

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of the Liberal Arts

GIVING VOICE TO VISITATION:

A MIXED DATA APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING VISITATION

IN A WOMEN'S PRISON

A Thesis in

Criminology

by

Theodore J. Greenfelder

© 2018 Theodore J. Greenfelder

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

December 2018

The thesis of Theodore J. Greenfelder was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Derek Kreager
Professor of Criminology and Sociology
Director, Justice Center for Research

Jeffery Ulmer
Professor of Criminology and Sociology

Gary Adler
Assistant Professor of Sociology

Eric Baumer
Professor of Sociology and Criminology
Head, Department of Sociology and Criminology

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Previous literature regarding prison visitation has primarily focused on the relationship between visitation and various inmate outcomes. This has placed visitation as a predictor of re-entry success and misconduct violations. In the rare case that visitation is considered the outcome of interest, the leading focus has been factors supported by the deprivation theory of prison, such as distance from prior residence and ability of friends and family to travel to the institution. Additionally, prison literature has largely focused on male prisons with little attention given to the experience of female inmates. An unexamined factor in the explanation of prison visitation is the internalized shame from the stigmatization of incarceration, particularly related to the perceptions of children. Utilizing data from the Women's Prison Inmate Network Study (WO-PINS), this thesis will combine closed survey items, open ended responses, and administrative data to form an exploration of the individual perception of the experience of visitation while incarcerated.

Responses from 103 incarcerated women are leveraged quantitatively and qualitatively in this mixed data study to evaluate the overall tone of the inmates' responses about visitation, and to identify elements that support the theories of stigma and deprivation; these factors are then used to model the number of visits women receive while incarcerated in a negative binomial regression. Narrative analysis reveals a sizeable minority of women who have a negative tone about their experience with visitation, and quantitative modeling shows that structural elements of deprivation are statistically significant predictors of frequency of visitation. However, tone regarding visitation and expressed elements of stigmatization and deprivation were not shown to be significant predictors. As an exploration into the individual's experience with visitation, this thesis reveals nuance that has been previously overlooked in the literature, and points toward areas of future research for the field.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	v
List of Tables.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Theoretical Motivation.....	2
Review of the Literature.....	7
The Current Study.....	12
Data and Methods.....	16
Sample.....	16
Measures.....	17
Analytic Strategy.....	21
Results.....	24
Discussion.....	45
Limitations	48
Conclusions.....	49
Appendix: Survey Item Wording.....	52
Bibliography.....	53

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Heuristic Diagram	14
Figure 2. Distribution of Dependent Variable	23

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics.....26
Table 2. Distribution of Visitation Stem Codes.....32
Table 3. Distribution of Visitation Child and Family Leaf Codes.....33
Table 4. Tabulation of Tone on Visitation by Experience of Visitation.....35
Table 5. Correlations Matrix of all Variables.....38
Table 6. Negative Binomial Count Models of Visitation in Six Months44

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Women's Prison Inmate Network Study (WO-PINS) is funded by the National Institute of Justice (PI: Derek Kreager; Award Number 2016-Mu-Mu-0011).

I would like to thank all the women who shared their time and their stories to make this endeavor possible.

INTRODUCTION

Prison maintains a spotlight in the field of corrections in the wake of the era of mass incarceration. Although carceral research has bloomed, the experience of female inmates has been understudied. In 2015, incarcerated women comprised only about 7 percent of the total incarcerated population of 1,467,847 adult Americans (Carson and Anderson 2016). However, between 1980 and 2014 the population of incarcerated women increased by over 700%, which was 50% faster than for incarcerated men (The Sentencing Project 2015). While dwarfed by the male portion of inmates, it is none the less important to understand the experience of incarceration and the ways it is unique for the growing population of female inmates. Literature regarding women's prisons is sparse in comparison to that of men's, and prison literature is in general lacking in qualitative work to illuminate individuals' perspectives. I will address both of these under-explored research areas with data collected directly from incarcerated women about their thoughts and perceptions of incarceration.

Incarcerated women are of particular interest to the field of criminology because of the impact female incarceration can have on children and families. Over 60 percent of incarcerated women are mothers (The Sentencing Project 2015) and women are about three times as likely as men to have been the primary caregiver of the child, or to have been a single parent before they were incarcerated (Pollock 2013). The disruption faced by the children of female inmates is further complicated by the fact that only 10 percent of female inmates' children are in the foster care system (Pollock 2013) indicating that most children will be reunited with their mothers when they are released from prison. The existing literature suggests that visitation can help maintain the bonds between mothers and children. However, while a foundation exists in the

literature utilizing visitation as a predictor, little is known about how the individual inmate feels about the experience of visitation.

