2016

Family Continuity and Multiple Incarcerations Among African American Women

Dorenda Karen Dixon
Walden University

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Dorenda Dixon

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,

and that any and all revisions required by

the review committee have been made.

Review Committee

Dr. Barbara Benoliel, Committee Chairperson, Human Services Faculty

Dr. Elaine Spaulding, Committee Member, Human Services Faculty

Dr. Marie Caputi, University Reviewer, Human Services Faculty

Chief Academic Officer

Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University

2016

Abstract

Family Continuity and Multiple Incarcerations Among African American Women

by

Dorenda K. Dixon

MS, Chicago State University, 1995

MS Ed, Chicago State University, 1987

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Human Services

Walden University

April 2016

Abstract

Scholars have studied incarceration among women in the United States of America for more than a decade, but few studies have explored the influence of repeated incarcerations among African American women and their family relationships. The research question for this study examined how African American women describe the effects of multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships and their ability to reintegrate into the family system and society. This multiple case study was conducted in Chicago, Illinois, and drew a sample of 4 African American women released from prison with histories of multiple incarcerations. The study explored their perspectives through a series of semistructured, in-depth interviews. Data consisted of narrative interview transcripts and artifacts collected and analyzed using a framework of feminist theory and critical criminology. Findings from the analysis indicated these African American women experienced profound and long-term devastation to relationships with family and friends following periods of multiple incarcerations. Repeated periods of imprisonment negatively altered their perceptions of themselves and reduced their social engagement with others. Results of repeated incarcerations included (a) broken trust with loved ones; (b) resentment, anger, and blame; and (c) permanent damage to social and family networks. This study contributes to social change by increasing understanding of the repercussions and effects of multiple incarcerations on African American women and family continuity, and the study offers insight into guiding program development to help families rebuild and stabilize.

Family Continuity and Multiple Incarcerations Among African American Women

by

Dorenda K. Dixon

MS, Chicago State University, 1995

MS Ed, Chicago State University, 1987

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Human Services

Walden University

April 2016

Dedication

To all the women who bared their souls, exposing their vulnerable parts to find the strength to endure when things got rough. To my family who gave me the space I needed and put up with me missing in action to my friends. To my beloved husband, John, my adult children, Tsdkeyah, Shmariah, Monique, and my grandchildren, Zacheriah, Emani, Elijah, Nia, Leah, Shmariah Jr., London, and Jesse Reign (JJ), who patiently allowed me the room to grow, I thank you for your support. Your patience with me as I focused for the past several years on accomplishing my goals has given me the strength to know anything could happen when we stick together. To my colleagues at Taylor Business Institute in Chicago who gave me a beautiful sounding board, I thank you especially, Malik Iqbal, Althea Jones, Lena Young, and my good buddy Michelle Burnside.

To God be the glory.

Acknowledgments

To my super committee members Dr. Barbara Benoliel, Dr. Elaine Spaulding, and Dr. Marie Caputi, I know if the mountain were smooth, I could not have climbed it. Thank you for all your support, encouragement (especially when I whined about editing), and your pushing me when I needed it. Finally, yet importantly, to my excellent editors who guided me into the final stretch, thank you. “Gratitude” is such an insufficient word to express how much I appreciate each and every one of you.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Women are the fastest growing incarcerated population (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2015). African American women constituted the largest segment of the female incarcerated population in correctional institutions across the United States (Alexander, 2012). Despite this high rate of incarceration, these women remain low in priority for academic researchers (Mignon & Ransford, 2012). The United States incarcerates its citizens at a greater rate than any other country in the world (Carson, 2015); Bureau of Prisons, 2015; National Women's Law Center, 2012).

Incarcerated women leave behind children, aging parents, partners/spouses, and other responsibilities imposing subsequent burdens on their families and communities (Carson, 2015). Incarceration diminishes adult earnings, compromises health, reduces domestic resources, and contributes to family breakup (Wildeman & Western, 2010). Wakefield (2015) documented the devastating and long-term effects of incarceration on children.

Often, the onus of blame was on the female offender for her mistakes, rather than the problem in the context of understanding multiple incarcerations (Roberts, 2012). I incorportaed several researchers' work on female incarceration, including Barrick, Lattimore, and Visher (2014), who previously found familial relationships act as protective factors for females with multiple incarcerations. As one of the contextual underpinnings, Barrick et al. (2014) provided a powerful examination of family

relationships and the outcomes when African American women experience multiple incarcerations.

In this chapter, I provide the background of the problem, identify the study purpose, and present the research questions. I review the conceptual framework of critical criminology and black feminism along with details unique to the nature of the study. Also, I offer operational definitions followed by delimitations, assumptions, and the significance of the study. Finally, I provide a summary of Chapter 1, along with the other chapters included in the study.

Background

African American females experienced incarceration at three times the rate of their non-Hispanic, Caucasian counterparts (BJS, 2011). The majority of incarcerated African American women are serving sentences for nonviolent offenses (Carson, 2015). Their charges ranged from prostitution to murder; however, the greatest percentage of these women were charged in nonviolent categories (Carson, 2015). Davis (2013) suggested high rates of incarceration were a direct reflection of the historical and social exclusion of African American women from society, as well as from scientific literature.

African American women accounted for 133 of every 100,000 detained in prison (Carson, 2014). As of 2010, the adult correctional systems supervised an estimated 1,263,000 females (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). In 2013, of the estimated 6.8 million persons under the supervision of adult correctional systems, the female jail population was the fastest growing, increasing by an average of 4% annually.

Aaron and Dallaire (2010) documented that children of incarcerated mothers did not perform well academically. They also exhibited behavioral problems at school and in their homes. Formerly incarcerated women had trouble successfully re-establishing their parental roles following multiple incarcerations (Cobbina, 2010). These factors seriously affected African American women, especially concerning their children and caretakers (Loper, Phillips, Nichols, & Dallaire, 2014).

Incarceration affects poor minorities, as well as marginalized and disadvantaged populations including socioeconomically disadvantaged African American women (Roberts, 2012). The negative outcomes of imprisonment affect a woman's entire family, as approximately one-third of these women are also mothers. The separation between an incarcerated mother and her child(ren) imposes an emotional strain on everyone in the child's life (Jarrett, Jefferson, & Kelly, 2012).

Many caregivers provide surrogate parenting for incarcerated mothers (Ayre, 2012). The caregivers are often older adults in need of assistance on multiple levels, including financial support and health care services (Boudin, 2011). Multiple incarcerations exacerbate the adverse outcomes for this population and their families (Moore & Padavic, 2010). Also, numerous incarcerations make it difficult for these women to successfully reintegrate into the family system (Bui & Morash, 2010).

African American women with repeat offenses serve several prison terms during their lives (BJS, 2011). Consequently, their absences due to incarceration have a bearing on the type and quality of relationship with family members (Foster & Hagan, 2014).

These frequent disruptions have a negative effect on their communities as well (Bui & Morash, 2010).

Despite the problem of minor children's separation from their incarcerated mother for extended periods, research specifically examining the dynamics of how this separation affects the entire family relationships remains underexplored (Craigie, 2011). Past researchers have supported the importance of children maintaining bonds with their incarcerated parent, resulting in the composition of a formal declaration. Specifically, written in the Children's Bill of Rights, every child has a right to maintain parental bonds with a parent (Manning, 2011). Although this declaration focuses on the importance of incarcerated mothers and their children maintaining healthy relationships, research documenting the maternal perceptions and the effects of their incarceration on their children and family remains sparse (Craigie, 2011).

Of the 2 million children of incarcerated parents, a handful lives with their mothers in correctional facilities, in programs designed for mothers with young children (Manning, 2011). The majority live with their other parent, a grandparent, or in foster care.

Many African American women have traumatic histories, including witnessing murders or surviving domestic violence, which is prevalent in this population (Salina, Lesondak, Razzano, & Parenti, 2011; Stevens-Watkins, Sharma, Knighton, Oser, & Leukefeld, 2014). Multiple incarcerations exacerbate the effects of past trauma and

revictimizes the women (Stevens-Watkins et al., 2014). Deleterious physiological and emotional consequences also result from traumatic experiences (Salina et al., 2011).

For example, incarcerated women report difficulty sleeping and becoming hypervigilant as the result of living through multiple traumas such as rapes, assaults, and other acts of violence. It is likely that mental health professionals never adequately address these issues prior to the woman becoming incarcerated (Lynch, Heath, Mathews, & Cepeda, 2012).

Despite the likelihood of unresolved mental health conditions, the women enter institutions where the environment is not conducive to their healing (Brown, Jun, Min, & Tracy, 2013). Prison institutional environments are hostile and influence women's perceptions of their self-worth (Richie, 2012). Teplin, Abram, and McClelland (1996) documented seminal research regarding the linkages between trauma, sexual abuse, and inadequate parenting skills among a sample of incarcerated women in the Cook County, Illinois, Department of Corrections. The results highlight a need for further investigation, later conducted by the National Institute of Justice (Foster & Hagan, 2014).

Other researchers (Miller & Barnes, 2015) found the trauma that children experience as the result of parental incarceration affects them throughout their lives. Although Foster and Hagen (2014) and Miller and Barnes provided unique insights into the connection between women's trauma and parenting skills, they relied heavily on quantitative analysis. They did not explore in-depth perspectives of African American women (Liebman, et al., 2014).

My study builds on the prior work of Barrick et al. (2014) and Liebman et al. (2014) by expanding their focus to explore a sample of women with histories of multiple incarcerations discharged from the Cook County Department of Corrections and Illinois prisons. Specifically, I examined African American women's perspectives on how multiple incarcerations and their traumatic experiences influenced family relationships and their reintegration into society.

The Cook County Department of Corrections facility is one of the largest unified jail systems in the United States (Moser, 2013). Approximately 59.7% of the entire prison population in Illinois comes from this single county (Carson, 2015). Therefore, my recruitment efforts focused on locating African American females released from this facility.

Statement of the Problem

Researchers have focused on the mass incarceration of African American women, but few have examined female nonviolent offenders. Understanding how these women view and experience their family relationships, barriers, and disruptions created by these multiple incarcerations is a problem that needs attention to planning for successful reintegration back into society. Social change in the criminal justice system can occur when the plight of these nonviolent African American female offenders' surfaces in terms of disruptions caused by multiple incarcerations and subsequent efforts at rehabilitation.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative study with a multiple case design was to explore the beliefs about family dynamics and perceptions among African American women who experienced multiple incarcerations. This methodology provided an understanding of how their absences, due to incarceration, influenced their (a) familial relationships, (b) psychological well-being, and (c) ability to reintegrate into the society. Importantly, giving voice to unexplored issues of women following multiple incarcerations was needed. Further, by examining these experiences of the women, I detailed how their views ultimately influenced their interactions with family members.

Research Questions

To understand the identified problem, I used the following research question: What was the influence of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society?

Conceptual Framework

Feminist theory (FT) provided the framework to understand the dynamics of the participants in this study. Using the nexus of FT, Black feminism, and critical criminology theory (CCT), I examined and analyzed how African American women with histories of multiple incarcerations perceived their repeated offenses' influences on their familial relationships. FT undergirded my exploration into the linkages between this

population's perception of their social class, self-worth, and how these elements affected their family trust relationships (Rousseau, 2013).

I interjected Black feminism to provide a contextual framework inclusive of the oppression experienced by women of color (Rousseau, 2013). In addition, CCT highlighted the importance of understanding their psychological and social adjustments in relationship to multiple incarcerations (Taylor, Walton, & Young, 2012). The CCT theory provided a lens to examine power differentials between perceptions about the influences of being poor and its relationship to the social implications of being an offender (Schmallenger, 2011). Critical criminology assisted in framing how the women shaped their thoughts and helped in understanding the social, historical, ideological forces and structures the women confronted (Schmallenger, 2011).

Combining the theoretical frameworks of Black feminism and critical criminology offered me an opportunity to examine the connection between multiple incarcerations and familial disruptions (Alexander-Floyd, 2010). I explored the identified population's perceptions concerning their social adjustments and ability to reintegrate into society. In describing these experiences from the perspective of the women's ability to re-establish themselves in society, I explain how these two theoretical constructs contributed to comprehending various aspects of their lives.

Power differentials existing within the African American women's family structure also contribute to the population's marginalization (Bush 2012). Black feminism precisely describes the oppression of Black women regarding race and gender

biases affecting how women relate to others and perceive themselves (Alexander-Floyd, 2014; Ayre, 2012; hooks [sic], 2000). Wildeman and Western (2010) documented the fragility of families resulting from increased incarceration, which the authors attributed to diminished resources compromising family structures.

The *fragile family* is a term describing both unmarried couples and their children as families at risk of poverty and dissolution (Blakely & Hatcher, 2013; Bui & Morash, 2010). The participants in this study had never married and lacked support from the fathers of their children. Therefore, I explored this research problem from the participants' perspectives and extended the focus to their perceptions of the family unit.

Nature of the Study

This qualitative study with a multiple case design provided an understanding of both the historical factors influencing African American women's experiences based on multiple incarcerations, as well as how these incidents affected their family and overall quality of life. Therefore, it was imperative to explore the bounds and continuum unique to these events (Yin, 2013). I selected African American women as the sample because they are the fastest growing population of females in the U.S. correctional system (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

A multiple case study design allowed for a historical exploration through more than one lens (Liebman et al., 2014). The methodology aided in understanding various facets of the phenomenon of numerous incarcerations and their influence on African American women's perceptions of family stability and reintegration into society. Case

studies align with the individual, rather than the research method (Abma & Stake, 2014). Boundaries were critical to keeping the study focused. The target population included African American women from Chicago, Illinois, who experienced incarceration for 90 or more days, and at least twice within a 5-year period or longer.

This approach usually includes three primary methods of data collection: observation, interviews, and examining artifacts or historical documents (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbon, 2015). I chose to use a case study methodology because I was interested in learning about how being away from their families through repeated incarcerations influences these women's perceptions of themselves and their interactions with family. Through their stories of their journeys of incarceration from their first prison experience to their last, I examined how the women regarded engagements with family and society upon their return home.

In the context of multiple case studies, this investigation centered the women's perceptions of their roles during periods of reintegration, as well as family continuity. Also, I examined how these roles changed following subsequent incarcerations. The Abma and Stake (2014) multiple case study analysis established a repeatable process and systematic approach to data collection. Through this approach, I was able to draw comparisons between and across cases, as well as predict conflicting results (Yin, 2013).

I used semi structured interviews to collect data from four formerly incarcerated African American women with their insights regarding perceptions about self, family, and society. Also, I gathered information concerning the women's histories, including

whether previous traumas and abuses affected how they related to their families following multiple periods of incarcerations. The interviews and data from this study shed light on better ways of managing social issues, such as providing access for familial interaction during detention, reducing the number of times women serve for nonviolent offenses, and developing specialized social programs to assist with reintegration before release.

Operational Definitions and Terms

African American women and Black women: Terms used to interchangeably describe women of color (Graham & Harris, 2013).

Colorism: An intraracial system of inequality based on skin color, hair texture, and facial features, bestowing privilege and value on physical attributes closer to white (Wilder & Cain, 2011).

Fictive kin: Informal networks of African American families, defined as individuals unrelated by either blood or marriage, who regard one another in kinship terms (Taylor, Chatters, Woodward, & Brown, 2013).

Fragile family: Families at risk of poverty and other social ills, such as incarceration. These factors increase the likelihood of family instability and disillusionment. The families typically consist of unmarried couples with children, who have limited resources and struggled with literacy and poverty (Wildeman & Western, 2010).

Repatriated: Replaces the terms *ex-offender* or *ex-con* and is employed to help portray individuals without the stigma of the crime they committed (Geller, Garfinkel, & Western, 2011). Negative language associated with repatriated individuals discounts the people who complete their sentence (Fallon, 2010). Terms such as *ex-offender*, *offender*, or *ex-con* do not allow individuals to stop having reminders of their past. This term helps create the perception of formerly incarcerated persons as having rights and restoring their dignity.

Skank: A slang term African Americans use to describe lower-class women who would do anything for money, have poor morals, and exhibit oversexualized behavior (Oppliger, 2008). It represents a cultural display of distaste for women who degrade themselves. Considering many formerly incarcerated women feel disempowered by mainstream society, the use of this term creates a hierarchy among the incarcerated women.

Assumptions

As the researcher, I assumed participants would be forthcoming in presenting their perspectives during their interviews. Second, a multiple case study methodology appropriately provided data to answer my research questions. Third, I was able to acquire data sources with a rich and detailed background of the participants. Although the sample size was small, the profuse narratives relating their experiences aided in describing the influence of multiple incarcerations in respect to the women's perceptions of family continuity (Yin, 2013).

Open data sources, such as court records and custody history, along with field notes and memos, provided a historical background and context of the women's lives. Under the Freedom of Information Act, public court records were available through the Clerk of the Circuit Court in Illinois. An advantage of using a multiple case study design was evidence created from this type of study and considered robust and reliable (Yin, 2013). Identification of multiple contact sources was challenging because this sample was transient or had difficulty with housing, making it difficult to complete the review processes.

Limitations

The limitations of this research included the availability of the participants for interviews and timely access to their prior records. It took more than 3 months to obtain participants and arrange appointment times conducive to their schedules. I had a difficult time obtaining old records from the Illinois Department of Corrections because the bureaucratic processes delayed the receipt of documents for months. By only using African American women, I considered the unique nature of their cultural lifestyles; however, this limited the generalizability to women of other cultures and backgrounds. Another limitation was a small sample limited to the Cook County area of Chicago, Illinois. Based on jurisdiction and sample size, results were not transferable to other regions.

Delimitations

The delimitations of this study included only African American women, excluding other ethnic groups. According to Yin (2013), time, place, and context bind case studies. Therefore, this gender and race-restricted study did not include anyone incarcerated for less than 3 months.

Significance of the Study

Through acquiring the experiences of the African American women in this study, I illuminated their perceptions of the effects of repeated arrests and multiple incarcerations both on themselves and their families (Geller et al., 2011). The information resulting from in-depth interviews opened opportunities to review and reevaluate legislation, which furthers the likelihood of mother/child separation (Boudin, 2011; Siegel & Blank, 2010).

The study provides clearer insight into family dynamics and barriers to reintegration. The purpose was also to inform decision makers' development of programs, policies, or practices aimed at assisting this underserved population and their families to the benefit of the broader society. Case studies are often useful in influencing policy. Collins (2012) suggested they are an excellent way of exploring existing laws by providing an evaluation of the complex problems. Outcomes represent springboards to create a dialogue about social issues and program modifications, highlighting and encouraging consideration of alternative views (Foster & Hagan, 2014).

Higher rates of people being absent from families for significant periods creates greater percentages of disrupted families in communities of color (Ayre, 2012). Forced out of mainstream society through the retributive process of incarceration, marginalized African American women with extensive histories of repeated incarceration rely strongly on social networks (Allen, Latessa, Ponder, & Simonsen, 2014). The networks represent opportunities to accomplish otherwise unattainable goals, such as better prospects for employment (Roberts, 2014).

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2010, the majority of women imprisoned in Illinois is African American. Overrepresented in the justice system, their prevalent crimes include prostitution and other nonviolent offenses (Bush, 2012). The consequences for prostituting requires incarceration for up to 1 year or more (Siegel & Blank, 2010). When considering other nonviolent offenses, women face jail time, whereas males often go without punishment (Butler, 2015). This disparity results in a perception of inequitable treatment (Siegel & Blank, 2010).

Carpenter (2012) documented the unfair representation of African American women in the media presentations, described as hostile, angry, and aggressive, resulting in a trending pattern of viewing African American women in negative ways. Contrarily, Turney and Wildeman (2013) indicated that a women's presence in the home softens hostilities within the family system. A mother helps her children gain perspective while they are developing a social consciousness.

Maternal nurturance supports siblings and aging parents, as well as friends, especially when engaging in church activities (Pettus-Davis et al., 2015). Other informal ways women helped families to become stable is their ability to act as mediators between family members (Jarrett et al., 2012). Women also contribute to household maintaince and day-to day functioning with acitivities, such as cooking, cleaning, and laundring clothes.

Through my research, I sought to understand what happens to relationships within families and communities following their many incarcerations; to offer concrete rationale for policy makers to consider when creating or justifying legislation practices; thereby leading to further fragmentation of these fragile families (Kleiman, 2015; Lynch et al. 2012; Schnittker, Massoglia, & Uggen, 2012). I used the qualitative approaches of Abner and Stake (2014) and Yin (2013) to analyze the factors shaping African American women's attitudes, values, and beliefs toward their incarcerations and the effects on their family and community life.

These findings contribute to social change by informing academics and other change agents about the experiences of this population of women involved in the criminal justice system. Further, raising the awareness of the significance multiple incarcerations on African American women's perceptions of their family's stability a knowledge area seldom explored. This research will aid legislatures to work toward the goal of avoiding the long-term devastation of families separated by incarceration.

Summary

Of the 1 million women under correctional supervision in the United States, African American women compose 98% of the total population (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). Multiple incarcerations of these women cause family disruption and an inability to maintain family cohesiveness with each subsequent imprisonment (Ayre, 2012; Siegel & Blank, 2010). I presented research on the U.S. prison system and o African American women who were imnmates (Roberts, 2012).

Aaron and Dallaire (2010) attributed the high recidivism rates to the lack of support and rehabilitation services for families stricken by poverty based on the absence of the women incarcerated for nonviolent offenses. Researchers also described the failure to offer rehabilitative opportunities to imprisoned African American women as one of the factors contributing to recidivism.

The maintenance of family relationships was critical to female ex-offenders who experienced multiple incarcerations (Bowles, DeHart, & Webb, 2012). I also considered that the women might have histories of trauma and abuse (Salina et al., 2011). Presented were the problem, purpose, and research question as they were associated and used to justify the chosen conceptual frameworks. In addition, I addressed my rationale for selecting a multiple case study approach, along with the assumptions, limitations, scope, and delimitation for consideration when reviewing the data. I concluded the chapter with underscoring the significance of the study.

In Chapter 2, the research strategy of the literature review will set the stage for the presentation of the central concepts of FT and critical criminology theory. An overview of African American women and the nature of multiple incarcerations will lead to the discussion of the importance of family and trust relationships specific to reentry (Pager, Western, & Justice, 2015). I will also detail aspects of reintegration from incarceration affecting the family system. Finally, gender and moral conscience development will provide a context to understanding the proposed sample's perceptions during the data analysis phase.

In Chapter 3, I will describe the methodology, research design, and rationale for this study. I will explain the motive for choosing a case study design to allow rich data collection of the phenomenon of multiple incarcerations. I will also outline the central concepts of the theoretical framework, the sampling strategy, and recruitment of participants. I will revisit the research question, delineate the role of the researcher and ethical considerations, and finally, review the tools used to analyze data.

I will describe the setting and instrumentations used to collect data presented in Chapter 4. In addition, the demographics of the four participants include their histories of incarceration and family dynamics from their perspectives. The data analysis from their recorded and transcribed statements are the data to answer the research question. I will furnish evidence of trustworthiness and the emerging themes.

Chapter 5 will include interpretations of the findings relevant to the study, including the lack of trust, development of the resentments, anger blame, and damage to

family and social networks. I will then acknowledge the limitations of this study, provide recommendations, and conclude the study with expressing my appreciation for the women's willingness to share what they described as painful and intimate aspects of their lives.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study was to examine the dynamics and perceptions among African American women who experienced multiple incarcerations. I included how their absences due to incarceration affected familial relationships. In addition, I explored the influence of trauma on their psychological well-being and ability to reintegrate into society.

