Baby Cribs in Prison Cells: Assessing Opinions about Prison Nursery Programs by Humanizing Incarcerated Mothers

By

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ABSTRACT

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Through my research, I analyzed prison nursery programs in the United States. Prison nurseries are programs that exist in nine states that allow mothers who are pregnant when they are incarcerated to keep their infants with them in prison for a finite amount of time. Previous scholarship on the topic has shown that prison nurseries are effective in reducing rates of recidivism and fostering a bond between mother and infant. My research explored the question of why these programs are so rare given their success. I assessed Union College student and professor attitudes about maternal incarceration to better understand how perceptions about mothers in prison might impact the funding that these programs receive. I screened the film, "Mothers of Bedford," that follows five mothers throughout their imprisonment at Bedford Hills Women's Prison. I administered a survey before and after the documentary to the audience to assess how opinions about mothers in prison are altered through the process of humanizing the population through film. Through this data, I analyzed opinions about mothers in prison and prison nursery programs. My analysis shows that participants became more supportive of prison nursery programs after watching the documentary. My research demonstrates the importance in humanizing and raising awareness of the marginalized population that is mother prisoners.

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Chapter 1. Introduction to Mass Incarceration and Mothers in Prison

Mass incarceration is a hot button topic in our country today. The increasing number of people we imprison and the profit-generating industry that surrounds our prisons are cause for concern. Much of the increase is a result of The War on Drugs that was waged in the 1980s in attempt at reducing drug use in the United States. In addition to the monumental impact of the harsh drug laws, many mental health hospitals and clinics closed during the 1970s (Hotteling 2008: 37). People suffering from mental illness who had previously received treatment or lived at these institutions were abandoned by the government. Whitlock (2010) asserts that "jails and prisons are now the primary institutions for housing people with mental illness" (Interrupted Life: 32). As a result of the War on Drugs and changing policies in treating mental illness, our rates of incarceration have skyrocketed in the past three decades. A great deal of research has been devoted to exploring the impact that mass incarceration has and will continue to have on our country. In this chapter, I will review the literature that has been devoted to addressing issues of race and gender disparities in our prison population and the resulting effect. I will then discuss existing research about mothers in prison, with a specific focus on mothers who are pregnant when they are incarcerated, as this population is the focus group of my research.

1.1 Racial Disparities in Incarceration Rates

A concurrent issue of mass incarceration is the fact that the prison population is disproportionally made up of minority group people. Much of this disparity is a result of

heavier policing and harsher sentencing for minorities in relation to drug use and drug sales. Only one quarter of all crimes that prisoners are convicted of are violent crimes; a majority of the remaining three quarters of criminals is convicted for using or selling drugs (Bernstein 2005: 3). The number of drug convictions has increased dramatically as a result of President Ronald Reagan's declared War on Drugs in 1982. Reagan's harsh drug laws had the façade of policies aimed to eliminate drug use, but in reality, they created, "a racialized war on crime that targeted low-income communities of color" (Sudbury in Interrupted Life 2010: 12). Since the implementation of these strict laws, a great deal of government spending that had previously gone towards community infrastructure and institutional support for the poor has shifted towards funding for law enforcement and prisons (Sudbury in Interrupted Life 2010: 11). The War on Drugs has had a disproportionate impact on the incarceration of minority groups (Alexander 2012). Provine (2007) claims that the War on Drugs was not the first time that certain drugs had been associated with minority groups and asserts that when a drug is associated with a minority group, it becomes a deviant drug worthy of harsh punishment. The process of demonizing a drug because of an associated group of drug-users occurred with opiate and Chinese immigrants, with marijuana and Mexicans, and most recently, with crack cocaine and African Americans (Provine 2007). Sudbury (2010) agrees with Provine's analysis, claiming that African Americans are framed as the "dealer and distributors," while Latinos/as are stereotyped as, "traffickers who bring drugs across the border as 'illegal aliens' who live outside the law" (Sudbury in Interrupted Life 2010: 15). Alexander (2012) points out the tremendous racial disparities that exist in our prison system in which black men have been admitted to prison up to fifty times more than white men for

drug charges, despite statistics that show that blacks and whites use and sell drugs at roughly the same rates (6-8).

Some of this disparity can be accounted for by the laws passed in the 1980s that required a mandatory minimum sentencing for convictions of using and selling crack cocaine, a cheaper and more readily available form of powder cocaine (Sudbury in *Interrupted Life* 2010: 14). One of the outcomes of these laws was that crack cocaine became much more highly punishable than cocaine such that an individual needed one hundred times more cocaine than crack cocaine to receive equal punishment (Kilty and Joseph 1999). Provine (2007) claims that the sentencing disparities are no accident given that, "blacks are most likely to be arrested for crack cocaine offenses while whites are most likely to be arrested for powder cocaine offenses" (Kilty 1999, 6). Crack cocaine is framed as a "black problem" even though the majority of crack users are white. In reality, poor, black, inner-city communities are heavily monitored by law enforcement, which accounts for the racial incongruences (Sudbury in Interrupted Life 2010: 15). Aside from the disparities that exist in crack cocaine convictions, African Americans account for only 14% of the country's illicit drug users, but make up nearly three quarters of those imprisoned for drug crimes (Bernstein 2005: 60).

1.2 Gender Disparities in Incarceration Rates

While women make up a small percentage of the total number of incarcerated people in the United States (approximately 7-10%), the rates of female incarceration are rising much faster than rates of male incarceration (Cardaci 2013; Hotteling 2008). In 1980, there were only 13,000 women in prison as compared to 92,000 by the year 2000 (Johnson 2003: 34). Since 1980, women's incarceration has increased by 650%, while men's incarceration

rates have gone up by less than half of that at 300% (Haney 2010: 7). While researchers have often utilized these numbers to portray the concern that the public should have about women's incarceration, they tend to disregard the fact that women's incarceration has risen at such dramatic rates because the number of incarcerated women is small to begin with. The number of women who are incarcerated *has* risen in the past thirty years, but it is more accurate to look at the actual numbers rather than discuss the percent increases.

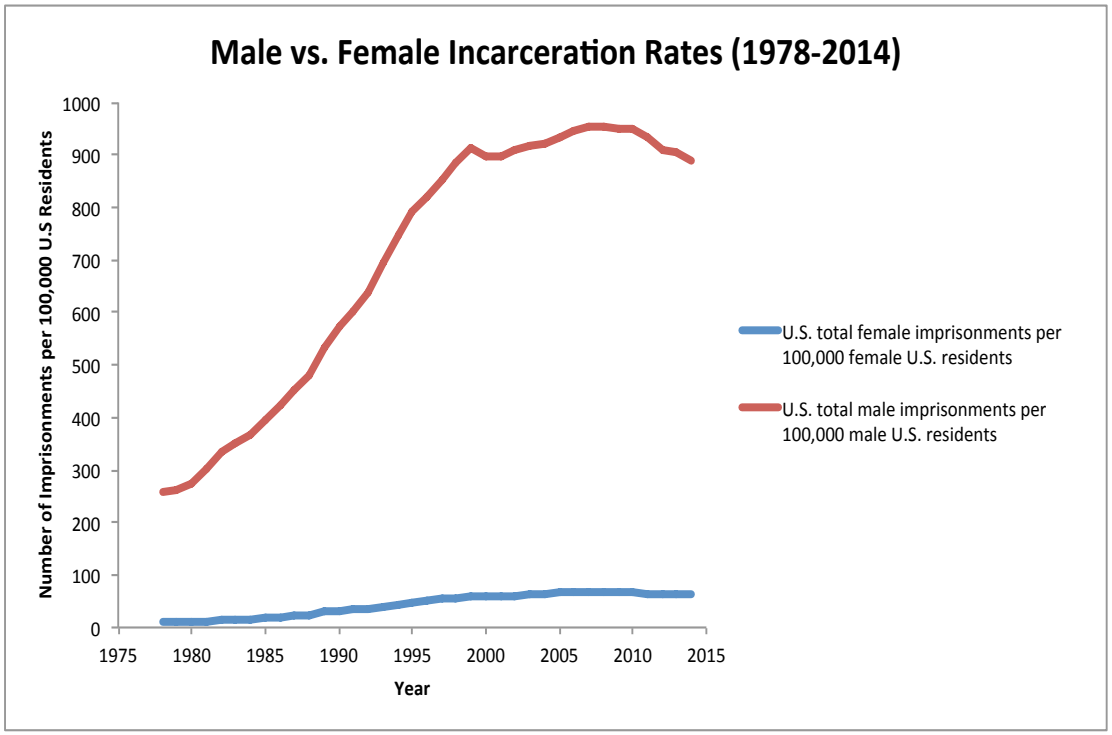

Figure 1. Graph created by the author with data retrieved from The Bureau of Justice Statistics and represents the total number of female and male prisoners in the U.S. per 100,000 between the years of 1978 and 2014.

The above graph shows the number of incarcerated males and females from 1975 to 2014. An obvious aspect of the graph is that a much higher numbers of males versus females are incarcerated at all points in time. However, the number of incarcerated males has dropped signifigantly in the past five years. This is likely due to the fact that a great deal of

research has recently uncovered the harrowing trends of mass incarceration for minority group men and there has been some backlash against strict drug policies. Yet, there is no signifigant decrease in the number of females that have been incarcerated in the past five years. It is possible that this is due to the fact that policy-makers have paid less attention to women criminals because there make up such a small percentage of the total prison population.

