, the number of State and Federal prisoners increased by 3.1 percent.² The situation in individual state correctional systems mirrors the national trend. Nebraska is no exception; between 2005 and 2006, the Nebraska prison population increased by 2.7 percent (Sabol et al., 2007). It is important to add that the rate of growth in the female prison population has outpaced increases in the rate of

¹ The average annual growth rate for male prison populations between 2000 and 2005 was 1.8 percent (Sabol et al, 2007). Between 2000 and 2005, the average annual growth rate of female prison populations was 2.9 percent (Sabol et al, 2007).

² This number *excludes* Federal and State prisoners who were housed in local jails.

incarceration for male offenders. Between 2005 and 2006, male prison populations increased by 2.7 percent; the female prison population increased by 4.5 percent over the same time period (Sabol et al., 2007). Nebraska's female prison population has likewise increased. Between 2000 and 2005, the number of female prisoners in Nebraska increased by 9.7 percent, whereas the male prison population increased by 2.1 percent (Sabol et al., 2007).

As the number of incarcerated women rises, so too does the number of incarcerated mothers (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Between 1991 and 2007, the number of children with a mother in prison more than doubled (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). In 2007, approximately 65,600 mothers of 147,400 children were incarcerated (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Many of these mothers were the sole caretakers of their children prior to their incarceration (Moses, 1995; Muse, 1994). Researchers also report that many of these women plan to resume caring for their children upon release from prison (Bruns, 2006; Hairston, 1991a; Moses, 1995; Muse, 1994; Thompson & Harm, 1995).

Incarceration clearly forces a separation between many children and their primary caregivers. This forced separation is a highly traumatic event for inmate mothers and their children. Indeed, the emotional trauma is similar to that caused by divorce or death (Browne, 1989; Moses, 1995; Snyder, Carlo & Coats-Mullins, 2001). Inmate mothers experience high levels of anxiety and stress when separated from their children (Thompson & Harm, 1995). This is because mothers worry about their children's safety (Muse, 1994) and feel guilty about "abandoning" them (Clark, 1995; LaPoint Pickett & Harris, 1985; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Some inmate mothers fear

that their relationship with their children will deteriorate considerably over their period of incarceration (Block & Potthast, 1998).

Agnew (2006a) argues that strains, in general, can lead to a negative affective state. In other words, strains contribute to negative feelings, like anger, frustration or depression (Agnew 2006a). Inmate mothers may experience strain for a variety of reasons. For example, because the parenting role is important to a female offender's identity, it is logical to argue that mothers are likely to experience strain when incarceration forces a separation from their children (Clark, 1995). Therefore, Agnew's (2006a) General Strain Theory (GST) should be applicable to this population of incarcerated women. Agnew's (2006a) GST will be discussed in detail below; however, in brief, Agnew (1992, 2006a) presents the argument that individuals commit crimes and other deviant acts because of strains or stressors in their lives.

Agnew (1992, 2006a) argues that strain may result in one of three ways. First, strain may result when a positively valued stimuli is removed (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). For inmate mothers this could conceivably be the loss of contact with their children. A second way in which strain is created is when a negative stimulus is introduced (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). For female inmates, this might be the general prison environment or restrictive rules, including rules that limit visitation. Finally, strain may result when an individual cannot achieve a highly valued goal (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). For example, inmate mothers want to care for and parent their children; incarceration prevents inmate mothers from effectively achieving this goal (LeFlore & Holston, 1989).

Strain may cause individuals to become angry, depressed, or frustrated (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). For example, incarcerated mothers are likely to suffer from severe depression and decreased levels of self-esteem (Block & Potthast, 1998; Harm & Thompson, 1997; LeFlore & Holston, 1989; Moore & Clement, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995).³ Individuals who experience such a negative affective state naturally want to make themselves feel better (Agnew, 2006a). There are a variety of ways in which negative emotional states may be alleviated; some individuals act out (in a deviant or criminal manner) in response to the stressors they encounter (Agnew, 1992, 2006a).

Children are also negatively affected by their mothers' incarceration. Many experience emotional problems following the imprisonment of their mothers (Block & Potthast, 1998; Hairston, 1991a, 1991b; LaPoint et al., 1985; Moses, 1995; Snyder et al., 2001). For example, some children become anxious and depressed (Moses, 1995; Snyder et al., 2001). Some may become distrustful of authorities and/or have difficulties bonding with adult role models (Carlson, 2001). Researchers further report that some children may even act out aggressively (Greene, et al., 2000; Hairston, 1991b; LaPoint et al., 1985; Moses, 1995; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Problems with academic performance have also been reported (Block & Potthast, 1998; Greene, et al., 2000; Hairston, 1991b; Moses, 1995; Snyder, et al, 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995).

³ In one study, for example, Poehlmann (2005) assessed the levels of depression among mothers incarcerated in a "medium-minimum security state prison for women in the Midwest" (p. 351). Ninety-four women who participated in the program were asked to fill out a questionnaire that contained a measure of depression (i.e., the Depression Scale (CES-D) developed by the Center for Epidemiological Studies). Based on respondent answers to questions on the CES-D, Poehlmann (2005) determined that 79 percent of the inmate mothers were clinically depressed. Relative to the rate of depression among women in the general population, this rate is very high. Poehlmann (2005) also found that, after controlling for mothers' early trauma, inmate mothers who received fewer face-to-face visits with their children reported more depressive symptoms. Depression may contribute to lowered self-esteem.

Inmate mothers often experience guilt and feel responsible for the pain that incarceration causes their children (Muse, 1994; Thompson & Harm, 1995). The guilt mothers experience is compounded by the fact that mothers are unable to parent their children or relive their children's anxiety (LeFlore & Holston, 1989). The inability to fulfill the parenting role by comforting and caring for their children is a significant source of strain for inmate mothers (LeFlore & Holston, 1989).

Maintained contact between incarcerated mothers and their children may help to address some of the aforementioned problems that result when mothers are imprisoned (Hairston, 1991a; Muse, 1994; Sharp, 2003; Snyder et al., 2001). To elaborate, children who have contact with their incarcerated mothers are reassured that their mothers are "okay" and that their mothers still love them. Thus, increased contact between mothers and children may reduce levels of stress for both parties (Hairston, 1991b). Related to this argument, high levels of contact with children also allow inmate mothers to maintain their parenting roles from afar, and, thus, their bonds with their children (Bruns, 2006; Hairston, 1991a; LeFlore & Holston, 1989; Moses, 1995). Increased contact may reduce the strains that incarcerated mothers experience as a result of their incarceration.⁴

While it is important for incarcerated mothers to maintain contact with their children (and vice versa), prison administrators and treatment staff must also realize that many inmate mothers lack the knowledge and skills to parent their children. Parenting

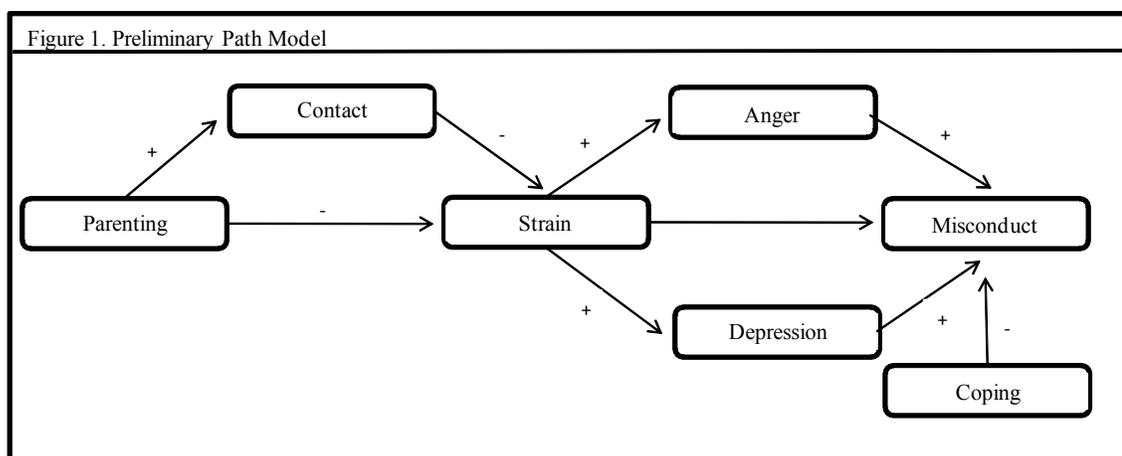
⁴ While post-prison outcomes are not the focus of this thesis, some scholars have also acknowledged that an inmate's participation in a parenting program may allow her to face fewer difficulties as she works to resume her parenting role upon release. Moreover, women who maintain family ties while incarcerated may be better prepared to resume their parenting roles and responsibilities upon release (Arditti & Few, 2006; Moses, 1995). Additionally, inmates who have high levels of contact with their children and other family members may be less likely to recidivate than other inmates (Fuller, 1993; Hairston, 1991b; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995).

programs offer an opportunity for inmate mothers to learn about child development (Carlson, 2001; Hairston & Lockett, 1987; Thompson & Harm, 1995) and appropriate disciplinary techniques (Moore & Clement, 1998; Sandifer, 2008; Showers, 1993; Thompson & Harm, 1995). In addition, prison-based parenting programs often provide enhanced visitation opportunities for inmate mothers and their children (Block & Potthast, 1998; Bruns, 2006; Carlson, 2001; Clement, 1993; Hairston & Lockett, 1987; Moses, 1995; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Many programs, for example, allow extended visits in non-threatening, child-friendly environments (Carlson, 1998, 2001; Clement, 1993; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Snyder, et al., 2001; Weilerstein, 1995). Inmate mothers who experience enhanced visitation opportunities in comfortable surroundings have an opportunity to directly apply the skills learned in parenting classes, while strengthening mother-child bonds (Hairston, 1991).

Agnew's (2006a) theory is relevant to the present research because, as a general theory, GST should be applicable to a variety of populations, in a variety of settings. More to the point, GST should be able to explain deviance (e.g., rule breaking) in a correctional setting. While incarceration is highly stressful for all inmates, incarcerated mothers (in particular) are subject to a variety of unique strains (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Browne, 1989; Greene, et al., 2000; Moore & Clement, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Parenting programs at correctional institutions like NCCW are designed to help alleviate several of the specific strains discussed above (e.g., loss of contact with children, the inability to actively parent) that inmate mothers may experience.

Because institutional strain is significant, and because I believe parenting programs may help alleviate inmate strain, this thesis will examine the effect of program

participation on strain and on institutional misconduct. Program participation may directly reduce inmate strain or it may indirectly reduce strain (i.e., by increasing the extent of contact that participants have with their children). Strain, in turn, may predict the likelihood of institutional misconduct. The relationship may either be direct or indirect. To elaborate, Agnew (1992, 2006a) asserts that strain contributes to negative emotions-- anger and to depression. Therefore, I will examine how anger, depression, strain and a variety of coping mechanisms influence institutional misconduct. Figure 1 provides a visual summary of my theoretical expectations. The path model presented in Figure 1 will guide the analyses that will be presented in a later part of this thesis.



Background Information about the Parenting Program at NCCW

NCCW's parenting program is designed to help mothers and may help alleviate some of the acute stressors that inmate mothers experience. The parenting program at NCCW, established in 1974, is intended to teach inmates effective parenting skills through a variety of classes (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010). The ultimate goal of program administrators, as outlined in the parenting program mission statement for NCCW, is to return inmates to the community with the skills, knowledge

and motivation to appropriately parent their children. The parenting program is open to all inmates, regardless of their age, status as parents, risk classification or participation in other programs (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).⁵

Participation is highly recommended, but not required, for all mothers and pregnant inmates (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010).

The program consists of 17 total courses (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010).⁶ Each of the 17 individual courses will take approximately four to eight weeks to complete. Classes meet once a week for a one hour period. Mary Alley, NCCW's Parenting Program Coordinator, is responsible for teaching each course. Parenting I and Parenting II are the foundation courses for the parenting program (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010). Inmates are required to take these two courses before they may progress further in the parenting program (e.g., take other courses or maintain extended visitation privileges with their children). Parenting I and II are video-based courses, and each lasts eight weeks. The courses utilize Michael Popkin's (2010) Active Parenting curriculum. The course as originally created was intended for use in the community; however, Ms. Alley has adapted it for an incarcerated population (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010).

After completing Parenting I and II, inmates are eligible to complete any of the remaining 15 parenting courses. Mothers who have completed Parenting I and II must

⁵ Separate class times are scheduled for inmates participating in the Substance Abuse Unit (SAU). SAU inmates are kept separate from the general population.

⁶ Parenting program classes available at NCCW include Parenting I and Parenting II, Creating a Healthy Child, Money Management, Children With Special Needs, Physical Growth and Development, Taking Care of You, Human Sexuality, Understanding Relationships, First Aid and CPR, Personal Growth and Development, Social Emotional Growth, 10 Greatest Gifts I Give My Child, When It Comes From You, Alternatives to Spanking, Women's Issues and 1,2,3,4 Parenting.

either be enrolled in one of these 15 supplementary courses or have completed all available parenting courses in order to maintain their extended visits. As a whole, the seventeen courses that make up the parenting program focus on the importance of active listening, communication, appropriate discipline, cooperation, and self-esteem, among other topics (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010).

Similar to what happens for inmate mothers who participate in parenting programs at other institutions, inmate mothers who participate in parenting classes at NCCW are eligible for enhanced visitation with their children. Enhanced visitation may consist of extended day visits, overnight visits, or both. Children between the ages of one and six are allowed to stay overnight with their mothers for up to five nights per month. Children between the ages of one month and 18 years are allowed extended day visits, five days per month in NCCW's Parenting Building (i.e., where the parenting program courses are taught).

In order to participate in any enhanced visitation component of the parenting program, inmate mothers must first apply and be approved by the Parenting Program Coordinator, their Caseworker, their Work Supervisor, and Prison Security; inmates classified as "low-risk" are given priority (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). Aside from the requirement that interested inmates must participate in the parenting program, there are several other requirements that must be fulfilled in order for inmates to qualify for enhanced visitation. Inmates housed in administrative segregation and those recently admitted who are in the Diagnostic and Evaluation Unit at NCCW are not allowed to participate in the enhanced visitation component of the program (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). To elaborate, before inmates are

allowed any type of on-grounds visitation, they must be part of the general prison population for a minimum of 30 days; after two supervised extended day visits, eligible parenting program participants may request an overnight visit (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). In addition, for inmates to have this opportunity, they must retain their parental rights (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).

Just as extended day visits may be restricted, so too may overnight visits. Inmate mothers who have a history of child abuse are never eligible for overnight visits; however, extended day visits are allowed if the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) specifically requests such a visitation (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). Mothers who have a history of other child-related or violent crimes are never allowed overnight visits but may be granted extended day visits at the Program Director's discretion (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). In addition, inmates who simultaneously participate in NCCW's substance abuse program (i.e., while also participating in the parenting program) are not allowed overnight visits; they may, however, qualify for extended day visits once a month (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).

Inmate mothers must also maintain a record of good behavior in order to qualify for and maintain program participation.⁷ In addition, a child's current caregiver must consent to all visits, extended and otherwise. In short, if a parenting program participant

⁷ If a misconduct report results in a sanction, any visit scheduled during the same period will be cancelled. A pending misconduct will also cancel the visit. The Parenting Program Coordinator has the authority to end an inmate's participation in the visitation program if he or she decides that the inmate has exhibited consistently poor institutional conduct (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).

meets all eligibility requirements, she may be allowed extended day visits and/or overnight visits with her child (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).

Program coordinators and prison officials at NCCW work to make enhanced visitation available to as many inmate mothers as possible. In general, the parenting program courses are scheduled in a way that allows inmates to also participate in other programs at NCCW; for example, women may participate in the parenting program while simultaneously working toward their GEDs and participating in substance abuse programming (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009). Administrators and program coordinators work with the DHHS in order to arrange visits and obtain permission from caregivers (M. Alley, personal communication, November 24, 2009).

In Nebraska, the extended periods of visitation take place in a child-friendly building on the grounds of the prison. The Parenting Building is separate from all housing units and other buildings at NCCW; the prison has a campus-style design. The building that houses the parenting program contains a small kitchen area, as well as tables and chairs where inmates sit during class times. The room is designed to make children and their mothers comfortable. The walls are brightly painted and decorated. A wide variety of toys and games are available for children of all ages. Bookshelves contain children's books as well as videos. Child-sized tables and chairs are also available. Though visits are supervised, inmate mothers and their children are free to interact and move about the room together. Directly outside of the Parenting Building is a small outdoor play area containing swings and other playground equipment; mothers supervise their children as they play during nice weather. Overnight visitation with children takes

place in the prison's separate nursery building.⁸ This period of extended visitation gives inmates the opportunity to bond with their children and utilize the parenting skills they have learned in class. These visits are supervised by Mary Alley, the Parenting Program Coordinator (and/or by her assistant) who provides immediate and subsequent feedback to inmate participants.