Women remain the fastest growing incarcerated population. African American women leave behind children and aging parents when imprisoned. When a disruption to family continuity occurs, it affects women and their entire family in ways requiring investigation into understanding how to intervene in the breakdown of the African American family. Incarcerating African American women create gaps within their families and communities (BJS, 2015). African American women are one of the most understudied populations within the sector of incarcerated women (Lei, Simons, Edmond, Simons, & Curtrona, 2014). Within the sphere of criminological literature, researchers do not consider women when the focus is on racial inequality (Lei et al., 2014).

Throughout the literature review, I examine studies related to African American women and a variety of social problems such as mass incarceration. In addition, I present information on the influence of poverty and racism in African American women's lives and their relationships. I also include material on the phenomenon of fragile families, trauma, and mental health influences contributing to the incarceration of African

American women, along with the role the of the justice system and paternal incarceration (Geller et al., 2011).

Literature Search Strategy

I used several electronic and publication sources from Walden University's library to conduct my literature review. In addition, I gathered information from peer-reviewed journal articles, books, and government databases such as the BJS, the National Institute .of Corrections, the Department of Justice, and the Office of Juvenile Justice. I searched the following databases to collect additional articles and documents: SocIndex, PsycInfo, Psych ARTICLES, SAGE Premier, ProQuest Central; SAGE Encyclopedia, and Google Scholar.

Also, I revisited documents, such as case-staffing notes and training, regarding varying issues faced working with incarcerated individuals that I had collected the years from previous interviews with individuals in the field of criminal justice. These items served as background information to assist me in locating current information on my topic.

The Chicago Public Library and Chicago State University Library were useful for obtaining hard copies and books. I also purchased electronic books from Amazon. A significant number of studies were about mass incarceration, incarceration, and the incarceration of African American women. However, the majority of relevant studies were more than a decade old. I offered information from seminal authors whose research and writings contributed to the discussion of critical criminology, feminist thought,

culture and race, mass incarceration, and disparate treatment of women of color, including Adler and Adler (1975); hooks (2000); Bloom, Owen, and Covington (2004); Clear (2005); Gilligan (1982); Kennedy (1997); Kohlberg (1973); and Simon (1975). Therefore, a partial content of this review used some articles, books, and documents earlier than the prescribed 5-year range sparingly but in strategic ways.

Terms Used for Research

The search strategy included terms, such as *African American women*, *women in prison*, *incarcerations*, *families of prisoners*, *statistics on women offenders*, *offending women*, *impoverished women*, and *mass incarceration.* I then began searching for data and information on the plight of the African American family and reentry barriers. Following the collection of journal articles, reading books, and discussing this topic with others, I expanded my search strategy to include feminist movement material, which led me to explore Black feminism and critical criminology.

After reviewing the literature on the oppression of women and gender biases, I revisited theories of feminism. Because my research sample was African American women, I examined the specific form of Black feminism that addressed the oppression of women of color. In this chapter, I present information from the literature on the oppression of women, mental health, and psychosocial adjustments. I also include literature reflecting the influence of multiple incarcerations as it relates to African American women's relationships and reintegration into their families.

Theoretical Frameworks

Feminist Theory

Feminist theorists posit that gender inequalities exist in society and desire to foster social change to enhance gender equality (Butler, 2015; Potter, 2013). During the past decade, a variety of feminists have contributed to a paradigm shift and movement to curtail and change circumstance leading to the oppression of women. In particular, and of importance to this study, several foundational feminist criminologist and authors specifically sought to address the oppression of women in the criminal justice system. They also devised a means of advocating for women who faced oppression, have been repressed and have been suppressed (Bloom et al., 2004; Hemmings, 2014). Authors, such as Bloom et al. (2004), paved the way for a discussion on gender bias in the criminal justice system.

With the increase of females in the justice system, a need exists to find methods of treatment that consider gender in programming to achieve improved outcomes (BJS, 2011). The exploration of FT is a means of understanding the treatment of women of color by society, decisions adversely affecting them, and an entrenched culture of poor treatment of African American women (Alexander, 2012; Kennedy, 1997).

The foundation of is that women are ignored, their images are distorted, and representations of them are stereotyped within traditional criminology (Hemmings, 2011). Because gender and race frames cultural and collective identities of women, FT provides a lens to understand society's treatment of women with multiple incarcerations

(Alexander-Floyd, 2010; Butler, 2015). The theories of Adler and Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) were helpful in exploring iterative thinking about women and crime. These advocates suggested, encouraged, and advanced a dialogue on the topic of increased economic opportunities, particularly women affected by the criminal justice system (Adler & Adler, 1975; Hemmings, 2011; Simon, 1975).

The examination of economic disparities and poor treatment of women within society was a foundational principle of feminism that both Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) highlighted to create a public outcry. Their scholarly work provided descriptions of future challenges if society failed to recognize how the poor treatment of women affected families. Their early works had implications for re-entry of female offenders, including paying women who are heads of households fewer wages (Simon, 1975). More recent feminist criminologists explored collateral consequences of mass incarceration, by using a compilation of noted authors, such as Clear (2007), Davis (2013), Forman (2012), Pager et al. (2015) and Richie (2012).

As I explored African American women, it became necessary to examine black feminism in the context of their unique oppression affecting their world view, interactions with others, and self-perceptions (Alexander-Floyd, 2010). Black feminist hooks (2000) addressed how race, capitalism, and gender intersect by comparing patriarchy to racism and other forms of oppression. The author also encouraged an end to sexism, racism, and other forms of oppression aimed at women of color. The perspective of black feminism encompassed the denigrations of women of African descent. In

particular, economically deprived black women faced the complex nexus of relationships in which social constructs of race and gender defined Black women (Collins, 2012).

How did societal oppression influence how women view themselves in the context of their incarceration? By examining African American women's perceptions of how their multiple incarcerations affected their families, it became important to investigate the way in which women developed a moral consciousness (Eisenberg, Hofer, Sulik, & Liew, 2014). The work of seminal author and feminist Gilligan (1982) helped to frame how women viewed their relationships following their multiple incarcerations.

Combined with Black feminism, Gilligan (1982) provided insight into understanding how multiple incarcerations compound formerly incarcerated African American women's struggle. Paralleling the mass incarceration of women, multiple incarcerations influenced African American women's downward spiral into a system unprepared to assist with the issues affecting poor women of color (Alexander, 2012).

Critical criminology had its foundation in understanding social structures and provided an interpretation of motives and agencies dealing with crime (Alexander-Floyd, 2014). Critical criminology and Black feminism provided insights on how society perceived the treatment of African American women (Nicolaidis et al., 2010). The theory encompassed a societal intersection between crime and the criminal justice (Richie, 2012). Specifically, Richie (2012) and Heimer et al. (2012) posited the basis of oppression, marginalization, and societal conflict were race, class, and gender orientations, used as factors in treating criminals.

This pattern was consistent with the experiences of African American women. These elements helped to provide an understanding of how societal factors influenced their personal perceptions (Kruttschnitt, 2013). Using a CCT provided an understanding of how the criminal justice institutions and this sample's self-perception traversed and ultimately affected their relationships with family and society.

African American Women and Multiple Incarcerations

The intersections of African American women, their families, and the lack of empowerment were critical aspects of this study. I examined those relationships by developing an understanding of how these women with multiple incarcerations interacted with their families, as well as how they perceived their reentry into society. Previously incarcerated African-American women experienced disenfranchisement and denied full participation in society (Forman, 2012). They also encountered economic disadvantages because their marginalization contributed to lives of chronic poverty (BJS, 2011; Gelb, King, & Rose, 2012; National Women's Law Center, 2012). Given this place of disadvantage, female offenders/ex-offenders faced greater barriers to stabilization (Lei et al., 2014).

African Americans made up a major portion of women in the prison population across the United States (BJS, 2011). By removing large numbers of mothers, daughters, and sisters from the family unit, their outcomes based on maternal absence, described broken families. Nonviolent African American female offenders were six times more likely to receive sanctions, than any other group of women (BJS, 2011). They

experienced harsher and longer sentencing. Consequently, this condition of prolonged and severe sentencing contributed to African American women's strained and fragile relationships with their families (Wildeman & Western, 2010).

Continued exposure to social injustices, poverty, broken family ties, and limited resources affected the way women reconnected with communities following periods of incarceration (Foster & Hagan, 2014; National Women's Law Center, 2012; Tangeman & Hall, 2011). Using quantitative research, these investigators offered insights on how adverse conditions of living in prison affected the post-incarcerated female and consequently her family unit (Jarrett et al., 2012). However, I was unable to locate studies offering in-depth perspectives based on qualitative methods. Case studies shared phenomena based on the historical and current states of reentry (Gilham, 2012). By exploring the women's interpretations of their lives in the context of their challenges, they compared these challenges to others experiencing the same issues (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012).

For example, Foster and Hagan (2014) focused on the effects of incarceration on mother-child relationships but emphasized the perspectives of the child's well-being. The disruption caused by maternal incarceration contributed to negative outcomes for the children. The results furthered understanding the dynamics of the child and their community but fell short in providing in-depth detail on the mothers.

Multiple incarcerations influenced how the returning mother integrated into her former parental role (Barrick, 2014). Researchers (e.g., Boudin, 2011; Craigie, 2011;

Wildeman, Wakefield, & Turney, 2013) documented how post-incarcerated African American women attempted to parent without considering the effects of their absence. The result of the mother returning home from multiple incarcerations exacerbated adverse behavioral and academic problems in the child's school setting (Craigie, 2011; Esbensen, Peterson, Hagan & Foster, 2012; Taylor, & Freng, 2009).

Other reasons contributed to women's inability to return successfully to the family unit after incarceration (Graham & Harris, 2013). Women's multiple incarcerations inhibited their ability to resume their role as a parent and return to the family unit unchallenged by those who have been caring for their children during their incarceration. Kinship caretaking while confined indicated the distance of correctional facilities from the residence of the family made it difficult for visitation and thus limited the continuity in engagement (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012). The results were damaged or lost relationships (Martin & Wells, 2015).

Gender and Moral Conscience Development

Examining how girls developed their moral conscience was an important aspect of creating a baseline regarding how African American women developed their perceptions of family and what potentially leads women into criminal activity. Researchers (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2014) found gender differences contributed to delinquency rates in patriarchal homes. Comparatively, in egalitarian homes, parents had equal status or the mother was the only parent.

Contingent on their individual moral compass, challenges (e.g., difficulty obtaining jobs, stable housing, and finding their way back into the family post-release) represented barriers to successful reintegration and increased the likelihood of continued criminal activity (Cobbina, 2010). Furthermore, available housing was often substandard and located in blighted communities (Patterson & Yoo, 2012). Factors, such as limited housing options, being under educated and poor employment opportunities, affected African American women's perceptions of their ability to survive (Collica, 2010).

These variables affected whether the women felt able to meet the needs of their children, which infringed on their interactions with their family. Women in poor neighborhoods tended to have more difficulty with property owners barring them from renting in affluent neighborhoods based managers' selectively choosing tenets (Rosen, 2014). According to Salina et al. (2011), a corresponding relationship existed between how women perceived and responded to the housing challenges confronting them, as well as their coping skills, beliefs, and upbringing.

Gilligan (1982) examined how females developed a moral conscience in ways different from males, in contrast to the studies and social experiments conducted by Kohlberg (1971). To understand the nature of female delinquency and its attributing thought processes, Gilligan (1982) examined the origin of outcomes leading to incarceration. The result was part of a series of traumatic events, disrupting African American family relationships. Gender influenced women's self-perceptions based on ascribed roles in American culture, beginning with early childhood experiences, and later

contributing to their socialization and maturation processes. Gilligan's work helped lay the foundation of the importance of gender and supported the development of FT and critical criminology in the future.

Research on images of African American women and scholarly studies informed understanding the ways in which moral consciousness and racial identity developed from a psychological standpoint (Vazquez, 2014). These findings confirmed the work of seminal author Kennedy (1997) who examined the process of how society responded to African American women. Images of African American women's sexuality contributed to their victimization, increased maltreatment, and poor decision-making, which ultimately led to criminal involvement (Bush, 2012).

As body image dissatisfaction increased, researchers (i.e., Cox, Zunker, Wingo, Thomas, & Ard, 2010) discovered that quality of life decreased for African American women compared to women of other ethnicities. Stereotypical representations damaged their mental health and self-esteem, coupled with experiencing discriminatory practices in the criminal justice system. Multiple incarcerations of African American women increased and became widespread (Carpenter, 2012).

Gilligan (1982) added a gender perspective to the foundational work of Kohlberg (1971) by using a feminist lens from the early 1970s to include the different ways in which females developed a moral conscience differently than males. In the updated prolog of Gilligan's book, the author described the differences between the voices in which men speak, where changes in the resonance portray emotional connections with

feelings and thoughts through the deep resonance of their voices. In contrast, muted female voices resulted in continued subjugation.

Gilligan (1982) began with the premise women developed a moral conscience in different ways than their male counterparts. By exploring the psychology of women's and men's lives, including the effect of gender differences in creating a social structure, researchers could better appreciate how women developed moral consciousness in connection with relationships to others (Haley, 2013). Following Gilligan's rationale, women participated in criminal activity with a different line of decision-making processes based on how women developed a moral consciousness (Cobbina, 2010). Insufficiently noted and undervalued, Gilligan (1982) described emotional stamina as a strength for women.

Gilligan (1982) suggested that women struggled for acceptance and approached conflict and dilemmas differently than men. Women's reasoning stemmed from a different rationale. When faced with obstacles, relational qualities of trust, engagement, and authenticity, enabled women to problem-solve and overcome by connecting with mentors and others available for support (Boddy, Agllias, & Gray, 2012). In the context of the environment from which women grew and developed, their methods to construct their identities become relevant (Potter, 2013). Multiple marginalized intersecting identities complicated the lives of black women and their involvement in the criminal justice system. Researchers viewed the connectedness of women as essential to their

ability to endure and survive circumstances of their lives (Boddy et al., 2012; Gilligan, 1982: Potter, 2013).

Supportive work by feminist criminologists, such as Adler and Adler (1975) and Simon (1975), took the cloak of invisibility away, so the analysis of female criminality was not restricted to casting women into theoretical frameworks, which assumed a woman is like a man (Schmallenger, 2011). Modern feminists continued to follow the path led by critical criminologist by redirecting the analysis of crime to include gender specific approaches (Bush, 2014). They used critical criminology to reframe policies based on male dominance (Bush, 204; Gilligan, 1982). For example, the vast majority of women had histories of sexual abuse and other forms of violence perpetrated against them at higher rates when compared to their male counterparts (BJS, 2011).

Clinical psychologists founded programs, such as boot camp, based on a military model of strict discipline and structure, that included a great deal of yelling and confrontation, potentially led to additional trauma and re-victimization of women (Salina, et al., 2011). Viewing women as similar to men discounted how they made decisions to engage in criminal activity. Potter (2013) characterized these assumptions as a disservice to women, especially those with non-violent offenses. While resources remained limited in communities of color, women's invisibility and voicelessness within the criminal justice system continued to contribute to over-sanctioning and higher rates of incarceration (Clear, 2007; Potter, 2013).

Systemic efforts to demonstrate equity and fairness in treatment compounded gender disparities, by treating females the same as male offenders (Graham & Harris, 2013). The result was over incarcerating women, especially those with nonviolent offences. Examining statistics by gender illustrated non-violent females received equal rates of institutionalization in prisons as males who commited violent crimes (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) prepared annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, tracked criminal activity across the United States. Detailed data for 2011 (the most recently published) documented the rates of violent crimes by gender throughout the country (Appendix E). Although women committed fewer violent crimes than men, rates of incarcaration were equal to those of men (BJS, 2015).

The practice of treating non-violent female offenders as if they were violent, affected women's perception of themselves and their family stability (Taylor et al., 2013). Therefore, exploration of women's interpretation of gender bias within the criminal justice system contributed to the body of knowledge regarding the influence of length of sentencing on African American women and family cohesiveness.

Gilligan (1982) spoke of American society, and the deep historical roots of separation are revealing undeniable facts about gender and male privilege. Exploration of crime by gender illustrated that although women committed fewer violent offenses, incarceration rates mirrored standards similar to men with histories of violence.

Gilligan's work illustrated how policies, creating a separation of women from their homes at disproportionate rates, exacerbated problems within families.

How women viewed themselves, developed self-esteem, and moral reasoning collectively influenced their choices to participate in criminal behaviors and the subsequent consequences affecting their family relationships (Bush, 2012). Kennedy (1997) and Gilligan (1982) described out how society upheld the discrepancies of gender issues in the treatment of women, by misdirecting future investigations. Chesney-Lind (2013) and Simon (2004) voiced feminist opionions regarding how women became unintended victims of mass incarceration. Moreover, women's absence in data sets and determined this absence laid the foundation for policies, when the female population began to increase.

Female offenders treated the same as males to demonstrated objectivity and fairness created gender inequalities (Kruttschnitt, 2013). Unfair treatment affected female perceptions and ultimately how they interacted with family members, potential employers, and property owners (Clear, 2007). The maltreatment perceptions had far-reaching implications for how African-American women responded to crisis (Blakely & Hatcher, 2013). These life events may be more devastating to African American women because of historical traumas [e.g. slavery, segregation, and institutional racism] (Blakely & Hatcher, 2013). Furthermore, this effort to achieve equity played out every day in courtrooms across the United States in sentencing and sanctioning of African American women to prison for nonviolent offense.

According to the BJS (2015) and the FBI uniform crime report (2011), men represented 98% of prisoners in custody for violent offenses. These statistics begged several questions about sentencing practices involving nonviolent women, separated from their families by lengthy prison terms (Gelb et al., 2012). The data in sources including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2013), National Crime Victim Survey (2012), National Incident-Based Reporting System (2013), the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2011), Bureau of Prisons (2015), and the Office of Juvenile Justice (2013) reported similar findings in relationship to gender and crime.

Black feminism encompassed the denigrations of women of African descent, including the economically deprived (Craigie, 2011; Jarrett et al., 2012). Qualitative studies with an examination of the internal dynamics of African American women's extended kinship networks included the ways in which inner city neighborhoods influenced their composition. Discovered was that families pooled resources, augmented services, and created family sociability as survival strategies. They used these strategies as specific responses to social and institutional challenges.

Children with imprisoned parents, particularly mothers, were at greater risk of experiencing discriminatory practices, social exclusion, increased poverty, and the breakdown of family ties (Ayre, 2012). Disrupted family's attitudes, values, and beliefs are the foundation for unhealthy social and moral development (Eisenberg et al., 2014). The lack of stability within these families weakened already fragile systems (Liebling & Arnold, 2012).

In critically examining the lives of African American women to understand how women's perceptions became influenced by adverse events, researchers (i.e., Wildeman & Western, 2010) focused on documenting the experiences of younger females and their subsequent exposure to trauma(s). Predicated on the lens from which they viewed their world, Gilligan (1982) exposed their perceptions of themselves and the world around them. Distinguishing between gender differences in moral development included observing how disparities and treatment in society influenced women's outlooks. The outcomes were that African American women experienced life differently than other groups of women (Liebman, et al., 2014). Furthermore, these experiences had a bearing on how women adapted and coped to create a sense of well-being and resiliency.

Psychological and Social Adjustments

Salina et al. (2011) found African American women who experienced multiple incarcerations encountered numerous psychological and social challenges. Ardetti and Few (2008) suggested multiple incarcerations contributed to a prevalence of interrelated risk factors described as the *triple threat*: depression, domestic violence, and substance abuse (p.303). Salina et al. (2011) examined what several researchers had described as this *triple threat* when violence combined with addiction and depression moved to focus on maternal distress (Wahab et al., 2014). Depression, violence, and addiction compounded by multiple incarcerations negatively affected the lives of women who came into the system with deficits of literacy, poverty, and a myriad of other social ills (Comfort, 2012).

Important differences existed in depression care for African American women who were less likely to pursue or receive referrals (Nicolaidis et al., 2010). African American women desired a positive relationship with their children and those who lost custody hoped to regain custody of their children upon their return home (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012). Given their struggle with various mental health and substance abuse issues, compounded by their legal problems and their relationships with their family members, these women faced difficulties in meeting their caretaking responsibilities (Gilham, 2012).

Literature about women's incarceration conflated African-American women's experiences with other ethnic groups of women. Treating the subjects as if social influences had little or no effect on choices to commit crimes (Nicolaidis et al., 2010; Salina et al., 2011). Psychological stress, according to Salina et al. (2011), Aaron and Dallaire (2010) and Barrick (2014), pointed to difficulties incarcerated women experienced when attempting to reintegrate into their communities following protracted periods of incarceration.

Nicolaidis et al. (2010) noted ample evidence of important differences in the care of African American women with depression. Suggested was that physicians were less likely to detect, treat, refer, or actively manage depressive symptoms when evaluating this population. Current researchers (e.g., Barrick, 2014) explored in the women's voices how their perceptions affected their interactions and choices. They documented what the women perceived as strengths and barriers within the context of their family

relationships. Psychological stress within families was one of the contibuting factors to women returning to their old habits and familiar places with behaviors counterproductive to avoidance of the justice system.

Social adjustment includes contending with macro level challenges. For example, racial stigma, as well as micro level issues of individual stability for African American women with multiple incarcerations were present (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). Researchers (e.g., Belknap, 2010; Salina et al., 2011) reported that social adjustment of African American women shaped by their unique experience and exposure to bigotry, racism, and stereotypes, combined with underpinnings of maltreatment. Therefore, social adjustment of female offenders returning from prison included adjusting to or overcoming the stigma of their first incarceration, while attempting to secure employment (Goldweber, Cauffman, & Cillessen, 2014). Other issues associated with reintegrating in the family unit included children not accepting them back into the familial relationship, hampering their ability to interact with others in the household (Salina et al., 2011).

Society's assessment of a women's worth shaped their self-perception and social identity (Byrd & Shavers, 2013). Descriptions of African American women and their families included stereotypes about their ethnicity, gender, and pathology in different types of family structures (Oppliger, 2008; Byrd & Shavers, 2013). These characterizations affected their overall psychological health because they consistently saw themselves through negative lenses (Byrd & Shavers, 2013).

Stigmatizing images of black women as the *welfare queen* in the 1990s and the *video vixen* in the 21st-century affected how African American women perceived their value and worth within society (Logue, 2011). These values supported not only the perceptions of Black women about themselves but ultimately reinforced common beliefs and actions towards these women (Kruttschnitt, 2013). Noteworthy were similar attitudes making their social adjustment back into society even more precarious.

Gender influenced women's self-perceptions and their ascribed roles in American culture (Oney, Cole, & Sellers, 2011). Disparate treatment of women, coupled with social challenges, such as living in poverty under duress, compromised their ability to develop effective coping skills and create healthy relationships (Salina, et al., 2011). Incarceration compounded fragile and tenuous relationships.

Women suffering from mental health disorders or trauma did not respond to treatment efforts until they sufficiently healed from previously inflected wounds (Salina, et al., 2011; Shantz, Kilty, & Frigon, 2009). Long-term implications included how mistreatment of African American women affected their children through adulthood (Copeland & Snyder, 2011). As children got older and provided for themselves, the dependency on maternal care decreased (Boudin, 2011). However, as children got older added risk factors, such as the mother going to prison, marginalization, increased (Geller et al., 2011).

In a study on self-esteem, Byrd and Shavers (2013) found one of the most important things social support systems taught women was self-reliance. Finding

resilience within was essential for women with histories of incarceration. Theseexperiences exacerbated existing mental health problems and made her return to the family unit difficult without proper support during their institutionalization (Foster & Hagan, 2014). Sustaining lasting family connections was difficult for formerly incarcerated women who already lacked the ability to either secure their children's father's support through marriage or did not desire to marry and thus had broken family systems (Shamble, Arnold, Mckieman, Colling, & Strader, 2013).