The rise in female incarceration is a direct effect of the War on Drugs where individuals who are minimally or indirectly involved in using or selling drugs can be imprisoned (Cardaci 2013: 41). Women are especially impacted by these laws because they are more likely to be involved in low-level, nonviolent crimes (Chambers 2009: 204; Johnson 2003: 47, Tapia in Interrupted Life 2010: 3). Women's crimes are, "more likely to involve alcohol, drugs and property offenses" (Hotteling 2008: 38). Like the general prison population in the United States, minority groups make up a disproportionate number of incarcerated women; almost 70% of female prisoners in 2010 were African American or Latina (Tapia in *Interrupted Life* 2010: 3). According to Hotteling (2008), women are likely to commit crimes to sustain a relationship with a man, to escape poverty, and as a result of addiction (38). Notably, women's crimes are often due to their indirect involvement with criminal activity of a boyfriend or husband. Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) claim that, "women take greater risks to sustain valued relationships, whereas males take greater risks for reasons of status or competitive advantage" (478). Thus, women are more likely to assist or protect their boyfriends or husbands in crimes in order to avoid a breakup.

In a study of twenty incarcerated women, Gilfus (1993) found that women often enter into criminal activity as a way to escape a traumatic situation such as sexual or

domestic abuse. They view their criminal activity as a means of survival from the victimization that had previously defined their lives. Indeed, according to Watterson (1996), a history of abuse is often what drives incarcerated women to begin using drugs or alcohol (36).

Because women make up a small minority of the incarcerated population, there are far fewer women's prisons than men's prisons. As a result, incarcerated women are often put in prisons that are hours away from their homes and families. For example, in New York state, the women's prison that is most utilized, Albion Correctional Facility, is approximately four hundred miles away from New York City (Bernstein 2005: 78). If the incarcerated woman has children, this greatly decreases the likelihood that the caretaker of the children will be able to bring the children to visit their mother. Less than a quarter of imprisoned women receive in-person visits (Arditti 2012: 61). This is significant because more than 70% of incarcerated women were responsible for one or more children at the time of their imprisonment (Haney 2010: 7). Furthermore, a study conducted in 1972 of California prisoners found that prisoners, "who had regular visits were six times less likely to reenter prison during the first year out than those who had none" (Bernstein 2005: 77). As such, women prisoners who receive fewer visits in prison would be more likely to recidivate than male prisoners who receive a greater number of visits. Evidently, women's incarceration has distinct implications for the inmate and for the family she leaves behind.

In addition to the negative impact of the mother's faraway relocation, a mother's incarceration is more likely to displace her children from their homes than a father's incarceration is. This is often due to the fact that mothers who are incarcerated are single mothers. When the father is incarcerated, it is reported that the children live with their

mother 90% of the time, while when the mother is incarcerated, it is reported that the children live with their father only 28% of the time (Hotteling 2008: 38). Children typically are taken in by grandparents; 50% of children with mothers in prison live with their grandparents. However, only one sixth of children with incarcerated fathers live with their grandparents (Bernstein 2005: 110). As such, maternal incarceration is typically more disruptive to children than paternal incarceration in terms of their living situation.

Although there have not been many studies done to understand the unique implications of maternal incarceration, there is a great deal of research that shows that parental incarceration in general is extremely detrimental for children. A recent study conducted by Murphey and Cooper (2015) found that one in every fourteen children in the United States has had a parent in prison at some point, making for a total of more than five million children who have experienced parental incarceration. The study also concluded that children who had an incarcerated parent at some point in their lives were more likely to have problems in school and experience emotional difficulties. Furthermore, children who have had an incarcerated parent are five times more likely to be incarcerated themselves than children without incarcerated parents (Mosely 2008). A study conducted in 2007 claims that maternal incarceration in particular increases the likelihood that adult offspring will be involved in the criminal justice system in some form, though it is difficult to ascertain causality from the results in this study (Huebner and Gustafson 2007). Further research is needed in order to understand the distinct consequences that maternal incarceration has on children.

The forced separation of mothers from their children as a result of maternal incarceration has detrimental psychological impacts on mothers. Enos (2001) looks at

maternal incarceration from a symbolic interactionism perspective, where symbolic meaning is drawn from social interaction. Enos claims that, because inmate mothers are separated from their children, they lack social interaction with their children, and thus lose their symbolic identity as a mother (Enos 2001: 33). Furthermore, the women who are most likely to be incarcerated are from minority and low-income groups (Tapia in Interrupted Life 2010: 3), and women from these groups often value motherhood in a unique way. Edin and Kefalas (2007) conducted a study of 162 low-income single mothers from Philadelphia to understand why poor women are more likely to have children at a young age and often out of wedlock. The study found that poor women unfailingly put motherhood ahead of marriage and do not view having children young as a negative, but rather as something that will give their lives meaning and hope. Having a baby gives them a sense of self-worth and pride and because women are so ingrained in the cyclical nature of poverty and do not see a possibility of escaping, they do not see raising a child as detrimental to their future success (Edin and Kefalas 2007). In understanding that poor women view their children as a personal definition of their own identity and worth, it is apparent that separation of mothers from their children due to incarceration has a severely negative impact on these women in particular.

1.3 Incarceration During Pregnancy

While the majority of women who are incarcerated are responsible for one or more child at the time of their incarceration, a small but crucial number of incarcerated women are pregnant at the time of their imprisonment. It is estimated that between four and ten percent of women are pregnant at the time of their incarceration (Schroeder and Bell 2005: 54; Parker 2004: 264; Chambers 2009: 204). While this is a small percentage of the total women

prisoners, it is a significant number considering the rising rates of female incarceration. In the United States, there are no national policies mandating the procedures to be undertaken when a woman gives birth in prison. More often than not, newborns are separated from their mothers within days or even hours of their birth, with little to no opportunity for the formation of a mother-infant attachment bond (Chambers 2009: 204).

A great deal of research has been conducted in order to understand how this forced separation impacts the incarcerated mother. Overwhelmingly, findings show that mothers experience a great deal of emotional trauma leading up to their birth in prison, as well as during and after separation. One qualitative study conducted by Chambers (2009) in a Texas prison hospital aimed to understand how pregnant incarcerated mothers experience attachment to their babies during pregnancy, knowing that separation is imminent, and after giving birth. The researcher interviewed twelve postpartum inmate women during the seven-month period following their births. Researchers found that once mothers gave birth to their infants, they experienced feelings of grief and loss as a result of separation. Chambers reports that one mother stated, "I couldn't stop crying, I was emotional because I knew they were going to be taking him away real soon, and I wasn't going to get to bond with him that much" (Chambers 2009: 208). The feelings of fear of separation and shock upon actual separation were common among the women. After the initial separation, mothers noted that they felt an overwhelming feeling of emptiness, in combination with, "feelings of loneliness, anxiety, frustration, depression and pain" (Chambers 2009: 208). Wismont (2000) conducted a study similar to that of Chambers (2009), and interviewed twelve pregnant inmates at a Midwestern state prison. The study aimed to understand how incarcerated women experience pregnancy in prison and how they balance the, "diametrically opposing roles" of

prisoner and mother (292). Results showed that a majority of women felt apprehensive because they were worried about both their own health and their babies' health because of inadequate prenatal care, detrimental behaviors early in pregnancy such as drug use, the possibility of sexually transmitted infections, and increased stress. They also felt apprehension about where their babies would go after birth and the lack of attachment they would be able to form with their babies (295). Researchers also found that women experienced grief, as the mothers expressed their deep sadness about their impending separation from their babies. Women also reported feelings of powerlessness within the prison system, a lack of autonomy, and isolation from family and friends and within the prison (296). Results of a study conducted by Schroeder and Bell (2005) that examined eighteen pregnant prisoners agreed with the findings of Chambers (2009) and Wismont (2000), and show that women consistently reported feelings of insecurity, physical discomfort, and stress during their pregnancies and all of the women except for one expressed extreme grief as a result of separation from their infants. A major theme that comes out of the studies conducted on pregnant mothers in prison is the extreme grief, fear and helplessness that they feel as a result of future or past separation from their infants.

As much as research shows how traumatic separation is for mothers, there are also significant findings that show that mothers feel a deep connection to and love for their infants. Chambers (2009) found that all women reported feeling a strong "love connection" to their unborn infant during pregnancy. Most women had the perception that there was a mutual connection of, "shared love and reciprocal communications," between themselves and their unborn babies (207). Similarly, in the study conducted by Wismont (2000), results show that a theme of "relatedness" emerged, as women voiced feelings of connectedness

and love towards their fetuses, but also feelings of connectedness to themselves, as they felt that they could persevere despite adverse circumstances (297). The authors note that the last theme of relatedness, "may serve as a catalyst, enabling the woman to make positive personal choices that she might not otherwise make such as participation in mothering classes, abstinence from drug and alcohol use, and educational opportunities and employment counseling" in the hopes that, "these choices would maximize mothering skills, increase readiness for reentry into society, and decrease recidivism rates" (299).

Another theme that emerges from this research is that there is a great need for the implementation of support systems for pregnant prisoners. Ferszt and Erickson-Owens (2008) a study in which an educational/support group was developed in a Northeast women's state correctional facility for pregnant incarcerated women. The goals of the group were to improve the physical and mental well being of pregnant prisoners, to provide an environment where women could ask questions, and to foster a supportive network of pregnant incarcerated women (57). The leaders of the group found that women had many questions about their pregnancies, how their birth would take place, and what would happen after birth. The researchers note that the implementation of groups of this sort are crucial in women's prisons, as often pregnant women in prison feel alone and confused. In the current system, Ferszt and Erickson-Owens (2008) claim that, "the educational and psychosocial needs of pregnant women in facilities across the country are largely unmet" (59). Educational/support groups are one way to alleviate the concerns associated with giving birth in prison. A similar study conducted by Schroeder and Bell (2005) aimed to assess the impact of doula support for pregnant incarcerated women. Results show that all women viewed the usage of doulas as very helpful and important to their birthing experiences. The

researchers recommend that doula support be provided to all pregnant incarcerated women, but also attest to the importance of mental health care services and assistance in the transition from prison back into the community (57). These studies show that pregnant prisoners are a vulnerable population whose unique needs are often not met. With the proper physical and mental support, there is an opportunity to break, "cycles of addiction, neglect, violence, economic deprivation, and eventual loss of children" (57), that so many incarcerated women are victims to.