Purpose of this thesis

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the parenting program at NCCW benefits program participants. Specifically, I will examine the following: (1) whether program participants learned appropriate methods of child discipline, (2) whether participation increased contact between inmate mothers and their children, and (3) whether participation in the parenting program reduced levels of strain among program participants (versus non-participants) and, consequently, the likelihood of institutional misconduct. This thesis begins with a brief review the relevant literature. My review of the literature provides a discussion of the types of parenting programs that are offered to female inmates across the country coupled with a discussion of the effectiveness of such programs. I will also discuss existing GST literature. Following my review of the extant literature, I provide an overview of the NCCW parenting program, followed by the methods I will use to evaluate it. I will then present my findings and conclude with a discussion of the results.

⁸ NCCW is set up in a cottage style, which means that there are several separate buildings on the prison grounds. Some of these buildings are reserved for the prison nursery and the enhanced visitation program. The building reserved for extended visitation, however, cannot accommodate overnight visits between inmates and their children (i.e., those who qualify for overnight visits) because it does not have bedrooms or separate security access. For this reason, overnight visitors spend the night in spare rooms that are located in the prison nursery building. This building is a separate and secure building on the prison grounds. The building contains the prison nursery, and provides accommodations for pregnant women and new mothers and their infants. These women are fulltime participants of the Nursery Program.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Parenting Programs for Female Inmates

A variety of parenting programs exist in U.S. correctional facilities. In a national study conducted over a decade ago, Clement (1993) sent questionnaires to correctional administrators from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, The Federal Bureau of Prisons, and four U.S. territories. She received a total of 43 replies.⁹ Based on the survey responses, Clement (1993) concluded that at least 36 different parenting programs existed in U.S. prisons in 1989.

While parenting programs operate in most U.S. prisons for women, it is important to point out that these programs differ with regard to their target populations, goals, and programmatic features. These differences are noted in Table 1, below, which provides some examples of institutionally-based parenting programs from across the country.

As indicated by Table 1, several programs target pregnant inmates and new mothers (see for example, Carlson, 1998, 2001; Bruns, 2006; Seifert & Pimlott, 2001; Wooldredge & Masters, 1993). An example of one such program is Women and Infants at Risk (WIAR), a program created by the Michigan State Correctional System (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001). To be eligible for participation, inmate mothers must meet stringent eligibility requirements. The WIAR program is open only to drug-dependent inmates

⁹ Clement (1993) received responses to her questionnaire from correctional institutions in “Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, the District of Columbia, and one other which failed to identify itself” (p. 99-100).

Table 1: Examples of Parenting Programs for Incarcerated Women

Program	Population Served	Location Founded	Year created	Goals of Program	Features	Source of information
Adolescent Parenting Program	Adolescent mothers in the community	No location specified	No date specified	Improve adolescent mothers' knowledge of child development	Bimonthly home visits, visits to local health department, information on parenting, prenatal care, medical and social services, provides support	Fulton, Murphy & Anderson (1991)
Directions	Inmates in the Ohio Reformatory for Women	Victoria Single Parent Resource Centre, Canada	1982	Improve communication, assertiveness, parenting skills, self-esteem, problem-solving, decision-making, stress management and goal-setting skills of single mothers	Group meetings/discussions with 8-12 single mothers, led by a trained leader, eight weeks long, write personal development and career goals into an Action Plan	Whittington (1986)
Girl Scouts Beyond Bars	Incarcerated women and their daughters	Maryland's Correctional Institution for Women	1992	To provide enhanced visiting to preserve or enhance the mother-daughter relationship, to reduce the stress of separation, to reduce reunification problems, and to help decrease the likelihood of the mother's failure in the community	Transportation for the children to the facility, monthly 2 hr. troop meetings at the institution, bi-monthly meetings for mothers, bi-monthly community meetings for daughters	Block (1999); Block & Potthast (1998); Carlson (2001); Moses (1995)
Mother-Child Visitation Program (MCVP)	Incarcerated mothers at a Midwestern women's prison and their children	Midwestern women's prison	No date specified	Improved visitation/relationships	Monthly contact visits, a renovated, child-appropriate visitation room, organized activities and private time with children.	Snyder, Carlo & Mullins (2001)
Mothers Inside Loving Kids (MILK)	Incarcerated mothers	Virginia Correctional Center for Women (VCCW)	1981	To have inmate mothers show positive change in personal self-esteem, knowledge of child development, parenting skills, develop trusting relationships with adults and children and coping skills. The program also attempts to decrease child abuse and neglect as well as recidivism.	MILK is a holistic parenting course/visitation program. Runs under Parents Anonymous (PA). Mothers are required to take a series of two hour classes over nine weeks covering 11 phases.	Clement (1993); Moore and Clement (1998)

Table 1 Continued: Examples of Parenting Programs for Incarcerated Women

Program	Population Served	Location Founded	Year created	Goals of Program	Features	Source of information
Nursery Program at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women (NCCW)	Pregnant and new mothers at the NCCW	NCCW York, Nebrask	1994	To provide an opportunity for bonding between the inmate mother and her infant from the time of birth through approximately 18 months of age, facilitate the change of the inmate mother to a responsible parent, aid in the development of realistic expectations the inmate mother has for herself and her infant, provide for prenatal and infant health, and provide intervention in breaking the cycle of generational abuse and incarceration.	The program allows pregnant incarcerated women the option of keeping their babies with them, while taking child care classes, if their release date is within 18 months of delivery.	Carlson (1998; 2001); Gant (1999)
Nurturing Parent classes	Incarcerated mothers	Arkansas Prison for Women	1990s – no specific date	Goals include increasing the effectiveness of participants' parenting skills as well as improving participants' self-esteem and self concept as persons and mothers.	Fifteen week long course based on the Nurturing Parent curriculum.	Harm & Thompson (1997)
Parent Education Project	Female jail inmates who had completed the Directions program and created an "Action Plan"	Allegheny County Jail, Pittsburgh, PA	No date specified	No goals specified	No features specified	Browne (1989)
Parenting in Prison	Open to all male inmates in Tennessee State Penitentiary	Tennessee State Penitentiary	1981	Strengthening families, developing parental skills	Home study courses, structured classroom courses, monthly special event, rap session	Hairston & Lockett (1987)
Parenting Program – no name given	Female inmates	Ohio Reformatory for Women, Marysville	1987	Improve mothers' knowledge of child development and behavior management	Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP) curriculum: 10 weekly classes covering relationships, communication, discipline, stress-management, and self esteem. Child Behavior Management Cards	Showers (1993)

Table 1 Continued: Examples of Parenting Programs for Incarcerated Women

Program	Population Served	Location Founded	Year created	Goals of Program	Features	Source of information
Prison MATCH (Mothers, Fathers, and Their Children) Program	Incarcerated mothers and their children	Federal Correctional Institution, Pleasanton, CA	1978	Develop and improve parent-child bonds	Children's Center, social services, parenting and child development training, program aimed at breaking the intergenerational cycle of addiction	Weilerstein (1995)
Women and Infants at Risk (WIAR)	Incarcerated women who are pregnant and drug dependent and their children	Michigan State Adult Corrections System	No date specified	Increase availability of services to drug dependent mothers, reduce negative outcomes for infants, reduce recidivism, promote community awareness	Pregnancy and postpartum information book and class, intensive prenatal care, individual and group therapy, GED program, NA group, family counseling, employment enhancement classes, assistance in job/housing/day care/medical arrangements upon release	Siefert & Pimlott (2001)

who have been pregnant for less than 32 weeks. Eligible participants must have two or fewer years remaining on their sentences; however, they must be willing to remain in the program for four months following the birth of their child, regardless of when their sentence ends. Inmate mothers are not eligible if they have been convicted of assault, sexual offenses, or severe¹⁰ drug offenses. Additionally, eligible participants must have a record of good behavior within the prison. Women with a history of escape attempts may not participate.

The WIAR program is designed to make substance abuse treatment available to pregnant and post-partum female offenders confined in the Michigan State Correctional System. Another program goal is to reduce the likelihood of relapse or recidivism. Moreover, the program seeks to reduce the amount and severity of drug exposure for the pregnant inmates' children. In order to achieve these goals, participating mothers are transported from the correctional facility (i.e., where they were originally confined) to the WIAR facility where they will live with other inmate mothers in comfortable, child-friendly rooms (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001).¹¹ The soon-to-be mothers are provided with both pre-natal care and an informational booklet about pregnancy (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001). The chapters in the booklet provide information on the "types of delivery, pain management, breast-feeding and family planning" (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001, p. 130). The booklet is discussed in classroom sessions led by WIAR's nurse midwife. In addition, participants receive medical care both during and after their pregnancies, substance abuse treatment, and individual and group therapy. While receiving treatment, participants are

¹⁰ Women are disqualified from participation if their drug offense involved more than seven grams of an illegal drug.

¹¹ Prison administrators were not willing to have a nursery on the prison grounds. Thus, WIAR is operated out of a former hospital in Detroit; however, participants retain their inmate status (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001).

also required to participate in general education development (GED) classes (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001). Mothers give birth at a local hospital and then spend a month in the WIAR “bonding room” (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001, 131). They are also provided post-natal care. New mothers are then slowly eased back into their parenting and GED classes, work assignments, and counseling and treatment schedules (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001). Finally, mothers are assisted in their search for jobs, and must work 30 hours a week for one month before they will be released into the community (Seifert & Pimlott, 2001).

Somewhat similar to this program, other states maintain prison nurseries that allow mothers to keep their children with them during their period of incarceration (see for example, Carlson, 1998, 2001; Wooldredge & Masters, 1993). Several of these states include New York (Wooldredge & Masters, 1993), Pennsylvania (Bruns, 2006), Washington (Hanna-Truscott, 2009), and Nebraska (Carlson, 1998, 2001). A brief summary of the Nebraska Prison Nursery (Carlson, 1998 2001) program is provided in Table 1. As indicated by Table 1, Nebraska’s program is an onsite nursery program located at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women—NCCW (Carlson, 1998, 2001).¹² Qualifying inmates live in a building separated from the general population, where they may keep their newborn children with them. Children may remain in the nursery program for up to 18 months (Carlson, 1998, 2001).

Relative to prison nursery programs, many more prisons offer parenting programs for their general inmate population (see Table 1). Such programs, by and large, emphasize the importance of teaching inmates about appropriate methods of child care and discipline (Browne, 1989; Bruns, 2006; Hairston & Lockett, 1987; Showers, 1993).

¹² The nursery program at NCCW is distinct from NCCW’s parenting program that I evaluate in this thesis.

A specific example of an education-focused parenting program is Mothers Inside Loving Kids—MILK (Bruns, 2006; Moore & Clement, 1998). The MILK program was developed by inmates and the prison chaplain in 1981 at VCCW - the Virginia Correctional Center for Women (Moore & Clement, 1998). The program was designed to empower mothers by teaching them how to be responsible parents (Moore & Clement, 1998). Inmates who participate in the program take a series of two-hour classes over a nine-week period (Moore & Clement, 1998). Classes are taught by “volunteer professionals” (Moore & Clement, 1998, p. 63). In the initial phase of the program, classes focus on child development, appropriate disciplinary techniques, and effective communication (Moore & Clement, 1998). Once women have completed the first phase of MILK they are allowed to move on to the second phase, which includes enhanced visitation opportunities for mothers and their children (Moore & Clement, 1998). Several other education-based parenting programs, including Prison MATCH¹³—Mothers, Fathers and their Children (Bruns, 2006; Weilerstein, 1995) and MCVP—Mother-Child Visitation program (Bruns, 2006; Snyder et al., 2001; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998) are also summarized in Table 1.

Relative to programs that have an education focus, other parenting programs primarily strive to improve and maintain mother-child bonds via enhanced visitation opportunities (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998; Bruns, 2006; Moore & Clement, 1998; Moses, 1995). Several such programs are summarized in Table 1. Although emphasis is placed on visitation, eligible participants will be required to take parent education classes to be allowed the privilege of an enhanced visitation experience.

¹³ MATCH originally meant Mothers and their Children, but as the program expanded, the name was changed to Mothers, Fathers and Their Children (Weilerstein, 1995).

For example, as summarized in Table 1, Girl Scouts Beyond Bars (GSBB) is a parenting program designed to offer such an experience. This program was first established in 1992 at the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998; Moses, 1995). The program has since expanded to other prisons across the country (Block & Potthast, 1998; Moses, 1995).¹⁴ To qualify for program participation, inmate mothers with daughters between the ages of seven and 17 years old must be free of prison infractions, be incarcerated for an offense that is not child-related, and have at least one year left to serve in prison (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). Those who are admitted into the program must, in most cases, also take parent education classes (Block, 1999).

GSBB aims to (1) preserve or enhance mother-daughter bonds, (2) reduce the stress that mothers feel as a result of their separation from their daughters, (3) reduce reunification problems following a mother's release from prison, and (4) minimize the likelihood of recidivism (Block, 1999, p. 273). GSBB staff members also hope to enhance a daughter-participant's "sense of self" and reduce her problem behavior at school and home (Block, 1999, p. 273). In order to meet these goals, the GSBB program has several important features. To elaborate, while they are apart, mothers who participate in the program meet with each other twice a month to plan troop activities, and daughters participate in troop meetings and activities every other Saturday in the community (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). In terms of their shared time

¹⁴ Several researchers have mentioned or listed GSBB programs in other states. In one study, for example, Block (1999) mailed questionnaires to "the executive directors of the 11 Girl Scout Councils known to have operational GSBB programs," but she did not list the states in which these programs were active (p. 271). Block and Potthast (1998) asserted that at least 12 states have GSBB programs, but they did not list the specific states. Moses (1995) noted that GSBB programs exist in Maryland, Florida (one in Tallahassee and one in Fort Lauderdale), Ohio, and Arizona.

together, mother and daughter GSBB participants meet together for troop meetings that are held twice a month at the prison. Mothers participate with their daughters in these two-hour meetings, which serve to enhance the level of contact between the two (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). Transportation to and from the prison is provided for the daughters who participate (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). Other prisons that offer GSBB programs may have a slightly different structure. However, most are closely modeled after the program that originated in Maryland (Block, 1999).

Extant Empirical Evaluations of Parenting Programs

In addition to providing descriptions about the goals and features of parenting programs for female inmates, several researchers have also evaluated a variety of these programs. A summary of findings from the empirical research is provided in Table 2 below. The table also includes empirical research findings for community-based programs, because of the relatively limited amount of research on the impact of parenting programs in institutional settings.

Before I provide the reader with a summary overview of the findings from these studies, it is important to note that no two studies are exactly alike. For example, some utilized a pre- and post-test research design (see for example, Browne, 1989; Fulton, Murphy & Anderson, 1991; Marshall, Buckner & Powell, 1991; Moore & Clement, 1998; Sandifer, 2008; Showers, 1993), while others did not (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Block & Potthast, 1998; Carlson, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998). A handful of researchers used validated scales in their evaluations (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Block & Potthast, 1998; Browne, 1989; Fulton, et al., 1991; Marshall, et

Table 2: Summary of Extant Literature

Author(s)	Program	Sample	Dep. Variable	Method	Scales used	Findings
Arditti & Few (2006)	No specific program	28 female probationers with children, Roanoke and Radford Virginia	Risk factors for mothers upon reentry, how incarceration and reentry influences perceptions of parenting role and relationships	Interviews	The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), Parental Stress Scale (PSS), Perceived Social Support Families and Friends Scale, and Family Resource Scale	Many of the women had mental health risk factors, resource adequacy was significantly related to parenting stress, family support is important to reentry
Block (1999)	Girl Scouts Beyond Bars (GSBB)	Nine GSBB programs	The extent that the Maryland GSBB program has been replicated, variations in GSBB programs, leaders perceived challenges, perceptions of the extent to which visitation is increased	Survey	None – survey of programs	Many GSBB programs follow the basic outline of the initial Maryland program. Variations tend to be “elaborations” and expansions rather than “modifications.” GSBB programs “likely” enhance contact. Challenges include resource availability.
Block & Potthast (1998)	GSBB Maryland Correctional Institution-Women (MCIW)	Women who MCIW from 1991-1992.	Effect of maternal incarceration on children, mother-child Bond, mother's worries, visitation frequency, bonding, bonding and quality of visitation, emotional improvement in children	Interviews with GSBB participants (mothers, daughters, and caregivers) and GSBB providers (staff, leaders, and volunteers)	Hudson Parent-Child Contentment Scale Fessler's Worry Scale	Daughters suffered from their mother's incarceration. Showed improvement of bond, communication, and child's grades, a higher percentage of visits. Mothers worried about their daughter's feelings, living conditions, and supporting their children after prison.
Browne (1989)	The Parent Education Project	20 females incarcerated at Allegheny County Jail, Pittsburgh, PA	Empathetic awareness of their children's needs, belief in the use of corporal punishment, changes in parenting expectations, the extent to which the participating mothers looked to their children to satisfy their own needs and self-esteem	Pretest-posttest	Self-Evaluation Inventory (SEI), Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI)	Significant improvement in self-esteem scores, attitudes toward corporal punishment and inappropriate expectations for children changed significantly (but in the direction opposite that expected)

Table 2 Continued: Summary of Extant Literature

Author(s)	Program	Sample	Dep. Variable	Method	Scales used	Findings
Bruns (2006)	Literature review of multiple institutional parenting programs	-	Programs that focus on improving mother-child relationships	Literature review	None – literature review	Effective programs include “parenting classes, on-site visitation, and additional opportunities for nurturing self-esteem.” Mother-child bond must be nurtured and strengthened. Programs benefit children.
Carlson (1998)	Parenting Program in NCCW	11 inmates in the program	Strength of Bond with Child, Self-confidence/esteem, satisfaction with program, recidivism, misconduct reports	Survey	None--Developed own survey with help from prison staff and inmates	Inmates reported a higher bond with their child, higher or neutral self-esteem, general satisfaction with the program, lower recidivism and misconduct reports.
Carlson (2001) Update on 1998 study	Same as 1998 study	37 inmates in the program	Same as 1998 study	Same as 1998 study	Same as 1998 study	Same as 1998 study
Clark (1995)	No specific program	-	Prison environment’s impact on mothers	Literature review and participant observation	None	Prison reproduces and reinforces destructive relationship dynamics. Programs and resources are important for helping mothers parent positively.
Clement (1993)	All programs in the United States	43 states replied	Aspects of each prison’s parenting program.	Mail questionnaire	None-survey of programs	There is little to no consistency of the programs for inmate mothers across the United States. The author suggests that little thought is put towards parenting programs by correctional administrators.
Covington (2002)	Literature review – no specific program was evaluated	-	Challenges and problems faced by female inmates and their children	Literature review	None	Female inmates face many of the same issues that plague society – racism, sexism, abuse, etc. Inmates do not exist as only individuals; they are connected to family and community. Social responses are thus required. Community changes are needed to facilitate reentry.