One of the most common arguments to explain the race paradox in mental health was the notion that stronger family networks protected African Americans from severe distress (Mouzon, 2013). However, researchers (Pullen, Perry, & Oser, 2014) documented how those seemingly protective factors were decreasingly less present, and previous support was not as dependable as once theorized.

High rates of incarcerated women in Cook County Jail reported co-occurring mental health sympotomolgy (Hatzenbuehler, Keyes, Hamilton, Uddin, & Galea, 2015). Misdiagnosed or undiagnosed African American women became vulnerable to encounters with the criminal justice system, the new warehouse for America's discarded since the 1980s (Christian & Thomas, 2009). Multiple unmet needs of incarcerated African American women were unmet and affected their mental health status (Schnittker et al., 2012). Older African American women often suffered from depression for years and go undetected, hampering their ability to interact appropriately with family members (Spence, Daniel, & Adkins, 2011).

African American women, who led alternative lifestyles while incarcerated, faced psychological heterosexism manifested through the promotion of violence against lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and transgendered (LGBT) people (Martinez & Sullivan, 2011). Their family and community might find their alternative lifestyle and gay identity unacceptable. African-Americans value the extended family as they experienced societal discrimination collectively. However; strong anti-gay attitudes exist within the Black culture and commonly attributed to strongly held religious beliefs, heterosexist attitudes, and the shortage of available men.

The lack of acceptance of their alternative lifestyle created additional family stress and problems when attempting to regain custody of their children (McNamara, 2014). Women were often too ashamed to speak about their experiences during periods of incarceration (McIntyre, 2013). Not wanting their family members to know about their activities while in custody created a veil of silence, which permeated their lives.

Family and Trust Relationships

The family contributes to shaping an individual's identity, perspectives, and life experiences through the process of socialization (Wilder & Cain, 2011). Socialization happens in the context of family (Chavis, 2012). Social engagement influences child-rearing practices and provides opportunities to establish trusting relationships.

Although social experiences varied across cultures, incarceration of an individual altered trust levels and bonds with family members upon returning home (Foster & Hagan, 2014). For example, prison environment influences an inmate's personality and

exposes them to hostile and predatory environments (Taylor et al., 2013). These experiences alter their personality and affect how they interact with others.

Female prisoners built relationships or fictive kin families as a means of surviving hostile environments (Taylor et al., 2013). Male prisoners developed variations of trust levels with other prisoners and staff as a means of survival, and a way to avoid punishment or harm (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). Social relationships between male prisoners might be anxiety-based and related to violence, power, and dominance (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). However, according to feminist theories, distinctive gender differences in trust relationships variations did little to explain how women formed trust relationships or why women focused their lives on building connectedness.

Fictive kin, a term used by anthropologist and ethnographers, is a description of kinship forms or social ties based on neither blood ties nor marriage (Shwartz-Soicher, Geller, & Garfinkel, 2011). Creating fictive families, while incarcerated, helped women cope (Cook & Willams, 2015). As a result of repeat incarcerations, women created fictive kin circles that extended outside of prison walls and back to the community. Asserting these relationships and circles into their family of blood origin was challenging because the blood family may not embrace the unrelated friends.

Life circumstances often dictated reliance on these fictive kin networks women formed to obtain housing, find resources, and support soberity when relative blood relationships were not responsive to their needs (Glass, 2014). This reliance also created difficulties for women attempting to avoid exposure to criminal activities (Bowles et al.,

2012). Maintaining crime free lifestyles was difficult when family continuity was fragile incarcerated (Cook & Willams, 2015). These women who led lifestyles of crime experienced difficulties trusting others not involved in criminal activity (Barrick, 2014). Thus, they developed intense trust relationships with fictive kin, in contrast to their blood families.

The resulting stress returning women experienced on familial relationships as the result of fictive kin relationships could stem from resentments based on trusting non-family members more than family (Mchale, Waller, & Pearson, 2012). Although Taylor, et al. (2013) provided insights into the social networks within the prison setting, they failed to offer insights on effects post-incarceration. Upon returning to the community, they also developed friendships and fictive kin relationships, while attending support groups from recovery homes, twelve step meetings , such as Alcoholic Anonymous and Narcotic Anonymous, with individuals, who like themselves, struggle with maintaining their sobriety (Collica, 2010).

Feminists over the years reported that women were relational in nature and tended to interact with one another in a trusting manner (Bloom et al., 2004; Collica, 2010). Understanding this process helped to frame how women engagde in interpersonal relationships (Richie, 2012). African American women's trust relationships extended beyond the family to other formal and informal support structures, such as the church and other organizations (Martin et al., 2010). For example, African American women who did

not have or were estranged from their family, found support in church membership where they created brothers and sisters (Taylor et al., 2013).

A large body of studies supported the importance of religion in African American communities (Brade, 2008). Women created a family that integrated Christian values of faith and social justice with community well-being, enabling African American women to receive practical and formal education and social support (Goldweber et al., 2014). Social welfare programs added accessing religious institutitions as resources .

Trust relationships may be difficult to develop because of the shame and stigma often associated with incarceration (Chavis, 2012). Affected women may shy away from support network,s such as church and other social networks fearing negative interactions (Martin et al., 2010). However, especially with older women, spirituality was a continuous thread amongst African American women.

This network might prove critical to a women's stability, as spirituality has been a stabilizing and protective factor for women, permeating their conversations regarding recovery and improvement of their lives (Lichtenwalter, Garase, & Barker, 2010). Although affected women may shy away from informal support networks, studies on low-income African American families consistently identified the importance of extended kinship in developing strategies of successful coping (Jarrett et al., 2012). Researchers provided an understanding of the importance of family and trust networks, but failed to account for how women overcome the stigma and ambivalence of integrating back into support networks (Opsal & Foley, 2013).

Society often frowned on recipients of welfare and public assistance (Sugie, 2012). Incarcerated individuals, perceived as already getting free rides, received entitlement benefits to assist in supporting their families. Salina et al. (2011) indicated women faced barriers to accessing services due to stigma and other issues preventing them from seeking help. Formerly incarcerated African American women had significantly smaller social networks than other ethnicities with mental health and substance abuse issues (Mouzon, 2013). Gilham (2012) reported that 17 women, who had a total of 10 children and four stepchildren between them, explained how incarcerated women's perceptions of the social welfare programs prevented them from fully employing resources and affected their relationships and activities with their children.

Within the African-American community, a great distrust of the criminal justice system spilt over into other areas of African American women's lives, including involvement and fear of children's services agencies, police, and the court system (Alexander, 2012). Those social service agencies and organizations designed to support and assist families, such as the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS), were also sources of distrust and stress African Americans faced and could lead to further issues within their family (Blakely & Hatcher, 2013). However, a gap remained in understanding how women with multiple incarcerations could work to overcome these reintegration issues and rebuild trust with their families (Jarrett et al., 2012).

Severely strained and terminated marital and romatic relationships during imprisonments were a consequence of the stresses associated with forced separation

(Shamble, Arnold, Mckieman, Colling, & Strader, 2013). Unclear was how many of the Illinois facilities continued to allow contact visitation for spouses and family members due to rule and policy changes frequently occurring and often at the discretion of facility officials (Illinois Legislature Bureau of Prisons, 2003). The Illinois Administrative Title 20 Code Part 525 Rights and Privileges, which had not been amended since 2003, governed visits inside of prison institutions (e.g. limited visitation hours, prior approval of visitations, ages of visitors, and lack of privacy, etc.). This code served as another way of eroding strained family relationships (Wildemanet al., 2013).

One of the major detractors for continued relationships was the gender obsessions with issues of fidelity to their partner and accusations of unfaithfulness during periods of incarceration. These factors made trust difficult and often resulted in interpersonal violence upon returning home (Bowles et al., 2012). When examining incarcerated male and female relationships, the effects were more complicated than the scope of this research. Further invesitgations could inform academia on the impact of incarceration on families when parental incarceration involved both mother and father and explore whether trust issues that arise were more severe (Tomandl, 2015).

Researchers (Turney & Wildeman, 2013) reported few differences in parental involvement in the homes where a woman was the primary caregiver before incarceration versus incarcerated men. The explanation of changes in parenting males was in the context of the children's relationships with their mothers. In other words, when a father became incarcerated, the effect on the Black family was not as severe because he was not

as involved in caregiving as the mother. The result may be repeated relationship trust issues, not only for the woman but also her children, who may have difficulty as they mature in developing and sustaining relationships (Craigie, 2011).

Reintegration Into the Family System

A broad range of obstacles slowing their capacity to make a smooth transition from prison to the community and reconnection with their families and children hindered many African-American women (Barrick, 2014). Keeping children informed about the steps from arrest to prison or telling children of their mothers' whereabouts was not a priority (Foster & Hagan, 2014). Furthermore, withholding information from children regarding their mother's incarceration made it difficult for her to establish a healthy relationship with her children upon her return. Failure to help children cope with their mother's incarceration led to increasing levels of depression and anxiety and resulting in profound emotional damage (Mouzon, 2013).

Children have a right to a relationship with their incarcerated parent, irrespective of their mother's crimes (Turney, Schnittker, & Wildeman, 2012). At the time of arrest or incarceration of their parent, representatives from the justice system frequently fail to speak with the child(ren) about what is taking place and do not consider their rights (Ayre, 2012). Left with little sense of control, children often felt alienated when a parent was arrested (Epstein, 2013).

According to Epstein (2013), who echoed the sentiment of many who work with incarcerated individuals, children have a right to a relationship with their incarcerated

parent. Grandparents/Caregivers do not tell children about their mother and/or misinformed them regarding their mother's desire to remain in their lives (Craigie, 2011). Ignored following secured placement, children misconstrued the mother's intentions. Seemingly, for the benefit of the children, their caregivers, and the welfare system inflicted additional harm by further obscuring successful rehabilitation for the mother (Boudin, 2011).

Social workers, probation officers, and family members providing information to hopeful repatriated women inadvertently break trust with the women by providing erroneous and inaccurate information (Pullen et al., 2014). The "Blue Book," a social service directory created by Easter Seals, similar to a phone book but a compilation of resources published every 2 years, had lists of names and contacts for people no longer affiliated with the organization (Tabasa, Kajoka, & Willemsen, 2014). The resources were often closed, fees incorrect or not listed, and services changed from those listed.

The breakdown in reunification and trust may be hampered by a lack of resources when repatriated women rely on others to assist them in reestablishing their parental role (Clear, 2007). With the return of a parent into the family, the handover of parental authority may shift or become strained (Opsal & Foley, 2013). Caregivers of the children of incarcerated women served a pivotal and direct role mediating the adjustments and transitions for the incarcerated parent (Graham & Harris, 2013). They needed assistance transitioning from the external control of prison life to internal self-control and independent decision-making (Opsal & Foley, 2013). Overcoming routines established

by the caregiver, loss of their independence, and the culture of having lived in prison took time (Sheehan, 2014).

Upon release and return to freedom, tired and overwhelmed caregivers, as well as the courts, might return all children to the woman before she was ready to accept the responsibility of parenting again (Graham & Harris, 2013). Suddenly having responsibility for children without the proper resources created problems, especially if the children began to act out. A multimethod approach to providing supportive services, including involvement of systemic and environmental change agents, was needed to work with families (Chavis, 2012).

The strain on the maternal relationships between formerly incarcerated women, their family/caregivers, and children, in particular, may take an adverse toll on their erability to manage affairs (Sheehan, 2014). Outsider expectations of women under the stress of regaining their lives affected her actions (Tangeman & Hall, 2011). Furthermore, people's judgments of her ability to exercise control over events in her life and that of her children placed her at risk of relapsing or reoffending. Formerly incarcerated women with histories of drug use problems experienced difficulties reintegrating into their families and society (Tomita, 2013). Drug use was associated with high rates of recidivism among formerly incarcerated women, creating another hurdle to overcome (Pullen et al., 2014).

Lack of supportive resources also increases the possibility of a breakdown in reunification (Salina, et al., 2011). Salina et al. (2011) revealed 67% of the women in

their study who had drug problems also indicated housing was a critical necessity. The lack of afforable housing created circumstances where women were unable to meet the expenses of safe places to reside (Desmond, 2012). They had to live with family members or friends upon release.

Mental health issues also hampered post-incarcerated women's ability to achieve stability (Mouzon, 2013). Identification of this critical factor was important for women with mental health needs (Beck & Boncazar, 2010; National Women's Law Center, 2012). Negative repercussions from changes in legislation regarding the mandatory release of people with mental illnesses from psychiatric hospitals with no insurance affected America's prisons (Ayre, 2012). This situation forced staff with little experience in mental health to adapt to an overwhelmingly mentally incapacitated population (Beck & Boncazar, 2010; BJS, 2011; Jarrett et al., 2012; Salina et al., 2011).

With the lack of consistent and appropriate mental health treatment before and during incarceration, women returned home with undetected and untreated mental health issues. With this reality, these women had difficulty in re-establishing familial relationships difficult (Schnittker et al., 2012). Living in communities with safe and affordable housing was essential for individuals and families, as it contributed to an overall environment for creating a healthy family lifestyle (Turney & Wildeman, 2013). African American women returning home after multiple incarcerations confronted challenges in locating housing within communities, which they could afford and meet the credit requirements for entry (Sheehan, 2014).

Clear (2007) described how mass incarceration made disadvantaged neighborhoods worse. Policy, more than crime variables, accounted for the growth in prison population, the number of people who entered prison, and how long they stayed. Ayre (2012) emphasized the need for careful review of policies affecting the ability for African American women to reintegrate successfully. The majority of prisoners returned to the same communities they lived prior to their incarceration (BJS, 2011).

Women, attempting to reintegrate, drew on the same pool of resources as other women in similar circumstances (Pare & Felson, 2014). Something as simple as the ability to prepare nutrious meals for her children affected how she interacted with family and community (Patton, 2012). Women returned to neighborhoods where access to grocery stores was limited and without transportation to shop elsewhere, they become dependant on local corner stores where fresh produce and food was expensive or unavailable which created food deserts.

Reintegration efforts also needed to be concerned with the choice and composition of a person's community (Comfort, 2012). According to Christian and Thomas (2009), peoples' environment and living conditions affected their quality of life. Mass incarcerations were a form of coercive mobility, destabilizing neighborhoods upon removal of the offender and then their return (Muraskin, 2012). When given a choice, people lived in places offering the social amenities they wanted in their lives (Wood, 2014). In reality, most people lived where they could afford the prices.

Wilson and Kelling (1982) developed the concept of vulnerability of neighborhoods in their *broken windows theory*, which addressed the rise of crime and poverty as neighborhoods deteriorated and presented as accessible to criminals. Communities tended to have shared norms, beliefs, and values (Wood, 2014). Those who remained in poor neighborhoods lived in communities with high rates of crime and violence and little access to jobs or means to leave (Lei et al., 2014). From an intergenerational perspective, children and their offspring would endure similar circumstances.

As African American women returned home to the distressed neighborhoods, they struggled with bills and costs associated with raising their children (Heimer et al., 2012). The bulk of formerly incarcerated women returned to the communities from which they left. Therefore, those working with this population need to assist them in preparing for their return in unique and different ways (Collica, 2010). Counselors, parole officers, social workers, and family members must be aware of the mental and physical health challenges of incarcerated African American women, as well as the parenting issues they confront (Stevens-Watkins et al., 2014).

The need for therapeutic interventions was particularly urgent for families who experienced incarceration (Graham & Harris, 2013). Programs allowing recovering mothers to reside with their children demonstrated efficacy for the children and mothers (Collica, 2010). They offered opportunities for the mother to learn coping, interpersonal, and parenting skills from observing other mothers with similar backgrounds.

Telling their life histories with mutual support from other residents who shared previous traumas improved recovery strategies (Jarrett et al., 2012). Families also needed support and assistance, as they struggled with their challenges (Geller et al., 2011). Without acquiring skills to respond to African American women returning home, families could inadvertently jeopardize the fragile recovery status of the women.

Negative lifestyle and its effects occur with African American women long before they become incarcerated (Alexander-Floyd, 2014). It was difficult to disentangle these ramifications. The selection of a case study approach was heuristic for African American women to tell their explanations of how incarceration contribited to their plight.

The statements yielded from their accounts of what occurred to them before and during incarceration provide powerful insights into family dynamics (Richie, 2012). These findings could aalso provide rival explanations (Yin, 2013). According to Yin (2013), the stronger the rivals or diverse statements emerged, the more cases a researcher might want to demonstrate other explanationshade been taken into account. Issues faced by formerly incarcerated African American women returning home revealed a myriad of societal problems (Irby, 2014). These historical and social issues affected the way women perceived themselves, their relationships to others and influenced their behavior (Irby, 2014). Social practices and perceptions not addressed in previous literature substantiated the use of a multi-case approach (Yin, 2013).

Salina et al. (2011) described social practices as a *structuration*, positing practice and structure formed a transformational loop. Structuration is a component theory in

which social life was more than random acts determined by social forces in a relationship with each other (Hildebrand & Martel, 2012). The continuity of the past and the creation of the present experiences come together and form structuration because all actions exist in continuity with the past. This process of women's experiences with multiple incarcerations and social change occurs over time, whether positive or negative.

Risk Factors and Social Capital Impact Associated With Reintegration

Unaddressed risk factors prior to incarceration exacerbated during the reintegration process (Pflugradt & Allen, 2014). Maternal incarceration had an independent effect on a child's behavior, academic performance, and mental health (Christian, 2009). Given the difficulties the mother faced leading to incarceration, reintegrating her with family and particularly her children could be complicated (McIntyre, 2013).

African American women did not typically have the social capital to maintain strong family structures (Ravanera & Rajulton, 2010). In fact, social capital was greater with intact families than single parent families. Repatriated African American women single parents had limited social capital based on relationships with kin, friends, neighbors and peers (BJS, 2011). Without a diverse network on which to rely, stress became another problem for repatriated women (Ravanera & Rajulton, 2010). Women who lacked social capital, relied on community resources while attempting to build their networks of support. Limited formulaic solutions existed to address the complex

problems related to African American women's reintegration with their families following multiple stints of incarceration (Clear, 2007).

The experiences of women living inside prison continued to affect their lives long after their release, limiting the possibility of successful reintegration (Shantz et al., 2009). This process created a perpetual loop of incarceration with minimal time on the streets or *in the world*; a term formerly incarcerated women used to distinguish periods of incarceration from times of being free. They might have a difficult time in transforming their lives from criminal activity.

Mother-Child Relationships

While African American women are in custody, various family members provided caregiving to minor children and supported adult children a (Bell, 2008). Relational patterns of mothers and grandmothers caring for their grandchild were the units of analysis. Mcale, Waller and Pearson (2012) examined the crucial role grandmothers played in the lives of their grandchildren when mothers were incarcerated.While the researchers provided insight into one aspect of African-American women's mother-daughter relationship, the full scope, and range of how women related to others following incarceration might yield other findings (Bell, 2008; Mchale, Waller& Pearson, 2012). Because women might have difficulty caring for their children upon their return, caregivers often remained involved and were a source of strength or alternately increased the anxiety women feel about their abilities to care for their children (Gilham, 2012).

Scholars (Gilham, 2012; Roberts, 2014) argued feminist theorizing on motherhood left African-American women out of traditional discourses Black mothers' experiences were quite different than conventional and middle-class depictions of mothering. Roberts (2014) pointed out significant racial disparities in child protection inside and outside of the criminal justice system, where Black families had closer scrutiny leading to placing their children into child welfare systems. While motherhood was full-time for other ethnicities, African American women shared parenting with "other mothers" who may not have any blood ties.

Gilham (2012) showed mothers wanted to parent well. African American women also realized their incarceration caused sadness and fear during their separation from their children. Other family members and their feelings about this separation might be underestimated by many, creating yet another possible barrier.

Changes in living arrangements occurred following maternal imprisonment included children's family relationships with siblings (Waid, 2014). Incarcerated mothers were more involved in their children's lives before incarceration than fathers, yet received fewer visits from their children (Martin & Wells, 2015). This absense limited mothers opportunities to sustain their parental relationships and potential contribution to decreasing the number of disruptions children experience.

Coordinating visitation between siblings with incarcerated parents did not regularly occur when not in the same household (Foster & Hagan, 2014). Living in different homes did little to help siblings foster their relationships not only with their

parents but also with their siblings (Buist & Vermande, 2014). Imprisoned women who maintained close relationships with their family were less likely to recidivate and reported better parole success (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012).

Gilham (2012) found that mothers would not access social welfare programs for fear of losing custody of their children. These incarcerated women admittedly expressed their need to learn how to interact, discipline, and set limits for their children in constructive ways that did not involve the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) agents. Roberts (2014) explored how child protection workers monitored African American families. Further ccompounding the fear women have of seeking help from child protective services was the awareness of how many African American children lived in foster care homes.

Whether real or perceived, the fear of losing custody of their children was a barrier to accessing supportive services (Wildeman & Western, 2010). Other challenges faced by formerly incarcerated African American women were the strained mother-child relationships and potentially emotional, intellectual, and cognitive delays for their children (Hagan & Foster, 2014). In addition, the educational challenges of these children of parental imprisonment were serious, particularly African American children whose parents had little education.

Children of women incarcerated for short periods or inconsistently over several years reported feeling unsafe, insecure, and uncertain about their futures (Boudin, 2011).

They perceived parents as having no control over their lives. Thus, they were unable to protect themselves or their children.

The repeated loss of their mothers could result in continued grieving, thereby increasing the likelihood of behavior problems in school and mental health issues (Hagan & Foster, 2012, 2014). Unlike the finality of death, the grief for a parent through the loss by incarceration became compounded, because with the relief they experienced when they returned, shifted back to grief when they were suddenly absent again due to another period of incarceration (Shwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). Multiple incarcerations perpetuating this cycle caused anger and pain, which young children were unable to understand (Hagan & Foster, 2012). They displayed their reaction to their mother's incarceration by performing poorly academically or exhibiting behavior problems at school and home.

The disappointment of losing their mothers with each subsequent incarceration had an effect on children requiring regular examination (Chavis, 2012). The resulting behaviors when children were unable to cope with their feelings or analyze the cause of those feelings could create a rift between mother and child, as well as the caregiver (Miller & Barnes, 2015). The mother might not have the skills to address these issues, which left her open to feelings, unprepared to address (Craigie, 2011; Poehlmann, Shalfer, Maes, & Hanneman, 2008; Shantz et al., 2009). Her response would be to try to avoid facing her role in contributing to her family breakdown (Shantz et al., 2009)

Children also worried about their incarcerated parents, as much, if not more than parents worry about their children (Graham & Harris, 2013). Kissane (2012) found troubled youth tended to join gangs at higher rates than those without problematic home lives. Youth with supportive homes faced fewer conflictual relations with neighbors and exhibited greater trust of others. Findings from other studies (e.g., Lei et al., 2014) indicated programming was key to reducing youths' impulsive and risk seeking tendencies while increasing their moral convictions and social conscience. This behavior deterred them from forming bonds with deviant peers and encouraged association with pro-social peers.

The absences of their mothers due to periods of incarceration played a crucial role in the lack of development of a social conscience (Manning, 2011). Mothers with multiple incarcerations had difficulty parenting teenagers with gang connections (Folk, Dallaire, & Zeman, 2014). Concern for the mother's mental well-being was crucial when attempting to parent their children because of the stress involved (Folk et al., 2014).