Further research has been conducted to understand the extent to which incarcerated pregnant women are impacted by histories of abuse. A study conducted by Fogel and Belyea (2001) sought to understand the relationships between violence and abuse during childhood, substance abuse and mental health of pregnant inmates. The researchers interviewed 63 pregnant incarcerated women during their third trimester of pregnancy. Of the respondents, over half reported physical abuse during childhood or adolescence, and a quarter reported sexual abuse before the age of eighteen. Almost three quarters of the women reported usage of street drugs, of which crack and cocaine were the most commonly used, and a little less than half of the women reported a degree of dependency on alcohol. The study found that there was a strong correlation between women who had been victims of sexual abuse and women who were substance abusers. The correlation between women who had been victims of physical abuse and women who were substance abusers was less evident. Nearly three quarters of the women expressed symptoms that are indicative of clinical depression. The researchers claim that the findings confirm the importance of providing pregnant prisoners with mental health and substance abuse treatment because of the high likelihood that these women have faced damaging experiences throughout their lives (14). Many researchers

advise reform in the prison system in order to reduce the number of incarcerated mothers who are forcibly separated from their newborns. The separation causes unnecessary pain and trauma that is compounded with, "the pervasive feelings of loss and abuse that many incarcerated women already experience in their lives" (Chambers 2009:210).

1.4 Women's Incarceration and the Law

As rates of incarceration have risen over the past four decades, so too has the demand for legislation for prisoner rights. The 1976 Supreme Court case *Estelle v. Gamble* mandated that the government provide healthcare to prisoners. The ruling was made under the Eighth Amendment that prohibits the federal government from imposing cruel or unusual punishment (Cardaci 2013: 42; Parker 2004: 269). Following *Estelle v. Gamble* was the case of *Todaro v. Ward*, which was the first case to address the specific rights of women in prison, and ruled that prisons must properly address women's health issues under the Eighth Amendment (Parker 2004: 275).

Specific policies have been created to protect pregnant prisoners against the practice of shackling before, during and after labor under the premise that shackling women at this time prohibits their Eighth Amendment rights against cruel and unusual punishment (International Human Rights Clinic 2013: 9). However, policies are not laws, and states do not always adhere to policy changes. In New York, the state put a policy in place in 2000 that banned shackling before, during and after labor, but after complaints from women that they were still being shackled during these times, the state passed a bill in 2009 officially banning the practice (Dwyer 2015). Yet, unfortunately, according to Dwyer (2015), even after the bill was passed, women continued to be shackled at the critical time of childbirth. Yet still, New York is one of only eighteen states that has passed legislation restricting the

use of shackles during labor (International Human Rights Clinic 2013: 10). Furthermore, in December of 2015, New York took their legislation a step further and banned the use of shackles for pregnant women at any point during their pregnancy and eight weeks after birth. New York is the first state to pass such a law (Hoilman 2015).

1.5 Conclusion:

Our country's problem of mass incarceration has become so large that it is impossible to ignore. However, mothers in prison are a small subsection of the total population and as a result, have often been disregarded by policy-makers in the fight for creating a more humane criminal justice system. Mothers who are pregnant when they are incarcerated make up an even smaller percentage of the total population, and thus are even further marginalized and overlooked. Yet, it is extremely pertinent that policies address this population because of the impact that incarceration has on a pregnant mother and on her child; the outcomes are specifically different from outcomes when a father is incarcerated. It is critically important that our country acknowledges this distinct population because of the unique implications that maternal incarceration has on the perpetuation of the cyclical nature of poverty.

Chapter 2. Prison Nurseries: An Overview

Motherhood provides a succinct platform to foster maturity, responsibility and a sense of self-worth. Unfortunately, when a mother is pregnant at the time she is incarcerated in the United States, she will likely be stripped of her right to be a mother to that child for the critical first months. The United States, the Bahamas, Liberia and Suriname are the only countries who's customary policy is to separate infants from their mothers when they are born during the mother's incarceration (Byrne in "Children of Incarcerated Parents" 2010: 162). Prison nurseries, or programs where infants who are born during their mother's incarceration can stay with their mothers for a certain length of time in prison, are commonplace across the globe, yet are extremely rare in the United States.

2.1 Existing Prison Nurseries in the United States

Currently, there are nine states that have prison nursery programs: California, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Washington, and West Virginia. Each state has only one program each, with the exception of New York, which has two. Below is an outline of the histories of the each of the programs, as well as how they are structured and some of their outcomes.

California

The Community Prisoner Mother Program was opened in 2009 in Pomona, California. The program is separate from the prison, and provides a college-like campus for nonviolent, non-serious offenders. This program is unique in that a mother can participate even if she has an older child, but the child must be below the age of six. The program can

take up to 24 mothers. Mothers with young children are housed in a separate area from mothers who are pregnant. The program offers mothers group therapy, individual therapy, education assistance such as GED prep, parenting classes, treatment for substance abuse, and provides the children with Head Start and Early Head Start programming (California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation 2016).

Illinois

The Moms and Babies Program was opened in 2007 in Decatur, Illinois. Mothers admitted to the program must have a release date within two years of giving birth to their infant. Mothers are housed within the prison in private rooms. Infant daycare is offered to allow mothers to complete their duties in the prison while their infants are being care for in a safe environment (Treatment Alternatives for Safe Communities 2016).

Indiana

The Wee Ones Nursery Program was opened in 2008 in Indianapolis, Indiana. The program is modeled after the Ohio Prison Nursery program. Up to ten mothers live in private rooms in a housing unit with their infants. Mothers must have an earliest expected release date of not more than 18 months after they deliver their babies. The program offers education and support to women in the program, parenting and health classes and child development training (Whiteacre et al. 2013: 4).

Ohio

The Achieving Baby Care Success Program was opened in 2001 in Marysville, Ohio. This program allows women who have committed nonviolent crimes to keep their infants with them for up to 36 months. The mother also must have a release date within 36 months

of giving birth. The program can house up to 21 mother/infant pairs. The infants receive care from a pediatrician, Carl R. Backes, and when they get older, are provided Early Head Start and Head Start (Yoho and Backes 2015).

Nebraska

The Parenting Program was opened in 1994 in York, Nebraska. To be admitted to the program, a mother must have a release date no later than 18 months after the infant is born and must not have an extensive history of violent crime. Unlike most other programs, this one does not explicitly state that a woman must be a nonviolent criminal (Carlson 2009).

New York

The Bedford Hills Prison Nursery was opened in 1901 in Bedford Hills, New York. The program is the oldest existing prison nursery in the country. Other prison nursery programs existed throughout the 1900s, but all closed throughout the second half of the century except for the Bedford Hills program, which has remained open since its start over one hundred years ago (Byrne et al 2014: 378). Taconic Correctional Facility had opened a prison nursery in 1990, which was located adjacent to the Bedford Hills Facility and operated under the same rules and regulations. However, the Taconic prison nursery was closed in 2011 for undisclosed reasons (Haverty 2013).

An additional prison nursery program exists at the Riker's Island Jail and is the only prison nursery in the country to be at a jail rather than a prison. The Rose M. Singer women's facility houses the fifteen-bed nursery program (Byrne in "Children of Incarcerated Parents" 2010: 165).

South Dakota

The prison nursery program at the South Dakota Women's Prison was opened in 1998 in Pierre, South Dakota. This program is unlike the other programs in that mothers who give birth in prison who are nonviolent criminals can keep their babies with them in prison for only 30 days (Women's Prison Association 2009: 29).

Washington

The Residential Parenting Program was opened in Gig Harbor, Washington in 1999. The program allows women who have 30 months or less of their sentence left to keep their infants with them for the remaining duration of their incarceration (Women's Prison Association 2009: 29).

West Virginia

The KIDS (Keeping Infant Development Successful) Unit Prison Nursery was opened in West Colombia, West Virginia. This program was approved for operation in 2007 by West Virginia legislature but the first mothers were admitted to the program in 2009. Mothers admitted to the program must be eligible for parole by the time the infant reaches 18 months of age (Nohe 2014).

2.2 Prison Nurseries in other Countries

The United States is one of the few developed countries in the world in which the norm is to separate infants from their mothers if they are born during their mother's incarceration. Many other countries have programs similar to prison nursery programs in the United States, and several have programs that allow a great deal more benefits to mothers and children. Warner (2015) provides a summary of programs offered in various countries.

In the United Kingdom, there are programs for incarcerated mothers called mother and baby units. Eight of these programs exist throughout England. The programs are similar to prison nurseries in the United States in that women and their children are housed in the prison in a separate area. However, unlike prison nurseries in the United States, women can bring their children with them to prison as long as they are under eighteen months old (the children do not need to be born during the mother's sentence). The mother and baby units in the United Kingdom are less strict in their policies on mothers leaving the prison, as they allow them to go to doctors appointments without handcuffs (75).

Programs in Germany for mothers in prison are arguably the most liberal in the world even though the number of women in prison is very small (Germany's rates of incarceration are low to begin with). One prison in Germany allows mothers to live with their children up to age five in designated housing. The program takes children on field trips and has a preschool so that children are not developmentally delayed. Additionally, the program allows mothers to work outside of the prison in the community to make the reentry period smoother. Even further, Germany has a policy in which incarcerated mothers with children older than five years can go to their homes during the days to parent; they can wake their children up, bring them to school, and stay until dinnertime. This policy is customary throughout Germany, and creates normalcy in the lives of children with incarcerated mothers (76-7). Like Germany, Canada also has liberal policies about mothers in prison, and allows children to live with their mothers in prison up to the age of four and allows children to live with their mothers on weekends and holidays until the age of twelve. Uniquely, Canada places an emphasis on the wishes of the children; if at any point the child does not want to live in prison any longer, he or she has the right to request an end to their stay.

However, according to Warner (2015), such programs in Canada are not widely utilized (81-2).