Table 2 Continued: Summary of Extant Literature

Author(s)	Program	Sample	Dep. Variable	Method	Scales used	Findings
Fuller (1993)	No specific program assessed. A survey of visitors to California's three women's prisons.	Visitors to California's three women prisons (n=99)	Visitor knowledge of the visitation process, barriers of visiting, profile of child visiting the mother, strength of mother/visitor tie.	Interviews	None-Used interviews	Children mostly visit their mothers and are brought by their grandmothers. The cost of visiting is the greatest barrier.
Fulton, Murphy & Anderson (1991)	Adolescent Parenting Program – no location specified	76 adolescent mothers, recruited through agency referrals	Self-esteem, knowledge of child development, appropriateness of interactions with children, potential for abuse	Pretest-posttest, 10-month follow-up	Knowledge Inventory of Child Development and Behavior: Infancy to School-Age (KIDS), Child Abuse Potential Inventory (CAP), Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)	Significant increase in knowledge of child development, significant change in child abuse potential, none of the participants were reported for abuse 10 months after participation
Greene, Haney & Hurtado (2000)	No specific program assessed. Interviews covered a range of topics.	102 inmate mothers in an "urban women's correctional facility"	Inmates' own and their children's childhood trauma, inmates own, their children, and their parents' drug use/abuse history,	Structured interview consisting of 160 questions	None	Most of the inmates surveyed come from homes with criminogenic risk factors, including drug abuse, child abuse. Drug abuse is common among the inmates. Many of the same risk factors exist in their children's lives
Hairston (1991a)	No specific program assessed.	56 women in a Midwestern county jail	Female jail inmates' family roles and characteristics, future plans, and visitation concerns	Structured interviews	None	60% had children living with them at time of arrest. Relied on family for childcare. Most had not seen kids while in jail (and most did not want visits). Many barriers to visitation exist. Most plan to care for kids after release. Concerned about the family disruption caused by incarceration.
Hairston (1991b)	No specific program was assessed.	-	Functions and importance of prisoner-family ties	Literature review	None	Maintaining family ties is hard, but necessary. Positive family ties can reduce recidivism, improve mental health. These benefits extend not only to inmates, but to family as well.

Table 2 Continued: Summary of Extant Literature

Author(s)	Program	Sample	Dep. Variable	Method	Scales used	Findings
Hairston & Lockett (1987)	Parenting in Prison, Tennessee State Penitentiary	Over 400 inmates who completed the courses and filled out evaluations	Knowledge of child development, parenting skills	Course evaluations	None – inmates completed evaluations	Inmates reported improved understanding of child development, more positive parenting skills, improved communication and relationships
Harm & Thompson (1997)	Nurturing Parent classes at the Arkansas Prison for Women	44 program participants who completed both pre- and post-tests	Participants' self-esteem Parenting and childrearing practices	Pretest/posttest	Hudson's ISE Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI), evaluation interviews about the class	Self-esteem improved significantly after program completion. Results from the AAPI indicated improvements on measures of empathetic awareness, belief in the use of corporal punishment, role reversal, and
LeFlore & Holston (1989)	No specific program was assessed.	120 inmate mothers and a matched comparison group of non-criminal mothers	Perceived importance of parenting behaviors	Structured interview	22 interview Question reported in Table 3 in their article	No statistically significant difference between the two groups
LaPoint, Pickett & Harris (1985)	Parenting program at the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women at Jessup, Maryland	40 low income black mother-child-caregiver units from Baltimore City, Maryland	Social interaction between incarcerated mothers and their children before and during the period that the mother was incarcerated and the children's experiences in the criminal justice system	Mother discussion groups, home visits, mom-child prison visits, and follow-up telephone calls	None-used self reports.	Most children are directly exposed or have a general knowledge of many steps of the criminal justice system. Extended family member relationships are important before incarceration. Most parent-child pairs showed an Adult-Child relationship.
Marshall, Buckner & Powell (1991)	A "teen parent program" – no name given, no location specified	15 teen parents referred by public health services, Control group 15 teen parents served by local health dept.	Parents' self-esteem, perceptions of the parenting role, parenting skills, and parental knowledge	Pretest-posttest design	Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI), Inventory of Parents' Experiences (IPE), Denver Developmental	No statistically significant changes; however self esteem in the intervention group increased to levels found in the control group

Table 2 Continued: Summary of Extant Literature

Author(s)	Program	Sample	Dep. Variable	Method	Scales used	Findings
Snyder-Joy & Carlo (1998); Snyder, Carlo & Mullins (2001)	Mother-Child Visitation Program (MCVP), a “Midwestern women’s prison”	31 program participants and 27 mothers on the MCVP waiting list	Frequency of contact (phone, mail, visits), relationship with child, consequences of incarceration on child, post-release plans	Interviews with incarcerated participants and non-participants	Used a Likert scale for questions developed by authors	Mothers in the program have more contact with their child than mothers not in the program. Most mothers felt that their incarceration impacted their child and made them worry about their child’s well being. Many mothers did not have concrete post-release plans for their family.
Thompson & Harm	No specific program assessed. Literature review - parent educations for inmate mothers.	No sample specified.	Impact of parenting programs for female inmates	Literature review	None	Improved self-esteem, empathy and quality of mother-child relationship. More appropriate expectations and family roles. Commitment to avoid substance abuse/reincarceration and more positive discipline.
Weilerstein (1995)	Prison MATCH (Mothers, Fathers, and Their Children) Program, Pleasanton, CA	No sample specified	Enhancing the mother-child bond	Program description	None	Provides an outline of the history of the Prison MATCH model. Offers recommendations for starting additional MATCH programs
Whittington (1986)	Directions, Ohio Reformatory for Women	36 women who had completed the Directions program and created an “Action Plan”	Assertiveness, parenting communication, self-esteem, problem-solving, and stress-management skills of single mothers	Post-test only – anecdotal self-reports	None	Increased levels of improvement across all skill-areas
Wooldredge and Masters (1993)	National survey of programs for pregnant inmates	61 parenting programs	Types of services available to serve the physical and psychological needs of pregnant inmates, and the wardens’ perceptions of care and support issues	Survey	None	Prisons are not equipped to handle the medical care of pregnant inmates which wardens are aware of.

al., 1991; Moore & Clement, 1998). Others, however, created their own instruments (see for example, Carlson, 1998 2001) or relied heavily on subjective assessments gleaned from interview or survey data (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998; Clement, 1993; Fuller, 1993). Moreover, some researchers only surveyed offenders (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Browne, 1989; Carlson, 1998 2001; Sandifer, 2008; Showers, 1993), while others interviewed visitors (see for example, Fuller, 1993), children of incarcerated mothers (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998), or those who cared for the children of inmates (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998). Still others surveyed program administrators at correctional institutions (see for example, Block, 1999; Clement, 1993). In addition, researchers have examined varying outcomes in their program evaluations. For example, some researchers examined inmate mothers' levels of self-esteem (see for example, Browne, 1989; Fulton, et al., 1991; Moore & Clement, 1998), whereas other researchers were interested in depressive symptoms (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Poehlmann, 2005).

While a fair number of evaluations of parenting programs for female offenders exist, many are limited in that conclusions are based on findings generated from small samples (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Browne, 1989; Carlson, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998). Small samples often preclude a researcher's ability to accurately determine whether findings are statistically significant. In addition, most of these evaluations assess outcomes only at the bivariate level. Because multivariate examinations are rare, much of the extant literature is limited in its ability to definitively conclude that the parenting program, rather than a confounding influence, produced the outcome of interest.

These caveats aside, I will now discuss the findings from these empirical examinations. This review focuses on program outcomes for inmate mothers.¹⁵ I first review the findings of evaluations that seek to determine whether inmates' knowledge of child development and appropriate parenting techniques improved as a result of program participation. I then summarize findings from evaluations of the impact of parenting programs on mother-child relationships.

Parenting Skills/Knowledge

A large number¹⁶ of inmate mothers suffered from physical and other forms of abuse as children (Arditti & Few, 2006; Browne, 1989; Greene, et al., 2000; Moore & Clement, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995), and consequently, have learned that corporal punishment is an acceptable method of discipline for children who misbehave (Greene, et al., 2000; Marian, 1982; Roetzela, 2008). Socialization is an important mechanism

¹⁵ Because the children of inmate mothers are a highly protected class, few researchers have assessed whether (or how) an inmate's participation in a parenting program affected her children. But, there is some research worth noting here. First, Girl Scouts Beyond Bars (GSBB) programs are intended to respond to the needs of daughters of incarcerated women (Block, 1999). To determine whether that happened, Block and Potthast (1998) evaluated Maryland's GSBB program. They found, through surveys of GSBB inmate mothers and their daughters and through surveys of those who care for the participating daughters, that GSBB benefited inmate mothers and their daughters in several ways. Mother-daughter relationships improved, problems that stemmed from separation were reduced, reintegration was less of a challenge, and the daughters who participated reported a more favorable "sense of self" (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). Additionally, caregivers reported that daughter-participants were more confident and that their self-esteem seemed to improve as a result of program participation (Block & Potthast, 1998). As a second example, Siefert and Pimlott (2001) evaluated Women and Infants at Risk (WIAR), an intervention/parenting program for pregnant, drug-dependent inmates in the Michigan Corrections System. Forty-four WIAR participants and their babies were included in the study. Outcomes for the children of WIAR participants were compared with the medical records of 120 Michigan inmates who had been pregnant during the four years preceding the study. Birth outcomes among program participants were significantly better than those documented for the infants of pregnant, drug-dependent mothers who did not participate in WIAR. All 45 WIAR infants were born drug-free and very few were born with deformities or at low birth-weights.

¹⁶ For example, Arditti & Few (2006) reported that over half of the inmate mothers in their sample either witnessed or experienced domestic violence/abuse as a child. In another study, Browne (1989) reported over 50 percent of her sample of inmate mothers had experienced childhood abuse and neglect. As a further example, 86 percent of the inmate mothers interviewed by Greene and colleagues (2000) reported that they experienced sexual or physical abuse as children.

through which parents teach their children acceptable disciplinary techniques (Heyman & Slep, 2002; Marian, 1982; Steinmetz, 1977). In general, individuals who were physically punished as children tend to be socialized to use corporal punishment on their own children (Marion, 1982). Inmate mothers often experienced physical, or even abusive, punishments as children (Browne, 1989). “Children who are parented by abusive adults do not learn how to parent in a healthy manner based on example” (Marcus-Mendoza & Wright, 2003, p. 114). Fortunately, there is evidence that the cycle of abuse may be broken if parents at risk of becoming abusers are taught appropriate, non-physical disciplinary techniques (First & Way, 1995; Marian, 1982). If one considers that many inmate mothers plan to continue their parenting roles upon release (Bruns, 2006; Hairston, 1991a; Moses, 1995; Thompson & Harm, 1995), it would make sense for prison administrators to offer parenting programs that emphasize appropriate, non-physical disciplinary techniques. Such programs should reduce the likelihood that inmate mothers would employ corporal punishment after their release from prison.

Indeed, many parenting and visitation programs are assessed in terms of whether an inmate mother’s knowledge about parenting improved, particularly her knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques (Browne, 1989; Moore & Clement, 1998; Sandifer, 2008). To provide an illustration, and as summarized in Table 2, as part of her evaluation of the Parent Education Project in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Browne (1989) assessed inmate mothers’ developmental expectations of their children, empathetic awareness of their children’s needs, belief in the use of corporal punishment, and the extent to which the participating mothers looked to their children to satisfy their own needs. Four

subscales that comprised the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI) were used to assess these outcomes.

These outcomes were assessed for twenty inmate mothers who completed the program. The AAPI was administered to these women as a pre-test on the first day of the parenting class. It was then re-administered on the last day of the class. A comparison of pre- and post-test scores produced unexpected findings. Pre- and post-test scores were different for only two of the four subscales. Contrary to expectations, Browne (1989) found that program completers were more likely to endorse the use of corporal punishment and were more likely to have inappropriate expectations of children. In discussing these unexpected findings, Browne (1989) emphasized the need for further research and evaluation of the program. She also noted that her study suffered from several limitations, including a small sample size and a lack of a comparison group.

Other researchers have evaluated different institutionally-based parenting programs and found more promising results. Table 2 indicates that Moore and Clement (1998), for example, evaluated Mother's Inside Loving Kids (MILK), a parenting program with an enhanced-visitation component at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women (VCCW). Twenty MILK mothers and a comparison group of non-participants completed pre- and post-test questionnaires that contained several instruments designed to assess an inmate's knowledge about parenting skills and practices. More specifically Moore and Clement (1998) administered the AAPI and Bavolek and Bavolek's "Nurturing Quiz". The AAPI's four subscales measured various dimensions of parenting

skills and knowledge¹⁷ and the Nurturing Quiz assessed inmate mothers' use of behavior management techniques. When compared with inmates who did not participate in the program, MILK participants showed small improvements on their Nurturing Quiz scores. In addition, participants' scores on several AAPI subscales improved (although these differences were not statistically significant). Specifically, when compared with a comparison group, program participants demonstrated more appropriate beliefs about the use of corporal punishment, were less likely to reverse parent-child roles, and showed an improved empathetic awareness of their children's needs.

In another study, Sandifer (2008) also used the AAPI to evaluate changes in parenting knowledge and attitudes among inmate mothers at a southern correctional facility for women¹⁸ (see Table 2). She administered the AAPI to 64 inmate mothers who participated in a parenting program and to a comparison group of 26 inmate mothers who did not. Program participants completed the instrument before they began the 12-week program and after they completed it. The comparison group of women also completed the AAPI at two different points in time, with a 12-week period between tests. Sandifer (2008) found that after program completion, participants had more appropriate expectations of child behavior (based on differences in their AAPI scores). Additionally, participants were more empathetically aware of their children's needs and had more appropriate attitudes toward the use of corporal punishment.

¹⁷ The AAPI measures the appropriateness of parental expectations of children, the parents' empathetic awareness of their child's needs, parent-child role reversal, and the parent's belief in the appropriateness of physical punishment (Browne, 1989; Moore & Clement, 1998).

¹⁸ Sandifer (2008) did not provide the name of the correctional facility. The program was referred to simply as a "parenting program" (p. 423).

In a different study, Showers (1993) also found evidence that parenting programs improved inmate mothers' knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques. As reported in Table 2, Showers (1993) examined a parent-education program at the Ohio Reformatory for Women.¹⁹ The program is intended to improve inmate mothers' knowledge of child behavior and development through its application of the Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP) curriculum. STEP includes "a 10-week series of classes that meet once a week for one and a half hours. Core topics include such issues as parent-child relationships, communication, discipline, self-esteem, and stress management" (Showers, 1993, p. 39). In addition, Showers (1993) incorporated Child Behavior Management Cards into the program in order to assist staff in teaching parents how to use appropriate disciplinary techniques.