An issue faced by all incarcerated women was finding a caregiver who ensured that their children maintained a relationship with them while imprisoned (Derby, 2012). Incarcerated mothers expressed concerns regarding knowing where their children would be on their return home. Impoverished African-American families already had caregivers taking on the extra burdens of more children in their household. When an incarcerated parent returned home, the family dynamics shifted again, and stress levels in the home

increased, thereby placing additional strain on an already overwhelmed environment (Gelb et al., 2012).

Aaron and Dallaire (2010) discussed how personal habits of each family member must accommodate others in the household and increased family conflict. Requirements while on parole could also change family relationships (Maschi, Schwalbe, & Ristow, 2013). For example, when a mother is required to participate in substance abuse treatment or live in a halfway house, children were more likely to experience separation from siblings and the rest of the family (Graham & Harris, 2013). Families with multiple siblings were likely to have children with multiple fathers, further contributing to the likelihood of separation and adjustment for the women as they tried to negotiate relationships with the different men (Richie, 2012).

Further complicating matters, one in three African American males born in 2003 would serve time in prison (Waid, 2014). Therefore, the likelihood of an African American child having one or both parents incarcerated was high (Bush, 2012). Updated information from a special report showed the chances of a person going to prison was higher for men (95%) than women (1%), and higher for Blacks (16%) and Hispanics (9%) than whites (2%) (Beck & Boncazar, 2010). Black males had a higher risk of going to prison than any other group). These men left their children behind with mothers left to cope with raising children alone and living with economic strain (Manning, 2011).

When both parents had criminality and incarceration in common, children would grow up with a myriad of problems due to absent, restrictive, and unresponsive parental

practices (Shemmings, Shemmings, & Cook, 2012). Researchers (Geller et al., 2011) identified parental practices as a risk factor for continued family problems.

Community and Housing

According to Cook and Willams (2015), disruptive and unstable housing circumstances also contributed to uncertain and disrupted family relationships. Furthermore, less than half of the incarcerated mothers received visits from their children. Thus, opportunities for sustaining relationships with mothers became difficult (Rahimipour & Boostani, 2014).

The inability to find suitable, safe, and affordable housing post-incarceration had a detrimental effect on African American women and their family stability (McLanahan, Haskins, Garfinkel, Mincy, & Donahue, 2010). Many women had very limited to no income upon release (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). Repatriated individuals had a difficult time finding gainful employment, hampering their ability to pay market value rent and live in safe communities (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

Deteriorating, crime-ridden neighborhoods became the places where returning citizens could afford to live, which increased associations with people who had contact with the criminal justice system (Schmallenger, 2011). A disproportionate number of America's poor were women of color, living in impoverished neighborhoods (Davis, 2013). Living in these communities meant African-American women with histories of incarceration were at greater risk of recidivism due to the deletarious environment (Schmallenger, 2011). Because of the housing situations, they founnd themselves having

increased exposure to drugs, crime, violence, and poverty in their communities of residence (Fedock, Fries, & Kubiak, 2013).

The absence of financial assistance of a partner contributed to African American women, who as single heads of their household fell behind on their rent, leading to high rates of evictions (Opsal & Foley, 2013). Once these women had evictions in their past, it was harder to find housing in decent neighborhoods, including low-income and public housing (Desmond, 2012). As a result, African American women with criminal backgrounds tended to live in the poorest areas affected by poverty and a myriad of other social ills.

Urban poverty and high incarceration rates forced researchers to focus on neighborhoods, families, and minorities, developing responses to related social problems (Cook & Willams, 2015). Women who experience repeated incarcerations, indicated their relationships with family and friends changed (Cook & Williams, 2015; Muraskin, 2012). Living arrangements, following maternal incarceration, had long-term implications for children maintaining relationships, not only with their incarcerated mothers, but also siblings, fathers, and extended family (Cook & Willams, 2015).

Lack of discharge planning by correctional facilities hampered women's abilities to find appropriate housing, address personal challenges regarding family contact and support, and find opportunities to discuss daily anxieties they confronted as they attempted to reintegrate into their families (Wright & Cesar, 2013). Springer (2012) suggested existing programs inadequately prepared them for reintegration. Cuts and tax

reallocations resulted in restricted funding, which provided even less preliminary planning for women.

Finally, reintegration into the community for African American women with histories of multiple incarcerations required examination of living environments contributing to the deterioration of family relationships (Wright & Cesar, 2013). Affordable housing throughout the country became increasingly limited (Desmond, 2012). As gentrification of neighborhoods occurred and public policy swayed by social climates towards repatriated individuals, affordable housing became a less and less available option (National Women's Law Center, 2012).

Summary

In this section, I provided a comprehensive overview of the literature, examining studies related to mass incarceration and the impact of poverty and racism on African American women's lives. It included gender and moral conscience development, as well as psychological and social adjustments for African American women reintegrating into their children and families lives. I explored reintegration risk factors and social capital influences associated with mother-child relationships, including the barriers, which increases the difficulty for successful family reintegration. Throughout the literature review, I examined African American women's perceptions of their multiple incarcerations and their effect on their family's continuity and stability.

In summary, this review established a backdrop to understanding African American women with multiple incarcerations experience a myriad of social issues

ranging from underemployment and a lack of housing, to loss of custody of their children and reestablishing a trusting relationship with family members. Previous researchers characterized the reintegration process as froth with difficulties. From mother-child relationships to maintaining romantic relationships, the literature I presented supported an additional need to examine the perceptions African-American women about their incarceration experiences and their effects on family relationships. In the next chapter, I describe the design and methodology of this study and the collection of data.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study was to examine the dynamics and perceptions of African American women with multiple incarcerations and to further understand how their absences affected familial relationships, their psychological well-being, and their ability to reintegrate into society. By dynamics, I mean the changes occurring within family relationships and the processes that stimulate these changes as they relate to the absence of African American women while incarcerated. This qualitative methodology with a multiple case design focused on detailed participant narratives and descriptions bound by time and a system, which concentrated on a naturalistic approach of the particularities of each case (Abma & Stake, 2014).

In this section is the research design and rationale for choosing a case study, including the central concepts, the research methodology, issues of trustworthiness, data collection, and analysis. Also documented is how I planned to address ethical concerns. Upon conclusion of these discussions is a summary of the information related in the chapter. The perceptions of the African American women interviewed for this study will contribute to the conversation regarding their maternal role in respect to multiple incarcerations.

Research Design and Rationale

This study had a qualitative methodology with a multiple embedded case study design to explore the influence of multiple incarcerations of African American women on

family continuity and community reintegration. The qualitative design was the choice over quantitative options because it allowed various aspects of the phenomenon to be revealed with an exploration of similarities and differences between and among cases (Yin, 2013). In addition, comparisons were possible by providing opportunites to describe the complexities of this phenomenon. Surveys would not be able to collect rich and complex data due to the restrictive choices. Because I did not know what themes may emerge, it was not possible to predict whichstatements to include in the interview questions to yield robust data.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework of Black FT and critical criminology were the central concepts underpinning the study. The practical purpose of critical criminology was to seek understanding of how (a) multiple incarcerations influenced African American women's abilities to reintegrate into their families and (b) their incarcerations affected their familial relationships. Of importance were oppression and societal attitudes that contributed to (a) shaping perceptions of self-worth and self-image, (b) coping with poverty, (c) examining perceptions and explaining disruptions within their family, and (d) demonstrating their efforts to reintegrate into their families and communities postincarceration.

As these women described their realities in interviews, Black feminism and critical criminology theories traversed to help understand the social reality of the lives of these formerly incarcerated African American women with histories of multiple

incarcerations. Critical criminology was a lens to gain an understanding of social circumstances and explored how repeated periods of imprisonment influenced how these women interacted with their family and community.

Research Methodology

Scholars identified case studies as one of the common research traditions suppporting examination of legitimate questions and problems assisting researchers seeking to identify potential solutions (Baskarada, 2014; Canada, 2011). A case study afforded an opportunity to explore a phenomenon in depthto reveal the nature of the problem through documenting participants' reponses in rich detail (Yin, 2013).

Abma and Stake (2014) and Yin (2013) identified multiple embedded case study design as a way to examine a phenomenon where a different orientation may emerge with exploration. The perceptions of the African American female sample interviewed for this study contributes to the conversation regarding their maternal role in respect to multiple incarcerations. Thus, the methodology had flexibility to strengthen the case study approach and avoid slipping beyond the research question (Abma & Stake, 2014; Yin, 2013). I prepared to investigate the related concepts of multiple incarcerations affecting this phenomenon.

Population

The population from which the sample was derived was homogeneous, including only African American women residing in Cook County-Chicago, Illinois, imprisoned at least twice for 90 days or more. Women incarcerated less than 90 days and incarcerated

once during their lifetime did not meet study criteria. One way of determining the number of incarcerations was through the State of Illinois Department of Corrections Data Base. This database contained criminal histories, as part of its compilation of public records.

As the women self-identified with multiple incarcerations, the database was useful as a supporting mechanism to substaniate their stories. Participants also provided documents, confirming their multiple incarcerations, such as old identification cards, court documents, and other relevant legal items. Additional criteria included being 18 years of age or older and English speaking.

Sample

This purposive sample focused on a particular ethnic group of women who shared a commonality of multiple incarcerations. They also lived in the same communities. These consistent factors helped me to isolate and understand the problem and the research question (Yin, 2013). Using a purposive sample allowed for rich and illuminative information to evolve and enrich understanding of the phenomenon (Yin, 2013).

I made a distinction between incarceration in *jail only* and *penitentiarie*s because these factors presented different possible effects on women's frames of mind. Jail still afforded easier access for visitations to occur. African-American women and their families could live in the proximity of jails. These temporary, short-term confinement facilities housed women whose hope of winning their case still permeated their minds and bonding out was feasible (Bradley & Davion, 2007).

Thee women were still in contact with family and friends who could readily visit. Incarceration in prison was a long term stay, where the individuals had a conviction (Ayre, 2012). The location of the facilities was in remote areas making visitation difficult and expensive. Rules for visitation might be stringent, and the hope of not being convicted is no longer present. They cope with the reality of months and years in confinement as their future.

The number of women targeted for four to eight women as the desired sample size. This sample size contributedto the ability to clarify conflicting information (Yin, 2013). Rival informationincluded disconfirming views or information that did not conform to the basic findings. The more diverse the data, the larger the sample size, must become.

The content shared by the women I interviewed was relatively similar and included only minor rival and competing for information. Therefore, a larger sample size was not needed due to the accurate replications. The multiple embedded case design resulted in only a few theoretical replications, so the conceptual and accurate replications balanced (Yin, 2013). Balance occurred through examination of matching patterns and different circumstances as data was analyzed.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited by using flyers distributed at public locations, such as women's support groups, halfway houses, and treatment programs. Other methods of recruitment were through word of mouth, distributing flyers at hair and nail salons,

grocery stores, and through the use of social media. Social media was not a method for recruitment since many women did not have access to computers and used smartphones to access social media.

Another source of recruitment was women's organizations with formerly incarcerated women as their target population, half-way homes for formerly incarcerated women, drug treatment facilities, and churches where participants with multiple incarcerations were located. Letters went to women's organizations requesting permission to distribute recruitment flyers at their facilities and outlining the nature of the study. (See Appendix A for two samples of these letters.)

Snowball sampling to recruit participants was another way of obtaining candidates for the study. Specifically, women who volunteered were asked to refer other women. I provided detailed information about the study and its informed consent requirements to women who responded to the letters of invitation and flyers posted within the community.

Research Question

The research question I identified for my study was:

RQ1: What was the impact of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society?

Role as a Researcher and Ethical Considerations

My role was to be the primary instrument, observing and collecting data from participants through semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Interview sample questions are in Appendix B. Questions were open-ended requiring more than a yes or no response to encourage participants to elaborate and give meaning to their comments. To elicit these deeper meanings, I used probing questions based on their comments and responses (e.g. tell me more about or would you please explain). My role was to identify the intent behind their statements through clarification while finding meaning behind their gestures. As the researcher, I included building rapport, assisting women in knowing their privacy was valued and protected, and their statements treated with dignity and respect.

The major ethical considerations were preventing harm to others, addressing conflicts of interest, responsibility to the participants of the study, and facing any dilemmas arising with the naturalistic inquiry. I had no access or influence to determine outcomes for any of these women or possible adjudicated cases, minimizing potential power differentials.

The only incentives provided were small toiletry items (hand lotions, soap, etc.) in which the value was minimal (i.e. less than $5.00) and offered as thank you gifts to participants upon completion of the interview. The presentation of the gift reflected their value and my appreciativeness of their time. There was no financial compensation. Participants received a gift regardless of whether or not they completed the interview, and I reminded them there was no penalty for withdrawing, even during the midst of the

interview. I emphasized the gift was not in exchange for the interview, but rather a token of appreciation for her interest in helping me to understand the issue under study.

The informed consent provided participants with the risks and benefits of participating in this study. I did not anticipate this study would bring about more harm than these women would experience in everyday life. However, it was possible for women to re-live painful events while describing their incarcerations and family lifestyles experiences. To that end, I provided a list of local mental health agencies and resources. These agencies had either had no waiting lists or small lists allowing them to provide support should the need arise.

Since I have worked in the field of criminal justice for over 25 years in the Chicago area, it was conceivable some of the women were incarcerated during that period. I attempted to find and accept women for this study with whom I had little to no previous contact by asking the women if they were inmates in the Cook County Sheriff's Department of Women's Justice Services Drug treatment program before 2007. If the woman was in this program after 2007, she was a viable candidate. If she was in the program before 2007, I needed to ask her if she had met me personally and if so, I excluded her from the study to avoid the appearance of bias or conflict of interest.

During my recruitment process, several former participants heard about my study and began reaching out to me. Although they were excluded, they also gave my telephone number to women they knew who met the criteria so they could contact me. My exclusion criteria prevented me from interviewing anyone without a history of more than

two times in prison. Eight women had lengthy jail histories, but no periods of incarceration in prison. Each case was reviewed independently for similarities and differences beyond the common factors of the study criteria, which included having multiple incarcerations, self-identifying as African American women 18 years or older, and English speaking.

Informed Consent Process

The consent forms were reviewed line-by-line with each participant, including all pertinent information (purpose, procedures, risks, benefits, an alternative to participation, etc.). Once I explained the study and consent form in its entirety, the women had sufficient opportunity to ask questions prior to signing the document. Following the verbal explanation, participants received a copy of the consent form and offered an opportunity to review the document for an additional period. If they needed extra time and did not sign the consent document during the initial meeting, I contacted them the next day to ascertain their decision. Upon completion of the consent process, I again inquired whether the participants had additional questions or concerns.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

Naturalistic researchers laid an educational foundation to understand trustworthiness (Guba, 1981). Therefore, focusing on behaviors and relationships between these women and their families was essential to understand the effects of multiple incarcerations in their lives (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012). I established trustworthiness and credibility with a series of consistent interview questions

that led to additional lines of inquiry as participants became engaged in providing responses and telling their stories (Elo et al., 2014).

Giving women a voice to express their experiences was essential to understanding the scope and range of the issues facing those with multiple incarcerations (Hemmings, 2011). I asked the participants what their relationships with family members were prior to being incarcerated, as a means of establishing a boundary to frame the before and after profile of any changes that may be evident as a stark contrast and shift since their imprisonment occurred. The women were able to choose to illustrate these differences with family photos, school records, certificates of completion, or other documentation of life before and after multiple incarcerations. By using multiple sources of evidence in a manner encouraging connecting lines of inquiry during data collection (Yin, 2013), I was in a better position to construct trustworthiness and credibility.

The consistency with the baseline of questions afforded me the opportunity to collect data in other situations, however; variability was expected even using an audit trail (memos, field notes, etc.) to ensure the same baseline questions were used. Since many realities existed for the women in relationship to their incarcerations' effect on them and their family relationships, a line of inquiry to understand the phenomenon was optimal (Guba, 1981; Yin, 2013).

I did member checking (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2013) to ensure the accuracy of the findings by taking the report back to my sample to ensure I had accurately captured their stories. I created an audit trail to track responses and used NVivo to aid in keeping up

with thematic statements, which recognized when participants had provided similar responses, indicating saturation was reached on a particular line of inquiry (QSR International, 2015).

Data Collection Management

Interviews were the primary source of data; however, I viewed other forms of data, such as letters and photos participants brought to the meetings. Field notes and memos were helpful in collecting and chronicling the documents they provided. The interviews were tape recorded with the participants' permission, and I wrote notes regarding the women's responses to inquiries. I later transcribed the information. Their records were kept in a folder labeled with "IP" for an in-person interview and "T" for a telephone interview. I assigned three-digit numbers identifying the participant as numbers 1-4 for my reference when consolidating data (e.g., 001 for the first participant in the study). I also included the date and time of the interview for future reference.

To help in transcription, I asked participants to select the name of a flower, which became their identifier used in describing each participant in my writing of the comments while protecting their identity. I made efforts to anticipate and control the disclosure of intimate and personal data shared during the interviews. The files were kept in a securely locked filing cabinet in my home office. I will hold all notes, tapes, and documents participants shared according to the prescribed timeframe by the state of Illinois for record maintenance and Walden's IRB process. Also, I will destroy all of the data after five years have passed, in accordance with Walden's Internal Review Board policy.

I was only able to interview one to two women per week based on their availability. I used a laptop/IPad to take notes and electronically recorded the interviews in a private room with the door closed. As women discussed their past, several exhibited strong emotions, so having a privacy area was necessary. I weighed the option of meeting in public locations, but rejected this idea, as I perceived it to be problematic and not conducive due to potential distractions. To avoid the possibility or expectations, I would purchase a meal for the women; I did not offer to interview in restaurants like McDonalds. I offered water to each woman and placed a box of tissue nearby to help women feel comfortable while the interview was taking place.

Data Analysis

NVivo aided in the data analysis process, but I also did affinity coding because of my newness to using the product (QSR International, 2015). I managed data by organizing and providing the structure for coding themes from the women's statements. NVivo software as a tool allowed for the collection, organization, and analysis of content from interviews (QSR International, 2015). I stored the information in files where I could search for thematic statements and create a visualization of the data (QSR International, 2015).

This final visualization could take the form of a matrix, flowchart, or another graphic to examine the data and place items in chronological order (QSR International, 2015). I created broad categories in which to place participant statements as they began to emerge, form themes, and patterns. The anonymity of individuals was protected at all

times, using NVivo with prescribed numbers to notate the participants date of interview and the assignment of a flower name to aid in keeping their responses together and personalize the interviews.

Once I reached saturation on any particular thematic area, I solicited additional responses from participants by switching to a different question. For this study, thematic saturation did occur when I identified multiple replications on similar statements and responses from all four participants. Unless something new arose from one of the participant theme statements, I did not create new themes but found additional relevant data lines of inquiry to provide further descriptions of the existing theme (Yin, 2013). I listened and recorded subtle details within the women's descriptions of their life's events, searching for new and varied information. The data collection for the semi-structured interviews is in Appendix B and C.

Summary

In this section the methodology and selection process for participants led to a presentation of ethical considerations, such as the protection of the participants from harm, the informed consent process., Discussion of data management, analyzed, and stored the data followed. Many of these explanations were recognized practices within the social and behavioral sciences for data collection and care of subjects (Elo et al., 2014). Numerous researchers evaluated African American women's experiences with trauma and mental health (Arditti & Few, 2008; Blakey & Hatcher, 2013; Salina et al., 2011).

Various researchers examined the nexus between oppression and racism, as well as classism and sexism in reltionship to women of color (Wilder & Cain, 2011). This study investigated African American women with multiple incarcerations and the perceptions they had regarding their incarcerations' effect on their families' continuity through a series of in-depth interviews, examining their family networks, fictive kinships, organizations, and institutional experiences. Chapter 4 is a presentation of the data and its analysis. This information contributed to identifying thematic patterns, which I detail, along with salient statements made by the participants regarding their personal experiences and perceptions.

Chapter 4: Study

Introduction

The purpose of my study is to understand how multiple incarcerations affect African American women's relationships and perceptions of family stability. I posed the following research question: What is the impact of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society? The specific focus was to examine what happened within the context of families as they adjusted their relationships when women become incarcerated. I also queried how the family stayed together in the face of repeated periods of incarceration of female family members. In this chapter, I describe the setting and demographics of the population, followed by a review regarding how I collected and analyzed the data. In concluding the chapter, I share the results and findings of the study.

Recruitment

My goal was to recruit a homogenous sample of African American women with histories of multiple incarcerations by using purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. As reported in Chapter 2, African American women were one of the fastest growing groups of incarcerated populations; therefore, I anticipated a large pool of potential candidates. However, based on the voluntary nature of this study, I experienced difficulties locating willing participants.

Once Walden University's Institutional Review Board approved my proposal (Approval No. 2015.08.1214:42:11-08'00'), I immediately began posting flyers on social

media pages (Facebook and Instagram) at local beauty shops, twelve step meetings, and church bulletin boards in the Chicago area (see Appendix G). I also handed out flyers to African American women walking through a park across from Cook County Department of Corrections and Circuit Court.

In addition, I contacted several people who worked in criminal justice and asked if I could leave flyers at their facilities. I thought I would be able to recruit eight participants through agency staff with whom I had worked. However, I found the organizations were not very responsive and did not inform potential candidates about my study. Better results came from snowballing and using word of mouth through the offender grapevine.

Setting

Although I was prepared to hold interviews at two different locations, all the women chose to come to a private meeting space at a local college campus. I had an alternate site available on the West Side of Chicago but did not need to use that location because the college was centrally located and offered easy access to public transportation and parking. Neither site requested monetary payment to use their space.

Instrumentation

I designed a set of questions as a semi-structured guide for my interviews. The questions evolved from my primary research question and my review of the literature. I constructed questions in a manner that would help participants give detailed answers based on the premise participants were familiar with lines of questioning concerning their

incarcerations, criminal histories, and family demographics. I acted as the primary instrument, modifying questions based on the participants' abilities to reflect, ponder, and answer (Canada, 2011; Yin, 2013).

Participants were free to choose how much and what they wished to share. Allowing this participant control helped empower the women feedom of choice (Gove, Volk, Still, Huang, & Thomas-Alexander, 2011). I attempted to make the interview relaxed and conversational, as each woman was able to tell her story in her way, take her time, thus neutralizing the possibility of bias and minimizing feelings of shame and stigma (Abma & Stake, 2014; Yin, 2013). Since I had no way of knowing in advance, what participants would share, they were able to guide the process (Peredaryenko & Krauss, 2013).

Based on the language and comprehension levels of participants with less than high school educations, I reviewed the questions with colleagues who worked in the counseling field to ensure they were easy to understand and opened opportunities to probe further into their responses. My committee and Walden's Institutional Review Board approved the finalized questions.

I interviewed each participant for a minimum of one hour, and none lasted more than 90 minutes. Beginning with completing the informed consent, I requested permission to audiotape the sessions and asked if I could call with follow-up questions as needed. I also inquired about their willingness to use a disposable camera and capture

pictures relating their daily experiences. Only one participant agreed to take photos of a day in her life.

With the participant's permission, I tape recorded each interview and later transcribed the recordings. I kept handwritten notes from the interviews and used them to validate my findings during the analysis process. In keeping with the interview protocol, I periodically rephrased questions for clarification. This strategy also opened up opportunities for me to gather additional, nostalgic commentary from the women.

Demographics

This section provides an overview of the sample who met the inclusionary criteria and signed the informed consent. I interviewed four participants for this case study. All identified themselves as African American women with histories of multiple arrests and incarcerations. The youngest participant was 44 years old, and the three others were 54 years of age. Profile information emerged as participants described their lives before, during, and after numerous periods of incarceration.