When visitation has been studied, it has been typically considered as an element of the inmate experience that causes other outcomes; such as inmate misconduct and the potential for success upon re-entry (Morris et al. 2012; Cochran 2012; Siennick, Mears, and Bales 2013; Austin 2004; Duwe and Clarke 2011; Mears et al. 2012). Little work has been done to address the factors impacting visitation itself. When visitation has been conceptualized as the outcome of interest, it has been discussed primarily in descriptive terms (Casey-Acevedo and Bakken 2002), or it has been approached through a theoretical lens of structural deprivation (Clarke and Duwe 2016). While structural impediments undoubtedly play a substantial role in the prevention of visitation, inmates can exercise some agency in the visitation they experience, i.e. adding or withholding names to their visitation lists (Boudin, Stutz, and Littman 2014). Furthermore, some evidence exists supporting the idea that inmates may wish to shield themselves or their loved ones from the experience of being seen while incarcerated (Owen 1998). To supplement the theory of deprivation, I will utilize stigma theory to help understand why an inmate might choose to forego visitation that could otherwise bring them comfort and support. In sum, this paper expands the current understanding of inmate visitation by combining data from the Department of Corrections (DOC) with narrative accounts from incarcerated women regarding their thoughts and feelings about receiving visitation while they are imprisoned.

THEORETICAL MOTIVATION

Deprivation Theory

The deprivation theory of incarceration describes the pains common to the prison experience and how prisoners individually or collectively respond to such pains. Because

inmates bring little from their former lives into the prison, the social structure must be built upon the economy of prison exchange, and the intangible aspects of personality that garner respect. This deprivation from worldly comforts is meant to uniformly implement the pains of imprisonment across a heterogeneous population (Sykes 1958), however, individuals are capable of adaptation to the environment in different ways. Huey and McNulty (2005) characterize deprivation as a structural concept that applies to the location and design of the prison, as well as the overcrowding that burdens the inmate experience, and the pervasive lack of personal freedoms that characterize incarceration. Inmates are isolated from their support networks by distance and deprived of privacy and autonomy while incarcerated. Deprivation theory also encompasses aspects of social bond theory (Hirschi 1969) and general strain theory (Agnew 1992). While not explicitly described as such by Sykes, deprivation theory accounts for the separation of the inmate from their former bonds – both familial and criminal, and the strain that would be associated with the separation from family under coercive conditions. Contemporary literature operationalizes strain through measures of deprivation (Morris et al. 2012) and hypothesizes the positive benefits of maintaining social bonds with those on the outside (Cochran 2012; Duwe and Clark 2011).

Prisoners experience both relative and absolute deprivation within the correctional institution (McCorkle, Miethe and Drass 1995). Absolute deprivation is theoretically experienced by all prisoners equally and is a function of the institution. Within a given institution, the prison deprives – to an extent – all residents from access to various forms of treatment and support through specific policies and regulations; such as access to prison programming and specific requirements for visitation. These deprivations of autonomy should be invariant across prisoners and be considered fixed effects among prisoners incarcerated in the same facility.

The concept of relative deprivation applies to those pains of imprisonment that are not felt equally by all prisoners in the same prison. Disconnection with the outside world, or from the people important to the inmate before their incarceration, is not felt equally by all inmates. In prison, it is no secret when someone is called for visitation or is seen spending time on the phone with their family members. Given the high visibility of all forms of contact inmates have with the outside world, it is easy for individuals to compare their own experience with that of others. This inequity in outside connections can manifest in an unequal potential for experiencing visitation. While prisoners might be equally constrained in their institutional access to visitation, there remains variability in how often prisoners are visited by family, friends, and legal counsel. The pattern of visitation an inmate experiences can be understood through relative deprivation, as such factors as; distance of travel, economic means of the visitor, and relationship between visitor and inmate are beyond the control of the institution. Prisoners are able to conceive of the inequity of means between their own potential visitors and the visitors of others and may experience differential strain due to this disparity. Doubtless inmates understand that forces outside the correctional facility matter in how often they are visited, but does relative deprivation offer a sufficient explanation for the variance in visitation? Previous literature has made strides in measuring the impact socioeconomic status and distance have had on visitation, but this thesis will leverage an additional theory, stigma, to provide further clarification to how the individual responds to the experience of visitation.