To assess the program, Showers (1993) administered The Child Behavior Management Survey to inmates housed in each unit of the prison; program participants completed the Child Behavior Management Survey during their last class²⁰ and a comparison group of women who were scheduled to be released from the prison during the program period took the same Survey (Showers, 1993). Relative to the pre-test stage, Showers (1993) found that inmate mothers who had participated in the Parent Education Program showed significant improvements in several areas at the post-test stage; they gained knowledge about child development and appropriate disciplinary techniques. The comparison group, in contrast, showed only slight, non-significant, improvements on their scores.

¹⁹ Showers (1993) did not provide the name of the parenting program.

²⁰ Three groups of inmates were surveyed after three class sessions in the spring, summer, and fall of 1990 (Showers, 1993).

Other researchers have examined parenting programs that target at-risk mothers in the community. For example, Table 2 shows that Whittington (1986) examined Directions, a community-based program. Directions is a life-skills program designed for single mothers in Victoria, British Columbia. Through interviews with program participants, Whittington (1986) learned that participants believed the program taught them parenting skills.

Fulton and her colleagues (1991) evaluated another community-based program -- the Adolescent Parenting Program.²¹ These researchers administered the KIDS inventory (i.e., Knowledge Inventory of Child Development and Behavior: Infancy to School-Age) to program participants. Program participants completed the KIDS inventory, along with several other instruments, on the first and last days of their program participation. Program participants had significantly different scores on the KIDS inventory at the post-test stage, which suggested that program participation improved their knowledge of child development.

Fulton and her colleagues (1991) also evaluated whether the program taught participants appropriate disciplinary techniques based on their assessment of respondent scores on the CAP Inventory (i.e., the Child Abuse Potential Inventory). The CAP Inventory is designed to assess a mother's attitudes about herself and members of her family. In addition, it includes items that ascertain her opinions about discipline. These overall attitudes were found to be related to a respondent's likelihood of becoming an abusive parent. In this study, adolescent mothers with high CAP scores²² tended to score

²¹ The location of the Program was not provided.

²² High CAP scores indicate a greater likelihood for becoming an abusive parent.

poorly on a measure of child development knowledge (i.e., KIDS). Stated more simply, women with a limited knowledge of child development were at a greater risk of abusing their children.

To summarize, some researchers have found that several institutional- and community-based parenting programs have succeeded in improving a mother's parenting knowledge and skills (see for example, Sandifer, 2008; Showers, 1993; Whittington, 1986). However, some evaluators found mixed or negative results, which indicate the need for future research about the impact of parenting programs for female inmates (see for example, Browne, 1989; Fulton et al, 1991; Moore & Clement, 1998).

Bonding and Contact

The goal of many institutionally-based parenting and visitation programs is to improve the quality of mother-child bonds (see for discussions, Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998; Carlson 1998, 2001). The level of contact that inmate mothers have with their children during their incarceration is very important. The removal of a mother from a home, by incarceration or other means, is traumatic for both a mother and child. As a result of their mothers' incarceration, children experience increased levels of anxiety (Moses, 1995; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2003; Snyder et al., 2001). Additionally, these affected children are likely to act up in school (Block & Potthast, 1998; Snyder et al., 2001), disrespect teachers (Block & Potthast, 1998), and fight or become aggressive (Block & Potthast, 1998; Greene, et al., 2000; Hairston, 1991b; Moses, 1995). Related to this, school achievement is adversely affected (Block & Potthast, 1998; Greene, et al., 2000; Hairston, 1991b; Moses, 1995; Snyder, et al, 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995).

Incarcerated mothers likewise experienced elevated levels of stress and anxiety when separated from their children (Thompson & Harm, 1995). In addition, inmate mothers' levels of self-esteem are affected (Block & Potthast, 1998; Harm & Thompson, 1997; LeFlore & Holston, 1989; Moore & Clement, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995), and incarcerated mothers struggle with bouts of depression (Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995) and feelings of guilt (Clark, 1995; LaPoint et al., 1985; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). The emotional trauma for mother and child is comparable to situations where mothers and children are separated by divorce or death (Browne, 1989; Moses, 1995; Snyder et al., 2001).

Increased contact can help alleviate the ill-effects of a mother's incarceration for both the mother and child (Hairston, 1991a; Muse, 1994; Snyder et al., 2001).

Unfortunately, there are many obstacles to long-distance communication and prison visitation. A child's caretaker is often the one responsible for bringing a child to a prison for a visit with his/her mother (Block & Potthast, 1998; Fuller, 1993; LaPoint et al., 1985). Unfortunately, this may be a very difficult undertaking because the prison is likely to be a great distance away from where the child lives; some caretakers simply cannot make the trip to the prison due to financial or other constraints (Bruns, 2006; Fuller, 1993; Hairston, 1991a; Sharp, 2003; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Others refuse to allow children to have contact with their mothers and/or attempt to shield the children from the prison environment (Block & Potthast, 1998; Bruns, 2006; Hairston, 1991a, 1991b; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). With regard to this latter point, caretakers argue that time allowed for visitation is often extremely limited and the visitation rooms tend to be uncomfortable and potentially frightening for

children (Hairston, 1991a; Snyder et al., 2001). When children are adversely affected by a negative visitation experience, both parents (Hairston, 1991a) and caretakers (Hairston, 1991a; Snyder et al., 2001) are likely to discourage future visits in order to spare children from a stressful experience.

Several programs are designed to overcome these obstacles via provisions for enhanced visitation opportunities for inmates who participate in parenting programs. The Girl Scouts Beyond Bars (GSBB) program, for example, allows mothers and daughters to have direct contact with each other while they are engaged in Girl Scout projects and activities (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998; Clement, 1993; Moses, 1995). Researchers find the enhanced contact benefits both participating mothers and their daughters. In one study, for example, Block and Potthast (1998) found that mothers saw their daughters more often as a result of their participation in GSBB. This is especially noteworthy because some of the mothers did not receive any visits from their daughters prior to their participation in the program (Block & Potthast, 1998). Additionally, Block (1999; see also Block & Potthast, 1998) also found that GSBB visits also served as supplemental visits for mothers who did receive regular prison visits prior to GSBB. In other words, GSBB visits did not replace other, regular prison visits; instead, the program increased the number of visits that the inmate mothers received.

Table 2 further shows that Block and Potthast (1998) also examined the quality of the mother-child bond in their evaluation of Maryland's GSBB. Mothers, daughters, and caregivers involved in the program were interviewed. Part of the interview instrument was comprised of the Hudson Parent-Child Contentment Scale. The scale was administered to participants at different time periods; some mothers and daughters

completed the scale three times at six month intervals. Scores did not change significantly over time. However, interviews with caregivers indicated that the bonds between mothers and daughters grew stronger over the course of program participation.

Sandifer (2008) also assessed whether bonds between inmate mothers and their children grew stronger due to a prison parenting program (i.e., at the southern correctional facility for women). Table 2 shows that she measured the strength of mother-child bonds with the Parent-Child Relationship Inventory (PCRI). The PCRI contains four subscales that measure satisfaction with parenting, parental support, communication, and autonomy. The inventory was administered to 64 inmate mothers who completed the parenting program and to a comparison group of 26 inmate mothers who did not participate. Relative to non-participants, inmate mothers who completed the program were neither more nor less likely to be more satisfied with parenting, to report more parenting support, or to report improved communication with their children. The only subscale on which inmate mothers' scores were found to be higher than the comparison groups' was the autonomy subscale.²³

In another study, Carlson (1998, 2001) evaluated whether NCCW Nursery Program participants experienced improved bonds with their children as a result of program participation (see Table 2). He simply asked inmate mothers what they thought about their bonds with their children.²⁴ A large majority reported that they had established strong bonds with their child because of their participation in the nursery program (Carlson, 2001).

²³ This subscale measured a "parents' ability and willingness to promote their children's independence" (Sandifer, 2008, p. 435).

²⁴ Carlson (1998, 2001) does not list the specific questions included in his survey.

Snyder-Joy and Carlo (1998) as well as Snyder and her colleagues (2001) used a different approach to measure the strength of the mother-child bond in their evaluations of the Mother Child Visitation Program (MCVP) at a Midwestern women's prison (see Table 2).²⁵ Specifically, they interviewed inmate mothers about their levels of contact with their children. Interviews were conducted with 31 MCVP participants and with a comparison group of 27 mothers on a waiting list for the program. MCVP mothers reported more contact (via telephone, mail, and visitation) than did the comparison group of mothers. In addition, 77 percent of MCVP mothers reported a "good bond" with their children, compared with only 20 percent of the non-MCVP mothers.

To summarize, findings from studies that examine whether parenting programs increase levels of contact and bonding between inmate mothers and their children are somewhat mixed. Several researchers found weak or inconsistent results (see for example, Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998; Sandifer, 2008), while others reported that parenting programs increased contact and improved bonds between incarcerated mothers and their children (see for example, Carlson, 1998,2001; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998). Future research is needed to determine whether parenting programs improve bonds and contact between inmate mothers and their children.

To summarize some of the empirical findings from extant investigations of maternal incarceration and participation in parenting programs, researchers have noted that incarcerated mothers experience elevated levels of stress and anxiety when separated from their children (Thompson & Harm, 1995). In addition, inmate mothers' levels of

²⁵Neither Snyder-Joy and Carlo(1998) nor Snyder and her colleagues (2001) gave a specific name or location of the prison.

self-esteem are affected (Block & Potthast, 1998; Harm & Thompson, 1997; LeFlore & Holston, 1989; Moore & Clement, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995), and incarcerated mothers struggle with bouts of depression (Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995) and feelings of guilt (Clark, 1995; LaPoint et al., 1985; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). While stress is common for incarcerated mothers, researchers also find that parenting programs foster mother-child bonds (see for example, Carlson, 1998, 2001; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998) and educate participants about appropriate forms of discipline (see for example, Showers, 1993). In short, researchers have found that (1) negative emotional states (e.g., anxiety, depression, guilt) are likely among incarcerated mothers and that (2) parenting programs may positively affect inmate mothers.

What researchers, however, have yet to examine is whether participation in a parenting program is related to levels of stress among inmates and, in turn, their likelihood of institutional misconduct. Agnew's GST provides theoretical justification to predict that inmate mothers who participate in a parenting program may alleviate their strain and, as a result, be less likely to misbehave in prison. For the reader to better understand this, I will first provide an explanation of GST. I will then explain why the theory is applicable to incarcerated females. That discussion will be followed by a brief overview of empirical findings for GST.

General Strain Theory

As discussed above, Agnew, in his discussion of General Strain Theory (GST), presents the argument that individuals commit crimes or engage in other deviant acts

because of strains or stressors in their lives. Incarceration is stressful for a variety of reasons. For instance, inmates experience physical stress in highly controlled and crowded prison environments (Grana, 2002; Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003). Incarcerated women are also subject to a variety of other stressors aside from purely physical strains. Women inmates experience high rates of physical and mental health problems, and physical and mental healthcare inside prisons is often inadequate (Owen, 2004). In addition, while violence is less common than in male institutions, fighting does occur (Owen, 2004). Incarceration involves additional strain for incarcerated mothers because they are separated from a highly valued stimulus: their children. This strain is especially acute (Arditti & Few, 2006; Hairston, 1991b).

Agnew (1992, 2006a) argues that strains may cause individuals to feel depressed, angry, or frustrated. As discussed above, incarcerated women experience a variety of strains. According to GST, incarcerated women should be likely to experience anger, depression or frustration. Indeed, incarcerated women experience higher rates of depression and other mental health disorders than male inmates as well as individuals in the community (Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003). GST goes on to predict that individuals who experience negative emotions as a result of strain need to alleviate these feelings (Agnew, 2006a). For some, deviant activities (including crime) help alleviate negative emotions (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). Although female inmates are incarcerated and, thus, cannot engage in crime in the community, a variety of deviant options remain available to them in an institutional setting. For instance, incarcerated women may cope with their emotions by acting out and /or breaking a variety of prison rules. While female inmates

tend to be less violent than their male counterparts, they tend to have significantly more violations and infractions (Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003).

While some individuals who are strained may engage in criminal or otherwise deviant activity, it is important to note that a variety of non-criminal coping mechanisms exist. Some of these non-criminal coping mechanisms may include seeking support from others or talking about problems and finding resolution. While non-criminal coping mechanisms may be employed by some, Agnew (2006a) argues that deviant coping is more likely when strains are perceived as very severe and unjust than when strains are perceived as justified or deserved (Agnew, 1992, 2006b). With regard to incarcerated mothers, separation from their children is often experienced as a very severe strain; this may make inmate mothers more likely to use deviant coping mechanisms (Browne, 1989; Hairston, 1991b; Moses, 1995; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1997).

As a general theory of deviant behavior, GST has been assessed by a many researchers for a number of populations in a variety of settings. Most of their examinations, however, have focused specifically on the applicability of GST to youthful, non-incarcerated populations (see for example, Eitle and Turner, 2003; Hoffman, 2003; Hoffman & Miller, 1998; Liu & Kaplan, 2004; Mazerolle, 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994). For example, Aseltine, Gore, and Gordon (2000) tested Agnew's theory through an analysis of data from a study of Boston high-school students. Interviews were conducted with Boston youth at three different points in time. Students were initially selected from Boston high-schools and were then re-interviewed twice at one-year intervals. The authors sought to evaluate the relationship between stressful life events, social-relationships, negative emotions (i.e. anger and anxiety), and deviance.

Aseltine and his colleagues (2000) found support for GST. Negative life events and conflict with family members were significantly and positively related to deviant behavior; further, the relationship between strain and violent/aggressive delinquent acts was mediated by anger (Aseltine, et al., 2000).

Another example of research based on a youthful, non-incarcerated population is Mazerolle, Piquero and Capowich's (2003) examination of the relationship between strain and anger among college students. The authors administered a questionnaire to a random sample of undergraduate students at a university in the western United States.²⁶ Each questionnaire contained two vignettes, where students were asked to report how likely they would be to respond with deviance in each of the two situations (Mazerolle et al., 2003). Mazerolle and his colleagues' (2003) findings lent support to GST because they found that anger magnified feelings of injustice which, in turn, promoted delinquency.

Further examples include Baron and Hartnagel's (2002) examination of whether GST was empirically linked to delinquency for a sample of high risk street youth and Agnew and White's (1992) analysis of crime for a sample of New Jersey adolescents. Baron and Hartnagel (2002) found limited support for GST. Specifically they found that youth who experienced labor market strain were more likely to engage in deviance if they had deviant peers and rejected conventional norms. However, they found no support for the prediction that anger increased the likelihood that an individual would respond to strain with delinquency. Agnew and White's (1992) findings supported GST's claim that

²⁶ The specific institution was not named.

individuals who experience strain are more likely to engage in delinquency if they associate with delinquent peers and have poor self-efficacy.

Few researchers have explored whether GST empirically predicts adult criminality. In one of the few studies, Jang and Lyons (2006) examined the empirical validity of GST with a sample of African-American adults. They used data collected from the National Survey of Black Americans; the survey was completed in 1980 and included a nationally representative sample of over 2,000 respondents (Jang & Lyons, 2006). They found general support for the role of anger in GST. Specifically, individuals who were angry, depressed, or anxious as a result of the strains they experienced were more likely to cope with strain by engaging in deviant behavior (Jang & Lyons, 2006). In addition, Swatt and his colleagues (2007) examined the empirical validity of GST with a sample of Maryland police officers. Specifically, they examined the relationship between job stress and problematic alcohol use by police officers (Swatt et al., 2007). Consistent with GST, Swatt and his colleagues (2007) found that work-related strain had an effect on the negative emotions (specifically anger and depression) police officers experienced. These negative emotions mediated the relationship between strain and alcohol consumption (Swatt et al., 2007).

Other researchers have examined the empirical validity of GST for offenders. GST should be particularly relevant to an incarcerated population, as incarceration involves multiple strains. Negatively valued stimuli are plentiful (e.g., the prison environment is stressful, forced supervision is mandated, the accommodations are not ideal) while an array of positively valued stimuli have been taken away (e.g., freedom, autonomy, daily contact with family and friends). Incarceration may also prevent the

inmate from being able to achieve positively valued goals (e.g., pursue a career or education, live in an apartment, watch children grow up). Piquero and Sealock (2000) examined the empirical validity of GST for a population of youth who had been adjudicated delinquent for property, drug, and violent crimes (Piquero & Sealock, 2000). Based on interview data for 150 youth on probation, support was found for GST (Piquero & Sealock, 2000). Specifically, Piquero and Sealock (2000) found that probationers who reported being angry were more likely to have committed certain violent crimes, but there was no relationship between reports of anger and the likelihood of committing property crime. The probationers who reported depression, another negative emotional state, were not more or less likely to commit crime relative to probationers who were not depressed (Piquero & Sealock, 2000).

There is a substantial debate in the GST literature about whether the main tenets of GST are able to explain the patterns female deviance. Some researchers have argued that as a general theory, GST is applicable to both males and females. Broidy and Agnew (1997) argue that while women commit less crime and different crimes than men, GST can still explain why females engage in deviance. They hypothesize that women may experience fewer strains that lead to deviance; they further argue that it is possible that women respond to strain with different negative emotions than men (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). Differences in the amount and type of strain and the emotional response to strain may explain differences between male and female deviance.