A summary of their demographics and a brief narrative about the four participants are in Table 1. Participants selected names of flowers to use in order to protect their identity and make it easier to follow their stories when transcribing data. This usage was also clearer than the original numeric identifiers I had assigned (although the numeric identifiers remained on the folders I maintained in NVivo nodes) (QSR International, 2015).

Table 1

Summary of Participant Demographics

Participant	Age	Education Level	Number of Children	Substance Abuse Primary Choice	Number of Incarcerations	Marital Status	Employment
1	54	10th grade	3	Cocaine	3	Single	Employed
2	47	9th grade	10	Cocaine & Alcohol	8	Single	Employed
3	54	1 year college	4	Cocaine	4	Single	Employed
4	54	11th grade	4	Heroin & Cocaine	5	Single	Unemployed

Note. Number of incarcerations = convictions resulting in prison sentences

Participants had never married, and all had children, ranging from 6 years of age to 34. Only one had education beyond high school, and the others had not completed their education beyond the 11th grade. All, but one, stated they were working at minimum wage jobs and lived in an apartment at the time of the interviews. In respect to their prior criminal histories, Daisy, Lilly and Baby's Breath had charges ranging from manufacturing and delivery of controlled substances to prostitution. Rose had some possession cases and one murder case she served less than the full sentence. Below is a synopsis of their basic demographic information.

Participant 1. Rose was a 58-year old African-American female, imprisoned twice, incarcerated in jail over four times, and her last incarceration ended in 2008. She described her family as being fairly close and supportive. While incarcerated in jail awaiting trial for murder, her mother visited her every week until her conviction and

prison sentence began. Rose stated her two daughters were adults and took care of her six-year-old son until her release.

During her incarceration, a younger woman introduced her to her faith, which she self-identified as Baptist. She described it as something that sustained and helped her cope with the death of her sister. A co-defendant in her murder case, her sister died from pancreatic cancer while in custody. Rose stated she was angry at the system for not being responsive until her mother began to seek attention from media outlets.

Although her sister reported experiencing tremendous pain, months passed before the jail diagnosed and began treating her condition. She was an unmarried mother of three children, who completed 10th grade in high school. Rose stated during her incarcerations and while on the street using cocaine, she maintained employment by working as a domestic in exchange for room and board.

Participant 2. Daisy was a 47-year old woman who identified as African American. The mother of ten children, she reported knowing the fathers of her last six children. Referring to the other four as "trick" babies, she gave birth to them during her drugging years. One of her children was adopted, and she was unaware of where the child lived. She never married, and the highest grade she completed in school was the 9th grade. Her drugs of choice were heroin, cocaine, and alcohol.

Daisy described her life as full of prostitution and drugs until a few years ago. People who did not know her referred to her in derogatory terms, for example, "Skank" or "Hoe" (i.e., whore), which wounded her pride. Incarcerated in prison at least five times

she could recall, she reported numerous arrests and more than 50 jail sentences. Her first incarceration was in 1983, and her last incarceration was 2008; the longest term was four years.

Employed at the time of the interview, Daisy was working as a domestic. During these periods of freedom between incarcerations, Daisy stated she had been homeless and even lived in a garage with the dog of the property owner. In spite of her situation, Daisy stated her sisters never gave up hope of her ability to recover and get her life together. She was grieving the loss of one of her sisters, who died from a drug overdose, a few weeks before the interview. Daisy has her apartment and is currently working towards rebuilding her relationships with her adult children.

Participant 3. Lily was a 54-year old self-identified African American woman. An unmarried mother of four children, she described as "trick babies" and did not know who fathered the children. Her mother raised all of her kids. Lily completed one year in junior college and described herself as the baby and hope of the family. She was the only one in her family who had been to college.

Her mother and father separated when she was a teenager, and since then her relationships strained with them. Lily described her relationship with her mother as difficult, particularly when she tried to regain custody of her children. After four periods of incarceration for manufacturing and delivering controlled substances and prostitution, she remained free from her drug of choice, cocaine. Her last incarceration was in 2008. Employed at the time of the interview, Lily did not state her occupation.

Participant 4. Baby's Breath was a 54-year old self-identified African American woman. The mother of five children, she never married. Due to her mother's addiction and mental health issues, her maternal grandmother raised Baby's Breath, her siblings, and her five children. After completing 11th grade, she lived on the streets starting at the age of eighteen. Over a period of eight years, ending in 1989, she served five terms of incarceration.

She described her life as a series of unfortunate mistakes, including her cocaine and heroin addiction and categorized herself as being homeless, because she lived with friends and never had an apartment of her own. To pay her way, she described herself as "making herself useful" by cleaning, cooking, and babysitting for people she lives with. Baby's Breath had an appointment for housing assistance but was currently unemployed.

Data Collection

I collected data over a period of three weeks. Participants contacted me by cell phone to set a date and time for the interview. After reviewing and signing the consent form, I interviewed participants for approximately 60-90 minutes. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, and the content placed in NVivo for tracking purposes and thematic identification. I also used affinity coding for developing themes and created an excel spreadsheet to capture statements after reading through the transcriptions.

Interview questions I had initially prepared were broad and allowed the participants to begin describing their arrest and incarceration history, I then slowly guided them into describing their family relationships and perceptions of how

incarceration had influenced their relationships. I was able to collapse several of the questions in three broad, open-ended questions, allowing interviewees to reflect on their lives. After concluding the first interview, I modified the questions and interjected probes to elicit insights below the surface. I also started to include direct probes and inquiries about their perceptions of family life.

Data Analysis

Moving inductively from coded units to larger representations including categories took a great deal of time. In performing analysis, the formation of the repetitive themes between participants began to emerge. I started by tagging re-occurring words in each of the interviews to develop overarching themes that had significance for family relationships.

Then I began to list statements each participant made that referenced the theme and documented them in an excel spreadsheet. I identified verbatim statements with quotation marks for readability. Until I could reduce the data into manageable categories, I continued to repeat this process of analysis.

I then sorted the codes into groups of data and themes reflective of the responses the women conveyed regarding their family relationships, and the influence incarceration had on their lives (Yin, 2013). Grouping allowed me to determine how the data was aligning with my research question. It also became apparent there were questions I missed asking that might have elicited complete responses. Noticing I had misssed asking all the questions afforded me the opportunity to call participants for a second interview. I

asked the participants during the initial in-person interview if they would be available for a follow-up call, also included in my IRB protocol.

Responses to Interview Questions

The following were responses to the interview questions that aided in understanding the primary research question: What was the impact of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society?

Interview Question 1

Tell me about your family life before you started getting arrested and imprisoned? Sub-questions included more probes about relationships with various family members based on participants' comments.

Rose stated:

> I was a good girl. I got along well with my family. My mother and I were very close. My sister was using drugs, and I began to hang out with her. People liked me and thought well of me. I was involved in a lot of activities as a kid, and I always kept a job as an adult. When I started getting high, I liked to party, so I was having a good time, and I was fun. I never stopped going to work. I was a functional addict for a long time. Life in my family was good. I mean, we got along alright like most families I guess. I didn't see any particular problems.

Lily stated:

> In my family, they were already getting high, so it wasn't a surprise when I started using. I got along with my brothers and sisters, my mom, but I was more interested in the streets. My father wasn't around, and my mother had a lot on her mind taking care of my sisters and me. By the time I was 16 years old, I was already getting high and cutting class. I wasn't interested in school and my family had their hands full just trying to make it. To get the drugs I started selling my body and my family wasn't happy with that but they were also doing criminal things. We would argue about money and things but for the most part, we got along. I kept dropping baby after baby on my mom and my sisters. They weren't too thrilled about that but decided to keep my kids for me. It wasn't until I got deep into the drugs that I started committing criminal acts and that led me to get incarcerated.

Daisy stated:

> I was the hope for my family. My parents weren't getting along, and I am not sure why but they separated. With my father out of the house, my mom seemed like she didn't want to deal with me. She saw me as a trouble maker because I would question things. My mom spent a lot of time in her bedroom and not around us kids. I was the youngest, so it seemed like everybody else was always gone. My father and I were very close, and he would do anything for me. Because I was the only one to go to college, my sister and brother thought I thought I was better than them and use to rag on me. Up until the time I started getting incarcerated, I could

> ask my father anything. The rest of them and I weren't all that close. We didn't do the regular holiday things that you see most families doing. Everybody was doing their own thing.

Baby's Breath stated:

> I was raised by my maternal grandmother along with my brothers and sisters. My mom wasn't never around, and my dad was doing drugs, but I didn't know it as I was growing up until later. My grandmother was heavily involved in the church, and she took me with her all the time. There was a lady who lived in our building who took a liking to me and encouraged me to stay in school by taking me on trips and everywhere. For my eighth grade graduation, my granny took me to Washington. My granny and I were real close. My mom was another story. She was getting high and never really around. I found out later that she had a tumor in her head. When I started developing into a teenager, I ended up getting pregnant and giving that baby to my granny to take care of. She still kept trying to keep me in church, but I had started getting high and hanging in the streets. Growing up was nice but fast. By the time I was 18, I had gone to prison for the first time and then it was on.

Interview Question 2

What do you think changed or stayed the same if anything in your relationships the first, second, or subsequent times you were incarcerated and returned home?

Rose stated:

> It felt bad to be locked up, and I don't recall my kids coming to visit me while I was in prison, but my mother came to see me every Saturday while I was in jail. But when I went to prison, it was just phone calls. The second time I went to prison, my sister died of cancer, and it was hard on the family. It was especially hard on me because we were locked up together and once they found out we were sisters, they made sure to separate us. It's hard to remain close to people you don't communicate with regularly. I lost touch with what was going on with my kids for a brief period. I was concerned with my youngest who was six when I went to prison the second time. My daughter was old enough to take custody of him, so my mom didn't have to. I think my daughter had a hard time trusting what I said after I got locked up the second time. I signed myself into the drug program while I was incarcerated. There was a family picnic the prison had, and I don't think my family came. I don't know why my family didn't come. I think they couldn't make it. I'm not sure how I felt about it at the time. What changed for me was how we communicated with each other. It would take a long time before they would agree to something I asked or if they asked me to do something; it was like they didn't believe I would do it. That was "real" different for us.

Lily stated:

> When I started going to prison, I also started having baby after baby after baby. My family was tired of me and didn't believe anything I said. When I would show up at family functions, it was to beg them out of money for my drugs. My oldest

daughter was angry at me. My sons didn't have their father in their lives, and they started getting into trouble and my going in and out of prison didn't help. My sister's kept my kids along with my mom until she went into the nursing home. My next to oldest daughter just wanted to be around me so she would take up for me when her sister would say mean things about me. My relationship with my family was already not so great. I was a loner, and I really didn't go around them, so it didn't help us to be close while I was going in and out of prison. By me selling my body, I embarrassed them, and they couldn't trust anything I said. I had to prove myself. Had I been home getting the help I don't think it would have led to me getting sober. When I was going to jail, I would come right back out and do the same things. But when I went to prison, I was too far away for my family to see me and there was this big gap in how we talked to each other. My sisters never gave up hope on me, though. They would fuss and fuss at me when they would catch up to me. They wanted me to be ok, but I wasn't listening.

Daisy said:

When I started going to prison, at first, my father would help me get a lawyer because I was facing some serious charges and time. But by the time I went to prison for selling and using drugs, prostitution, and other stuff he quit speaking to me for years. I think he was angry and disappointed in me. My mother kept my kids, and she had a great relationship with them but not with me. In fact, when I finally came to my senses and tried to see the kids and regain custody, she would

tell them things about me and say stuff. That, of course, didn't help our relationship or improve my relationship with my kids. My sons had started getting into trouble, and I blame myself because of the example. I can't tell them who their fathers are because I don't know. Going to prison caused my relationship to change with my father. He could forgive me the first time but after the second time, he ignored me. I felt like a misfit in my family. They already looked at me like I was a trouble maker because all my life I always wanted more than what they did. It put a wedge between us. It wasn't until my 50th birthday that my siblings and I came together, and they gave me a party. I was shocked. My brother barbecued, and we all hung out. Maybe it's because we all are getting older.

Baby's Breath stated:

My grandmother was disappointed with me, and if she or my mother were still living, I would tell them how sorry I am for all that I put them through especially my grandmother. My granny had her hands full with my brothers and sisters, and then I started giving her my kids, and so did everyone else in the family. My family was already a bunch of drinkers, but I didn't recognize it when I started repeating the same patterns. I didn't feel like I was loved even though my granny was good to me, my mother and father had given me away. Why didn't they want me? I started looking for love in all the wrong places. Getting high and hanging out felt like love to me in the beginning. My mother had an aneurysm, and she got sick when I was 16, so I got a job at the nursing home where she was trying to get

closer to her. People use to say me having my uniform on when I would see her would make her happy. My mom was paralyzed on one side, and I would help her. The memory of that makes me feel like I wasn't all bad and that our relationship had gotten better over time.

Interview Question 3

How do you think going to prison affected your family/the black family in being stable?

Rose stated:

Prison for me was so unusual because my family came to see me. My family never expected me to get locked up. It brought us closer together because we had no choice. My daughter was old enough (20 years) to take care of her brother she had to become more responsible. I don't think she resented doing it. My mother was around to help her. When my sister died while we were incarcerated; we had to pull together. While I was in jail, it was a correctional officer that arranged for me to see my sister in the beauty shop as a surprise once they knew she was dying and we were related. There were some things that let me know that God still had his hands on me and that I needed to get it together. It was a young girl in prison that led me to develop my faith stronger. I believe that it helped me continue to reach out to my family. Prison didn't break us because we were already tight. Had that not been the case, it might have been different. I've seen people not have anyone from the outside to show they cared about what happened to them, and it

was rough. I never thought what I went through would make me grow closer to my family. learned to trust them even though they didn't trust me for a long time. I learned who I could depend on in the family and who I had to just to shake my head about. Because I don't ever want to go back to prison, prison made me get more responsible and to get off drugs. I have been clean for over six years now.

Lily stated:

Going in and out of jail and prison disrupts everything. You lose your housing, and your kids get all out of place, and that's the biggest thing. If you have a car, you have no way of paying the note. We blame other people for why we get locked up and because of that, we react badly to our family members. But we are responsible for our actions. There are some fear kids have about depending on parents when we keep getting locked up, and then they turn around and start repeating the same things. My kids knew what I was doing from the drugs to the prostitution. People talk and tell your family what you are out there doing. My kids knew it was something wrong with me. I felt if my kids are old enough to know what is going on, I may as well tell them the truth. I think lying to kids about where you are when you're locked up makes kids feel betrayed when they find out where you were. They already don't trust you and because of that, they won't trust you ever again because you were dishonest with them. I felt misunderstood while I was going through my addiction to my family and as a result, I felt guilty about everything. The relationships get changed because you're

> away so much from your kids that you don't know what they are going through. When you try to reach out, they don't trust that you're going to be around, so they avoid you, or they get clingy like my second daughter. I was like a night owl because I didn't want people to see me, but people still saw me and knew who I was. I felt discounted in my family a lot of times when I would try to engage with family decisions. They would ignore me like I wasn't around and I was right there. I would look for people that knew me on the streets when I was locked up to try and get an update on my family because I didn't have money on the books to call regularly. It's hard to keep everybody together especially when they are having their troubles. I'm glad my sisters were willing to keep my kids. I am grateful for that.

Daisy stated:

> Going to prison affected how I saw myself first. I never thought I would do some of the things I have done so it's not surprising that my family distanced. I mean, we weren't all that close in the first place because of such a big age difference between my brother and me. Like I said, my father stopped talking to me for a long time and that hurt. I don't know if he was ashamed (probably). One of my father's friends who knew our family ran a drug house, and my cousin turned dates up in there. When I went with her one time, he recognized me and tried to help me by showing me if I came back what would happen to me and how the men would beat me. I didn't listen because I was in the midst of my addiction and

ended up prostituting and getting pregnant by strangers. By the time I went to prison, it might have saved me from death. It wasn't easy for my family or me.

Baby's Breath stated:

> While I was incarcerated, I didn't get the help I needed. I didn't know what to do. I was selling drugs and being at the wrong place at the wrong time, and it seemed like I was just a statistic…. not a person. My granny was overwhelmed with taking care of my brothers and sisters and my kids. As a result, we would argue a lot about me being on the streets. I had found out my daddy was on drugs; my baby brother was in and out of the penitentiary, and it seemed like I didn't have anybody to talk with. It seemed like my family names were "the bad seed" because all of us have been to the penitentiary and jail. My family was messed up by incarceration. We never got ourselves together until late in life. We didn't know how to be a family, at least; I didn't know how not to do what I was doing. We needed some help with our entire family and not necessarily jail. My youngest son has been in and out of the penitentiary. He has a case right now that is going to mess him up for life. I feel real guilty about our relationship. I feel like if I had just been a better mother, he might not be in the situation he's in right now. To all of them, if I had been a better sister to my brothers and sisters like I was supposed to have been. That is what I ask of myself. Being locked up I should have gotten my life together to grab them and show them what it was like to be on the other side of not being alone. I wasn't there for them because I was locked up. I felt it

was my responsibility because my grandmother had gotten sick. They couldn't find me. All those years I was in the streets I kept some housekeeping job. I may not have had a place of my own, but I kept a job. I always stayed with people's families. I was always everybody's cook person or clean up person to make myself useful.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

The hermeneutics of understanding African American women's experience with incarceration and its effects on their family stability vary from family to family; however, throughout this case study research certain facts remain consistent. With this in mind, themes began to develop. A credible voice conveys authenticity and trustworthiness as long as I, as the researcher focused on balancing, understanding, and depicting what the participants stated authentically.

It is impossible to be completely objective and pure subjectivity would undermine credibility (Patton, 2001; Gentiles, et al., 2015). Newer researchers, such as Elo et al. (2014) reaffirmed authenticity and trustworthiness were important in qualitative inquiry. Bearing this in mind, I continued to review the recorded interviews, my notes and made follow-up phone calls to the participants for clarity and understanding regarding what was shaping my perspective about their statements.

Reflecting on my personal epistemologies, I acknowledged my understanding of incarcerated African American women's experience constructed from years of working with this population gave me a rare insight. In asking the questions of these four women,

aspects of how they related to their family members and their perceptions of the multiple incarceration's influences on their family stability, I was able to relate their unique perspectives in their voices. The reflexivity of the participants became apparent as they described their lifestyles before, during, and after incarceration in their ease of responding.

I used a digital tape recorder, field notes, and follow-up phone calls to participants for clarity of statements. This process ensured I had reliably recorded the data. I found very few errors in the recordings and transcriptions. Speaking with the participants by telephone was extremely helpful in ensuring I had captured their statements and understood their intent.

The original interview questions were collapsed, and I added probes to make certain participants were able to elaborate on their responses. By transcribing the interviews and field notes, I created a formal and presentable database, increasing the reliability of the entire cast study (Tesch, 1990; Yin, 2013). I developed a rich description of statements from each participant and included verbatim quotes and anecdotes to support my findings. As indicated in Chapter 3, the data was stored in a secure manner to protect the identity of the participants and comply with Walden policies.

Emerging Themes

The research question was: What was the impact of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society? I interviewed four African American women

between September and October of 2015. Several themes emerged as central areas these women experienced, affecting their family relationships and social adjustments as they returned to their families following incarceration. In this chapter, I presented results of data I obtained from interviews.

The first emerging theme was the *lack of trust* family members had of the participant after multiple incarcerations. The women shared that people (i.e. family and friends) had no confidence in them, but they also lacked faith that other would be loyal, sincere, and consistent with them. As a result, the women disclosed that they rarely told family members everything. Trusting others had become a challenge for these women as they felt betrayed, indicated their family members felt betrayed and stated that their addiction to drugs was to close off painful feelings. At least one participant indicated that having little trust in others led to negative self-talk, and she became angry and frustrated with herself:

Rose stated:

> My second incarceration was for murder. I tried to help my sister who was being attacked at a party by her boyfriend. She pulled a knife and stabbed him. So many people saw what was taking place, but when it came time to tell the police what happened for whatever reason they lied or said nothing. Once I got out, people responded to me as if they didn't trust me like I might hurt them. It was an isolated incident. My family, on the other hand, had a reason not to trust what I

said because of my substance abuse and trying to conceal what I was doing. I became manipulative, so they didn't trust me to keep my word.

Lily stated:

My father stopped talking to me when he found out I was doing drugs and prostituting. My kids didn't trust me. Up until my father finding out I was doing drugs, he would do anything for me including paying my bills. When I went to prison that second and third time, my father didn't trust me. I felt like a misfit in my family.

Daisy stated:

I couldn't stay clean and out of jail. My oldest daughter didn't trust anything I said and would often put me down to her brothers and sisters. My sisters were keeping my kids and even though they were supportive; they didn't trust anything I said. My mom was in a nursing home, and she wasn't able to help. So I knew when I finally got myself together, I had to prove myself. Because they didn't trust me, our relationships were difficult, and they would discount what I was saying, ignore me, and not listen to anything I said. They couldn't leave money around or make plans where I was included because I couldn't be trusted to keep my word while I was in the middle of my addiction.

Baby's Breath stated:

After I had started getting arrested, it was like my granny didn't trust me. I was raised from birth by my granny, so she knew me. My mother had her lifestyle and

> was out in the streets. She was in an abusive relationship with my dad. When I started getting arrested, I started gaining weight, and my father would talk about me. I started having more kids, and I gave them all to my grandmother. I was in the streets and just wild when I started using drugs, and because my granny had so much on her, she never knew when I was coming home or not and just didn't trust that I could be counted on. She had already gotten that from my mother, and here I go and repeat the same thing.

The second theme emerging was the *development of resentments, blame, and anger* the participants stated they felt and observed from various family members. Women's relationships with members of their family and social networks evolved and could contribute to positive outcomes (Bui & Morash, 2010). However, when ongoing and deeply rooted resentments existed, it was difficult for women to develop pro social relationships with family members (Cunningham-Stringer & Barnes, 2012).

The participants indicated that resentment was directed towards them especially where their children were concerned. Different interactions with family over the years and their chronic drug use leading to their incarceration had created states of resentment with family members. Whether real or perceived, the women described that their children seemed to feel indignation over their absences that was hurtful and colored their future interactions.

Some of the resentment and anger participants described was concealed but came out in their interactions over time. One participant in describing her daughter's anger and

resentment toward her stated that her daughter would openly make hostile comments and put her down in front of other people. The reactions family had towards them following their many incarcerations was blaming them for any problem or situation that went wrong. If their children got into trouble, they were blamed, and over the years, they learned to blame themselves. Blame was a way their family justified not helping when they asked for money or a place to stay according to at least one participant.

Rose stated:

> While I was incarcerated my sister who was locked up with me in the last case was sick. It wasn't until she was critical that the system did anything for her. She died before we could go to trial. I was very bitter about how they handled her medical care for a long time. My mother was so upset when she was coming to visit me about my sister not getting help while incarcerated that she was in the process of trying to get media attention when they finally did something. My sister had stage four cancers but hadn't been diagnosed yet. In fact, she had an appointment scheduled for the Monday following the weekend we got arrested. She didn't get help until months later. If felt bad to be locked up. My kids didn't visit me but once but we talked on the phone now and then. My son who was six when I went away the second time was so big when I came home. He was angry with me, and it took a minute before he warmed up to me. The system took away my time with my family and made it harder for us to establish our relationships back. Everybody looked and acted so different. I hated and still hate the system

> for what it did to my family. I was addicted to drugs and so was my sister. Because a person is an addict is no reason to ignore a person when they're sick. My mom was so supportive on the surface, but I know she resented me using drugs and leaving her to deal with everything.