Stigma Theory

The concept of stigma was introduced by George Herbert Mead and Emile Durkheim. Mead's (1918) *Psychology of Punitive Justice* details the stigmatization of the criminal identity, where the criminal court is empowered to confer the stigma of the criminal status and to exile the

criminal from the in-group of law-abiding society. These ideas were expanded by Erving Goffman in his 1963 publication, *Stigma: Notes on Managing a Spoiled Identity*. Goffman introduces the idea that a sufficiently stigmatizing identity can pervade every facet of an individual's social life. Stigma theory holds that stigmatized, marginalizing traits and identities will engender shame in those who possess the spoiled identity. Austin (2004:177) expands the idea of criminal stigma by equating the process of arrest and conviction to "Putting one's business in the street." Once an individual acquires criminal stigma, it begins to color all their social interactions and nowhere is the identity of criminal more noticeable than in the visitation room of a correctional institution.

Stigma typically engenders one of two predominate feelings in an individual, anger or shame (Austin 2004). Anger is the less typical response but can indicate feelings of failure in a particular role (Benning and Lahm 2016). Feelings of shame are more commonly associated with the internalization of stigma (Austin 2004), and criminologists have linked shame to inmate perceptions of visitation (Owen 1998; Pollock 2013). Shame regarding incarceration can manifest both while incarcerated (Owen 1998; Pollock 2013) and after incarceration (Schnittker and John 2007; Trammell 2012).

Goffman suggests that the individual will engage in strategies to mitigate the impact their stigmatization has on their lives (Goffman 1963). The conscious effort to minimize the negative perception of one's public-self, or face, is termed *face work*. The face work individuals engage in can take many forms, from changing their names or habits, to avoiding situations where their spoiled identity is under prominent observation (Goffman 1963). There are few places where one's status is on such stark display as the prison. Inmates and visitors are separated all points excepts the visitation room – entering and exiting through separated doors. Guards are near at

hand and contact between persons is limited. To Goffman, this would be the perfect display of a spoiled identity, and for Mead this would represent contact between the exile and society. In such a scenario, it is clear to both the prisoner and their visitor what their roles are; but there the generalizations among inmate's end. Depending on the relationship both sides maintain, and the characteristics of the crime, some inmates may be more hesitant to enter this situation than others. The incarcerated individual could take one or more of many steps to protect themselves from exposing themselves to further stigmatization by the judgment of their visitor. One form of protection would be to minimize the number of people who have direct contact with them during the period of their incarceration. Another could be to limit the specific individuals who come to see them, or to avoid visitation all together. Removing the opportunity to experience unpleasant visitation, the inmate engages in a type of face work that protects them from further pain. In this way, they can avoid perceived judgement by those who would whiteness their incarceration during visitation.

While it is an untenable position that the whole of an inmate's visitation patterns is explained by internalization of stigma due to their incarceration and the subsequent face work required to protect their identity, the absence of research exploring the possibility of the phenomenon begs further inquiry. Is it possible that some inmates conceptualize visitation in a manner that prevents the encounter from affirming their bonds or providing comfort and support? If so, how does this negative perception of visitation impact the frequency of their visitation? In this paper, I will explore inmate perceptions of visitation as it pertains to their family, friends, and children.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Women's Prisons

The study of women's prison began with the early mixed method endeavors from Ward and Kassebaum (1965), and Giallombardo (1966). Both studies utilized surveys in conjunction with extensive open interviews to draw a comparison with, and contrast to, the exploration of men's prisons. Ward and Kassebaum focused their study on the extensive *sub rosa* system of social support in women's prison, finding no equivalent in the men's correctional system. Female inmates tended to develop support systems based in the homosexual dyad (Ward and Kassebaum 1965). Giallombardo extended the understanding of this system by detailing the formation of the inmate family. Both Ward and Kassebaum, and Giallombardo concluded that the informal social structure is a response to the needs women are deprived from while incarcerated, and that these needs differ from male inmates, resulting in a differing response to the pains of imprisonment. Kruttschnitt and Gartner (2005) provided an extension to the research of Ward and Kassebaum, in which they re-visit the same prison as the previous researchers. Kruttschnitt and Gartner found significant differences both between the state of the focal prison in the 1960s and the early 2000s, and between the modern focal prison and one of its contemporaries. The ways women respond to incarceration had changed since the 1960s, but it was still different from that of men. Additionally, they found inter-institutional differences in how women perceive their incarceration. As institutions increased deprivation through decreased autonomy and strict implementation of policy, women adopted the coping strategy of 'keeping their head down' and just doing their time (Kruttschnitt and Gartner 2005).