Several researchers find support for Broidy and Agnew's (1997) hypothesis. For example, Hoffmann and Su (1997) examined longitudinal data from the High Risk Youth Study. They found no significant gender differences in the association between stressful

events and deviant behavior, specifically drug use (Hoffmann & Su, 1997). Others have found that GST is applicable to women, even though women may respond to strain differently than men. Hay (2003) examined gender differences in the types of strains experienced and delinquent responses. Hay (2003) collected data from a sample of 182 high-school students in a Southwestern U.S. city who completed a self-administered questionnaire.²⁷ His results suggested that the gender gap in delinquency may, in part, be due to gender differences in the experience of various family strains (Hay, 2003). Women in the study were more likely to respond to strain with guilt than men; men were more likely to respond with anger. However, when women did respond to strain with anger, they were also more likely to engage in delinquent behavior.

However, other researchers have found that GST does not explain delinquent and criminal behavior as effectively for women as it does for men. De Coster (2005) examined data from the 1981, 1982, and 1983 National Youth Survey and found that when faced with family stress, males were more likely to respond with delinquency while females were more likely to grow depressed. Mazerolle (1998) examined gender differences in responses to strain among a youthful population. Data were obtained from the National Youth Survey and nearly 1,500 cases were included in the study (Mazerolle, 1998). Mazerolle (1998) concluded that males and females differ in their reactions to certain strains and how they deal with anger; for example, males may be more likely to deal with their anger by acting out and engaging in delinquent behavior. Strained females were also angry, but they internalized their anger rather than engaging in crime

²⁷ A specific name of the city was not provided.

(Mazerolle, 1998). It is possible that female inmates internalize their anger as well; however, past research has not addressed this possibility.

While researchers have recently begun to test GST's applicability to women in general, GST research to date has failed to examine a very specific population of women—incarcerated mothers. Many incarcerated women are mothers who have been separated from their children; this forced separation creates high levels of stress (Thompson & Harm, 1995). Parenting programs have the potential to reduce the strain that inmate mothers experience. Specifically, programs that offer an enhanced visitation component, like the program at NCCW, often increase the amount of contact mothers have with their children (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998). Indeed, several researchers have found that maintained contact with their children may reduce the stress that inmate mothers feel (Hairston, 1991a; Muse, 1994; Sharp, 2003; Snyder et al., 2001). Whether this, in turn, is also related to a reduced likelihood of institutional misconduct is an interesting empirical question that, heretofore, has not been examined.

Chapter 3

Data and Methods

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the parenting program at NCCW. Specifically, I will assess the effects of program participation on (1) inmate mothers' attitudes toward corporal punishment, (2) the extent of contact between inmate mothers and their children, and (3) whether General Strain Theory (GST) was applicable to a population of incarcerated mothers.

Sample and Data Collection

The primary data for this thesis were collected from survey responses provided by 201 inmates at NCCW. The full survey instrument is available in Appendix A. Data were collected during the summer of 2010. The total population of NCCW was 290, at the time the survey was administered; therefore the sample consisted of 69.3 percent of all inmates.²⁸ Survey respondents were not significantly different than non-respondents in terms of age ($\chi^2=54.115$, $df=40$, $p>.05$), race ($\chi^2=8.232$, $df=4$, $p>.05$) or marital status ($\chi^2=3.648$, $df=5$, $p>.05$). However the two groups did differ significantly by custodial category ($\chi^2=21.662$, $df=4$, $p=.000$).

The surveys were administered in the Parenting Building on the grounds of the prison. All inmates in the general prison population were invited to participate. An announcement stating that researchers would be at the prison was posted in the cafeteria,

²⁸ Included among the 290 inmates were those housed in diagnostics and evaluation or administrative segregation. These inmates were not allowed to participate. The Nebraska Department of Correctional Services required that these inmates be excluded from the research. They were excluded primarily to ensure the safety of the researchers and the inmates who participated.

housing units, and in the prison newsletter prior to each visit. Inmates were offered snacks and beverages while completing the surveys. Each woman was given an informed consent form to read; the consent form was also read aloud by the researchers.²⁹ Participants were given time to consider their participation and either signed the consent form, or they were allowed to leave. The survey was then read aloud to inmates and any questions were answered as they arose.

In addition to survey data, the Nebraska Department of Correctional Services (NE DOCS) provided a variety of routinely collected demographic and institutional data. For example, the NE DOCS provided each inmate's name, age, custodial status, record of misconduct, and offense history. Both the NE DOCS data and the survey data were included in the analyses. The following section explains how each variable in this thesis was measured.

Measures

My analyses will first focus on the relationship between parenting program participation and inmates' knowledge of appropriate disciplinary practices. I will then examine the relationship between program participation and the extent of contact that inmate mothers have with their children. The third analytic section will examine how program participation affects inmate strain and, in turn, the likelihood of institutional misconduct. The section that immediately follows explains how the variables were measured for the analyses that I will conduct.

²⁹ The current research was approved by the University of Nebraska Medical Center's Institutional Review Board and the NE DOCS review board.

Main Independent Variable: Program Participation

Parenting Program participation was measured through inmates' self-reports. Inmates were asked a variety of questions about their current and past program participation. They were asked whether and how many parenting classes they had taken. They were also asked to specify the number of extended day visits and overnight visits received. Because women who are on the waiting list to take parenting classes are allowed to have extended day visits, it was possible for women to technically be in the parenting program without ever having taken a class. Inmates were coded as program participants if they indicated that they had ever participated in any part of the parenting program. Table 3 contains the descriptive statistics of the variables included in my OLS regression, for all inmates who took the survey (n=201). Only survey respondents who provided complete surveys were included in later analyses. Table 3 shows that approximately 44 percent of all survey respondents had participated in some component of the parenting program.³⁰

³⁰ Program participants in the final sample for the knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques analysis were not significantly different from non-participants in terms of age ($\chi^2=28.37$, $df=35$, $p>.05$), race ($\chi^2=5.81$, $df=4$, $p>.05$), custodial category ($\chi^2=1.95$, $df=3$, $p>.05$), or marital status ($\chi^2=7.36$, $df=4$, $p>.05$).

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<u>Main Independent Variable</u>				
Program participation	0	1	0.443	0.498
<u>Dependent Variables</u>				
DQ Scores	17	57	29.244	10.088
Contact	0	4	1.260	1.288
Total Misconduct Reports	1	309	13.676	29.907
Anger Scale	0	4	1.317	0.935
Depression Scale	0.2	2.8	1.243	0.602
Strain Scale	0	2.7	1.284	0.513
Coping - Talk With Friends	0	3	2.055	0.822
Coping - Prayer	0	3	2.136	1.033
Coping - Think of Something Else	0	3	2.191	0.623
Coping - Jokes	0	3	1.510	1.061
Coping - Self Blame	0	3	1.685	0.970
<u>Control Variables</u>				
Age	19	60	34.299	9.126
Educational Attainment				
No High School or GED	0	1	0.244	0.430
HS Degree or GED	0	1	0.313	0.465
At least Some College	0	1	0.443	0.498
Marital Status				
Married	0	1	0.229	0.421
Single	0	1	0.393	0.490
Separated	0	1	0.030	0.171
Widowed	0	1	0.020	0.140
Divorced	0	1	0.259	0.439
Live as Married	0	1	0.070	0.255
Race				
White	0	1	0.622	0.486
Black	0	1	0.209	0.408
Other	0	1	0.169	0.376
Custody Status	1	4	2.370	0.815
# Prior Offenses	1	78	10.849	11.167
# Prior Violent Offenses	0	6	0.633	1.130
# Prior Abuse Offenses	0	2	0.102	0.342
# Prior Drug Offenses	0	12	1.096	2.001
Freq. of Physical Punishment History	0	4	1.770	1.340
Sev. Of Physical Punishment History	0	5	2.584	1.900

^a Due to missing data, the number of cases for some of the variables is less than 201.

Knowledge of Appropriate Disciplinary Techniques

As discussed in the literature review chapter, previous researchers have concluded that parenting programs may help break the cycle of child abuse; through their participation in parenting programs inmate mothers learn how to use appropriate, non-physical disciplinary techniques, such as time-out or the removal of privileges (Moore & Clement, 1998; Sandifer, 2008; Showers, 1993; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Given these findings, I predict that inmates who are currently participating in or who have completed the parenting program at NCCW will be less likely to endorse the use of corporal punishment than inmate mothers who have either not participated in the parenting program or who failed to complete the program.

I used Graziano, Hamblen, and Plante's (2001) Discipline Questionnaire (DQ) to determine inmate mothers' attitudes toward the use of corporal punishment. The questions contained within the DQ have face validity and other researchers have used the instrument to assess respondent attitudes toward and experiences with corporal punishment. For example, Roetzela (2008) utilized the DQ in her study of intergenerational discipline practices. She administered the DQ to parents recruited through online parenting forums, the University of Texas at Austin's Child and Family Laboratory School, and from local childcare centers. Recruited parents were then asked to complete the DQ. Roetzela (2008) found that parents' experiences with corporal punishment were associated with their own use of corporal punishment (for further examples see, Graziano, Lindquist, Kuncie & Munjal, 1992).

More specifically, I used a seventeen-item subscale of the DQ that asks respondents to state their opinions about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of corporal punishment. For the first ten questions on this subscale, inmates were asked to rate their extent of agreement with statements such as the following: “Parents should have the right to physically punish their children,” “I would support a law that says parents cannot physically punish their children” and “Physical punishment used on children is abusive.” Responses were scored on a five point Likert-type scale ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree.” On the second half of the subscale, inmates were asked to rate how appropriate different physical punishments were (e.g. “Punching,” “Kicking,” or “Whipping”). Respondents could choose from five response categories ranging from “Never Appropriate (Never OK)” to “Always Appropriate (Always OK).”

For this thesis, my Principal Components Analysis revealed that the scale items loaded on a single factor. The full scale had a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha=.884$). Questions 23 through 33 on page 10 of the survey that was administered to the inmates (see Appendix A) make up the subscale of the DQ that measures attitudes toward the use of corporal punishment. Table 3 shows that the average score on the DQ for all survey respondents was 29.2. The minimum for all respondents was 17 and the maximum score was 57.

Contact

Incarcerated mothers experience separation from their children as an acute strain (Browne, 1989; Moses, 1995; Snyder, Carlo & Coats-Mullins, 2001). In addition, some

researchers find that inmates who participate in parenting programs with enhanced visitation opportunities have more contact with their children than inmates who do not participate in such programs (Block, 1999; Block & Potthast, 1998). Therefore, inmate mothers who have participated in the NCCW's Parenting Program should have more contact with their children. This should reduce the level of strain that program participants experience.

In the current study, the level of contact between female inmates and their children was determined through the inmates' self reports. Specifically, inmates were asked "How often does your child visit you?" They were able to choose from five response categories: "Never," "At least once a year," "At least once every six months," "At least once a month," and "At least once a week." Responses were coded with values that ranged from "0" to "4" where a "Never" response received a value of "0" and "At least once a week" response received a value of "4". If inmates had several children, they were asked to report the amount of contact they have with their three youngest children. I then averaged the number of visits each mother received with her three youngest children. This score was included as the measure of contact in this thesis. Other researchers have used similar approaches to measure the level of contact between incarcerated mothers and their children (see for example, Fuller, 1993; LaPoint, et al., 1985; Snyder, et al., 2001). Table 3 shows that the average amount of contact with children reported by the survey respondents was 1.26. This score falls between the "At least once a year" and "At least once every six months" response categories.

Institutional Misconduct

Agnew (1992, 2006a) argued that individuals who are strained will experience negative emotions. One possible strategy that individuals may use when coping with negative emotions is to engage in deviant behavior (Agnew, 1992, 2006a). For this thesis, institutional misconduct was considered to be a type of deviance. The NE DOCS provided a tally of the number and type of write-ups that each NCCW inmate had received from the time her sentence began (up until August 1, 2010 when the inmates had completed the surveys for this thesis). The sum of all infractions was calculated for each inmate as a measure of overall misconduct. As shown in Table 3, the number of infractions per inmate ranged from one to 309, with a mean of 13.7

Strain

Female inmates experience a variety of strains while incarcerated (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). An institutional strain scale was created to measure the unique strains experienced by female inmates at NCCW. The 20-item scale that was used to measure inmate strain may be found on pages 14 through 15 of the survey instrument (see Appendix A). Respondents were asked to indicate how often they felt frustrated by a variety of prison experiences. Their level of frustration was measured by items such as “Sometimes I get frustrated because I don’t hear enough about my kids or family,” or “Sometimes I get frustrated because other inmates talk about me or spread rumors behind my back.” Respondents recorded their answers on a four point Likert scale that ranged from “Never” to “Almost Always.” Answers were coded so that higher values indicated that the respondent

experienced the strain more often. I ran a Principal Components Analysis and found that the scale items loaded on a single factor. The full scale had a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha=.868$). Table 3 provides the descriptive statistics for all survey respondents. Strain scale scores ranged from 0 to 2.7, with the average score falling near the middle of the distribution at 1.28.

Anger

Agnew (1992, 2006a) argues that the experience of strain leads to negative emotions such as anger. To examine the relationship between anger and strain, a fifteen item anger scale was included on page 13 of the survey instrument (see Appendix A). Isom (2009) adapted this scale from Siegal's (1986) Multidimensional Anger Inventory. After reading statements like "It is easy to make me angry," "I tend to get angry more often than most people," or "I feel guilty about expressing my anger," inmates rated the extent to which they believed the statements described them. Responses were recorded on a five point Likert scale that ranged from "Not at all like me" (coded as "0") to "Exactly like me" (coded as "4"). I ran a Principal Components Analysis and found that the scale items loaded on a single factor. The full scale had a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha=.941$). Table 3 shows that the anger scale ranged from a value of 0 to 4, with a mean score of 1.31.

Depression

Agnew (1992, 2006a) also argues that negative emotions other than anger, such as depression, may also result from strain. Depression is common among female inmates (Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998; Thompson & Harm, 1995). A 20 item depression scale was

included on the survey instrument. This scale was a slightly modified version of the Center of Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD) (Radloff, 1977). The CESD has been validated and used in past research with inmate mothers (see for example, Poehlmann, 2005). The scale can be found in Appendix A on page 12 of the survey instrument. After reading statements like “I felt sad,” “I felt that my life had been a failure,” “I felt happy” or “I felt hopeful about the future” inmates were asked to rate the extent to which they felt a certain way during the past 30 days. Response categories included “Rarely or none of the time,” “A little of the time,” “Occasionally or some of the time,” and “Most or all of the time.” Each scale item was reverse coded so that a higher score indicated that respondents felt depressed more often. I ran a Principal Components Analysis and found that the scale items loaded on a single factor. The full scale had a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha=.918$). Table 3 contains the descriptive statistics for all survey respondents. Scores on the depression scale ranged from 0.2 to 2.8. The mean score on the depression scale was 1.24.

Coping

Recall from my review of the literature that a variety of non-deviant coping mechanisms exist (Agnew 1992, 2006a). Most individuals do not cope with strain or stress by acting out in criminal or otherwise deviant ways. Therefore, many inmates may cope with strain without engaging in institutional misconduct. Five questions were included on the survey instrument that asked inmates to report how often they used certain strategies to deal with stress. Specifically, inmates were asked how often they coped with stress by talking with friends, praying, thinking of something less stressful, blaming themselves, or by making jokes (see page 15 of the full instrument, in Appendix

A). Response categories for all five questions were “Never,” “Very rarely,” “Sometimes,” and “Almost Always.” Responses received values that ranged from “0” to “3”, with a value of “0” given to a “Never” response. Each of these five coping variables was included as separate independent variables in the final OLS regression equation for the path analysis. As shown in Table 3, survey responses for the coping strategy “Talk with friends” ranged from 0 to 3 with a mean of 1.9. Responses for the “Prayer” category ranged from 0 to 3 with a mean of 2.2. Answers in the “Think of Something else” category ranged from 1 to 3 with a mean of 2.2. Survey responses for the coping strategy “Make Jokes” ranged from 0 to 3 with a mean of 1.4. Finally, responses for the coping strategy “Self Blame” ranged from 0 to 3 with a mean of 1.6.

Control Variables

Both NE DOCS data and inmates’ self reports were used to examine a variety of control variables. Specifically, measures of age, educational attainment, marital status, institutional custodial status, prior offense severity, race and history of physical punishment were included as control variables.

The age variable was derived from the NE DOCS records of inmates’ birthdates. Table 3 shows that, on average, inmates who participated in this study were about 34 years old. The youngest inmate was 19 years old and the oldest inmate was 60 years old.