Warner (2015) discusses programs in three countries in Latin America. The first, Bolivia, is unique in that the country allows both mothers and fathers to bring their children with them to prison up to the age of six. Unfortunately, the prisons are very poorly run, and the units in which the parents live with their children lack basic supplies, creating an unfavorable environment for young children (77). In Colombia, mothers are allowed to keep their children with them up until three years of age. While they have basic necessities unlike in Bolivia, mothers have reported unhealthy living corridors and difficulty in gaining access to doctors, but overall, mothers have been happy with the programs (78). In Mexico, there are programs in which mothers live with their children in prison up to age six. Mexico is the only country in the world that requires children of incarcerated mothers to stay with their mothers in prison. While this policy is positive for many mothers, it poses problems in cases where mothers do not want to care for their children or do not feel equipped to care for them, and in cases where mothers are long prison sentences or life sentences, where it would be more beneficial for children to bond with other adults since the mothers will never be their caretakers (78-9).

2.3 Outcomes of Prison Nurseries

There have been a significant but small number of studies that have been conducted on prison nurseries in the United States to understand the impact that the programs have on mothers and infants. The vast majority of the research shows that prison nurseries have positive outcomes, though it is generally agreed upon by scholars that programs need more funding in order to benefit mothers and children to their full capacity.

One of the major findings of the studies is that women who participate in prison nursery programs are less likely to recidivate than the general female prison population. Byrne et al. (2014) conducted a study that examined women in New York State who had participated in a prison nursery program for an amount of time between 2001 and 2007. The results of the study show that of the women who participated in the prison nursery programs, only 4.3% recidivated for a new crime within three years, whereas of the general women prisoner population, 8.9% of women recidivated for a new crime within three years between 1985 and 2007. Of the women in the study who participated in a prison nursery program, 9.4% of the population recidivated for a parole violation within three years, whereas 20.4% of the general women prison population recidivated within three years for a parole violation (Byrne et al. 2014: 113-4). Carlson (2009) conducted a study using existing data from the Nebraska Prison Nursery program from 1994 (when the program was opened) to 2004. Data was utilized up until 2007 to account for three-year recidivism numbers. The data showed that 16.8% of women who participated in the prison nursery program between 1994 and 2004 recidivated by 2007. In the four years prior to the opening of the program in Nebraska, data collected from women who had been separated from their babies showed that 50% of those women had recidivated by 2007. In 2004, the total number of women prisoners who had recidivated in the state of Nebraska was 22% (Carlson 2009: 113-4). A study of the Illinois prison nursery program showed that as of 2015, only one of the 63 participants in the program had recidivated, while the statewide rate of recidivism in Illinois is 37% (Mastony 2015). Similarly, a review of the West Virginia prison nursery program conducted in 2014 showed that nine women had completed the program and none of them had recidivated (Nohe 2014). These studies show that women in these sample populations were less likely to

recidivate if they had participated in a prison nursery program than if they were in the general women's prison population. Additionally, Carlson's (2009) study shows that women who were separated from their infants were even more likely to recidivate than women prisoners in the general population, providing further evidence for the damaging impact that separation can have on the mother.

A second theme that studies have addressed is the attachment bond that is formed between the mother and child during their time spent in the programs. Byrne et al. (2010) conducted a study that examined the mother's attachment bond to her infant and the infant's attachment bond to the mother in 30 mother/infant pairs. Some of the infants resided with their mothers in the program for a year, while some did not stay for a full year because the mother was released earlier. The researchers found that the distribution of infants with secure attachment bonds was very similar to those found in low-risk community samples. Infants who resided in the program for a full year were more likely to form secure attachment bonds which the researchers speculate is because they experienced, "the protective effects of the prison," for longer periods of time than the infants who were released earlier and experienced, "exposure to environmental risks" (387). Importantly, infants had more secure attachment bonds than infants from high-risk community samples. If the infants had not been placed in the prison nursery program, they would have likely entered into a high-risk environment and would have had less secure attachment bonds. However, the researchers found that mothers had weaker attachment bonds than those found in low-risk community samples; the mothers had attachment bonds that were similar to those of low socioeconomic groups. In another study, Borelli et al. (2010) examined 69 mothers in a prison nursery and also found that mothers had less secure attachment bonds than those

found in low-risk community samples and similar attachment bonds to those found in samples from populations in poverty. The researchers theorize that the low levels of secure attachment bonds found in mothers who participated in prison nurseries are a result of past substance abuse, depression and a lack of social support (Borelli et al. 2010: 367-9). Additionally, mothers had the added stress of attempting to secure, "housing, childcare, and employment during the critical reentry period" (Byrne et al. 2010: 386). However, the high rates of insecure attachment bonds found in mothers participating in the programs did not have an effect on the infants, as they exhibited secure attachment bonds as discussed prior (Byrne et al. 2010: 386). These secure attachment bonds are critically important for infants, as early maternal care is associated with positive future development and is thought to determine levels of social competency, aggressiveness and propensity for substance abuse (Pedersen 2004: 106). Yet, as evidenced through these studies, it is crucial that prison nursery programs increase their focus on treatment for mental health and substance abuse and aid in alleviating the stresses of reentry as these factors compound the low levels of secure attachment bonds found in the mothers.

2.4 Opposition to Prison Nurseries

While the vast majority of scholars agree that prison nurseries are successful programs, there are some who disagree. Dwyer (2014) argues that prisons are not suitable environments for infants and that the majority of incarcerated mothers are not equipped to care for their babies (485). Dwyer fails to address the fact that when infants are separated from their mothers, they are likely to be under the care of fathers, grandparents, or other relatives who also struggle with issues such as substance abuse, depression and poverty. Dwyer (2014) also claims that placing infants in prison is depriving them of their Fourteenth

Amendment rights to due process (520). While this is a valid argument, many proponents for prison nurseries would argue that depriving infants of the opportunity to bond with their mothers is also a violation of their rights.

Another constitutional objection to prison nurseries is that under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Claim, fathers could claim that they were being denied their constitutional equal rights to be able to take care of their babies in prison as such programs only exist for incarcerated mothers (Elmalak 2015: 18). However, there have been no cases of fathers claiming that their rights have been violated. Others oppose prison nurseries because they believe that they do not provide a sound basis for motherhood. One study found that mothers parenting in a prison nursery were likely to feel restricted in their ability to make decisions regarding their children and in their power to create a home-like environment (Luther and Gregson 2011: 98). It can be almost universally agreed upon that prison nurseries are not perfect programs and must continue to develop and grow to address the many needs of this vulnerable population of mothers and infants.

2.5 Residential Parenting Program Alternative

Prison nurseries are not the only programs that offer alternatives to mothers who are pregnant at the time of their incarceration. Residential parenting programs allow incarcerated mothers to live in the community with their child in designated housing. The goals of such programs are similar to the goals of prison nurseries, but offer an opportunity for mothers to create a more home-like environment. Mothers are still restricted in their ability to leave the housing unit, but have more freedom in terms of day to day parenting (Jbara 2012: 1837). Residential parenting programs often allow mothers with young children to participate, whereas with prison nurseries, the child must be born during the mother's

sentence. Additionally, residential parenting programs are typically targeted at women with substance abuse problems, and combine parenting assistance with drug treatment (Women's Prison Association 2009). While there are obvious benefits to residential parenting programs over prison nurseries as listed above, there are also challenges. Residential parenting programs are less likely to receive governmental support and funding because they, "increasingly undermine the punitive value of incarceration" (Jbara 2012: 1825). Jbara (2012) believes that the best solution, at this point in our country's criminal justice development, would be a hybrid approach. In this approach, women would first be required to parent in prison through a prison nursery program, and then would be transferred to a residential parenting program as a requirement of their parole (1841). This approach would likely satisfy the punitive side of the government, and would also allow women to ease into the reentry period with a continuation of support. It is unclear if women with young children who did not give birth in prison would be allowed to participate in this hybrid approach. Residential parenting programs would be an ideal alternative for incarcerated women with infants and young children, but they may be too radical to implement in large quantities at this point in our criminal justice policies.

2.6 Current Problems with Prison Nurseries

Recent news articles have claimed that certain prison nursery programs have not been utilized to their full capacity. An investigation by The New York World found that the program at Riker's Island typically housed between eight and ten mother and infant pairs in the early 2000s, but by 2010, the average number of mother and infant pairs was between zero and three (Zou 2014). In a news story aired on North County Public Radio, an investigator went to the Bedford Hills prison nursery and found that of the twenty-nine beds

that were available to incarcerated mothers, only eleven were being used. Reports show that many women are getting denied from the program for unknown reasons. In 2010, more than two-thirds of women who applied were admitted to the program. In 2012, only one third of women were accepted (Haverty 2013). It is unclear why the number of women who have been admitted to these programs has decreased so dramatically in recent years, though it is plausible that funding issues are a factor. Similarly, a report on the program in Illinois claimed that, "the program requirements are so strict that they disqualify all but a handful of women," which leaves many of the available beds in the nursery empty (Mastony 2015). Evidently, even in some of the states that have been on the frontline of progression in the new wave of prison nursery programs, the programs are under-utilized.

One instance that highlights the issues that prison nurseries have with resources and funding is in the prison nursery program that was supposed to open in Wyoming. A prison nursery was scheduled to open in Lusk, Wyoming in 2012 at the Wyoming Women's Center. The state had given a million dollars to open the nursery that was used to renovate a building and build a playground. Unfortunately, the prison is severely understaffed as it is; the prison is not receiving enough new applications for employment because private prisons can afford to pay employees much more (Schrock 2015). Because there are so few prison nurseries in the country, it is likely that other states are unable to implement the programs because of funding constraints. It is worth questioning why funding for prison nurseries is so limited given that prisons in the United States are a multi-billion dollar industry.