Owen's (1998) ethnographic work with female prisoners provided further insight into the way women experience prison. Her extensive narratology illuminated female incarceration by

obtaining personal accounts on subjects ranging from their pathways to imprisonment to their relationships with those both inside and outside the prison. When questioned directly and given the opportunity to respond to open ended questions, many of the female prisoners' answers to questions regarding visitation and relationships with those on the outside reflect a combination of responses associated with shame and deprivation. Emblematic of these responses is Maria, thirty-six-year-old mother of three:

“I told [my mother] not to take the trouble to come all the way up here for a visit of an hour and a half and then drive the five hours back... And then if my kids come up, that will hurt me to see them walk out the door and I can't go with them. And that is the main reason I told them not to come... To see them have to walk out the door and you can't walk with them. It is almost not worth it to have them visit.” (Owen 1998: 128)

Maria's response to the question of visitation was complex and not fully explained by aspects of deprivation or stigma. The time and resources needed for travel are mentioned but are followed immediately with thoughts of the pain the results from her children confronting her in her stigmatized position. Owen made no definitive conclusion as to what influenced patterns of visitation more strongly, but rather let the inmates speak for themselves.

Visitation

Unlike the aforementioned quote from Owen's qualitative research, most current research on visitation has been derived from large administrative datasets. While powerful for ascertaining statistical relationships, these studies are unable to record individual perceptions of the experience. The current literature regarding inmate visitation tends to focus on one of three main areas of interest, and sometimes an author's scope spans more than one subject.

Contemporary research can be primarily separated into (1) evaluations of the effect of visitation on misconduct, (2) the relationship between visitation and inmate re-entry, or (3) occasionally visitation is considered as the main outcome.

First, several researchers have examined if visitation patterns are predictive of misconduct while the inmate is still incarcerated. When viewed in the aggregate, visitation impacts are unclear (Cochran 2012). Casey-Acevedo, Bakken, and Karle (2004) began to disaggregate the type of visitation inmates received with their analysis of the impact of children's visitation on their incarcerated mothers. The authors findings did not support the hypothesis that visitation by children would reduce instances of inmate infractions. Consistent with the narratives from Owen's (1998) earlier study, the authors attributed this finding to the possibility that any comfort provided by visiting with their children was attenuated and overridden by the pain of separation after the visitation (Casey-Acevedo et al. 2004). Benning and Lahm (2016) replicated the findings of Casey-Acevedo et al. and supported Owen's position with their 6,000-inmate sample representative of the United States. Consistent with the outlined theory of stigma, these studies suggested that when a woman is visited by her child she is forced to bare her stigma to both her child and their caretaker. This situation brings the stigma of incarceration to the forefront of her consideration, and while the more typical feeling produced by stigma, shame, would predict the avoidance of the situation, the less typical reaction of anger – caused by strain – could account for increased inmate misconduct.

Cochran (2012) moved further into the investigation of visitation and misconduct by disentangling their temporal order. Analysis of inmates revealed that those visited early in their period of incarceration, but whose visitation tapered off as their incarceration wore on, held trajectories of high in-prison misconduct, while inmates who were visited consistently throughout their sentence were least likely to have trajectories of misconduct (Cochran 2012). Siennick et al. (2013) delved into the temporal order further by examining the rate of infractions before and after a visitation. They separated visitation by visitor type and examined the odds of

an inmate being involved in misconduct in the weeks before and after their visitation, and found that misconduct preceding visitation fell, but rose to above average levels after the visit occurred (Siennick et al. 2013). The authors concluded that the anticipation of visitation resulted in suppression of the feelings of isolation and loss that occur in the correctional setting, but that given sufficient time, these feelings returned and presented themselves through externalizing behavior. The results of this study can be seen in tandem with those of Cochran, in that the anticipation of frequent visitation sufficiently suppresses the pains of imprisonment, and the knowledge of future visitation keeps inmates in a state of good behavior to avoid any infractions that could cost them their visitation privileges.