Educational attainment was measured with one survey question, “what is the highest level of education you have obtained?” Inmates responded as follows: “No high school,” “Some high school,” “High school graduate,” “GED,” “Some college,” or “College degree.” Table 3 shows that 24.4 percent of the inmates reported that they did

not have a high school diploma or a GED; 31.3 percent had a high school degree or a GED; and 44.3 percent had at least some college.

Marital status was measured with one question on the survey instrument. Specifically, a question on the survey asked inmates “What is your current legal marital status?” Inmate responses included the following: “Never Married,” “Separated,” “Legally Married,” “Widowed,” “Divorced,” or “Living as Married.” Table 3 shows that 22.9 percent of all survey respondents were married; 39.3 percent were single and 25.9 percent were divorced. The remaining women were either separated (3%), widowed (2%) or living with a partner before their incarceration (7%)

Information about each inmate’s race was provided by the NE DOCS. The NE DOCS records race as White, Black, or Other. Table 3 shows that 62 percent of the inmates who agreed to participate in the study were White, 21 percent were Black, and about 17 percent were inmates of other races/ethnicities.³¹

A measure of institutional custodial status was included in NE DOCS records. Survey respondents ranged from a custody classification of 1 to 4. Custody status is coded so that higher scores indicate less restrictive custody. The average custody status for survey respondents was 2.37, indicating non-restrictive custody.

Prior offense severity was also included as a control variable. The NE DOCS provided the total number of prior arrests for each inmate, as well as a description of each arrest. Table 3 indicates that the inmates who took the survey had between one and 78 prior arrests. The mean number of prior arrests was 10.8. Also included as control

³¹ As previously noted, survey respondents did not differ significantly from the general population of NCCW in terms of race ($\chi^2=8.232$, $df=4$, $p>.05$).

variables were the number of previous arrests for violent offenses, child-abuse abuse offenses, and drug offenses. Survey respondents averaged 0.6 prior arrests for violent crimes. The number of violent arrests for the inmates who took the survey ranged from zero to six. Very few of the inmates had prior arrests for child abuse (the average was only .10). And, on average, the inmates who took the survey had one prior arrest for a drug offense. The number of prior arrests for drug offenses varied from zero to 12.

The final two control variables assess how an inmate was disciplined as a child. An inmate's history of physical punishment was measured via a subscale on the DQ. The DQ contains twenty-two questions that pertain to the mothers' childhood experiences with corporal punishment. For example, respondents were asked questions about the frequency of their punishment experiences (e.g., "While growing up, how often were you physically punished?"), the severity of the punishment endured (e.g., "What was the most severe physical punishment that you ever received?"). A complete list of all questions that related to the frequency and severity of past physical punishment can be found on pages seven through nine of the survey instrument (see Appendix A). Table 3 provides the distributions for both variables.

Analytic Strategy

The analysis consisted of three parts. First, I examined the effect of program participation on inmates' attitudes toward corporal punishment. An OLS regression analysis was used to estimate the relationship between program participation and attitudes toward corporal punishment.³² Second, I examined the effect of program

³² Before running the final regression, I performed several diagnostic checks. I checked the distribution of the residuals for any departures from normality. I also checked for heteroskedasticity and multicollinearity.

participation on inmate mothers' contact with their children. An OLS regression analysis was used to estimate the relationship between program participation and attitudes toward corporal punishment. Third, I examined whether components of GST explained institutional misconduct in a woman's prison. The equations used to estimate the GST path model were limited to mothers who fully completed the survey (n=104). Table 4 provides the descriptive statistics for the sample of inmate mothers that were included in the GST analyses that follow. As shown, most mothers were white (57.7 %) and over 42 percent had at least some college education. Mothers ranged in age from 19 to 60 years old, with a mean age of approximately 35 years old. Nearly a quarter of mothers reported that they were married, while 41.3 percent were single. One quarter of mothers were divorced (25 %) and the remaining mothers were either widowed (1.9 %), separated (2.9%), or living with a partner prior to incarceration (4.8%).

The institutional misconduct variable was skewed and kurtotic. It was logged before inclusion in the final regression.

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<u>Main Independent Variable</u>				
Program participation	0	1	0.500	0.502
<u>Dependent Variables</u>				
Contact	0	3	1.154	1.232
Total Misconduct Reports	1	309	11.760	31.228
Anger Scale	0	4	1.324	0.988
Depression Scale	0.25	2.8	1.253	0.634
Strain Scale	0.3	2.7	1.310	0.526
Coping - Talk With Friends	0	3	1.962	0.847
Coping - Prayer	0	3	2.202	0.989
Coping - Think of Something Else	1	3	2.212	0.586
Coping - Jokes	0	3	1.423	1.049
Coping - Self Blame	0	3	1.635	1.005
<u>Control Variables</u>				
Age	19	60	34.846	9.368
Educational Attainment				
No High School or GED	0	1	0.308	0.464
HS Degree or GED	0	1	0.269	0.446
At least Some College	0	1	0.423	0.496
Marital Status				
Married	0	1	0.240	0.429
Single	0	1	0.413	0.495
Separated	0	1	0.029	0.168
Widowed	0	1	0.019	0.138
Divorced	0	1	0.250	0.435
Live as Married	0	1	0.048	0.215
Race				
White	0	1	0.577	0.496
Black	0	1	0.260	0.441
Other	0	1	0.163	0.372
Custody Status	1	4	2.356	0.812
# Prior Offenses	1	78	11.298	12.344
# Prior Violent Offenses	0	6	0.606	1.144
# Prior Abuse Offenses	0	2	0.096	0.327
# Prior Drug Offenses	0	12	1.067	2.124
Freq. of Physical Punishment History	0	4	1.712	1.356
Sev. Of Physical Punishment History	0	5	2.413	1.883

The path model in Figure 1 (Figure 1 appears in Chapter 1) was used to guide my analyses. The “+” and “-“symbols on the path model indicate the expected direction of the relationship between two variables. This path model is recursive; thus, I estimated a series of OLS regressions to explore the relationships depicted in Figure 1. The control variables discussed above were included in each OLS regression. The first OLS regression equation assessed the relationship between program participation and mothers’ contact with their children. Next, strain was added as the dependent variable (i.e., to examine the relationship between program participation, contact, and strain). Further OLS regressions examined the relationship between institutional strain and negative emotions (both anger and depression). The program participation variable and the contact variable were also included in those estimated equations. The final regression model assessed the relationship between anger, depression, a variety of coping strategies, and institutional misconduct. The measures of program participation, contact, and strain were also included in the final regression equation.

Chapter Four

Results

Part One: Multivariate Analysis of the Effect of Program Participation on Attitudes toward Corporal Punishment

After performing diagnostic tests for heteroskedasticity and multicollinearity (see Table 5 below) and checking the distribution of the residuals, I estimated an OLS regression equation.³³ The results of my OLS regression are presented in Table 6 below.

The regression model as a whole fits the data, and is statistically significant ($F(18, 125) = 2.22, p < .01$). Table 6 also indicates that the model explains 24.26 percent of the variance in inmates' DQ scores. Note that participation in the parenting program did not significantly influence an inmate's knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques. In other words, when controlling for the effects of the other variables in the equation, parenting program participation did not significantly predict inmate attitudes toward the use of corporal punishment. Four control variables in the model were significant: educational attainment, marital status, race, and the total number of prior arrests. Women with at least some college education were more likely to have higher DQ scores than women without high-school degrees or GEDs. Relative to the reference

³³ I examined a correlation matrix (see Table 5) and VIFs. The correlation matrix did not suggest substantial problems with multicollinearity. None of the VIFs for any variables were over four; this would suggest that multicollinearity is not problematic. Conversely, the Haitovsky Test was non-significant, indicating that multicollinearity could be a problem. The Haitovsky Test, however, can be overly sensitive in smaller samples. In sum, it is possible that multicollinearity is problematic, but because the VIFs were all well below 4, I chose not to transform or otherwise change any of my variables.

Next, I tested the residuals of my regression for normality. I examined several graphs of my residuals (a histogram, hanging-rootogram, QQ-plot, PP-plot and plots against the residuals). There was not a significant deviation from normality.

Finally, I tested for heteroskedasticity. The Breusch-Pagan Test and the White Test were both non-significant. This indicates that heteroskedasticity is not a problem in my sample.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. DQ Score	-																	
2. Program participation	-0.060	-																
3. Age	-0.060	-0.155	-															
4. Custody Status	-0.040	-0.065	0.054	-														
5. Freq. of Physical Punishment History	-0.010	-0.129	-0.124	-0.155	-													
6. Sev. of Physical Punishment History	-0.091	0.040	-0.052	-0.176 *	0.725 *	-												
7. High-school or GED	0.103	0.045	-0.125	-0.120	0.045	0.063	-											
8. At least some College	0.054	-0.024	0.209 *	0.073	-0.147	-0.100	-0.591 *-	-										
9. Single	0.049	-0.081	-0.294 *	-0.013	0.022	-0.032	0.094	-0.140	-									
10. Separated	0.023	0.046	0.221 *	0.049	-0.031	-0.005	0.018	-0.151	-0.151	-								
11. Widowed	0.061	0.005	0.216 *	-0.056	0.104	0.054	-0.088	0.149	-0.095	-0.023	-							
12. Divorced	-0.211 *	-0.038	0.164 *	-0.072	-0.060	0.038	-0.114	0.137	-0.478 *	-0.114	-0.071	-						
13. Live as Married	-0.075	0.071	-0.204 *	0.033	0.123	0.160	0.074	-0.131	-0.194 *	-0.046	-0.029	-0.145	-					
14. Black	0.318 *	0.004	-0.028	-0.195 *	0.042	-0.044	0.099	-0.045	0.203 *	-0.095	0.088	-0.183 *	-0.046	-				
15. Other Race	-0.001	0.002	-0.087	0.011	-0.002	-0.004	0.016	-0.237 *	-0.091	0.200 *	-0.057	0.035	0.117	-0.241 *-	-			
16. # of past arrests	0.227 *	-0.012	0.163	-0.155	0.104	0.056	0.135	-0.139	0.131	-0.027	0.193 *	-0.183 *	-0.192 *	0.216 *	-0.094	-		
17. # of past drug offenses	-0.005	0.036	-0.019	-0.013	0.083	0.100	0.075	-0.081	0.074	-0.020	0.092	-0.188 *	-0.110	0.045	-0.129	0.588 *-		
18. # of past abuse offenses	-0.040	-0.031	0.015	-0.065	0.073	0.104	-0.044	-0.020	0.114	-0.058	-0.036	-0.034	-0.074	-0.099	0.021	0.123	0.000	-
19. # of past violent offenses	0.083	-0.174 *	0.018	-0.174 *	0.029	-0.002	0.113	-0.164 *	0.135	-0.073	0.096	-0.007	0.002	0.049	0.152	0.361 *	0.053	0.067

Variable	b	SE
Program Participation	-0.857	1.728
Age	0.107	0.107
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	3.864	2.114
At least Some College	4.504 *	2.241
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	-2.325	2.208
Separated	-0.764	4.892
Widowed	-4.833	7.311
Divorced	-5.580 *	2.360
Live as Married	-3.098	4.064
<u>Race</u>		
Black	6.911 **	2.216
Other Race	3.343	2.284
Custody Status	0.256	1.034
# Prior Offenses	0.228 *	0.110
# Prior Violent Offenses	-0.007	0.852
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-1.122	2.597
#Prior Drug Offenses	-0.918	0.543
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.435	0.922
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.394	0.656
constant	22.226	5.756
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	144	
F	2.22 **	
df	18, 125	
R-squared	0.2426	
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001		

category (married women), divorced inmates' DQ scores were significantly lower, indicating that were less likely to support the use of corporal punishment. Relative to white women, black women were significantly more likely to endorse the use of corporal punishment. There was a positive, significant relationship between inmates' total number

of arrests and their DQ scores. This indicates that women with more arrests tend to be more supportive of corporal punishment.

Part Two: Multivariate Analysis of the Effect of Program Participation on Contact

I estimated an OLS regression equation to determine the relationship between inmate mothers' participation in the parenting program and contact with their children. This analysis was limited to inmate mothers who took the survey and provided complete answers about their contact with their three youngest children (n=133). The results of my OLS regression are presented in Table 7 below.

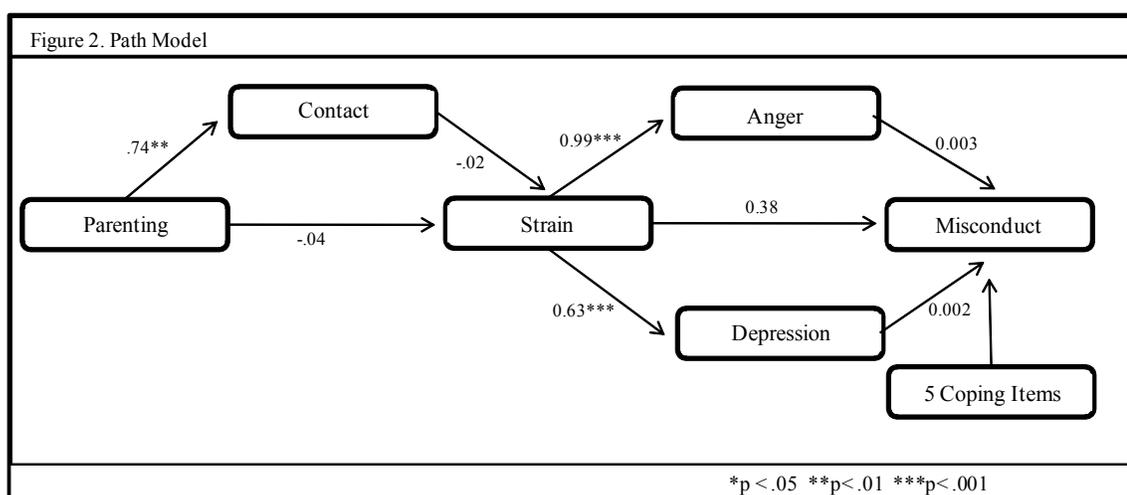
The regression model as a whole fits the data, and is statistically significant ($F(18, 114) = 1.8, p < .05$). Table 7 also indicates that the model explains 22.13 percent of the variance in inmates' average level of contact with their three youngest children. Program participation had a significant positive effect on inmate mothers' contact with their children. In other words, mothers who participated in the parenting program had a higher average level of contact with their three youngest children than non-participants. Custody level also significantly influenced the extent of contact that inmate mothers had with their children. Inmate mothers with less restrictive custody statuses had more contact with their children.

Variable	b	SE
Program Participation	0.867 ***	0.231
Age	0.014	0.015
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	-0.052	0.283
At least Some College	0.300	0.283
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	0.151	0.284
Separated	-0.170	0.630
Widowed	0.104	0.929
Divorced	-0.266	0.315
Live as Married	0.381	0.524
<u>Race</u>		
Black	-0.470	0.288
Other Race	-0.195	0.327
Custody Status	0.277 *	0.137
# Prior Offenses	0.008	0.014
# Prior Violent Offenses	0.010	0.010
# Prior Abuse Offenses	0.361	0.329
#Prior Drug Offenses	-0.066	0.072
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.026	0.123
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.068	0.085
constant		
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	133	
F	1.80 *	
df	18, 114	
R-squared	0.2213	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

Part Three: Multivariate Analysis of Strain and Institutional Misconduct

Figure 1, first introduced in the Introduction to this thesis, depicts the hypothesized relationships between program participation, the GST variables, and institutional misconduct. Because this path model is recursive, I estimated a series of

OLS regressions to explore these relationships. Prior to each regression I performed the same diagnostic tests that I discussed above.³⁴ The results derived from my series of estimated regression equations for the primary variables of interest are summarized in Figure 2. The unstandardized coefficients are included on each path in the model. The analyses in this section are limited to inmate mothers who provided complete responses on all parts of the survey (n=104).



Relationship between program participation and contact

The extent of contact that inmate mothers had with their children was included as the main dependent variable in my first OLS regression equation. Because the Parenting Program at NCCW has an enhanced visitation component, I expect program participants to have more contact with their children than non-participants. The results of my OLS regression are presented below (Table 8).

³⁴ Multicollinearity and heteroskedasticity were not substantial problems in any of the subsequent OLS regressions. The residuals were normally distributed for all but the final regression on institutional misconduct. Because preliminary descriptive indicated that the misconduct variable and the residuals were significantly skewed and kurtotic, I logged the misconduct variable.

Variable	b	SE
Program Participation	0.739 **	0.263
Age	0.009	0.016
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	-0.091	0.327
At least Some College	0.242	0.315
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	0.070	0.323
Separated	-0.315	0.805
Widowed	0.231	0.923
Divorced	-0.494	0.366
Live as Married	0.733	0.603
<u>Race</u>		
Black	-0.347	0.305
Other Race	0.099	0.363
Custody Status	0.294	0.156
# Prior Offenses	0.012	0.016
# Prior Violent Offenses	-0.078	0.134
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-0.120	0.405
#Prior Drug Offenses	-0.078	0.075
Freq. Phys. Punishment	-0.124	0.143
Sev. Phys. Punishment	0.027	0.100
constant	-0.026	0.825
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	104	
F	1.58	
df	18, 85	
R-squared	0.2501	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

The model as a whole did not fit the data and was not statistically significant ($F(18, 85) = 1.58, p > .05$). However, the relationship between program participation and contact was significant and in the predicted direction.