Furthermore, the source of funding for prison nurseries is a critical factor. In some cases, it is difficult to ascertain where the funding comes from. However, in some of the prison nurseries, it is evident that funding comes from outside sources such as non-profit

organizations rather than from state funding. In the case of West Virginia, the state approved the nursery program in 2007 but did not offer any funding. As a result, the Lakin Correctional Facility partnered with Early Head Start in order to write grants to get funding for the program. They were eventually able to secure enough grant money to open the nursery two years later in 2009 (Nohe 2014). Comparably, the Illinois prison nursery program teamed up with a local non-profit organization, Treatment Alternatives for Safe Communities (TASC). Through this partnership, the program is able to operate with a "budget-neutral" funding plan because of the collaboration between the prison and the outside organization (Treatment Alternatives for a Safe Community 2016). At the Bedford Hills prison nursery program in New York, the non-profit organization, Hour Children, provides the majority of the funding for the day-to-day maintenance of the program. The small amount of funding that was given to the program by the Department of Corrections was reduced by 40% in 2011 (McShane 2011). In these cases, we can see that the prison nurseries would likely not have opened if it had not been for the support of outside organizations. As is clear, in many cases, state governments are not willing to delegate resources to funding prison nursery programs.

Prison nurseries are rare to begin with in the United States, but even in the states that they do exist, there is often a lack of resources and funding. It is worth questioning why state and national governments are so resistant to prison nursery programs given that the majority of research conducted on these programs have shown that they are highly effective in reducing rates of recidivism and fostering an attachment between the mother and the infant. While a great deal of scholars have sought to prove the effectiveness of prison nursery programs, none have sought to discover why they are so rare to begin with. My study will

explore public perceptions about mothers in prison to attempt to understand the underlying stigmatization of this population. By understanding how the general public feels about mothers who commit crimes, we will gain a better understanding of why our national and state governments are so reluctant to implement and fund prison nursery programs.

Chapter 3. Methods

3.1 The Ups and Downs of Research

Initially, I planned to collect qualitative research by interviewing volunteers and staff at prisons with prison nursery programs. I prepared a set of interview questions that would assess the workers' perceptions about public attitudes towards mothers in prison. The questions also assessed the extent to which workers believed that attitudes about mothers in prison influenced the amount of funding that prison nursery programs receive (See Appendices A and B for further details).

In an attempt to gain access to one of the nine states' prison nursery program staff, I reached out to prison wardens, researchers and general staff at prisons with prison nurseries. Unfortunately, none of the people I contacted were able to help bring my research goal to fruition. The closest I came to gaining access was through the Bedford Hills program in New York and through the Achieving Baby Care Success program in Ohio. At Bedford, I was in contact with the Head of Research, who eventually told me that I would be unable to conduct research there because of my undergraduate status. In Ohio, I was also in contact with the Head of Research, and actually succeeded in allowing them to review my application for Human Subjects Approval. I was not approved because they did not believe that my research would benefit their institution.

While, of course, this was disappointing since I had really hoped to gain access to a prison nursery for research, I understood that it was part of the process of doing research; it truly does have its "ups and downs". I decided to focus on public attitudes about mothers in

prison by conducting a sample study of Union College students and professors. Instead of attempting to understand the lack of funding from the inside out, I switched gears and sought to understand the same issue, but from the outside looking in.

3.2 Mode of Analysis

Unlike my original plan, I decided to take a quantitative approach rather than a qualitative approach when conducting research with Union College students and professors. Through my research, I learned about Jenifer McShane's documentary, "Mothers of Bedford," that follows five mothers throughout their time at Bedford Hills Women's Prison. One of the mothers and her infant depicted in the film are participants in Bedford Hills' nursery program. Union College's Schaffer Library agreed to purchase the documentary and I decided to create an event where the documentary would be screened. I created a fifteen-question survey that would be administered to students and professors in the audience before and after the screening of the film. The goal of administering the same survey before and after the screening was to assess how opinions about mothers in prison and prison nursery programs might change as a result of humanizing the population of mothers in prison through the medium of film.

To spread the word about the screening of the documentary, I created a Facebook group, sent out campus emails and contacted professors who were teaching relevant courses who encouraged their students to attend or offered extra credit to students who attended. When the audience first arrived, I passed out my informed consent form so that participants were aware that the study was completely voluntary and that their answers would be kept anonymous (See Appendix D). I collected the signed informed consent forms and I then passed out notecards that had a number between one and sixty written on it. I instructed

participants to save this notecard for the duration of the event as they would write the number on their notecard on top of their first survey and their second survey so that I could track the survey from before to after while keeping the answers of the participants anonymous. I then passed out the first survey and reminded participants to write the number on their notecard on top of the survey (see Appendix C). I then collected the surveys, and participants helped themselves to a pizza buffet and ate while the 93-minute documentary played. After the film ended, I passed out the second survey and again reminded participants to write the number on their notecard on top of the second survey. I collected the second surveys, and then led a brief discussion about the documentary.

Chapter 4. Results

4.1 Demographics of Participants

Fifty-nine participants that were a mix of students, professors and Union College staff attended the screening of the documentary and participated in the study. Of those participants, three only completed the first survey because they left the screening prior to the administering of the second survey. These three surveys were excluded from data analysis. Additionally, two participants only completed the first side of the double-sided survey for the first and second survey. Their answers on questions on the first side of the survey were tabulated and used to analyze the data. The answers that they left blank were computed as missing data. Of the 56 participants whose data was utilized, forty were female and sixteen were male.

To analyze my data, I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data program. Through the program, I found mean frequencies, compared Survey 1 and Survey 2 through Cross-Tabulation, compared groups of questions from Survey 1 and Survey 2 through Paired T-tests, and compared gender means through Individual T-tests of Survey 1.

4.2 Survey Questions

The survey questions that each participant responded to are below. They will be abbreviated in future tables and can be referred to here for clarification.

Table 1. Survey Questions

1. I believe that mother prisoners in our country deserve to have access to opportunities to stay in touch with their children during their incarceration.
2. I believe that mothers who are imprisoned are irresponsible and selfish and that they should not have regular visitations with their children because it could be harmful to the children.
3. I believe that a mother's access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration should depend on the crime she has committed.
4. If a mother has been imprisoned for a minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crime, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.
5. If a mother has been imprisoned for using or selling drugs, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.
6. If a mother has been imprisoned for a violent crime such as murder, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.
7. Prison is not a suitable environment for a child to spend an extended amount of time in.
8. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her for an extended amount of time in prison.
9. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a minor, non-violent and non-drug related crime, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.
10. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and was convicted of using or selling drugs, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.
11. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a violent crime such as murder, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.
12. Prison is **not** a safe place to raise an infant.
13. Raising an infant in prison would likely have negative implications for the infant's development.
14. State and federal funding should go towards creating programs where mothers who are pregnant at the time of their incarceration and give birth in prison can keep their infants with them in prison for an extended amount of time.

Note: For each question, participants circled one answer on the following scale:

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

The original first question was omitted from this list and asked participants to report their gender. The full survey in the form that participants received it in can be found in Appendix C.

4.3 Mean Frequencies

To understand how supportive participants were of mothers having visitation rights with their children while they are incarcerated and keeping their infants with them in prison if they give birth in prison, I analyzed the mean frequency of each question in Surveys 1 and 2. The scores range from one to five, where five is the most supportive and one is the least supportive (An answer of "Strongly Agree" received a score of 5, while an answer of "Strongly Disagree" received a score of 1). Please see Appendices E and F for a complete analysis of frequencies for each answer for questions 1-14 of Survey 1 and 2. For questions two, seven, twelve and thirteen, I recoded the answers so that a high score would reflect greater support since the question was phrased so that it would be the opposite. The mean frequencies for Survey 1 and for Survey 2 are listed in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the mean frequencies of Survey 1 varied a great deal for the different questions. Question 1, for example, received a very high score, showing that participants were in favor of giving imprisoned mothers the opportunities to stay in touch with their children during their incarceration. However, once the questions became more specific, the level of support that participants had for visitation often declined. For example, if the mother had committed a violent crime such as murder, participants were much less likely to agree that she should have access to visitation with her children.

Similarly, support for a mother's right to keep her infant with her in prison if she is pregnant when she is incarcerated varies based on the crime she has committed. Participants were more likely to support a mother keeping her baby with her in prison if she had committed a minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime than if she had committed a drug-related crime, and were even less likely to support it if she had committed a violent crime

such as murder. Questions 12 and 13 had very low scores in Survey 1, showing that participants viewed prison largely as an unsafe place to raise and infant and felt that raising an infant in prison would have negative implications for the child's development.

Table 2. Mean Frequencies Ranging from 1-5 of Questions 1-14 of Surveys 1 and 2.

Survey Question	Mean Frequency **Survey 1**	Mean Frequency **Survey 2**
1. Mother prisoners deserve to stay in touch with children.	4.38	4.63
2. Mother prisoners are irresponsible and selfish.	3.86	4.20
3. Mother's visitation access should depend on crime committed.	3.66	2.84
4. Minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crimes deserve visitation.	4.64	4.70
5. Drug crime deserve visitation.	3.80	4.41
6. Violent crime deserve visitation.	2.91	4.05
7. Prison not suitable place for child to spend extended amount of time.	2.07	2.89
8. Give birth in prison, should keep baby in prison with mother.	3.05	4.00
9. Give birth in prison and minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	3.17	4.04
10. Give birth in prison and drug-related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.72	3.85
11. Give birth in prison and violent crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.20	3.52
12. Prison not safe place to raise infant.	1.81	3.11
13. Raising infant in prison would be negative for infant development.	2.24	3.30
14. Funding should go towards creating prison nursery programs.	3.56	4.30

In comparing the data from the first survey to the second survey, it becomes apparent that participant attitudes changed as a result of watching the film, "Mothers of Bedford." In each question except one, the scores increased, showing that participants became more supportive of visitation and prison nursery programs. The only question where the score decreased is Question 3, which asked participants if they believed that a mother's rights to visitation should depend on the crime she has committed. In this question, a higher score can be taken to mean that participants believed that a mother deserves visitation with her children regardless of the crime she has committed, and therefore shows an increase in support. Thus, the decrease in score likely shows an increase in support rather than a decrease in support.