Second, visitation has been used as a predictor of inmate outcomes upon re-entry into the community. In this conceptualization, little attention has been paid to the antecedents of visitation because the interest was simply in how those visits related to the inmates' outcomes upon re-entry. Although early studies posited the connection between visitation in prison and reduced recidivism (Hairston 1988; Schafer 1994), few empirically tested the relationship between visitation and recidivism before Bales and Mears (2008). These authors operationalized visitation by binary occurrence, frequency, relationship to the inmate, and proximity to release, and found that visits from spouses – close to the time of release – were the most strongly associated with lower odds of recidivism (Bales and Mears 2008).

Duwe and Clarke (2011) used visitation and recidivism as an avenue for recommending improvements to visitation policies in Minnesota. They found that any visit showed a reduction in chances of recidivism, but visits from in-laws and siblings were associated most strongly with decreases in recidivism. In contrast, visits from spouses increased the risk of recidivism on some measures (Duwe and Clark 2011). These results were supported by the findings from Mears,

Cochran, Siennick, and Bales (2013), and Cochran and Mears (2013) that ‘dose’ level and type of visitation matter when predicting chances of recidivism. Mears et al. used propensity score matching to account for selection bias that could influence who receives visits in prison. Their findings mirrored Duwe and Clark in that increased frequency of visitation was associated with a greater reduction in recidivism, and visitation in general was particularly impactful in property crime recidivism (Mears et al 2013).

Visitation studies have predominantly been framed as policy papers to highlight the implications of increased visitation among inmates, but their theoretical underpinnings relate directly to deprivation theory. The argument for increasing visitation funding and resources is an argument to maintain the social bonds an inmate may have with their eventual re-entry support system (Duwe and Clark 2012). If the goal of policy is to improve and increase visitation, then it is important to understand whether the experience of visitation is felt the same way by most inmates, or if there is a portion of the population who have an adverse reaction to the experience.

Finally, visitation has sporadically been considered as the outcome of interest. Casey-Acevedo and Bakken (2002) evaluated the visitor demographics of a release cohort of female inmates from a northeastern state. A release cohort was chosen for evaluation because the full visitation history experienced by the women during their period of incarceration was available for consideration. Their findings indicated that of the 180 women in their sample, 79 percent received some form of visitation, and of the 158 mothers in the sample, 39 percent received visits from their minor children (Casey-Acevedo Bakken 2002). The authors made no definitive conclusion as to the mechanism underlying visitation but posited in their conclusion that inmate desires and visitor means likely played large roles in patterns of visitation. While not empirically

tested, these conclusions support the overarching hypothesis of this thesis that there is more to visitation patterns than economic means and distance between the visitor and the prison.

More recently, Clark and Duwe (2016) conducted an empirical study to investigate the often-hypothesized relationship between distance and visitation. They motivated their study with the lack of hard research on the causes of visitation when compared to the known benefits of incarcerated individuals receiving visits. Their evaluation of distance from prison was a strong contribution to the base of knowledge on prison visitation because they empirically coded the distance a visitor was required to travel to the prison based on visitor's address, not county, and the authors coded socioeconomic status by tract, and not county level. While a strong test of the relative deprivation prisoners experience due to often low economic means and long distances their individual potential visitors would need to travel, their analysis was based solely on administrative data. This prevented the authors from understanding the subjective experience of visitation from the perspective of the prisoners and the subsequent agency inmates may apply to the visitation they experience.

THE CURRENT STUDY

In the current thesis, I will explore the potential for agency female inmates exhibit in the visitation they experience while incarcerated. Through a mixed method approach that incorporates open ended interview questions with closed survey items, and by appending Department of Corrections data that includes demographics, visitor information, and in-prison infractions, I will provide a clearer picture as to how incarcerated women view the visitation patterns they experience and expand the understanding of visitation and the role it plays in a correctional institution.

Motivation

This thesis closes an important gap in the current literature on imprisonment and visitation. In criminology there is limited research on prison, and among prison literature there is limited research on incarcerated women. An often-cited aspect of prison literature is visitation, but there is comparatively little information on the factors that impact visitation experiences from the inmate perspective. Finally, no literature, to my knowledge, addresses the agency among inmates to choose to not experience visitation, even when evidence of this is recorded in qualitative accounts of incarcerated women. How often and why would a person turn down visitation, a privilege thought to bring comfort, support, and reduce the deprivations of the correctional system? Accompanying the lack of research in women's prisons, and the lack of research on visitation, there is a modern lack in qualitative research that seeks to understand prison from the perspective of the inmate. There has been an assumption that visitation is well anticipated and desired, but accounts exist of women who speak of visitation with a negative tone. A woman might not explicitly say she feels stigmatized in her incarceration or express feelings of being deprived from her loved ones, but her tone might be generally dark when recalling her experience with visitation. A mixed methods study in a women's prison provides an opportunity to contribute to the field of criminology in a number of ways, which I outline below.