Relationship between program participation, contact, and strain

Because opportunities to parent and to have contact with their children are very important for inmate mothers, I expected that program participation and increased contact with children would reduce the amount of strain that incarcerated mothers experienced. To examine the relationship between strain, contact, and program participation, I estimated another OLS regression equation. The results are presented in Table 9. The model as a whole fit the data well and was statistically significant ($F(19, 84) = 2.86, p < .001$). The model explained 39.27 percent of the variance in inmate strain. While the relationships between strain, program participation and contact were in the expected direction, contact and program participation did not exert a statistically significant effect on strain in this model.

Three control variables were statistically significant in this model. Mothers with a high-school degree or a GED experienced significantly lower levels of strain, relative to mothers with less education. Table 9 further shows that women who were widowed experienced significantly less strain than married inmates. Finally, custody status was also significant. An inmate's custody status was coded so that a low score indicated a maximum security status. The significant negative relationship between custody status and strain indicates that mothers with a less restrictive custodial classification experienced less strain than mothers with more restrictive classifications.

Variable	b	SE
Program Participation	-0.043	0.106
Contact	-0.015	0.042
Age	-0.006	0.006
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	-0.497 ***	0.126
At least Some College	-0.183	0.122
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	0.073	0.125
Separated	-0.404	0.311
Widowed	-0.806 *	0.356
Divorced	0.002	0.143
Live as Married	0.105	0.235
<u>Race</u>		
Black	-0.205	0.119
Other Race	-0.265	0.140
Custody Status	-0.233 ***	0.062
# Prior Offenses	0.002	0.006
# Prior Violent Offenses	0.009	0.052
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-0.295	0.157
#Prior Drug Offenses	0.002	0.029
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.088	0.055
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.012	0.039
constant	2.290 ***	0.318
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	104	
F	2.86 ***	
df	19, 84	
R-squared	0.3927	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

Relationship between program participation, contact, strain and depression

If GST applies to incarcerated mothers, mothers' experience of strain should lead to negative emotions like depression. A third OLS regression examined this relationship. Results from this regression in the path model are summarized in Table 10.

Variable	b	SE
Strain Scale	0.634 ***	0.121
Program Participation	0.066	0.118
Contact	-0.029	0.047
Age	0.003	0.007
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	-0.079	0.153
At least Some College	0.021	0.137
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	-0.263	0.139
Separated	-0.356	0.349
Widowed	-0.475	0.407
Divorced	-0.320 *	0.158
Live as Married	-0.294	0.261
<u>Race</u>		
Black	-0.257	0.134
Other Race	-0.015	0.159
Custody Status	-0.040	0.074
# Prior Offenses	0.006	0.007
# Prior Violent Offenses	0.073	0.057
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-0.001	0.177
#Prior Drug Offenses	-0.015	0.032
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.098	0.062
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.011	0.043
constant	0.491	0.043
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	104	
F	4.03 ***	
df	20, 83	
R-squared	0.4928	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

The scale measure of depression was the dependent variable in the third regression equation, with strain, program participation, contact and the control variables included as independent variables. The regression model as a whole fit the data well and was significant ($F(20, 83) = 4.03, p < .001$). The model explained 49.28 percent of the

variance in the depression variable. In accordance with GST, strain had a significant positive relationship with depression. That is, inmates who reported high levels of strain were more likely to also report high levels of depression. An inmate's marital status was also important. Relative to married inmates, divorced mothers were significantly less likely to be depressed.

Relationship between program participation, contact, and strain and anger

The scale measure of anger was the dependent variable in the fourth regression equation included in the path model. Parenting program participation, contact with children, strain, and the control variables were included as independent variables. According to GST, strain leads to negative emotions like anger. Thus, I expected to see a positive, significant relationship between strain and anger. I estimated an OLS regression equation (see Table 11) and found that the model as a whole fit the data well and was statistically significant ($F(20, 83) = 4.65, p < .001$).

Table 11 shows that this model explains 52.86 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, the anger scale score. The strain variable was significant and the relationship between strain and anger was positive. This suggests that inmates who experience more strain also experience more anger than other inmates. Parenting program participation was also significant. Program participants reported that they experienced more anger than non-participants. Marital status was also a statistically significant predictor of inmate anger. Single inmates were more likely to have high anger scores than their married counterparts.

Table 11. Results from OLS Regression on Anger		
Variable	b	SE
Strain Scale	0.994 ***	0.182
Program Participation	0.409 *	0.177
Contact	-0.130	0.070
Age	0.006	0.010
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	-0.081	0.229
At least Some College	0.004	0.206
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	0.622 **	0.209
Separated	-0.211	0.524
Widowed	0.516	0.611
Divorced	0.034	0.238
Live as Married	-0.140	0.392
<u>Race</u>		
Black	0.398	0.201
Other Race	0.386	0.239
Custody Status	-0.046	0.070
# Prior Offenses	-0.015	0.010
# Prior Violent Offenses	0.162	0.086
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-0.387	0.266
#Prior Drug Offenses	0.051	0.048
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.020	0.094
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.028	0.065
constant	-0.469	0.674
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	104	
F	4.65 ***	
df	20, 83	
R-squared	0.5286	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

Relationship between program participation, contact, strain, anger, coping, and
institutional misconduct

The final regression equation used to create my path model included institutional misconduct as the dependent variable. My measures of program participation, contact, anger, depression, institutional strain and all five coping variables were included as independent variables. If GST explains institutional misconduct among inmate mothers I expect to see a positive relationship between anger, depression and misconduct. I also expect that the five measures of non-deviant coping mechanisms will be negatively related to misconduct. If mothers cope with their negative emotions via non-deviant means, they should be less likely to cope via misconduct. I ran a final OLS regression, the results of which are reported in Table 12. The model as a whole fit the data well and was significant ($F(27, 76) = 2.37, p < .01$).

After the effects of the other variables were controlled, neither strain, anger, nor depression exerted statistically significant effects on institutional misconduct. In addition, neither program participation nor the extent of contact with children affected levels of institutional misconduct for inmate mothers.

Three control variables were statistically significant. For a one unit change in the fifth coping strategy (making jokes) there was a 25.6 percent increase in the likelihood of institutional misconduct. Misconduct was also more likely for divorced inmates (versus those who were married). And, those with more prior arrests were less likely to misbehave in prison. For a one unit change in an inmate's total number of arrests, there was three percent decrease in an inmate's likelihood of institutional misconduct.

Variable	b	SE
Program Participation	0.376	0.254
Contact	-0.052	0.097
Anger	0.003	0.165
Depression	0.002	0.251
Strain	0.449	0.298
Coping -Talk w/ Friends	-0.163	0.141
Coping -Prayer	0.015	0.129
Coping - Think Something Else	-0.324	0.192
Coping - Jokes	0.256 *	0.117
Coping - Self Blame	-0.090	0.124
Age	0.000	0.014
<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
HS Degree or GED	0.271	0.337
At least Some College	-0.178	0.279
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	0.618	0.314
Separated	-0.266	0.724
Widowed	1.293	0.838
Divorced	0.732 *	0.328
Live as Married	-0.430	0.530
<u>Race</u>		
Black	0.204	0.302
Other Race	0.276	0.347
Custody Status	-0.131	0.154
# Prior Offenses	-0.032 *	0.015
# Prior Violent Offenses	0.094	0.125
# Prior Abuse Offenses	-0.157	0.376
#Prior Drug Offenses	0.072	0.068
Freq. Phys. Punishment	0.163	0.129
Sev. Phys. Punishment	-0.071	0.089
constant	1.596	1.092
<u>Model Statistics</u>		
n	104	
F	2.37 **	
df	27, 76	
R-squared	0.4567	
*p < .05	**p < .01	***p < .001

Chapter Five

Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis evaluated the parenting program at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women (NCCW). Specifically, I examined (1) whether program participants learned appropriate methods of child discipline, (2) whether participation increased contact between inmate mothers and their children, and (3) whether participation in the parenting program reduced levels of strain among program participants (versus non-participants) and, consequently, the likelihood of institutional misconduct.

Many female prisoners in the United States are mothers, and most of these mothers plan to resume caring for their children upon release (Bruns, 2006; Hairston, 1991a; Moses, 1995; Muse, 1994; Thompson & Harm, 1995). Many inmate mothers were physically punished as children and thus have been socialized to view corporal punishment as acceptable (Greene, et al., 2000; Marian, 1982; Roetzela, 2008). Fortunately, there is evidence that parents who endorse corporal punishment can be taught more appropriate, non-physical disciplinary techniques (First & Way, 1995; Marian, 1982). As a result, many correctional facilities have instituted parenting programs designed to teach inmate mothers appropriate disciplinary practices (Clement, 1993). Prior evaluations of parenting programs for inmate mothers often suffered from a variety of limitations. For example, many researchers have relied on extremely small sample sizes (see for example, Carlson, 1998) and have not used validated instruments in their studies (see for example, Block & Potthast, 1998; Carlson, 1998 2001).

The current study addressed the limitations of prior research. I was able to survey 201 inmates at NCCW. A total of 104 inmates provided complete surveys. The data from these surveys were used to assess inmate attitudes toward corporal punishment. While the current sample size is still relatively small, it is considerably larger than samples that have been used in other evaluations and, thus, is an improvement over past studies. In addition, I used a validated instrument, the DQ, as my measure of inmates' attitudes toward corporal punishment.

Prior researchers acknowledge that inmate separation from their children is a significant source of strain for incarcerated women and that maintained contact reduces stress for both mothers and their children (Hairston, 1991a; Muse, 1994; Snyder et al., 2001). Agnew (1992, 2006a) argues that individuals who experience strain are more likely to experience negative emotions like anger or depression. One possible way that people cope with these negative emotions is through criminal or deviant behavior. However, no research to date has used GST as a guiding theory to examine the relationships between inmate mothers' contact with their children, strain, and institutional misconduct. The present research addressed this gap in the extant literature.

I estimated a series of OLS regression equations to examine whether program participation increased mothers' contact with their children and whether increased contact reduced mothers' strain. I then examined the relationship between strain and negative emotions like anger and depression. Finally, I examined the effect of strain, anger and depression on institutional misconduct. The sections that follow provide a discussion of my findings, the limitations of my study, and suggestions for future research.

Program participation and attitudes toward corporal punishment

Based on the extant literature, I proposed that inmates who participated in any part of the Parenting Program would be less likely to endorse the use of corporal punishment. However, I found that parenting program participation did not have a significant effect on inmates' attitudes toward corporal punishment. It is possible that the program as a whole is not effective in changing inmates' attitudes toward corporal punishment; however, one should exercise caution before arriving at that conclusion.

First, NCCW's parenting program consists of two distinct parts – an educational component and an enhanced visitation component. The parent education classes are designed to teach inmates appropriate non-physical disciplinary techniques, among other things. The parenting classes are popular among inmates, and there is usually a waiting list for participation (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010). Inmate mothers who want to have extended visits with their children are required to take classes. However, because the parenting classes are usually full, women on the waiting list are allowed to have supervised extended visits, while they wait for space to open up (M. Alley, personal communication, July 28, 2010). These women are technically Parenting Program participants and were included as part of this group. It is possible that had I excluded women on the waiting list from my analyses, or counted only those who completed one or more classes as participants, my results would have been different.

In addition, women who were currently taking parenting classes, but who had not completed all 17 parenting courses were included in my analyses. It is possible that class participants' attitudes toward physical punishment could change after they complete all

or a substantial number of the parenting courses. As a result, it may be premature to conclude that the parenting program does not change attitudes towards physical punishment. Further investigation is warranted.

Program participation and contact

Based on the extant literature, I proposed that inmate mothers who participated in any part of the Parenting Program would have more contact with their children than non-participating mothers. My findings supported this hypothesis. Inmate mothers in the parenting program reported a higher average number of visits with their three youngest children than did non-participating mothers. This is likely due to the fact that all mothers who participated in any enhanced visitation component of the parenting program were coded as program participants. Based on this analysis, I can conclude that program participation does increase the amount of contact inmate mothers have with their children. This is an important finding because contact is extremely important to inmate mothers. Consistent contact with their children allows inmate mothers to actively parent.

General Strain Theory

Contact

The third section of my analyses focused on the applicability of General Strain Theory to an incarcerated female population. Analyses were limited to inmate mothers in the sample who provided complete survey responses and those with matched data on the extent of their institutional misconduct ($n = 104$). Figure 2 summarizes the results of the analyses that pertained to GST. Unstandardized coefficients are included on each path in the final model. Recall that inmate mothers are believed to experience a great deal of

strain because they are separated from their children (Clark, 1995; LaPoint Pickett & Harris, 1985; Snyder et al., 2001; Thompson & Harm, 1995). I hypothesized that Parenting Program participants would have more contact with their children, because of the enhanced visitation opportunities available to participants. Researchers find that contact is beneficial for inmate mothers (Hairston, 1991a; Muse, 1994; Sharp, 2003; Snyder et al., 2001). Thus, mothers who receive more visits from their children should feel less strain. My findings did not directly support that prediction. The relationship between contact and program participation was in the expected direction and was significant; however, because the model as a whole was not significant, this result must be interpreted with caution. In addition, although the relationship between contact and strain was in the predicted direction, contact alone did not have a significant effect on the strain that inmate mothers experienced (see Table 9).

However, the measure of contact in this analysis was limited and may have affected my results. Contact was limited to a measure of mothers' average number of visits with their three youngest children. It is possible that had other measures of contact (e.g., phone calls or letters) been included, or had data been collected about contact with older children the results would have been different. Additionally, because the contact variable was an average of mothers' contact with their three youngest children, I was not able to control for the age of the child. The results of the analyses might change if children's ages were controlled.

Negative emotions

Briefly, Agnew (1992, 2006a) argues that strain leads to negative emotions such as anger and depression. If GST applies to this population of incarcerated mothers, one would expect to see a positive relationship between strain and feelings of anger and depression. My analyses support this component of Agnew's theory. A significant positive relationship existed between strain and anger, as well as strain and depression (refer back to Figure 2, which was presented in Chapter Four). Inmate mothers in this study were more likely to experience high levels of anger and depression if they felt highly strained. This finding supports past research on the applicability of GST to females; other researchers have found that women respond to strain with negative emotions – specifically, with anger (Mazerolle, 1998) and depression (De Coster, 2005).

Coping with strain

Further, Agnew argues that deviant behavior is one possible reaction to strain. Strained individuals who also experience negative emotions want to feel better and may resort to deviant behavior to alleviate their negative feelings. My findings did not support this aspect of GST. When institutional and demographic variables, as well as a variety of coping techniques were controlled, I found no significant relationships between anger, depression, strain and misconduct among incarcerated mothers. It is possible that GST fails to explain institutional misconduct among incarcerated mothers.

However, my measure of misconduct was very broad. The misconduct variable was simply a sum of all write-ups an inmate had received. I did not discriminate between types of misconduct reports. Serious violations, for example, were not separated from

minor technical write-ups. This is an important point because Agnew (2006a) suggests that specific types of strain may lead to specific types of deviance. To elaborate, past GST researchers who focused on gender differences found that women are less likely than men to react to strain with violent deviance; instead, women cope in different ways, often internalizing negative emotions (Mazerolle, 1998). To clarify, female inmates are rarely violent; however, they often have a history of drug abuse (Pollock-Byrne, 1990). Therefore, it is possible that women inmates may cope with their strain through drug use. This possibility should be considered by future researchers; in the current study, I did not examine specific types of misconduct. A different or more specific measure of deviant behavior, such as drug-related misconduct reports (versus a global measure of misconduct), may have altered my results.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study advances the existing literature in several ways. First, this study responds to several of the limitations noted in other evaluations of parenting programs. For example, past research has been criticized because researchers derived their findings based on analyses of very small samples (see for example, Arditti & Few, 2006; Browne, 1989; Carlson, 1998; Snyder-Joy & Carlo, 1998). The current study utilizes a relatively larger sample for the purposes of statistical analyses. Specifically, this study is based on survey responses provided by 201 inmates, or 69.3 percent of the 290 total NCCW prison population (i.e., at the time the survey was administered). In addition, I utilize standardized scales (i.e., the DQ) appropriate to the population surveyed in order to assess outcomes of interest.

Of course, my research is not without its own limitations. An important limitation of this study is the research design. Randomization was not possible. Ultimately, prison administrators decide who can and cannot participate in the parenting program. Prison administrators also limited the inmates who were allowed to participate in this research study, primarily based on security reasons. Inmates in diagnostics and evaluation or administrative segregation could not take this survey.