Lily stated:

> Communication changed between us. My family stopped trying to get me help. I think by brothers and sister were secretly glad I had fallen off track because they thought that I thought I was better than them. My oldest daughter was angry with me, and no matter how I spoke to her when I first came home she seemed irritated with me. I think my mother had a lot to do with that because she would tell my kids things about me. I don't even have the words to describe how communication changed or how strange it felt. It was just…different.

Daisy stated:

> I think it was my last incarceration in prison. My oldest daughter brought her brothers and sisters down to prison to see me. I know it affected her because she likes to keep up this hard image, and this last time when she got ready to leave she started to cry, and they all started to cry when they got ready to leave. When I would come back from prison, my relationship was good with the boys but with the girls…, they would rebel because they were used to seeing me do the same old thing. The oldest wasn't even grown and she would call me out my name and talk about me badly, giving me no respect. She was so angry with me. She even

> tattooed my name on her ass, and it was like telling me to "kiss her ass." I tried to numb a lot of this away when I was using drugs like it wasn't my fault.

Baby's Breath stated:

> Being locked up I should have gotten my life together and tried to grab my kids and show them what it was like to be on the other side so they wouldn't feel alone. Instead, drugs got me in the street and the next thing I know, my kids are older and starting to go to prison too. They resent all the years I was away and made it real plain to me that I wasn't around. I blame myself first off for leaving them with my grandmother. It was just one cycle repeating the same thing over and over. I felt it was my responsibility because my grandmother had gotten sick to take care of my younger brother and sister since I was the oldest. Well, they couldn't find me. All those years I was in the streets I kept a job. I may not have had a place to live, but I kept a job. I always stayed with people's families and did household work like cooking, cleaning, or babysitting their kids to make myself useful. Humph! I wasn't even keeping my kids.

Theme number three, *damage to social and family network ties*, emerged as women told their stories of family and friend relationships. It was clear their intimate partners provided little support to these women during or after their incarceration. Family members and friends alike seemed to distance themselves while these women were incarcerated and upon their return. They had to establish new lifestyles for themselves, which included new social networks. Negative relationships are not only cause but also a

consequence of women's illegal activities, especially when they abused drugs (Bui & Morash, 2010).

Social and family ties contributed to the quality-of-life in that they helped the women reestablish themselves following incarceration. Because of their history of incarceration, drug abuse and all the social ills associated with their lifestyles, the women described problems with participation in social activities and cooperation from their support networks. Little reciprocity occurred when they attempted to show gratitude towards family or friends. Furthermore, the women felt they no longer belonged in their own family many times, because they were made to feel out of place.

Rose stated:

> The relationship with the father of my kids changed. He didn't stick around after he saw that I was going to prison. The father of my kids moved on with his life. We still talk, but he's not as involved as he should be. We might have married by now. Listening to the women, I was locked up with and going through the things I did, changed me and the way I make friends and contacts. Before I was locked up, we were hanging out together, getting high together, doing everything together. When I got out, he had another girlfriend. My lady friends who were supposedly so close to me before I got incarcerated were not there for me. When I came out, I got involved in the church and had to make a new social network.

Lily stated:

> My peers and the social network went from college kids to drug dealers or users who got me involved with selling or using drugs. Being around drug users in turn made it easier for me to get involved in illegal acts because everyone around me was doing something to get money that wasn't exactly legal. I was involved with guys who were physically abusive or verbally abusive or both. I had to leave them alone when I started changing my life around and get another set of friends. My family wasn't sure how to relate to me. We were all so dysfunctional.

Daisy stated:

> I had a long-standing relationship with the father of my last six children. The oldest kids like I said I don't know who their fathers are. Because of my past lifestyle, not all people I meet are embracing of me. It's not like when people find out my past, they start inviting me to the "tea party." I just don't talk about it much but stay to myself. My family is now who I hang with. They know what I have been through because they went through it with me. Our relationships have a lot of baggage and bumps, but I try to stay positive and move forward. While my relationship is better now with my kids and my sisters, there's still a lot of regrets. I don't hang with the father of my kids. I still talk to him now and then, but he's still doing drugs, and I'm not. It took more than a year to build my relationship back up with my family there was so much damage.

Baby's Breath stated:

> My family was already having lots of problems that we just seemed to repeat like

> Getting arrested, drinking and drugging, and leaving kids with my grandmother. I am sure if she were alive today; my kids would be leaving their kids with her. Going to prison made it harder for us to understand each other. We were so focused on our issues that we didn't work together as a family. We were just a collection of people trying to make it and because I was in so much emotional pain myself, I kept using heroin and cocaine to make myself not feel. I knew wrong from right and had been raised to be a better woman than I was at the time I kept having babies and leaving them. I should have my place by now. I have never had a place of my own, and I am 54 years old. That's a shame. My mother and grandmother were always into it with each other about me. I just couldn't sit still long enough back then to get it together.

Summary

In this chapter, I described recruitment of participants, where interviews took place, and demographics of the participants. Additionally, I reviewed interviews and was able to identify three primary themes (1) lack of trust (2) the development of resentment, anger and blame, and (3) damage to social and family network ties. The emerging themes helped to answer the research question: What was the impact of African American women's multiple incarcerations on family trust relationships, social adjustments, and the ability to reintegrate into family systems and society? Through examining the statements of the participant's responses during interviews, I documented their collective perceptions of going in and out of prison, how this influenced the way family and social

networks perceived participants, and described the harm to their families. They also described how their incarcerations continued to be sources of guilt and shame for them.

Examining results of their collective responses through the lens of Black feminism, and critical criminology theory, I found the participant's answers consistent with findings of other studies and works examined in the literature review. Challenging traditional understanding that stated incarceration is problematic, the nexus of Black feminism and critical criminology helped to reframe the effect of multiple incarcerations (Moore & Padavic, 2010). Research revealed the debilitating effect on African American families, which exceeded previous considerations (Moore & Padavic, 2010). I sought to take into account the perspectives of the women in relationship to their social experiences while following traditional lines of inquiry regarding incarceration. In Chapter 5 I use the findings to understand their significance and implications for social change.

Chapter 5: Findings

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study with a multiple case design was to examine the beliefs about family dynamics and perceptions held by African American women who experienced multiple incarcerations. I sought to illuminate how their absences during periods of incarcerations affected their familial relationships, psychological well-being, and ability to re-integrate into the society. The goal of my study was to give voice to not fully explored areas regarding perceptions African American women have about their family continuity following multiple incarcerations.

The key findings emerged from interviews with African American women participating included (a) family trust broken in ways, which made it difficult to repair; (b) the development of resentments, anger, and blame happening in the context of family in such a way participants and their family members were slow to recover from, if they ever recovered at all; (c) and finally, damages to their social and family networks were not always resolvable and caused difficulty for women to reintegrate with family and community.

Finding 1: Broken Trust

Rose stated friends and a few family members "treated me as if they didn't know me. They didn't trust that I wasn't going to hurt them. It was an isolated incident. Something that just happened. It wasn't a premeditated murder. It was just an accident."

Lily repeatedly emphasized that her father changed the way he interacted with her. She stated, “My father wouldn’t trust me with money or pay my bills. My mother ignored me and kept telling my kids things about me so that they wouldn’t trust me. It was a nightmare.”

Daisy had a difficult time during her addiction and as a result, she stated:

“None of my family members trusted me. I wasn’t able to keep my word, show up where I said I was going to be, or do what I had promised them that I would; that made it hard for them to believe anything I said. When I got clean and sober, I knew I would have to prove myself.”

Baby’s Breath, reared by her maternal grandmother, had a history of family dysfunction. “When I was growing up I knew I couldn’t count on my mother and then I go and do the same thing to my kids. When my grandmother passed away, I tried to get myself together, but I had been doing drugs and cutting up for so long that it took a minute to change. While I was trying to get myself together, my kids were moving on with their lives and even told me that I couldn’t be trusted to do what I told them I would.”

Finding 2: Resentment, Anger, and Blame

Rose described going to prison as one of the worse decisions she had made as if she could refuse punishment for her crimes. Her anger and blame come from the treatment of her sister while they were in custody together. Rose stated she was bitter because they did not respond quickly enough to her complaints about pain and by the

time they did, her cancer had progressed rapidly. She also had a lot of resentment towards friends and family members who were at the party where the murder took place. Although she experienced incarceration more than once due to her past addiction, it is the last arrest that sticks in her mind.

Rose stated she was angry with people who did not stick up for her or her sister. They saw what happened, but for whatever reasons, they did not tell the police the entire story. Some of those people she was angry toward were family members who did not visit or help while she was in custody. Her mother provided her support for years while other family members were not available to help her daughter care for her young son.

Lily shared that since she was the baby of the family, they had higher expectations of her. She stated her mother in particular did a lot to make her reunification with her children difficult and even today, years after she has gotten herself together, her mother still has an odd relationship with her. Lily blamed herself for not having a closer relationship with her children. She blamed her incarcerations on her addiction and bad choices. She thought her mother resented her close relationship with her father and used her addiction and subsequent incarcerations to build a wall between them. The result, according to Lily, is a poor relationship with her mother.

Daisy indicated the biggest resentment she has is that the fathers of her children have not stepped up and set an example for her sons who are now getting in trouble and going to prison. Her children resented her for years; especially the girls. She revealed they were verbally abusive towards her.

Baby's Breath stated she was angry at herself more than anyone else. She recognized her grandmother had given her opportunity after opportunity to have a great life, and she squandered it getting high. She also blamed herself for picking the wrong men resulting in more than one encounter with the justice system.

Finding 3: Damage to Social Networks

All four participants described difficulties reconnecting with friends and family following their release from prison. Friends rarely offered help without asking for some monetary arrangement from them, even though the friends knew they were recently released from prison. The result was Lily, Daisy, and Baby's Breath ended up in shelters during their journey towards sobriety. Daisy described being bitten by bed bugs and having to go to the doctor for treatment while in shelter care. When she asked to move in with a friend, the friend refused to allow her to move in because she thought she would bring bed bugs to her house. She felt her family was there for her, but her friends were shady.

Interpretation of the Findings

Along with the three emerging themes, a few observations were relevant and appeared cultural and consistent with low income African American women (Cobbina, 2010). The women in this study spoke of their faith and spiritual beliefs as giving them strength to cope and endure their incarcerations. Three of the women described their family life before using drugs or getting arrested as being raised "in the church." One participant described finding faith while incarcerated through a young woman that was

her cell mate. I related these statements to cultural beliefs inherent in the African American community (Brade, 2008).

The women included societal influences, such as poverty and the overwhelming availability of illegal drugs, as negatively affecting their recovery efforts. Each participant had problematic issues within their families before their initial arrest (i.e., parental or sibling incarcerations, drug use within the family, alienation between parents and other family members, etc.). By the time they had been to prison more than once, financial and emotional stressors created family rifts, which continued even through their current periods of 5-8 years of sobriety. Salina et al. (2011) reported that women faced barriers to accessing services due to stigma and other issues preventing them from seeking help. Through the interviews, I explored women's processes of planning to make strides to remain drug-free, lead crime-free lives, and their perception of whether families supported their goals.

The literature supported findings of breakdowns in communication between family members as contributing toa women's feelings of isolation (Allen et al., 2009; Gilham, 2012; Graham & Harris, 2013; Shantz et al., 2009). These feelings of isolation led to feelings of abandonment and anger on the part of the offenders and their family members. Women did better reintegrating when their support networks were intact (Eisenberg et al., 2014).

All four participants shared their support networks of their families, even though they had difficuty embracing them. With trust broken between family members,

difficulties arose to create realistic and prosocial goals, which enabled family members to rely on each other again (Eisenberg et al., 2014). Participants indicated that family members still distrusted their motives and seemed to be waiting for them to return to prison. Each participant had been out of prison for at least five years and remained sober during this period. They felt responsible for continuing the cycle of their children being arrested and incarerated because they were not there to parent them.

One participant agreed to take photos of a day in her life and received a disposable camera for that purpose. (Appendix G) The participant took several photos of her mother in a nursing home and herself, but to protect her identity, these photos were not included. Instead, I will share for the purpose of understanding her family relationship what the photo of her mother meant to her.

Daisy described her current relationship with her mother as exciting. Her mother had dementia but often couldn't recognize Daisy when she visited weekly. Daisy stated more than once: "It's important to visit because there were so many days that she did not visit when she was in the midst of her addiction and homeless."

In one photo she is sitting in a chair beside her mother's hospital bed and smiling. Her mother is on Daisy's cell phone. Happy birthday was being sung to her in the photo. Daisy said she took the photos of her mom in the nursing home as a reminder of "now" and to get rid of the bad memories of when she didn't visit. "I buy her clothes and bath stuff. It feels so good to have a relationship with her."

The photo of the railroad was where Daisy was employed (Appendix G). She took that picture because when she first got clean 6 years ago, she had a physical job, and it was hard. Currently, she transported railroad employees from one rail yard to another during the evening shift. Keeping odd work hours made it difficult to connect with her family members.

The cat was the pet she raised from a kitten. He keeps her company, and she stated he acts human. When she gets up to go to work, the cat gets up also. He is a house cat and does not go outside. He sleeps in her bed, decreasing her feelings of lonelyness. A photo of the man in the vacant lot was a reminder to her of when she was homeless. She also took photos of her apartment because "It's my apartment. It is a big deal for me to have my place. I went from sleeping in somebody's garage with their dog to having my place."

Daisy took a picture of a motorcycle club riding down the street which caught her a attention because it was a ride done yearly from an organization of "Toys-for-Tots". She stated what she liked most about it was they were all giving back to the community. It touched her heart that people care enough to help children. The motorcylces also caught her eye because the people seemed so free and happy.

Daisy's photographs illustrated from her eyes, what was momentous. At no time did she feel inclined to take pictures of police cars or people getting arrested. The photos were of her mother and mostly of her home/neighborhood, the things most significant to her. Of the sample, she was the most eager to show how far she had come from her days

on the street alone to building her relationship with the family. Daisy believed that the family's new found support for her and trust helped her maintain her sobriety, keep a job, and set an example for her adult children that change is possible.

One of the aims of the criminal justice system's incarceration practices was to reduce crime (Pager et al., 2015). The overwhelming recidivism rate in the United States speaks to a need to work more effectively with families and their social issues before they engage in crinimal activity (Carson, 2015). Through exploration of multiple incarcerations of African American women's perceptions of their experiences, I intended to illuminate the need for policies and programs to improve the likelihood of family stability and transformation throughout the post-incarceration process.

Implications of this research were that African American women with substance abuse histories seemed aware of their shortcomings and reached out for support. Lacking knowledge of available resources and assistance, they were not able to obtain the level of support needed to interrupt the downward spiral into addiction and incarceration.

Current recidivism records indicated approximately two-thirds (67.8%) of all people released return to prison within three years for a new offense (Cooper et al., 2014). The women participating in this study were no exception exemplified by Rose,who was arrested more than 50 times and incarcerated more than five times. Findings in this research regarding participants need for family intervention as part of any reintegration planning seemed compelling and has implications for program planning between prisons and social service agencies.

Two participants in this study reported their family members were very supportive of their return from prison. The other two participants became homeless following their return after subsequent incarcerations. For these two, poor family relationships and lack of trust and faith in their ability to keep their word caused family members to refuse to assist them. They waited until clear evidence existed of their commitment to remain sober. Economic barriers and little education combined to make remaining out of the criminal justice system difficult for these participants (Bowles et al., 2012). They were unable to leave their communities, resulting in continued exposure to drug dealers and abusers. Many obstacles created barriers for successful reintegration into a family. Family members striving to overcome personal burdens were further impeded when they are faced with additional responsibilities of the incarcerated loved one's obligations (Epstein, 2013).

This study builds upon the research by Cook and Willams (2015) regarding caregiving families. These researchers identified how families with criminally involved relatives created fictive kin for social support (Cook & Willams, 2015). My study extended the work on African American women and their families, detailing how incarceration permeated their family system and affected interactions with their social networks (Goldweber et al., 2014). Finally, my findings help to close the gap in research specific to how multiple incarcerations influence family continuity.

Limitations of the Study

The study sample was small, but offered rich and robust histories of women with multiple incarcerations ranging from three incarcerations to over ten imprisonments for extended periods. In attempting to recruit women from programs such as women's residential shelters, I ran across several women who rejected participating in the study due to their not wanting to relive painful experiences and were not sure telling their stories would be helpful. The refusal of women to join the study limited the variety of participants in the study to only those who volunteered and were willing to share their stories.

Recommendations

Based on the responses of the participants and review of the literature, future studies with formerly incarcerated African American women about their family relationships would do well to anticipate including family members in groups to enhance credibility and increase the depth of details and understanding barriers these women faced reintegrating into the family. Families were frequently overwhelmed with the responsibilities of caring for the minor children of several family members who are locked away (Wildeman & Western, 2010).

Secondly, to help with reducing recidivism and intergenerational incarcerations, a longevity study tracking female offenders with more than one incarceration re-entry from prison to the community would be helpful to frame the scope and range of problems with

family relationships, reintegration, practical barriers, and the length of time it takes to navigate beyond barriers.

Examining issues like those previously described would allow policy decision-makers to develop parameters to ensure the regulations meet the needs of these marginalized families, are not mired in rules that create unnecessary hurdles for repatriated women to overcome. People working with fragile populations should receive adequate training to work with at-risk women grounded in well-documented and supported practices. By providing on-the-ground training specific to working with this population beyond theoretical frameworks, practitioners will be in better positions to work effectively and efficiently with women and their families before their release.

Implications

Understanding the adverse effect on critical family dynamics for African American women with multiple incarcerations was essential in helping to create a culture of social change. Within the criminal justice system, women's marginalization mirrors that of society, and FT informed my study on the historic ill treatment of women. The ill treatment of women included layers of family distrust, and the fact women internalized sole responsibility for incarceration despite evidence of systematic racism and oppression (Bush, 2012).

As apparent from the comments of participants in this study, women held themselves personally responsible, which created a sense of accountability and empowerment for these women. Negative situations and the lack of adequate role models

seemed to increase the likelihood of women going to prison, especially when there is a history of family incarcerations (Chavis, 2012).

All participants indicated their boyfriends led them to use drugs and had something to do with their initial foray into criminal activity. Boyfriends who dealt drugs and committed other crimes contributed to women becoming incarcerated (Richie, 2012). Being arrested due to an intimate relationshipwais an example of how the criminal justice system capitalized on women trying to remain loyal to their man.

Women offered plea bargains, even when she has done nothing wrong other than becoming guilty through association (Allen et al., 2014). Participant four in this study, Baby's Breath's first arrest came as the result of her telling her boyfriend she saw the girl who skipped out paying her grandmother rent at the store. He chose to follow and rob the woman of her food stamps and money. When Baby's Breath visited him at his house, the police arrested her for the robbery although she had no knowledge the boyfriend had committed the crime.

Conclusion

Incarceration has long-term effects, contingent on many factors (O'Brien, 2014). Repatriated people face struggles and barriers after returning from their first incarceration (O'Brien, 2014). Multiple incarcerations alter the family relationships in ways, which made it increasingly difficult to regain equal footing (Anakwenze & Zuberi, 2013). Already strained relationships due to economic reasons and personal situations are likely

to have breaks that are irreparable once multiple incarcerations have occurred (Foster & Hagan, 2014).

The results of living in poverty with strained family relationships were often in the use of drugs and commission of survival crimes for women and their children leading to inter-generational incarceration (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010). The formerly incarcerated person was forever in the debt of family members for taking up the slack with their children and faced continual reminders that they, as the parent, were not a part of decisions for their children. These feelings of guilt, shame, blame, and anger are constant themes permeating formerly incarcerated women's lives and relationships with their family members (Bowles et al., 2012).

Since there is no way to undo the pain, the formerly incarcerated family member was in an unenviable position of constantly apologizing and trying to demonstrate their reliability to regain the trust of their family. The women in this study had been in recovery for many years and collectively were still trying to prove to their families their trustworthiness. If we are to create social change and improve the lives of these women and their children, we must consider how to help formerly incarcerated African American women reintegrate with their families well before their release. This planning includes offering programs with their families as an integral part of reintegration planning within institutions.

References

Aaron, L., & Dallaire, D. H. (2010). Parental incarceration and multiple risk experiences: Effects on family dynamics and childrens delinquency. *Journal of Youth Adolescence, 39*(1), 1471–1484. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*, 1-15. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-0458-0

Abma, T. A., & Stake, R. E. (2014). Science of the particular: An advocacy of naturalistic case study in health research. *Qualitative Health Research, 24*(8), 1150–1161. doi:10.117/104 9732314543196

Adler, F., & Adler, H. M. (1975). *Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal.* New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Alexander, M. (2012). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incaceration in the age of colorblindness.* New York, NY: The New Press.

Alexander-Floyd, N. (2010). Critical race Black Feminism: A "Jurisprudence of Resistance" and the transformation of the academy. *Journal of Women in Culture & Society, 35*(4), 810–820. doi:10.1086/651036

Alexander-Floyd, N. G. (2014). Beyond superwomen: Justice for Black women too. *Dissent, 61*(10), 42–44. doi:10.1353/dss.2014.0018

Allen, H., Latessa, E., Ponder, B., & Simonsen, C. (2014). *Corrections in America: An Introduction* (13th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice-Hall.

Anakwenze, U., & Zuberi, D. (2013). Mental health and poverty in the inner city. *Health & Social Work, 38*(3), 147-157. doi:10.1093/hsw/hlt013

Ayre, E. (2012). Understanding the policy gap for children affected by parental incarceration: Why the transposition of their rights to family life and well-being is lagging. *Scientific Annals of the Al.I. Cuza University, Iasi. Sociology and Social Work*, 19–33. Retrieved from http://baze.nsk.hr/casopisi/scientific-annals-of-the-al-i-cuza-university-iasi-sociology-social-work-analele-stiintifice-ale-universitatii-al-i-cuza-iasi-sociologie/

Barrick, K., Lattimore, P. & Visher, C.vA. (2014). Reentering women: The impact of social ties on long-term recidivism. *The Prison Journal, 94*(3), 279–304. doi:10.1177/0032885514537596

Baskarada, S. (2014). Qualitative case study guidelines. *The Qualitative Report 19*(1), 1–18. Retrieved from http://www.nova-edu/QR/QR19/baskarada24.pdf

Beck, A. J., & Boncazar, T. P. (2010). *Lifetime likelihood of going to state or federal prison.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics-Department of Justice.

Bell, P. (2008). The relational patterns between African American mothers under Correctional supervision and maternal caregiving grandmothers. Michigan, USA: UMI Dissertation Services

Belknap, J. (2010). "Offending women": Double entendre. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, 100*(3), 1061–1097.

Blakely, J. M., & Hatcher, S. S. (2013). Trauma and substance abuse among child welfare involved African American mothers. *Journal of Public Child Welfare, 7*(2), 194–216. doi:10.1080/15548732.2013.779623

Bloom, B., Owen, B., & Covington, S. (2004). Women offenders and the gendered effects of public policy. *Review of Policy Research, 21*(1), 31–48. doi:10.1111/j.1541-1338.204.00056x

Boddy, J., Agllias, K., & Gray, M. (2012). Mentoring in social work: Key findings from a women's community-based mentoring program. *Journal of Social Work Practice, 25*(3), 385–405. doi:10.1080/02660533.212.670103

Boudin, C. (2011). Children of incarcerated parents: The child's constitutional right to the family relationship. *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology 101*(1), 77–118. Retrieved from http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc/

Bowles, M., DeHart, D., & Webb, J. (2012). Family influences on female offenders' substance use: The role of adverse childhood events among incarcerated women. *Journal of Family Violence, 27*(7), 681–686. doi:10.1007/s10896-012-9450-4

Brade, K. A. (2008). Lessons from our past: African American christian women and the integration of faith and practice. *Social Work & Christianity, 35*(3), 312–232. Retrieved from http://www.nacsw.org/

Bradley, R., & Davion, K. (2007). Interpersonal violence, recovery, resilence in incarcerated women. *Journal of Oppression, Matreatment, and Trauma, 14*(2), 123–146. doi:10.1300/j146v14n01_07

Brown, S., Jun, M. K., Min, M. O., & Tracy, E. M. (2013). Impact of dual disorders: Trauma, and social support on quality of life among women in treatment for

substance deoendence. *Journal of Dual Diagnosis, 9*(1), 61–71. doi:10.1080/15504263. 2012.750147

Bui, H. N., & Morash, M. (2010). The impact of network relationships, prison experiences, and internal transformation on women's success after prison release. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 49*(1), 1-20 doi:10.1080/10509670903435381.