Some scores changed more than others, such as Question 6, that asked participants if they believed that mothers who had committed a violent crime deserve visitation with their children. In Survey 1, the mean score was 2.91, while in Survey 2 the mean was 4.05. Similarly, Question 11 assessed participant support for a mother keeping her baby with her in prison if she has committed a violent crime such as murder. In Survey 1, the mean score was 2.20, while in Survey 2, the mean score was 3.52. Additionally, opinions changed about how safe and developmentally sound it is to raise an infant in prison, as the mean scores in Question 12 and 13 for Survey 1 were 1.81 and 2.24, and then in Survey 2 went up to 3.11 and 3.30 respectively. While support for Question 14 was relatively high in Survey 1, it was even higher in Survey 2, showing that participant support for funding going towards the implementation of new prison nursery programs increased.

It is also important to note that even in Survey 2, support for visitation and prison nurseries varied by the crime the mother committed. Though the scores consistently

increased from Survey 1 to Survey 2, participants still were less likely to support visitation and prison nursery rights for mothers who had committed a drug-related crime, and were even less likely to support them for mothers who had committed a violent crime such as murder.

4.4 Individual Changes through Cross-Tabulation

To better understand the changes in individual participants' answers from Survey 1 to Survey 2, I conducted a Cross-Tabulation of each question from Survey 1 with the corresponding question in Survey 2. The complete frequencies of participant answers in Survey 1 versus Survey 2 for each question can be found in Appendix G. To more succinctly analyze the Cross-Tabulation results, I examined the Gamma-value for each Cross-Tabulation. The Gamma-value shows the percent of participants that had the same answer in Survey 1 as they did in Survey 2.

In the first question, the Gamma-value is .894, which means that 89.4% of participants had the same answer in Survey 1 as they had in Survey 2. For this question, there was a small amount of change, which makes sense because the mean frequency was high to begin with in Survey 1 (See Table 1). In some instances, many more participants changed their answers from Survey 1 to Survey 2. For instance, in Question 6, 63% percent of participants had the same answer in Survey 1 as they did in Survey 2, which means that more than one out of every three participants changed their answers about whether a mother should be allowed to have visitation rights with her children if she has committed a violent crime such as murder. The question that elicited the most change is Question 12, where 57% of participants changed their answers about whether prison was a safe place to raise an infant or not. Similarly, about half of participants changed their answers in Question 13

regarding if raising an infant in prison would have negative implications for the child's development.

Table 3. Gamma Values for Questions 1-14 of Cross-Tabulation from Surveys 1 and 2.

	Gamma Value
1. Mother prisoners deserve to stay in touch with children.	.894
2. Mother prisoners are irresponsible and selfish.	.861
3. Mother's visitation access should depend on crime committed.	.651
4. Minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crimes deserve visitation.	.848
5. Drug crime deserve visitation.	.812
6. Violent crime deserve visitation.	.630
7. Prison not suitable place for child to spend extended amount of time.	.830
8. Give birth in prison, should keep baby in prison with mother.	.624
9. Give birth in prison and minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	.790
10. Give birth in prison and drug-related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	.783
11. Give birth in prison and violent crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	.730
12. Prison not safe place to raise infant.	.431
13. Raising infant in prison would be negative for infant development.	.504
14. Funding should go towards creating prison nursery programs.	.758

Though the Gamma-values vary, none are above 90%, which shows that in each question, at least one in every 10 participants changed their answers from Survey 1 to Survey 2. In most cases, however, it was a greater percent of change.

4.5 Paired T-Tests in Two Categories

The survey is essentially broken up into two general categories of questions: questions about a mother's right to visitation with her children, and questions about a mother's right to keep her infant in prison with her if she gives birth during her incarceration. To understand changing opinions in these two separate categories, I conducted a paired T-Test for Category 1 of questions about visitation, which included Questions 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. Question 3 was left out because it is difficult to ascertain support based on the scale of answers. I then calculated another paired T-Test for Category 2 about prison nurseries, which included Questions 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. The scores in Category 1 range from 5 to 25, where a score of 5 shows the lowest level of support and a score of 25 shows the highest level of support. The scores in Category 2 range from 8 to 40, where a score of 8 shows the lowest level of support and a score of 40 shows the highest level of support.

Table 4. Paired T-Test for Category 1 of Questions about Visitation.

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	t
Survey 1	19.59	2.65	-8.41***
Survey 2	21.98	2.75	

*** Shows statistical significance at p = .001 level.

Table 4 shows that in Category 1, the mean scores changed from 19.59 in Survey 1 to 21.98 in Survey 2. In other words, support for a mother's visitation rights increased by 2.39 points from Survey 1 to Survey 2. The t-value shows that this change is statistically significant at the p = .001 level.

Table 5. Paired T-Test for Category 2 of Questions about Prison Nurseries.

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	t
Survey 1	20.83	5.54	-13.50***
Survey 2	28.96	6.13	

*** Shows statistical significance at p = .001 level.

Table 5 shows that in Category 2, the mean scores changed from 20.83 in Survey 1 to 28.96 in Survey 2. This means that participant support for prison nurseries increased by 8.13 points from Survey 1 to Survey 2. The t-value shows that this change is statistically significant at the p = .001 level. The range of scores in Category 2 is wider than the range of scores in Category 1, which accounts for part of the reason why the scores changed more in Category 2 than in Category 1. But, it is also possible that participant opinions about prison nurseries were more influenced than opinions about visitation rights.

4.6 Individual Sample T-Test of Means by Gender of the First Sample

Because the survey assesses attitudes about issues related to gender, reproductive rights and mothering, it is useful to look at differences in answers between males and females. I aimed to assess differences in opinions prior to watching the film, and so I analyzed the data from Survey 1 broken up by gender. In order to assess differences, I conducted an Individual Sample T-Test using gender as the grouping variable. By doing so, I was able to analyze mean frequencies of males versus mean frequencies of females and assess whether the differences between the two were statistically significant.

Table 6. Independent Sample T-Test for Male and Female Means of Survey 1.

	Male Mean	Female Mean	Standard Deviation		t
			Male	Female	
1. Mother prisoners deserve to stay in touch with children.	4.44	4.35	.629	.699	.434
2. Mother prisoners are irresponsible and selfish.	3.56	3.98	.892	.577	-2.05
3. Mother's visitation access should depend on crime committed.	3.88	3.58	1.02	.931	1.06
4. Minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crimes deserve visitation.	4.67	4.63	.479	.490	.434
5. Drug crime deserve visitation.	3.56	3.90	1.03	.810	-1.30
6. Violent crime deserve visitation.	2.81	2.95	1.05	1.04	-.447
7. Prison not suitable place for child to spend extended amount of time.	1.75	2.20	.856	.758	-1.93
8. Give birth in prison, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.56	3.25	.814	.981	-2.48*
9. Give birth in prison and minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.69	3.37	1.01	.998	-2.28*
10. Give birth in prison and drug-related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.44	2.84	1.09	.916	-1.40
11. Give birth in prison and violent crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2.00	2.29	.894	.768	-1.20
12. Prison not safe place to raise infant.	1.44	1.97	.629	.788	-2.41*
13. Raising infant in prison would be negative for infant development.	1.81	2.42	.750	.948	-2.28*
14. Funding should go towards creating prison nursery programs.	3.88	4.47	1.31	.762	-2.11*

* Shows statistical significance at p = .05 level.

In the majority of questions, the mean frequencies of females are higher than the mean frequencies of males. However, the differences are only statistically significant at the p = .05 level in Questions 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14. Interestingly, these are some of the questions

that have the lowest levels of support to begin with from either gender, for example, Question 13 that asks if participants believe that raising an infant in prison would have negative implications for the infant's development. The female mean frequency is almost one point higher than the male mean frequency. Similarly, in Question 14, the female mean frequency again is almost a point higher than the male mean frequency, showing that females were more likely to support funding going towards the implementation of new prison nursery programs than males were before seeing the film.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Implications

5.1 The Inaccessibility of Prisons

The fact that I was unable to conduct research at any of the prisons I reached out to reveals some key factors about prisons in the United States. Of course, part of the reason that they would not let me conduct research is because I am an undergraduate student, but even in the cases where this was not a restriction, I was not allowed in. Of course, there are regulations for interviewing prisoners because they are a vulnerable population, but my goal was to interview prison staff, not prisoners themselves. The difficulty of the process to get approved to conduct research at a prison shows that prisons largely function as private entities. The majority of the American public is unaware of what occurs behind prison walls. Though one cannot generalize about all prisons, recent news stories have painted a grim picture of what life is like behind bars.

Yet one would think that the women's prisons that have prison nursery programs would be proud of their relative progressiveness, and would want as much publicity as possible. However, if these programs are not functioning to their best ability, such as denying many women from the program, it is plausible that they would not want any outsiders coming in to conduct research. One thing is clear: funding is lacking in many of these programs as state and federal funding is generally not offered and private grants and donations can be difficult to sustain. While I was not able to get an inside look at prison nursery programs, assessing attitudes about mothers in prison from the outside proved to show a great deal about how we perceive this population and how our perceptions might impact the ultimate funding they receive.

5.2 Changing Opinions Through Film

Through analyzing the results of my data from the surveys, it became evident that participant opinions changed regarding mothers in prison and prison nursery programs. While support varied by question and by gender, overall, the data suggest that participants were largely influenced by the documentary "Mothers of Bedford." Participants were more likely to have less support for mothers when the crimes they committed involved drugs and violence in both surveys, but questions involving these issues were also the ones that had the biggest mean score changes from Survey 1 to Survey 2. This shows that participants originally had strong feelings that mothers who committed crimes such as using or selling drugs or murder do not deserve rights to visitation with their children or do not deserve to raise their infant in prison. These opinions are likely shaped by the way our country as a whole views criminals, and specifically mothers who have committed crimes. Notions that a mother who uses drugs during her pregnancy is selfish and irresponsible filter through our society and are easy to agree with when the "mother" is an abstract member of an abstract group. This is one of the greatest problems with our country's criminal justice system; it is easy for the general public to group "the incarcerated" as a problem population that is separate from the rest of America's citizens. By doing so, we are essentially dehumanizing this population and assuming that they are all the same. This is why films like "Mothers of Bedford" are so critically important for the general public in our country to watch. Films like this remind us that every person is complex: nobody is all good or all bad.