An additional limitation is the cross-sectional design of this research. Due to time and other constraints, a pre- post-test design was not possible. Some program participants may change their attitudes toward corporal punishment as they progress further in the parenting program. Future data collection at NCCW will address this limitation. A post-test has been approved by NCCW administrators and by the University of Nebraska Institutional Review Board. The administration of the post-test will allow for an examination of changes in participants' attitudes over time.

Second, my sample size, while an improvement over past research designs for evaluations of prison parenting programs, is still relatively small. The initial sample consisted of 69 percent of NCCW's 290 inmates (n=201). However, my multivariate analysis of attitudes toward corporal punishment was limited to survey responses from 144 inmates who provided complete surveys. Further, my multivariate analysis of the extent of contact between inmate mothers and their children was limited to 133 inmate mothers who provided complete surveys. Finally, my analyses of Agnew's GST with a population of incarcerated mothers were limited to incarcerated mothers who took the survey, had complete responses, and for whom data on institutional misconduct was available (n = 104). Fortunately, this research is preliminary. Future data collection is

planned and will increase the sample size and number of completed surveys. Extra efforts will also be taken to work with NE DOCS for other data elements.

Finally, as mentioned above, several of my measures for some of the key variables were very broad. Program participation was assessed in a very basic way. Additionally, my measure of misconduct included diverse infractions. Moreover, my measure of contact addressed only visitation with an inmate's three youngest children, not other forms of contact or contact with older children. Future researchers should address these limitations by examining the effect of enhanced visitation separately from the educational component of the parenting program and they should also address the different types of contact that inmate mothers may have with all of their children. Finally, future research should examine whether GST applies to specific types of institutional misconduct. For example, a qualitative exploration of the coping mechanisms that female inmates use would help future researchers to more fully understand the relationship between strain and specific types of misconduct. This may be accomplished with inmate focus groups. Research findings could easily be shared with inmates, and these inmates may help provide insight into the results.

In the current study, I found that program participants had higher scores on the anger measure than did non-participants. This finding was unexpected. It may be that inmate mothers who participate in the program are more likely to be angry because the program forces them to examine some of their failures as parents. It may also be that take offense to the implication that they are poor parents who need to take parenting classes. While I may speculate about the relationship I found, it may make more sense

for me to simply ask inmates for their thoughts. By doing so, the finding may be interpreted in a more meaningful (and possibly more accurate) way.

Implications

This research adds to the existing literature about prison-based parenting programs. Unlike several past researchers, I was able to examine the effect of parenting program participation on inmate mothers' knowledge of appropriate disciplinary techniques by using a validated instrument. I also used a fairly large sample, relative to sample sizes examined in past studies.

While I did not find a significant relationship between program participation and attitudes toward corporal punishment, this thesis has important implications for future researchers. Like many other prison-based parenting programs, NCCW's program is multifaceted. The enhanced visitation and educational components of the parenting program likely effect inmates' attitudes toward corporal punishment differently. In order to better serve the needs of inmate mothers and their children, both the visitation and the education program components should be explored in depth. In general, the program at NCCW should be evaluated in greater detail.

This research also fills a void in the GST literature by applying Agnew's (1992, 2006a) theory to a population of incarcerated mothers. My research was exploratory; no other researchers have applied GST to this population. My preliminary findings provide partial support for GST. This indicates that GST may be used to understand the experiences of incarcerated mothers; future research should expand on my research and endeavor to understand how programming, strain, and institutional misconduct are

related. By better understanding the impact programming may have on female inmate levels of strain, anger and depression, researchers may more fully understand why institutional misconduct occurs in such populations, and perhaps, how it can be avoided.

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Appendix A

Survey ID Number: _____

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Family and Demographic Questions – These questions are designed to help us to get to know you better. We want to learn about who you are and what your background is.

1. What is your legal marital status?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Legally Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> Living as married |

2. What is the highest level of education you have obtained?

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> No high school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some high school | <input type="checkbox"/> High school graduate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> GED | <input type="checkbox"/> Some college | <input type="checkbox"/> College degree |

3. During the six months before you were incarcerated, which of the following best describes your employment status? (Mark one answer)

- Employed full time (35+ hours per week, or would have been)
- Employed part time
- Unemployed

4. If you answered “Unemployed” were you also:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Looking for work | <input type="checkbox"/> Disabled | <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteer work |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Retired | <input type="checkbox"/> Not looking for work | <input type="checkbox"/> In school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homemaker | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | |

5. What programs are you currently participating in? (please check all that apply)

- Substance Abuse Unit treatment
- Mental health treatment
- Any parenting programming (please check all that apply)
- Parenting classes
- How many classes have you completed? _____
- The Nursery Program
- Extended Day Visitation
- How many of these visits have you had? _____
- Overnight visitation
- How many of these visits have you had? _____
- GED classes
- I work at a job (Please specify): _____

Please answer the following questions about your <u>youngest</u> child.					
1. How old is your child?	_ _ _ _ (number)				
2. Were you living with your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
3. Did you have legal custody of your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
4. If you answered no, will you attempt to gain/regain custody upon your release?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
5. Do you have legal custody of your child now?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
6. With whom is your child living with now? Please note your relationship with this person. (e.g. sister, mother, friend, etc.)	_____				
	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every six months	At least once a year	Never
7. How often does your child visit you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. How often do you <u>receive</u> mail from your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. How often do you <u>send</u> mail to your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. How often do you speak with your child on the phone?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please answer the following questions about your <u>next oldest</u> child.					
1. How old is your child?	_ _ _ _ (number)				
2. Were you living with your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
3. Did you have legal custody of your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
4. If you answered no, will you attempt to gain/regain custody upon your release?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
5. Do you have legal custody of your child now?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
6. With whom is your child living with now? Please note your relationship with this person. (e.g. sister, mother, friend, etc.) _____					
	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every six months	At least once a year	Never
7. How often does your child visit you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. How often do you <u>receive</u> mail from your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. How often do you <u>send</u> mail to your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. How often do you speak with your child on the phone?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please answer the following questions about your <u>next oldest</u> child.					
1. How old is your child?	_ _ _ _ (number)				
2. Were you living with your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
3. Did you have legal custody of your child before you were incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
4. If you answered no, will you attempt to gain/regain custody upon your release?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
5. Do you have legal custody of your child now?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No		
6. With whom is your child living with now? Please note your relationship with this person. (e.g. sister, mother, friend, etc.) _____					
	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every six months	At least once a year	Never
7. How often does your child visit you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. How often do you <u>receive</u> mail from your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. How often do you <u>send</u> mail to your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. How often do you speak with your child on the phone?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This section of the survey will help us to learn more about you and your emotions. Please mark the answer for the response you feel best describes you. Please answer as honestly as you can.

		Rarely or none of the time	A little of the time	Some of the time	A good part of the time	Most or all of the time
1.	I feel that people would not like me if they really knew me well.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I feel that others get along much better with other people than I do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I feel that I am a beautiful person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	When I am with other people, I feel they are glad to be with me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	I feel that people really like to talk to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	I feel that I am a very competent person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	I think I make a good impression on others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	I feel that I need more self-confidence.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	When I am with strangers, I am very nervous.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	I think that I am a dull person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	I feel ugly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	I feel that others have more fun than I do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	I feel that I bore people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	I think my friends find me interesting.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	I think I have a good sense of humor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	I feel very self-conscious when I am with strangers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.	I feel that if I could be more like other people I would have it made.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.	I feel that people have a good time when they are with me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.	I feel like a wallflower when I go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20.	I feel I get pushed around more than others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21.	I think I am a rather nice person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.	I feel that people really like me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23.	I feel that I am a likeable person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24.	I am afraid that I will appear foolish to others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25.	My friends think very highly of me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This part of the survey will help us learn about your background, and your parenting beliefs and experiences. For this survey we define physical punishment as occurring when: “An adult (18 years old and over) intentionally disciplines a minor (under 18) and, in the process, causes physical pain to the minor.” Please answer as honestly as possible.

	Daily	A few times a week	A few times a month	A few times a year	Never
1. While growing up, how often were you physically punished?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. How often were other family members physically punished?	<input type="checkbox"/>				

If you answered “Never” to both parts of Question 1, please skip to page # 10

	Daily	A few times a week	A few times a month	A few times a year	Never
3. From age 5-12, about how frequently were you physically punished?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. From age 13-17, about how frequently were you physically punished?	<input type="checkbox"/>				

5. How important was physical punishment as a primary child-rearing procedure in your family?
 Very Important Not at all important
 1 2 3 4 5

	Mother	Father	Grandparent	Adult sister or brother	Step-parent	Other
6. Who physically punished you? (Mark all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/>					
7. Of the people marked above, who punished you the most?	<input type="checkbox"/>					

8. Using the following scale, where “1” means never and “5” means always, about how often were objects used to physically punish you?
 Never About Half of the Time Always
 1 2 3 4 5

9. What sorts of objects (other than hands and feet) were used? Please list:

The following numbers are used to describe the severity of the physical punishment you may have received. Please mark an "X" by the number that corresponds to the severity of the punishment you received and make a mark on the line for each question.

0= Caused pain that lasted for no more than a couple of hours, no welts or bruises

1= Caused pain that lasted about a day, but no welts or bruises

2= Caused pain that lasted for more than a day, but no welts or bruises

3= Caused welts and bruises

4= Caused injury more severe than welts and bruises

10. From age 5-12, how severe was the physical punishment you usually received? 0 1 2 3 4

11. From age 13-17, how severe was the physical punishment you usually received? 0 1 2 3 4

12. What was the most severe physical punishment that you ever received? (Mark one) 0 1 2 3 4

13. How old were you when you received the most severe physical punishment? Age: |__|__|
(number)

14. Mark all the physical punishments you ever received:

- Spanking Punching Pinching Kicking
 Slapping Arm-twisting Shaking Whipping
 Other (specify): _____

15. Of the punishments in Question 14 above, which did you receive the most?

- Spanking Punching Pinching Kicking
 Slapping Arm-twisting Shaking Whipping
 Other (specify): _____

For the following questions, please mark an "X" by the number you think best describes the physical punishments you received.					
16. Usually when you were being punished...	Extremely Angry				Not angry at all
a. How angry was the person who punished you?	1	2	3	4	5
a. How loving was the person who punished you?	Hateful				Loving
b. How controlled was the person who punished you?	1	2	3	4	5
	Out of control				Controlled
17. How justified was the person who punished you?	1	2	3	4	5
	Completely Unjustified				Completely justified

For the following questions, please mark an "X" by the number you think best describes the physical punishments you received.					
	Never Effective		About Half the Time		Always Effective
18. How often was the punishment useful in getting you to do what the adult wanted?	1	2	3	4	5
19. How often was the punishment useful in teaching you something of importance?	1	2	3	4	5

20. How much resentment did you usually feel about being punished?
- None A little Some Much A great deal

Please choose a number that you feel best describes how often you think you deserved to be punished.					
	Never		About half the time		Always
21. Overall, how often did you deserve punishment?	1	2	3	4	5

For the next question, please circle a number that you feel describes the amount of punishment you received.

- | | Not enough | | About the right amount | | Too much |
|---------------------------------|------------|---|------------------------|---|----------|
| 22. How much were you punished? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

For questions 23-31, please select from the answers to the right:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
23. Parents should have the right to physically punish their children .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Physical punishment is helpful for children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. I have used physical punishment with my own children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Children need to be physically punished.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Physical punishment is harmful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Physical punishment is a proper child-rearing technique.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. Physical punishment used on children is abusive.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. Teachers and principals should have the right to physically punish their students.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. I would support a law that says parents cannot physically punish their children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. Rate each of the following types of physical discipline on how appropriate you think it is. Mark an "X" next to the number you think best matches what you think.								
	Never appropriate (Never OK)	1	2	Somewhat (Sometimes OK)	3	4	Always appropriate (Always OK)	5
Spanking	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Punching	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Slapping	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Kicking	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Pinching	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Arm twisting	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Hair/Ear Pulling	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5
Shaking	<u>1</u>		2		3	4		5

33. Of the punishments listed in Question 32, which do you think is most appropriate? (Choose one)

- Spanking Punching Pinching Kicking
 Slapping Arm-twisting Shaking Whipping
 Other (specify): _____

The following questions will help us to better understand your overall health. Please answer as honestly as possible.

1. How would you rate your overall health right now?

Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

2. Not counting the effects from alcohol or other drug use, in <u>your lifetime</u> have you ever experienced:		
	Yes	No
A lot of physical <u>pain</u> or <u>discomfort</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Serious <u>depression</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Serious <u>anxiety</u> or <u>tension</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>Hallucinations</u> (hearing or seeing things that others thought were imaginary)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trouble <u>understanding, concentrating, or remembering</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trouble controlling <u>violent behavior</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Serious <u>thoughts of suicide</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attempts at <u>suicide</u> ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Not counting the effects from alcohol or other drug use, in the <u>past 30 days</u> how much have you been bothered by:				
A lot of physical <u>pain</u> or <u>discomfort</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Serious <u>depression</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Serious <u>anxiety</u> or <u>tension</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
<u>Hallucinations</u> (hearing or seeing things that others thought were imaginary)?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Trouble <u>understanding, concentrating, or remembering</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Trouble controlling <u>violent behavior</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Serious <u>thoughts of suicide</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	
Attempts at <u>suicide</u> ?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all bothered	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered slightly	<input type="checkbox"/> Bothered a good bit	<input type="checkbox"/> Extremely bothered	

Directions: Below is a list of some of the ways you may have felt or behaved.

4. Please indicate how often you have felt this way during the past **30 days**. There are no right or wrong answers.

	Rarely or none of the time	A little of the time	Occasionally or some of the time	Most or all of the time
I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt that I could not shake off the blues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt that I was just as good as other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt depressed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt that everything I did was an effort.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt hopeful about the future.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I thought my life had been a failure.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt fearful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My sleep was restless.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was happy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I talked less than usual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt lonely.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People were unfriendly to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I enjoyed life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I had crying spells	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt sad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt that people disliked me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I could not get going.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Directions: Everybody gets angry from time to time. A number of statements that people have used to describe how they feel or how they act when they get angry are included below

5. Please pick the statement that best describes you. There are no right or wrong answers.

	Not at all like me	Not much like me	Kind of like me and kind of unlike me	Very much like me	Exactly like me
I tend to get angry more often than most people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I try to get even when I'm angry with someone.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is easy to make me angry.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When I am angry with someone, I let that person know.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often feel angrier than I think I should.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel guilty about expressing my anger.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When I am angry with someone, I take it out on whomever is around.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am surprised at how often that I feel angry.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People talk about me behind my back.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have trouble letting my anger go.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When I hide my anger from others, I think about it for a long time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am a hard person to get along with.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get angry when something blocks my plans.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get angry when people waste my time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get angry when someone embarrasses me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Please indicate how much you think the following statements match your behavior by checking the box that best describes you.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is easy for me to accomplish my goals.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am confident that I could deal with unexpected events.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I am in trouble, I can usually find a solution.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can handle unexpected events,	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can solve most problems if I try.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When I have a problem, I can usually find several solutions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can usually handle whatever comes my way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Everybody feels frustrated from time to time. The following questions are designed to help us determine some of the things that may make you feel stressed and frustrated.

7. Please check the box that best describes how often you feel frustrated in the following situations.

Sometimes I get frustrated because...	Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Almost Always
Other inmates want to start fights with me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I think some of the rules are unfair.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other inmates try to steal my friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are too many rules during visits.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It seems like the guards single me out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get into arguments with other inmates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel like the guards don't like me very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel like my life is too controlled at this prison.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel very bored here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Sometimes I get frustrated because...	Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Almost Always
Other inmates talk about me or spread rumors behind my back	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It feels like the guards are nicer to other inmates than to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am lonely.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I miss my friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel like I don't fit in with the other inmates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't get to see my family enough.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't hear enough about my kids or family.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel like other inmates can't relate to my problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't get many phone calls or letters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel like other inmates might steal from me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I miss my boyfriend, husband, or other romantic partner.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The following questions are designed to help us understand some of the things that you do when you feel frustrated.

8. Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible and check the box that best describes how much you feel stressed.

When I feel stressed:	Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Almost Always
I try to talk it over with my friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I pray or go to religious services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I try to think about something else	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I tend to start trouble with other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I tend to make jokes about the situation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I tend to blame myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often end up yelling at people for no reason	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Please pick the statement that best describes you. There are no right or wrong answers.

	Not at all like me	Not much like me	Kind of like me and kind of unlike me	Very much like me	Exactly like me
I often act on the spur of the moment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't devote much thought and effort to preparing for the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often do whatever brings me pleasure here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I'm more concerned with what happens to me in the short run rather than the long run	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sometimes I will take a risk just for the fun of it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I sometimes find it exciting to do things for which I might get in trouble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often try to avoid things that are difficult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I had a choice, I would rather do something physical than something mental	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I lose my temper very easily	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I dislike really hard things that stretch my abilities to the limit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like to get out and do things more than I like to read or contemplate ideas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If things I do upset people, it's their problem, not mine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When I am really angry, other people better stay away from me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>