Buist, K. L., & Vermande, M. (2014). Sibling relationship patterns and their association with child competence and problem behavior. *Journal of Family Psychology, 28*(4), 529-537. doi:10.1037/a0036900.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2011). *Facts At A Glance.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Bureau of Justice Statistics-U.S. Department of Justice. (2011). *Prison, Jail, and Community Supervision.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

Bureau of Prisons. (2015). Inmate statistics: gender. http://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_gender.jsp.

Bureau of Prisons. (2015). Inmate statistics: Race. Retrieved from http://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_rase.jsp.

Bush, B. (2012). Overpoliced and underprotected: Women, race, and criminalization. *UCLA.* Los Angeles: UCLA.

Butler, C. N. (2015). A Critical race feminist perspective on prostitution & sex trafficking in America. *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism, 27*(1), 95-139. Retrieved from

https://www.law.yale.edu/student-life/student-journals-and-publications/yale-journal-law-feminism

Byrd, D., & Shavers, S. R. (2013). African American women and self-esteem: The various sources. *Race, Gender & Class, 20*(1/2), 244-265. Retrieved from http://rgc.uno.edu/ journal/

Canada, A. L. (2011). A psychologist's respons to the case study: Application of theory and measurement. *Journal of Health Care Chaplaincy, 17* (1), 46-54. doi:10.1080/08854726. 2011.559854.

Carpenter, T. R. (2012). Construction of the Crack Mother Icon. *The Western Journal of Black Studies, 36*(4), 264-275. Retrieved from www.wsu.edu/~wjbs/

Carson, E. (2014). *Prisoners in 2013.* Washington: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Carson, E. A. (2015). *Prisoners in 2014.* Retrieved November 30, 2015, from Bureau of Justice Statistics: http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=5387

Chavis, A. M. (2012). Social learning theory and behavioral therapy: Considering human behaviors within the social and cultural context of individuals and families. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 22*(1), 54-64. doi:10.1080/10911359. 2011.598828.

Chesney-Lind, M. & Morash, M. (2013). Transformative feminist criminology: A critical re-thinking of a discipline. *Critical Criminology 21(3),* 287-304. Doi: 10.1007/s10612-013-9187-2.

Christian, J. & Thomas, S.S. (2009). Examining the intersections of race, gender, and

mass imprisonment. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 7(1),* 69-84. doi:10.1080/15377930802711797.

Clear, T. (2007). *Imprisoning communities: How mass incarceration makes disadvantaged neighborhoods worse.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cobbina, J. E. (2010). Reintegration success and failure: Factors impacting reintegration among incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 49*(1), 210-232. doi:10.1080/10509671003666602.

Collica, K. (2010). Surviving incarceration: Two prison-based peer programs build communities of support for female offenders. *Deviant Behavior, 31*(1), 314-347. doi:10.1080/01639620903004812.

Collins, P. (2012). Social Ineqauality, power, and politics: Intersectionality and American pragmatism in dialogue. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 26*(2), 442-457. doi:10.5325/jspecphil.26.2.0442

Comfort, M. (2012). "It was basically college to us": Poverty, prison, and emerging adulthood. *Journal of Poverty, 16*(3), 308-322. doi:10.1080/10876649.2012.695923.

Cook, D. A., & Willams, T. (2015). Expanding intersetionality: Fictive kinship networks as supports for the educational aspirations of Black Women. *Western Journal of Black Studies, 39*(2), 157-166. Retrieved from www.wsu.edu/~wjbs/

Cooper, A. D., Durose, M. R., & Synder, H. N. (2014, 4 22). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005-2010.* Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics: http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4986

Copeland, V. C., & Snyder, K. (2011). Barriers to mental health treatment services for low-Income African American women whose children receive behavioral health services: An Ethnographic Investigation. *Social Work in Public Health, 26*(1), 78-95. doi:10.1080/1091135093341036.

Cox, T. L., Zunker, C., Wingo, B., Thomas, D. M., & Ard, J. D. (2010). Body image and quality of life in a group of African American women. *Social Indicators Research, 99*(1), 531-540. doi:10.1007/s11205-010-9602-y.

Craigie, T. A. (2011). The effect of paternaliIncarceration on early child behavioral problems: A racial comparison. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 9*(1), 179-199. doi:10.1080/15377938.2011.594349

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cunningham-Stringer, E., & Barnes, S. L. (2012). Mothering while imprisoned: The effects of family and child dynamics on mothering attitudes. *Family Relations: Interdiciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, 313-326. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2011.00696.x

Davis, A. J. (2013). In search of racial justice. *Legislative and Public Policy, 16*(1), 821-851. Retrieved from http://www.nyujlpp.org/

Derby, R. W. (2012). Parental incarceration and kinship care: Caregiver experiences, child well-being, and permanency intentions. *Social Work in Public Health, 27*(1/2), 104-128. doi: 10:1080/19371918.2012.639639.

Desmond, M. (2012). Eviction and the reproduction of urban poverty. *American Journal of Sociology, 118*(1), 88-133. doi:10.1086/666082

Eisenberg, N., Hofer, C., Sulik, M. J., & Liew, J. (2014). The development of prosocial moral reasoning and a prosocial orientation in young adulthood: Concurrent and longitudinal correlates. *Developmental Psychology, 50*(1), 58-70. doi:10.1037/a0032990

Elo, S., Kaarainen, M., Kanste, O., Polkki, T., Utrainen, K., & Kyngas, H. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE Open, 4*(1), 1-10. doi: 10:1177/2158244014522633.

Epstein, R. (2013). Sentencing mothers: the rights of the child and the duties of the criminal courts. *Contemporary Social Science 8(2)*, 130-140. doi:10.1080/21582041.2012.751503.

Fallon, J. (2010, June 25). Supportive housing meeting. (D. K. Dixon, Interviewer)

Federal Bureau of Investigation-National Incident based Reporting System General Information

(2015). https:/www.2fbi.gov/ucr/faqs.htm

Fedock, G., Fries, L., & Kubiak, S. P. (2013). Serivce needs for incarcerated adults: Exploring gender differences. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*(7), 493-508. doi:10:1080/10509674.212.759171.

Folk, J. B., Dallaire, D. H., & Zeman, J. L. (2014). High-risk early adolescents' perceptions of jail and offender experiences. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice, 10*(2), 106-128. Retrieved from www.apcj.org/

Forman, J. J. (2012). Racial critiques of mass incarceration beyond the new Jim Crow. *New York University Law Review, 87*(1), 101-146. Retrieved from http://www.nyulawreview.org/

Fortune, D., & Arai, S. M. (2014). Rethinking community within the context of social inclusion as social justice: Implications for women after federal incarceration. *Studies in Social Justice, 8*(1), 79-107. Retrieved from https://brock.scholarsportal.info/journals/SSJ

Foster, H., & Hagan, J. (2014). Supportive ties in the lives of incarcerated women: Gender race/ethnicity, and children's human rights. *Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice*, 257-281. Retrieved from jgrj.law.uiowa.edu/

Gelb, A., King, R., & Rose, F. (2012). *Time served: The high cost, low return of longer prison terms.* Philadelphia, PA: The Pew Center.

Geller, A., Garfinkel, I., & Western, B. (2011). Paternal incarceration and support for children in fragile families. *Demography, 48*(2), 25-47. doi.10:1007/s13524-010-0009-9

Gentles, S. J., Charles, C., Ploeg, J., & McKibbon, K. A. (2015). Sampling in qualitative research: Insights from an overview of the methods literature. *The Qualitative Report, 20* (11), 1772-1789. Retrieved from tqr.nova.edu/

Gilham, J. M. (2012). A qualitative study of incarcerated mothers' Perceptions of the impact of separation on their children. *Social Work in Public Health, 27*, 89-103. doi:10.1080/19371918.2011.629907

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glass, V. Q. (2014). "We are with family": Black lesbian couples negotiate rituals with extended families. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 10*(1/2), 79-100. doi:10.1080/1550428X. 2014.857242.

Glaze, L. E., & Kaeble, D. (2014). *Correctional Populations in the United States, 2013.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Goldweber, A., Cauffman, E., & Cillessen, A. H. (2014). Peer status among incarceration female offenders: Associations with social behavior and adjustments. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 24*(4), 720-733. doi:10.1111/jora.12078

Gove, M. K., Volk, D., Still, K., Huang, G., & Thomas-Alexander, S. (2011). A critical look at four multicultural reform efforts in one urban college of education. *Multicultural Education, 18*(4), 18-23. Retrieved from www.wtamu.edu/journal/multiculturalism-in-education.aspx

Graham, J. A., & Harris, Y. R. (2013). Children of color and parental incarceration: Implications for research, theory, and practice. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 41*(1), 66-81. doi:10.1002/j.2161-1912.2013.00028.x

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Resources Inofrmation Centre Annual Review, 29*(2), 75-91. Retrieved from http://eric.ed.gov/

Hagan, J., & Foster, H. (2012). Children of the American prison generation: Student and school spillover effects of incarcerating mothers. *Law and Society Review, 46*(1), 37-69. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5893.2012.00472.x

Haley, S. (2013). "Like I was a man": Chain gangs, gender, and the domestic carceral sphere in Jim Crow Georgia. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 39*(1), 53-77. doi:10.1086/670769

Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Keyes, K., Hamilton, A., Uddin, M., & Galea, S. (2015). The collateral damage of mass incarceration: Risk of psychiatric morbidity among nonincarcerated residents of high incarceration neighborhoods. *Journal of Public Health, 105*(1), 138-143. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2014.302184.

Heimer, K., Johnson, K. R., Lang, J. B., Rengifo, A. F., & Stemen, D. (2012). Race and women's imprisonment: Poverty, African American presence, and social welfare. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 28 (1)*, 219-244. doi:10.1007s10940-011-9144-8.

Hemmings, C. (2011). *Why stories matter: The political grammar of feminist theory.* Durham, UK: Duke University Press.

Hildebrand, M., & Martel, C. L. (2012). The negation of power: From structuration theory to the politics of the third way. *Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory, 13*(2), 187-207. doi:10.1080/1600910X.2012.687694.

hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Illinois Legislature Bureau of Prisons. (2003, July 1). *Illiinois Government Prison Visitation.* Retrieved from Illinois Government: http://www2.illinois.gov/idoc/Documents/ visitation.pdf

Irby, C. A. (2014). Moving beyond agency: A review of gender and intimate relationships in conservative religions. *Sociology Compass, 8*(11), 1269-1280. doi:10.1111soc4.12212.

Jarrett, R. L., Jefferson, S. R., & Kelly, J. N. (2012). Finding commmunity in family: Neighborhood effects and African American Kin networks. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 299-328. Retrieved from https://soci.ucalgary.ca/jcfs/

Kennedy, R. (1997). *Race, Crime, and the Law.* New York, NY: Random House, Inc.

Kissane, R. J. (2012). Social ties, social support, and collective efficacy among families from public housing in Chicago and Baltimore. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 39*(4), 157-181. Retrieved from https://wmich.edu/socialworkjournal

Kleiman, M. A. (2015). Substituting effective community supervision for Incarceration. *Minnesota Law Review, 99*(5), 1621-1630. Retrieved from http://www.minnesotalawreview.org/

Kohlberg, L. (1971). The claim to moral adequacy of a highest stage of moral judgment. *Journal of Philosophy, 70*(18), 630-646. doi:10.2307/2025030.jstor2025030.

Kruttschnitt, C. (2013). Gender and crime. *Annual Review of Sociology, 39*(1), 291-308. Retrieved from http://www.annualreviews.org/loi/soc

Lei, M.-K., Simons, R. L., Edmond, M. B., Simons, L. G., & Curtrona, C. E. (2014). The effect of neighborhood disadvantage, social ties, and genetic variation on the antisocial behavior of African American women: A multilevel analysis. *Development and Psychopathology, 26*(1), 1113-1128. doi:10.1017/S0954579414000200.

Lichtenwalter, S., Garase, M. L., & Barker, D. B. (2010). Evaluation of the house of healing: An alternative to female incarceration. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 37*(1), 75-94. Retreived from https://wmich.edu/socialworkjournal

Liebling, A., & Arnold, H. (2012). Social relationships between prisoners in a maximum security prison: violence, faith, and the declining nature of trust. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(1), 413-424. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.06.003

Liebman, R. E., Burnette, M. L., Raimond, C., Nichols-Hadeed, C., Merle, P., & Cerulli, C. (2014). Piolting a psycho-social intervention for incarcerated women with trauma histories: Lessons learned and future recommendations. *International*

Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 58(8), 894-913. doi:10.1177/0306624 X13491073.

Logue, M. A. (2011). Downward departures in U.S. federal courts: Do family ties, sex, and race/ethnicity matter. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(4), 683-706. doi:10.1080/0141 9870.2010.487568

Loper, A. B., Phillips, V., Nichols, E. B., & Dallaire, D. H. (2014). Characteristics and effects of the co-parenting alliance between incarcerated parents and child caregivers. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 23*(3), 225-241. doi:10.1007/s10826-012-9709-7.

Lynch, S. M., Heath, N. M., Mathews, K. C., & Cepeda, G. J. (2012). Seeking safety: An intervention for trauma-exposed incarcerated women? *Journal of Trauma & Disociation, 13*(1), 88-101. doi:10.1080/15299732.2011.608780.

Manning, R. (2011). Punishing the innocent: children of incarcerated and detained parents. *Criminal Justice Ethics. 30*(3), 267-287 doi:10.1080/0731129X.2011.628830.

Martin, E., & Wells, D. (2015, Novemeber/December). Dissecting the issue of child prison visitation. *Corrections Today*. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice.

Martin, S. S., Jacqueline Trask, Peterson, T., Martin, B. C., Baldwin, J., & Knapp, M. (2010). Influence of culture and discrimination on care-seeking behavior of

elderly African Americans: A Qualitative study. *Social Work in Public Health, 25*(1), 311-326. doi:10.1080/193719109032407853.

Martinez, D. G., & Sullivan, S. C. (2011). African American gay men and lesbians: Examining the complexity of gay Identity development. In L. A. See, *Human behavior in the Social Environment from an African American Perspective* (p. 234). New York, NY: Routledge.

Maschi, T., Schwalbe, C., & Ristow, J. (2013). In pursuit of the ideal parent in juvenile justice: A qualitative investigation of probation officers' experiences with parents of juvenile offenders. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*(7), 470-492. doi:10.1080/105 09674.2013.

Mchale, J., Waller, M. R., & Pearson, J. (2012). Coparenting interventions for fragile families: What do we know and where do we need to go next? *Family Process, 51*(3), 284-306. doi:10.111/j.1545-5300.2012.01402.

McIntyre, A. (2013). The Value of "Silence" in the Lives of Postincarcerated Women. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*, 1-15. doi:10.1080/10509674.2012.713452

McLanahan, S., Haskins, R., Garfinkel, I., Mincy, R. B., & Donahue, E. (2010). *Strengthening fragile families.* Princeton, N.J.: The Future of Children Princeton-Brookings.

McNamara, M. (2014). Better to be out in prison than out in public: LGBTQ prisoners receive more constitutional protection if they are open about their sexuality while

in prison. *A Review of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Legal Issues, 23*(1), 135-154. Retrieved from http://www.law.tulane.edu/tlsjournals/tlas/

Mignon, S. I., & Ransford, P. (2012). Mothers in prison: Maintaining connections with children. *Social Work in Public Health, 27*(1-2), 69-88. doi:10:1080/19371918.2012.630965.

Miller, H. V., & Barnes, J. (2015). The association between parental Incarceration and health, education, and economic outcomes in young adulthood. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(4), 1-20. doi:10.1007/s12103-015-9288-4.

Moore, L. D., & Padavic, I. (2010). Racial and ethnic disparities in girls' sentencing in the juvenile justice system. *Feminist Criminology, 5*(3), 263-285. doi:10.1177/1557085 110380583.

Moser, W. (2013). *Cook county jail is America's biggest.* Retrieved from Chicago Magazine: www.chicagomag.com/.../Cook-County-Jail-Americas-Biggest-Ja.

Mouzon, D. M. (2013). Can family relationships explain the race paradox in mental health. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*(2), 470-485. doi:10.1111/jomf.12006.

Muraskin, R. (2012). *Women and justice: It's a crime.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.

National Women's Law Center. (2012). *Women's Poverty Rate Stablizes But Remains Historically High.* Washington, D.C.: National Women's Law Center.

Nicolaidis, C., Timmons, V., Thomas, M. J., Waters, A. S., Wahab, S., Mejia, A., & Mitchell, S. R. (2010). "You don't go tell white people nothing": African

American women's perspectives on the influence of violence and race on depression and depression care. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*(8), 1470-1476. doi:10.2105/ajph.2009.161950

Nudleman, S. (2009). National Institute of Corrections: Gender responsive training. (D. K. Dixon, Interviewer)

O'Brien, P. (2014). *The Conversation.Com*. Retrieved from The Conversation: Academic Rigor, journalistic flair. http://theconversation.com/the-case-for-closing-down-womens-prisons-33000

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. OJJDP Annual report 2013. (NCJ 248570) December, 2015. *A Clear Vision for the Future of Juvenile Justice*. Retrieved from http//www.ojjdp.gov/publications/ncj248570.

Oney, C., Cole, E., & Sellers, R. (2011). Racial identity and gender as moderators of the relationship between body image and self-esteem for African Americans. *Sex Roles, 65*(7/8), 619-631. doi:10.1007/s11199-011-9962-z.

Oppliger, P. (2008). *Girls gone skank: The sexualization of girls in American culture.* Jerfferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc.

Opsal, T., & Foley, A. (2013). Making it on the outside: Understanding barriers to women's post incarceration reintegration. *Sociology Compass, 7*(4), 265-277. doi:10.1111/add.12536.

Pager, D., Western, B., & Justice, N. I. (2015). *Investigating prisoner reentry: The impact of conviction status on the employment prospects of young men.* Rockville, MD: Scholar's Choice 2015.

Pare, P. P., & Felson, R. (2014). Income inequalitiy, poverty and crime across nations. *British Journal of Sociology, 65*(3), 434-458. doi:10.1111/1468-4446.12083

Patterson, K. L., & Yoo, E.-H. E. (2012). Trapped in poor places? An assessment of the residential spatial patterns of housing choice voucher holders in 2004 and 2008. *Journal of Social Service Research, 38*(5), 637-655. doi:10.1080/01488376.2012.706698.

Patton, L. (2012). *Michelle Obama's food desert plan yields few new stores: Retail*. Retrieved from Bloomberg: http://bloomberg.com/news/2012-05-07/michelle-obama's'food-desert-plan-yeilds-few-new-stores-retail

Patton, M. Q. (2001). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pettus-Davis, C., Howard, M. O., Murugan, V., Roberts-Lewis, A., Scheyett, A. M., Botnick, C., & Vance, M. (2015). Acceptability of a social support intervention for re-entering prisoners. *Journal of the Society Work and Research, 6*(1), 51-89. doi:10.1086/680340.

Pflugradt, D., & Allen, B. (2014). Static risk factors predict sexual misconduct among incarcerated female sexual offenders. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 20*(1), 85-93. doi:10.1080/13552600.2012.758786.

Peredaryenko, M. S., & Krauss, S. (2013). Calibrating the human instrument: Understanding the interviewing experience of novice qualitative researchers. *Qualitative Report, 18*(43), 1-17. Retrieved from www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/calls.html

Poehlmann, J., Shalfer, R., Maes, E. & Hanneman, A. (2008). Factors associated with young children's opportunities for maintaining family relationships during maternal incarceration. Family Relations 57(2), 267-280. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2008.00499.x

Potter, H. (2013). Intersectional criminology: Interrogating identity and power in criminological research theory. *Critical Criminology, 21*(1), 305-318. doi:1007/s10612-013-9203-6

Pullen, E., Perry, B., & Oser, C. (2014). African American women's preventative care usage: The role of social support and racial experiences and attitudes. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 36*(7), 1037-1053. doi:10.1111/1467-9566.12141.

QSR International. (2015). *QSR International Products*. Retrieved from NVivo 10 for Windows. Retrieved from www.qsrinternational.com/products_nvivo.aspx

Rahimipour, N. A., & Boostani, D. (2014). Living in and living out: A qualitative Study of incarcerated mothers' narratives of their children's living condition. *Quality & Quanitity, 48*(6), 3093-3107. doi:10.1007/s11135-013-9943-0.

Ravanera, Z. R., & Rajulton, F. (2010). Measuring social capital and its differentials by family structures. *Social Indicators Research, 95*(1), 63-89. doi:10.1007/s1205-009-9450-9.

Richie, B. (2012). *Arrested justice: Black women, violence, and America's prison nation.* New York, NY: New York Press.

Roberts, D. E. (2012). Prison, foster care, and the systemic punishment of Black mothers. *UCLA Law Review, 59*(1), 1474-1495. doi:10.1080/09649069.2014.967991.

Roberts, D. E. (2014). Child protection as surveillance of African American families. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law, 36*(4), 426-437. doi:10.1080/09649069.2014.967991.

Rosen, E. (2014). Rigging the rules of the game: How landlords geographically sort low-income renters. *City and Community, 13*(4), 310-340. doi:10.1111/cico.12087.

Rousseau, N. (2013). Historical wominist theory: Revisiting Black feminist thought. *Race, Gender and Class, 20*(3/4), 191-204. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/journal/ race.gender.class

Salina, D., Lesondak, L., Razzano, L., & Parenti, B. M. (2011). Addressing unmet needs in incarcerated women with co-occuring disorders. *Journal of Social Service Research, 37*(1), 365-378. doi:10.1089/01488376.2011.582017.

Schmallenger, F. (2011). *Criminology today: An integrative introduction.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Schnittker, J., Massoglia, M., & Uggen, C. (2012). Out and down: Incarceration and psychiatric disorders. *Journal of Health & Social Behavior, 53*(4), 448-464. doi:10.1177/00221465 12453928.

Shamble, S. R., Arnold, B. B., Mckieman, P., Colling, D. A., & Strader, T. N. (2013). Applying the creating lasting family connections marriage enhancement program to marriages affected by prison reentry. *Family Process, 52*(3), 477-498. doi:10.1111/famp.12003.