"Mothers of Bedford" follows five mothers, Melissa, Tanika, Mona, Rosa and Anneathia, throughout their time at Bedford Hills women's prison. Each of the women tell their unique stories about how they got involved in the criminal justice system. In each case,

there were many factors that led them to commit the crime they committed, such as addiction or involvement with a dangerous boyfriend. One story that particularly demonstrates the idea that criminals are not necessarily "bad" is Tanika's story. Tanika, an African American woman, was at a bar with a friend when an angry man started yelling racial slurs at her. She asked the bartender to let her exit through a back door, but he would not allow her to. She decided to leave the bar, and her friend gave her a knife for her walk home for her safety. The racist man followed her and attempted to attack her, and she stabbed him in the neck and killed him. She explains that she is not a violent person, it was an instinctual reaction to her own fear. Through hearing a story like Tanika's, prisoners become humanized in the audience members' minds.

Particularly, participants were much less likely to support a mother's right to visitation with her children and the right to keep her baby in prison with her if she committed a crime involving drugs, and were even less supportive if the crime was violent. While this makes sense because of the way that our country views crime, we must deconstruct this notion to understand how we relate a crime that a mother commits with her ability and right to parent. Societally, we judge how fit an incarcerated mother is to be a mother based on the crime she has committed. We disregard other information and simply assume that because this mother has committed this deviant act, she is no longer able to be a good mother. Yet, once participants viewed the film, they were much more likely to be in support of a mother's right to visitation and her right to keep her infant in prison with her. This is likely because participants were able to see that these mothers had positive relationships with their children and clearly loved them just as deeply as a mother who is not in prison loves her children. The film allowed participants to separate the crimes that the

mothers committed from their ability to be a mother, which impacted their support for parenting programs in prison overall.

From the results of the paired T-Test, it is evident that there was a greater change in support for prison nurseries than for visitation. It is likely that this is a result of a lack of awareness about prison nursery programs in general. If one did not know about prison nursery programs or how they are implemented, it would be easy to assume that keeping an infant in prison would be negative for the child. But, once participants saw a real prison nursery program during the film, their opinions about the programs changed.

5.3 Social Theories and Prison Nurseries

The concept of mothering in prison relates to many different social theories. The theory that I think best corresponds to prison nursery programs is the theory of Symbolic Interaction that states that we gain meaning from experiences by symbolically defining our everyday interactions. This theory can be linked to the ideas of sociologists Max Weber and George Herbert Mead. If we examine a mother's role as a mother, there are many everyday interactions that symbolize this identity such as feeding her child, changing his or her diaper, putting him or her to bed, and holding and singing to him or her. Societally and individually, these interactions are often what allow a mother to define her identity as a mother. When a mother in prison gives birth in prison and is not allowed to keep her baby with her, she loses the opportunity to have these interactions, and therefore struggles to identify with her role as a mother. Furthermore, symbolic interaction theory states that society will in turn not identify this mother as a full mother because she has not symbolically performed the interactions associated with motherhood. This theory provides one framework in which to look at prison nurseries; when a mother is able to keep her baby with her in prison, she is

able to take part in these everyday interactions with her child. It becomes evident that prison nurseries allow mothers to foster this symbolic identity as a mother, and will likely also allow them to be perceived as a mother in society.

A second theory that relates to my data that stems from the work of sociologist William Isaac Newtown is Labeling Theory, that claims that deviance is a social construct that results from societal stigmas rather than individual deviant acts. This theory helps to explain why participant opinions changed from Survey 1 to Survey 2. Societally, we associate certain crimes with deviance such as drug use and violence even if we do not know the full story. We have been taught to unquestioningly assume that people who commit these crimes are deviant individuals who do not deserve to participate fully in society. Thus, Labeling Theory may account for lower support in Survey 1 for a mother's rights to visitation and to keep her baby with her in prison when she has committed a variety of different crimes. However, it is possible that through the film, the stigmatizations created by the Labeling Theory were somewhat broken, and allowed participants to separate their previous labels of deviant behaviors and instead view the mothers in the film as individuals. In our society, we often believe that because a person has committed one deviant act, that they are a deviant person, but this has been demonstrated to be wrong over and over again in social research. Labeling Theory shows that it is extremely important to humanize populations such as mothers in prison who are often stigmatized due to societally shaped perceptions of deviance.

The third theory that gives a framework for my research is Feminist Theory of structural oppression. This theory states first that there are differences between males and females, and then that these differences result in an intersectionality of oppression that

results due to exploitation of women by ingrained institutions of society. Patricia Hill Collins is a notable sociologist that established the framework for looking at the intersectionality through Feminist Theory. Prison is one of these institutions that oppresses women, and especially mothers, in a way that is fundamentally different from the way it oppresses men. Specifically, mothers who are pregnant at the time of their incarceration are often not given access to the opportunities they need to prepare for motherhood, but are also typically separated from their infants directly after giving birth. Prisons do not offer the necessary support that mothers need in this vulnerable time, and as a result, women are structurally oppressed. Though prison nursery programs are not perfect, they offer a way to reduce the structural oppression of women in prison.

5.4 Limitations and Future Advocacy

There are two limitations to the research I conducted that should be improved upon in the future. The first is that my sample size is relatively small with 56 participants. To gain a greater understanding of the opinions of the general public, a larger sample should be studied. Second, participants consisted of Union College students and professors. While there is a great deal of diversity among students and professors, it cannot be assumed that this population represents the general population of the United States. To gain a greater understanding of the general population, a sample of participants should be recruited that span across a variety of geographic locations, ages, socioeconomic statuses, and education levels. By examining a more diverse sample, researchers would likely have participants who had experienced incarceration or the incarceration of a family member, or participants who came from a community where incarceration was a common issue. Additionally, older participants who have children themselves might be more empathetic to issues regarding

parenthood because they can imagine firsthand what it would be like to be separated from their children at birth.

My research shows that there is power in humanizing the vulnerable population of mother prisoners in our country, particularly those that give birth in prison. Numerous audience participants expressed in the post-film discussion that they were shocked that they were unaware of prison nursery programs prior to watching the documentary. Many also expressed concern that these programs are so rare and are lacking funding. The fact that people who previously did not even know these programs existed were suddenly passionately questioning our country's policies shows how important it is to raise awareness about prison nursery programs.

Further research should be conducted to raise awareness about issues related to incarcerated mothers who give birth in prison and mothers in prison in general. A similar study could be conducted with a broader range of participants, ideally including government officials and policy makers. Though it is difficult to ascertain whether these people would be as influenced by the humanization of these mothers as participants in my study were, it is definitely worth trying. Furthermore, individuals hoping to make a difference can write letters to state government officials in support of existing prison nursery programs or asking for more programs to be put in place that support mothers in prison. Additionally, though it may seem small, word of mouth is incredibly powerful. The more people know about issues impacting mothers in prison and the programs that are available, the more likely it is that these issues will be brought to local, state and national governments. So, if nothing else, readers are encouraged to talk about mothers in prison and prison nurseries to anyone and everyone. If state and federal governments began to examine prisoners as individual people

rather than as a deviant cohesive group, perhaps they would be more inclined to change the current punitive system to provide services such as prison nursery programs so that prison could be a rehabilitative process that would mark the end of the cyclical nature of crime and poverty that those who come in contact with the criminal justice system so often fall victim to.

Appendix A – Original Interview Questions

1. Are you male or female?

2. How long have you been working at/with women's prisons?

3. Generally speaking, do you believe that prison nurseries are positive or negative in respect to the incarcerated mother? Can you explain?

4. Generally speaking, do you believe that prison nurseries are positive or negative in respect to the child born while his or her mother is incarcerated? Can you explain?

5. Given that the majority of studies conducted on prison nurseries have found positive results in terms of rates of recidivism for the mother and the attachment bond between the mother and child, what is your understanding on why these programs are so rare?

6. Have you experienced funding issues in your personal work with prison nurseries? If so, how did/does it affect your work?

7. There have been articles in the news in the past couple of years that have claimed that some prison nurseries are not filling the beds they have available and are denying many women access to the programs. Have you experienced this in your work? If so, why do you think this is the case?

8. Do you think that public or political attitudes about women in prison have impacted the funding that these programs receive? If so, how?

9. In your experience, do people have preconceived notions of incarcerated *mothers*, in particular? If so, what types of preconceived notions do people have?

10. What do you think is the future of prison nurseries?

Appendix B – Original Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Erin Ostheimer and I am a student at Union College in Schenectady, NY. I am inviting you to participate in a research study. Involvement in the study is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. A description of the study is written below.

I am interested in learning about prison nurseries and how they are funded. You will be asked to answer a series of questions about prison nurseries, the advantages and disadvantages these programs afford to new mothers who become incarcerated, and funding for these programs. You will not be asked to give any personally identifying information, or personal or identifying information about past or present prisoners.

This will take approximately 15 minutes. If you no longer wish to continue, you have the right to withdraw from the study, without penalty, at any time.

All interviews will be digitally voice recorded, or you may choose to answer the questions via Email. You will not be asked to give your name. No identifying information will be recorded or placed on the recordings or emailed responses and no identifying information will be included in writings in which excerpts from these interviews may appear. After interviews are analyzed and the study is complete, all digital recording files and/or email responses will be destroyed.

By signing below, you indicate that you understand the information above, and that you wish to participate in this research study.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Printed Name

_____

Date

You may consent to having your interview recorded via digital voice recording or you may decline. This is only applicable if you are choosing to participate in a phone interview instead of answering questions via Email. Please sign your initials by the appropriate statement below to indicate these wishes.

__ I consent to being recorded via digital voice recording.
__ I do not consent to being recorded via digital voice recording.

Appendix C – Actual Survey

Please circle the answers that best fit your opinions about the following statements.