Shantz, L., Kilty, J. M., & Frigon, S. (2009). Echoes of imprisonment: Women's experiences of "successful (re)integration". *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 24*(1), 85-106. doi:10.1017/s0829320100009789

Sheehan, R. (2014). Women exiting prison: Supporting successful reintegration in a changing penal climate. *Journal of Community Justice, 12*(2), 57-66. Retrieved from http://www.cjp.org.uk/bjcj/

Shemmings, D., Shemmings, Y., & Cook, A. (2012). Gaining the trust of "highly resistant" familys: Insights from attachment theory and research. *Child and Family Social Work, 17*(1), 130-137. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2206.2012.00834.x

Shwartz-Soicher, O., Geller, A., & Garfinkel, I. (2011). The Effect of paternal incarceration on material hardship. *Social Service Review*, 447-473. doi:10.1086/661925

Siegel, D., & Blank, S. D. (2010). Dispatches: Women who traffic women: The role of women in human trafficking networks-dutch cases. *Global Crime, 11*(4), 436-447. doi:10.1080/17440572.2010.519528

Simon, R. J. (1975). *Women and crime.* Lexington MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Spence, N. J., & Daniel E. Adkins, a. M. (2011). Racial differences in depression trajectories among older women: Socioeconomic, family, and health Influences. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 52*(4), 444-459. doi:10.1177/0022146511410432.

Springer, D. (2012). *Budget cuts force Oregon jail to give prisoners get-out-of-jail free Ccrds*. Retrieved from Fox News: http://www.foxnews.com/us/2012/07/16/budget-cuts-force-oregon-jail-to-release-prisoners

Stevens-Watkins, D., Sharma, S., Knighton, J. S., Oser, C. B., & Leukefeld, C. G. (2014). Examining cultural correlates of active coping among African American female trauma survivors. *Psychological Trauma: A Theory Research, Practice, and Policy, 6*(4), 328-336. doi:10.1037/a0034116

Sugie, N. F. (2012). Punishment and welfare: Paternal Incarceration and families receipt of public assistance. *Social Forces, 90*(4), 1403-1427. doi:10.1093/sf/sos055.

Tabasa, E. C., Kajoka, T., & Willemsen, E. (2014). 8 Key areas of support for guiding court appointed special advocates. *New Social Worker 21(4), 16-17.*

Tangeman, K. R., & Hall, S. R. (2011). Self-efficacy in incarcerated adolescents: The role of family and social supports. *Child & Youth Services, 32*(2), 39-55. doi:10.1080/0145935X. 2011.553580.

Taylor, I., Walton, P., & Young, J. (2012). *Critical Crimonology.* New York: Routledge.

Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M., Woodward, A. T., & Brown, E. (2013). Racial and Ethnic Differences in Extended Familly, Friendship, Fictive Kin, and Congregational Informal Support Networks. *Familly Relations, 62*(1), 609-624. doi:10.1111/fare.12030.

Teplin, L., Abram, K. M., & McClelland, G. M. (1996). Prevalence of psychiatric disorders among incarcerated women: pretrial jail detainees. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 53*(6), 505-512. doi:10.1001/archpsyc.1996.01830060047007

Tomandl, J. D. (2015). Chaplains: Incarceration and faith. *Corrections Today, 77*(3), 109-110. Retrieved from http://www.aca.org/ACA_Prod_IMIS/ACA_Member/Publications/Corrections_Today_Magazine/ACA_Member/Publications/CT_Magazine/CorrectionsToday_Home.aspx?hkey=08c84ce7-094c-4ae8-836d-d43cd22c656f

Tomita, M. (2013). The resilience of women drug users sentenced to the execution of a custodial sentence. *Social Work Review, 12*(4), 95-106. Retrieved from http://cswr.columbia.edu/

Turney, K., & Wildeman, C. (2013). Redesiging relationships: Explaining the countervailing consequences of maternal incarcertion for parenting. *American Sociological Review, 78*(6), 949-979. doi:10.1177/0003122413505589

Turney, K., Schnittker, J., & Wildeman, C. (2012). Those they leave behind: Paternal incarceration and maternal instrumental support. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74*(1), 1149-1165. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00998.x.

U.S. Department of Commerce: Economics and Statistics Administration-Executive Office of the President. (2011). *Women in America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2013). *Ten Year Arrest Trends by Sex 2003-2012*. Retrieved from Federal Bureau of Investigation: http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/tables/33tabledatadecoverviewpdf

Vazquez, L. A. (2014). Integration of multicultural and psychoanalytic concepts: A review of three case examples with women of color. *Psychoanalytic Psychology, 31*(3), 435-448. doi:10.1037/a0036341

Wahab, S., Trimble, J., Mejia, A., Mitchell, S. R., Thomas, M. J., TImmons, V., Nicolaidis, C. (2014). Motivational interviewing at the intersections of depression and intimate partner violence among African American women. *Journal of Evidence-Based Social Work, 11*(1), 1543-3714. doi:10.1080/15433714.2013.791502.

Waid, J. (2014). Sibling foster care, placement stability, and well-being: A theoretical and conceptual framework. *Journal of Family Social Work, 17*(2), 283-297. doi:10.1080/10522158.2014.885474.

Wakefield, S. (2015). Accentuating the positive or eliminating the negative? Paternal incarceration and caregiver-child relationship quality. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, 104*(4), 905-927. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2012.00738.x

Wildeman, C., & Western, B. (2010). Incarceration in fragile families. *Future of Children, 20*(2), 157-177. doi:10.1353/foc.2010.0006

Wildeman, C., Wakefield, S., & Turney, K. (2013). Misidentifying the effects of parental Incarceration? A Comment on Johnson and Easterling (2012). *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*(1), 252-258. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.01018.x.

Wilder, J., & Cain, C. (2011). Teaching and learning color consciousness in Black Families: Exploring family processes and women's experiences with colorism. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(1), 577-604. doi:10.1177/0192513x10390858

Wilson, J.Q. & Kelling, G. R. (1982). Broken windows. *The Atlantic Online.* http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/198203/broke-windows.

Wood, H. (2014). When only a house makes a home: How home selection matters in the residential mobility decisions of lower-income, inner-city African American families. *Social Service Review, 88*(2), 264-294. doi:10.1086/676407

Wright, K. A., & Cesar, G. T. (2013). Toward a more complete model of offender reintegration: Linking the individual, community, and system-level components

of recidivism. *Victims and Offenders, 8*(1), 373-398. doi:10.1080/15564886.2013.803004.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Appendix A: Letters

Lisa Cunningham,
6006 S. Prairie Ave.
Chicago, IL 60619

Dear Lisa:

Thank you for your willingness to allow me the chance to work with the women in this organization. Although I have known many women over the years who have been incarcerated, I am grateful that you are willing to distribute my flyer to help me search for volunteers for my dissertation study.

Let me tell you a little bit about what I am doing. I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University. I am conducting dissertation research on the influence of multiple incarcerations of African American women on family continuity and reintegration. There seems to be a number of women who struggle to retain relationships with their children and family members and with each incarceration, this appears to become more difficult. What is not known is how the relationship changes and how the women's perception of these relationships are affected by being locked up several times or how they modify their interactions with family upon return if at all. I am hoping that my research will provide insight into what the women experience when they have been to prison multiple times and how their absence has affected their ability to keep their families intact.

Your assistance in helping me to find participants to conduct this much-needed research is greatly appreciated. If willing, I need for you to give the flyer to women who have been to prison multiple times or give them my telephone number and ask them to call me. It does not matter the length of their prison term but that they have been to prison multiple times (the more times, the better for the study). Once identified, I would like to meet these women to discuss the nature of the study. The participants in this study should be at least 18 years of age and African-American women only. The participants are free to choose whether to participate of not and can discontinue participation at any time. There is no financial compensation, but I am giving the women a gift bag of toiletries as a thank you for their time. Information provided by the participant will be kept confidential. I welcome the opportunity to speak with you more about this study, and if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. I can be reached at 708 415-0294 (cell).

Sincerely,
Dorenda K. Dixon

Doctoral Candidate
Walden University
Dear Dan:

It has been quite some time since we have spoken. I wanted to take this opportunity to request that I be allowed to interview African-American women who have been incarcerated in prison multiple times that may be in residence at your facility currently. The interviews are part of my doctoral dissertation research at Walden University under the direction Dr. Barbara Benoliel who is my chairperson and can be reached by e-mail at Barbara.benoliel@waldenu.edu or 416-612-8558 by mobile. My dissertation is entitled "The Influence of Multiple Incarcerations of African American Women on Family Continuity and Reintegration".

It is my hope that through this research, the light will be shed on a myriad of issues faced by African American women and their families in an effort to help influence social change regarding policy development. All of the necessary protocols to protect the participants and study requirements will be explained to the women before they make a decision to participate.

The interviews are strictly voluntary, and I am happy to share my results with you and your facility. Thank you for taking the time to review this proposal. Should you need additional information, I am more than happy to discuss details with you.

Sincerely,

Dorenda K. Dixon, Ph.D. student
Doctoral Candidate
dorenda.dixon@waldenu.edu
708 415-0294 mobile

Letter to Participant

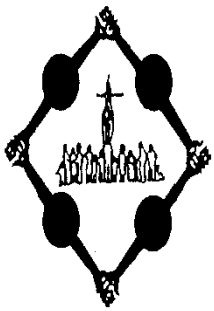
Dear Participant:

My name is Dorenda K. Dixon, and I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University. I am conducting dissertation research on the influence of multiple incarcerations on African American women and family continuity. There are many studies detailing how incarceration affects women. What is not known, however, is how multiple incarcerations influence African American women and family stability following each period of incarceration. This research study will provide insight into the experience of African American women who have been incarcerated multiple times leaving their children and family members.

I realize your time is important, and I appreciate your consideration to participate in this study. To fully understand your experience, we need to meet in person for approximately one hour, and I may need to call you later to clarify something you said. The meetings held at one of two locations (3410 W. Roosevelt Road or 318 W. Adams). I will not require you to do anything that you do not feel comfortable doing. The meetings are so I can get to know you, listen to you and understand your experience of returning home following each incarceration. All the information shared during our meetings will be kept confidential.

Please contact me at your earliest convenience to schedule a date and time we can meet. My cell number is 708 415-0294. You can also e-mail me at dorenda.dixon@gmail.com I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Dorenda K. Dixon
Doctoral Candidate
Walden University



I AM ABLE Center for Family Development, Inc.

A Trauma Informed Care Agency
"Empowering Families, Strengthening Communities"

June 16, 2015

Dorenda K. Dixon
Walden University Student
9708 S. King Drive
Chicago, IL 60608

Dear Dorenda:

We are so proud of you and the drive you have taken to better yourself, as you serve our communities, by pursuing your doctoral degree.

It has come to our attention that you will be interviewing women with histories of multiple incarcerations to put through your IRB application, and because you have been such a big supporter of I AM ABLE Center for Family Development, for over a decade, we would like to extend that same support to you by allowing you to use one of our meeting rooms at our 3408 W. Roosevelt Road offices, Chicago IL, to interview women for your dissertation study: "The Influence of Multiple Incarcerations of African American Women on Family Continuity".

The room will be private and free of charge. I AM ABLE believes in you and are glad that we can be of assistance to you in your time of need.

Again, we are so proud of you and are praying for you to keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Carolyn L. Vessel, MSHSA, M-Div., DD
CEO/President

Tuesday, June 16, 2015

Dorenda K Dixon

Walden University Student

RE: USE OF SPACE

Dear Mrs. Dixon:

It is our pleasure to allow you to interview your study participants for your dissertation at Taylor Business Institute. Feel free to use a vacant classroom for privacy to conduct your interviews. We appreciate your request and are glad to help you in this endeavor to finish the requirements to complete your doctoral degree as soon as possible.

If there is anything else that may be needed, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Malik Iqbal

Dean of Academic Affairs

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Date: _____

Location: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Name of Interviewee: _____

- How many times have you been incarcerated?
- Please describe in detail what it was like to return home after your first incarceration?
- Please tell me what it was like to return home after each subsequent incarceration?
- Describe your relationship with your family (children, parent, and other relatives) after each incarceration?
- How has being incarcerated multiple times affected you/your family relationships?
- Describe your experiences in your family before you ever were incarcerated?
- Describe how you interacted with your family after your first incarceration? Second? Etc.
- What if anything, do you believe changed in how your family related to you after each incarceration?
- What was your relationship like with your family members while you were in custody?
- If and when they visited, describe the visits.
- What were your expectations for your return home with family members?
- What do you think held your family together while you were away?
- How do you think your incarcerations affected your family?
- Of the things, you described during the last interview, which had the most impact on your family relationship and why?
- How has being locked up multiple times affected the way you interact with friends?

- What have been your experiences since returning home with the reception of family and friends?
- Up to this point with trying to re-establish your relationship with family and friends following incarceration, what stands out the most in your mind?
- How would you describe your role in the family before incarceration?
- How would you describe your role in the family as of today?

Additional Interview Question:

The Influence of Multiple Incarcerations of African American Women on Family Continuity

1. Tell me about your family life before you started getting arrested and imprisoned?
2. What was your relationship like with your mother? Father? Siblings? Extended family? Friends?
3. After your first incarceration, describe how your family interacted with you?
4. What do you think changed or stayed the same if anything?
5. Whom in your family seems most supportive and why?
6. Whom in your family seems least supportive and why?
7. Who came to visit you during your first incarceration?
8. Who came to visit you while you were incarcerated the second, third, fourth, etc. time?
9. Where were your children during your first incarceration? Second Incarceration? Etc.
10. Describe your relationship with your children when you returned home?
11. How long after you returned home were you able to obtain your apartment or house?
12. Who came to live with you after your incarcerations?
13. Describe what holidays are like in your family since your incarceration if you celebrate holidays?
14. Who wrote you letters or sent money for commissary?
15. Did the person writing or sending money do so regularly? If they stopped sending letters or money, did you reach out to them? What happened when you reached out?
16. Describe how your family was affected by your incarceration the first time.
17. Describe how your family was affected by your incarceration all other times.
18. Why do you think……. happened? (based on the response to queries made by the participant)
19. Describe how you perceive your incarcerations have changed your life and relationships with others?
20. Is there anything else you would like to describe your incarcerations and the impact on your family life?

Appendix C: Bureau of Justice Statistics 2012 – Ten-Year Arrest Trends

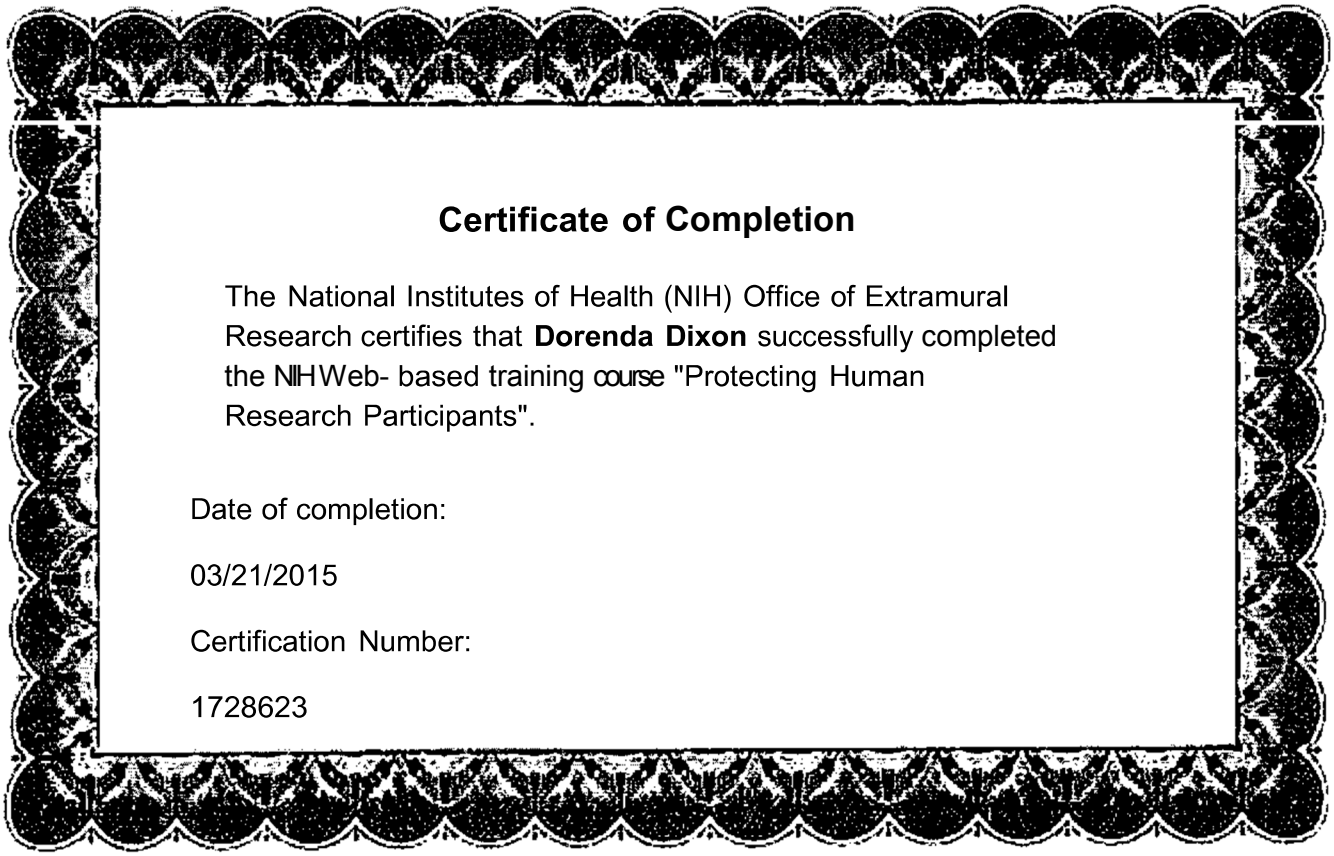
Table 33
Ten-Year Arrest Trends
by Sex, 2003–2012
[9,529 agencies; 2012 estimated population 208,644,788; 2003 estimated population 193,680,679]

	Male						Female					
	Total			Under 18			Total			Under 18		
Offense charged	2003	2012	Percent change	2003	2012	Percent change	2003	2012	Percent change	2003	2012	Percent change
TOTAL[1]	**6,904,010**	**6,028,378**	**-12.7**	**1,017,933**	**622,485**	**-38.8**	**2,080,990**	**2,140,934**	**+2.9**	**385,564**	**259,043**	**-32.8**
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	7,353	6,303	-14.3	637	403	-36.7	905	830	-8.3	66	40	-39.4
Forcible rape	16,578	11,782	-28.9	2,585	1,657	-35.9	210	109	-48.1	44	25	-43.2
Robbery	63,555	59,033	-7.1	14,904	11,831	-20.6	7,512	9,032	+20.2	1,497	1,369	-8.6
Aggravated assault	239,489	201,049	-16.1	30,876	17,279	-44.0	62,450	59,103	-5.4	9,456	5,840	-38.2
Burglary	170,581	161,450	-5.4	50,456	31,926	-36.7	28,275	32,432	+14.7	6,866	4,498	-34.5
Larceny-theft	486,870	488,888	+0.4	135,857	88,715	-34.7	288,894	374,332	+29.6	88,043	64,268	-27.0
Motor vehicle theft	78,642	37,237	-52.6	22,493	7,083	-68.5	15,531	8,833	-43.1	4,656	1,320	-71.6
Arson	9,153	6,476	-29.2	4,902	2,567	-47.6	1,718	1,436	-16.4	695	447	-35.7
Violent crime[2]	326,975	278,167	-14.9	49,002	31,170	-36.4	71,077	69,074	-2.8	11,063	7,274	-34.2
Property crime[2]	745,246	694,051	-6.9	213,708	130,291	-39.0	334,418	417,033	+24.7	100,260	70,533	-29.6
Other assaults	622,089	577,611	-7.1	107,045	71,954	-32.8	199,426	222,923	+11.8	51,241	41,665	-18.7
Forgery and counterfeiting	45,818	28,225	-38.4	2,076	685	-67.0	31,184	16,823	-46.1	1,170	270	-76.9
Fraud	120,139	62,673	-47.8	3,648	2,156	-40.9	101,513	42,809	-57.8	1,896	1,059	-44.1
Embezzlement	6,301	5,605	-11.0	522	185	-64.6	6,426	5,376	-16.3	351	124	-64.7
Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing	71,587	53,781	-24.9	14,304	7,442	-48.0	16,038	13,736	-14.4	2,539	1,461	-42.5
Vandalism	153,555	122,544	-20.2	63,188	34,251	-45.8	29,910	30,460	+1.8	10,142	6,438	-36.5
Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.	102,092	90,790	-11.1	23,275	14,607	-37.2	9,001	8,065	-10.4	2,741	1,530	-44.2
Prostitution and commercialized vice	16,382	11,977	-26.9	248	139	-44.0	32,131	24,954	-22.3	707	425	-39.9
prostitution)	54,794	43,629	-20.4	11,207	7,711	-31.2	5,361	3,740	-30.2	1,182	865	-26.8
Drug abuse violations	887,736	817,198	-7.9	104,941	75,510	-28.0	203,212	211,020	+3.8	21,841	16,042	-26.6
Gambling	3,694	2,284	-38.2	402	160	-60.2	697	525	-24.7	25	15	-40.0
Offenses against the family and children	68,432	52,719	-23.0	2,689	1,310	-51.3	20,346	18,710	-8.0	1,681	834	-50.4
Driving under the influence	780,679	649,664	-16.8	11,044	4,676	-57.7	174,545	211,019	+20.9	2,827	1,619	-42.7
Liquor laws	311,799	217,530	-30.2	61,238	34,194	-44.2	109,377	90,661	-17.1	33,199	22,779	-31.4
Drunkenness	324,213	286,633	-11.6	8,988	5,006	-44.3	54,153	64,202	+18.6	2,669	1,867	-30.0
Disorderly conduct	312,480	249,828	-20.0	88,951	49,943	-43.9	108,318	99,540	-8.1	40,157	27,742	-30.9
Vagrancy	15,521	13,647	-12.1	1,041	463	-55.5	4,266	3,057	-28.3	342	117	-65.8
All other offenses (except traffic)	1,868,452	1,734,857	-7.2	184,390	115,667	-37.3	540,912	573,146	+6.0	70,852	42,323	-40.3
Suspicion	1,447	828	-42.8	282	174	-38.3	269	281	+4.5	91	68	-25.3
Curfew and loitering law violations	66,026	34,965	-47.0	66,026	34,965	-47.0	28,679	14,061	-51.0	28,679	14,061	-51.0

[1] Does not include suspicion.

[2] Violent crimes are offenses of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes are offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

Appendix D: NIH Certificate



Certificate of Completion

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Dorenda Dixon** successfully completed the NIH Web- based training course "Protecting Human Research Participants".

Date of completion:

03/21/2015

Certification Number:

1728623

hltpsJ/ph'p.rihtrairing.com/users/cert.php?c= 1727623

Appendix E: Recruitment Flyer

STUDY PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FORMERLY INCARCERATED AMERICAN WOMEN

Hello, my name is Dorenda Dixon, and I am a doctoral student at Walden University. I am looking for African American women age 18 and over who have been incarcerated in prison more than once to participate in a research study called "The Influence of Multiple Incarcerations on African American Women and Family Continuity." I would like to interview you and hear your story.

Your participation will be confidential and is strictly voluntary. No identifying information will be shared with anyone other than my committee at Walden University. You may bring photos, documents, or any item you think helps you tell your story about your family relationships and your incarceration. The items will not be kept. Interviews can be scheduled for your convenience at places good for both of us if you are unable to come to 318 W. Adams, 3rd Floor Chicago, IL, which is located downtown between Wacker & Franklin Street right by the Willis Tower.

There is no financial compensation although I would like to give you a thank gift for your completion of the interview process to show my appreciation for your help.

If you are interested, please contact me at the number listed below. Please feel free to share this information with a friend or family member who is also a formerly incarcerated African American woman at least 18 years of age or older.

CONTACT: Dorenda K. Dixon 708 415-0294 dorenda.dixon@waldenu.edu

WALDEN UNIVERSITY
A higher degree. A higher purpose

Appendix F: Photos

A.

B.

C.

D.