1. I am:

Male Female Do not wish to say

2. I believe that mother prisoners in our country deserve to have access to opportunities to stay in touch with their children during their incarceration.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I believe that mothers who are imprisoned are irresponsible and selfish and that they should not have regular visitations with their children because it could be harmful to the children.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. I believe that a mother's access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration should depend on the crime she has committed.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. If a mother has been imprisoned for a minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crime, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. If a mother has been imprisoned for using or selling drugs, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. If a mother has been imprisoned for a violent crime such as murder, I believe she **should** have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. Prison is not a suitable environment for a child to spend an extended amount of time in.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her for an extended amount of time in prison.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a minor, non-violent and non-drug related crime, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

11. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and was convicted of using or selling drugs, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

12. If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a violent crime such as murder, she **should** be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

13. Prison is **not** a safe place to raise an infant.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

14. Raising an infant in prison would likely have negative implications for the infant's development.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

15. State and federal funding should go towards creating programs where mothers who are pregnant at the time of their incarceration and give birth in prison can keep their infants with them in prison for an extended amount of time.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

Appendix D – Actual Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Erin Ostheimer and I am a student at Union College in Schenectady, NY. I am inviting you to participate in a research study. Involvement in the study is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. A description of the study is written below.

I am interested in learning about mothers in prison and prison nurseries. You will be asked to answer a series of questions about your opinions on mothers in prison, programs for mothers in prison, and funding for these programs. You will not be asked to give any personally identifying information.

There are two parts to this survey. One will be administered before the screening of the film, "Mothers of Bedford," and one will be administered after the screening. Each part of the survey will take approximately 10 minutes for a total of 20 minutes. If you no longer wish to continue, you have the right to withdraw from the study, without penalty, at any time.

Your answers are completely anonymous. You will receive a number on a notecard before receiving the first survey. You will be asked to write that number on top of the first survey. You will then turn in the first survey to me, but will keep the notecard. When you receive the second survey, you will be asked to write the number listed on the notecard on top of the second survey. These numbers will not identify you, but will allow me to match your answers in the first survey to your answers in the second survey while maintaining your anonymity.

By signing below, you indicate that you understand the information above, and that you wish to participate in this research study.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Printed Name

_____

Date

Appendix E – Frequencies of Survey Set 1

Survey Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean Frequency
1. Mother prisoners deserve to stay in touch with children.	26	26	3	1	0	4.38
2. Mother prisoners are irresponsible and selfish.	1	0	12	36	7	3.86
3. Mother's visitation access should depend on crime committed.	9	27	14	4	2	3.66
4. Minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crimes deserve visitation.	36	20	0	0	0	4.64
5. Drug crime deserve visitation.	12	26	13	5	0	3.80
6. Violent crime deserve visitation.	3	13	21	14	5	2.91
7. Prison not suitable place for child to spend extended amount of time.	13	29	11	3	0	2.07
8. Give birth in prison, should keep baby in prison with mother.	5	12	21	17	1	3.05
9. Give birth in prison and minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	4	20	13	15	2	3.17
10. Give birth in prison and drug-related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	2	10	17	21	4	2.72
11. Give birth in prison and violent crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	0	3	15	26	10	2.20
12. Prison not safe place to raise infant.	20	26	6	2	0	1.81
13. Raising infant in prison would be negative for infant development.	11	25	13	4	1	2.24
14. Funding should go towards creating prison nursery programs.	11	17	19	5	2	3.56

Appendix F – Frequencies of Survey Set 2

Survey Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean Frequency
1. Mother prisoners deserve to stay in touch with children.	40	13	2	0	1	4.63
2. Mother prisoners are irresponsible and selfish.	1	3	2	28	22	4.20
3. Mother's visitation access should depend on crime committed.	5	14	9	23	5	2.84
4. Minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crimes deserve visitation.	40	15	1	0	0	4.70
5. Drug crime deserve visitation.	30	19	7	0	0	4.41
6. Violent crime deserve visitation.	18	26	9	3	0	4.05
7. Prison not suitable place for child to spend extended amount of time.	4	18	16	16	2	2.89
8. Give birth in prison, should keep baby in prison with mother.	17	26	9	4	0	4.00
9. Give birth in prison and minor, non-violent, non-drug related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	20	20	10	4	0	4.04
10. Give birth in prison and drug-related crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	17	18	13	6	0	3.85
11. Give birth in prison and violent crime, should keep baby in prison with mother.	8	24	11	10	1	3.52
12. Prison not safe place to raise infant.	2	12	20	18	2	3.11
13. Raising infant in prison would be negative for infant development.	2	8	17	26	1	3.30
14. Funding should go towards creating prison nursery programs.	30	15	5	3	1	4.30

Appendix G. Cross-Tabulation of Surveys 1 and 2.

Table 3. Cross-Tabulation of Question 1- "I believe that mother prisoners in our country deserve to have access to opportunities to stay in touch with their children during their incarceration" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Neutral	0	0	2	0	0	2	
Agree	0	0	1	11	1	13	
Strongly Agree	0	1	0	14	25	40	
Total	0	1	3	26	26	56	
Gamma							.861

Table 4. Cross-Tabulation of Question 2- "I believe that mothers who are imprisoned are irresponsible and selfish and that they should not have regular visitations with their children because it could be harmful to the children" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	6	16	0	0	0	22	
Disagree	1	19	8	0	0	28	
Neutral	0	0	2	0	0	2	
Agree	0	0	2	0	1	3	
Strongly Agree	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Total	7	36	12	0	1	56	
Gamma							.894

Table 5. Cross-Tabulation of Question 3 – "I believe that a mother's access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration should depend on the crime she has committed" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	2	1	2	0	0	5	
Disagree	0	3	7	12	1	23	
Neutral	0	0	3	5	1	9	
Agree	0	0	0	9	5	14	
Strongly Agree	0	0	2	1	2	5	
Total	2	4	14	27	9	56	
Gamma							.651

Table 6. Cross-Tabulation of Question 4 – "If a mother has been imprisoned for a minor, nonviolent, non-drug related crime, I believe she should have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Neutral	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Agree	0	0	0	11	4	15	
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	8	32	40	
Total	0	0	0	20	36	56	
Gamma							.848

Table 7. Cross-Tabulation of Question 5 – "If a mother has been imprisoned for using or selling drugs, I believe she should have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Neutral	0	2	5	0	0	7	
Agree	0	3	5	10	1	19	
Strongly Agree	0	0	3	16	11	30	
Total	0	5	13	26	12	56	
Gamma							.812

Table 8. Cross Tabulation of Question 6 – "If a mother has been imprisoned for a violent crime such as murder, I believe she should have access to opportunities for visitation with her children during her incarceration" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Disagree	2	0	1	0	0	3	
Neutral	1	3	5	0	0	9	
Agree	2	10	8	6	0	26	
Strongly Agree	0	1	7	7	3	18	
Total	5	14	21	13	3	56	
Gamma							.630

Table 9. Cross-Tabulation of Question 7 – "Prison is not a suitable environment for a child to spend an extended amount of time in" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	2	0	0	0	2	
Disagree	0	1	9	6	0	16	
Neutral	0	0	1	12	3	16	
Agree	0	0	1	10	7	18	
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	1	3	4	
Total	0	3	11	29	13	56	
Gamma							.830

Table 10. Cross-Tabulation of Question 8 – "If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her for an extended amount of time in prison" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Disagree	0	1	2	1	0	4	
Neutral	1	5	3	0	0	9	
Agree	0	11	9	6	0	26	
Strongly Agree	0	0	7	5	5	17	
Total	1	17	21	12	5	56	
Gamma							.624

Table 11. Cross-Tabulation of Question 9- "If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a minor, non-violent and non-drug related crime, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Disagree	0	4	0	0	0	4	
Neutral	2	4	4	0	0	10	
Agree	0	7	4	9	0	20	
Strongly Agree	0	0	5	11	4	20	
Total	2	15	13	20	4	54	
Gamma							.790

Table 13. Cross-Tabulation of Question 10 – "If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and was convicted of using or selling drugs, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	3	1	0	0	4	
Disagree	0	3	7	11	0	21	
Neutral	0	0	4	4	8	17	
Agree	0	0	1	2	7	10	
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	0	2	2	
Total	0	6	13	18	17	54	
Gamma							.783

Table 14. Cross-Tabulation of Question 11 – "If a mother is incarcerated while she is pregnant and gives birth in prison and has committed a violent crime such as murder, she should be allowed to keep her baby with her in prison" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Disagree	4	6	0	0	0	10	
Neutral	5	3	3	0	0	11	
Agree	0	15	9	0	0	24	
Strongly Agree	0	2	3	3	0	8	
Total	10	26	15	3	0	54	
Gamma							.730

Table 15. Cross-Tabulation of Question 12 – "Prison is not a safe place to raise an infant" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	2	0	2	
Disagree	0	1	3	11	3	18	
Neutral	0	1	2	8	9	20	
Agree	0	0	1	4	7	12	
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	1	1	2	
Total	0	2	6	26	20	54	
Gamma							.431

Table 16. Cross-Tabulation of Question 13 - "Raising an infant in prison would likely have negative implications for the infant's development" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Disagree	1	4	7	11	3	26	
Neutral	0	0	6	8	3	17	
Agree	0	0	0	4	4	8	
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	1	1	2	
Total	1	4	13	25	11	54	
Gamma							.504

Table 17. Cross-Tabulation of Question 14 – "State and federal funding should go towards creating programs where mothers who are pregnant at the time of their incarceration and give birth in prison can keep their infants with them in prison for an extended amount of time" where the columns represent individual answers from Survey 1 and the rows represent individual answers from Survey 2.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total	Gamma
Strongly Disagree	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Disagree	0	2	1	0	0	3	
Neutral	1	1	3	0	0	5	
Agree	0	1	7	7	0	15	
Strongly Agree	0	1	8	10	11	30	
Total	2	5	19	17	11	54	
Gamma							.758

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