Research Questions

The main research question of this paper is; do inmates internalize stigma regarding their incarceration in ways that affect their visitation patterns? To explore this question further, four additional research questions will guide the remainder of this paper. These questions represent the expansion to the previous literature regarding visitation, and help to explore the nuance in the personal experience of visitation.

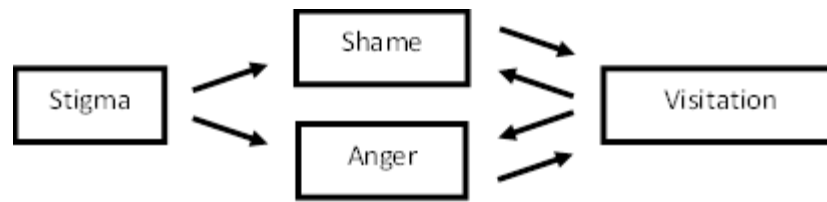
1. To what extent do inmates harbor a negative perception of visitation?
2. Do both processes of stigmatization and processes of deprivation contribute to a negative visitation experience?
3. Is there a statistical relationship between negative feelings about visitation and actual instances of visitation?
4. Are inmates who report feeling stigmatized less likely to be visited than other inmates?

Contribution

The contributions of this thesis are threefold. First, I expand upon the theoretical underpinnings of prison visitation. Currently, little research has tested the factors that impact the visitation an inmate experiences, and the work that does typically focuses on structural deprivation as an explanation (Clarke and Duwe 2016). The theoretical focus of this paper is not to supplant deprivation as the means of understanding inmate visitation patterns, but to supplement the existing understanding with nuance and context provided by interviewing inmates. Stigma theory is a good choice for this supplementation because it has been robustly defined, and the prison is an optimal setting for an individual's stigmatized status to be displayed by any who visit them.

Second, this study will help to sort out the complicated relationship between visitation and stigma. If such a relationship exists, it is likely reciprocal. It is easy to imagine that the process of visitation might lead the inmate to feel stigmatized due to the reactions of their visitors; this in turn might lead to feelings of shame not present until the inmate is forced to confront a visitor in the setting of their stigmatization. The complexity of this relationship leads to the following conceptual diagram of the relationship between stigma and visitation.

Figure 1: Heuristic Diagram



Here stigma engenders shame and anger as responses from the individual, both affecting their visitation patterns. However, visitation may elicit the same responses not present, or not internalized before the visit. At this point the value of a mixed methods approach becomes salient. Because open ended questions will be asked of the respondents, it will be possible to tease out more nuance from this relationship than administrative data would allow. Longitudinal data on incarceration would be able to determine temporal changes in feelings regarding incarceration. A closed survey alone would fail to achieve the subtleness of response that a content analysis allows.

Finally, this paper contributes analysis of original narrative and survey data to the understanding of the prison experience. Many large studies of inmates and prisons are executed with large administrative data sets. One of the draws of this data is that it is more accessible than the collection of primary data directly from inmates. To interview within a prison requires extensive IRB clearance, interview background checks, and a cooperative prison administration. The data must be meticulously cleaned and protected from leaks of confidential information. These challenges must be weighed against the use of data available through the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Although large-scale administrative data sets also offer the statistical power of a large sample size that is representative of multiple prisons or multiple states, it lacks the detail or precision of primary data. The use of primary data in this project ensures that the questions asked of the respondents are exactly focused on the outcomes of interest and are not scales compiled

from secondary data. The opportunity to ask original questions of inmates is novel in that it compiles information not available through secondary data and allows me to ask questions to directly answer the questions I have.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

The data for this project comes from a unique sample of inmates from a single unit of a women's prison in Northwestern Pennsylvania. Preliminary conversations with staff and inmates indicated a high level of interest and predicted a high response rate from the women housed on the unit. A good behavior unit of the prison was interviewed as part of the Women's Prison Inmate Network Study (WO-PINS; P.I. Dr. Derek Kreager) and responses to the survey were collected from 104 of the 131 (79%) women in residence on the unit. One woman's responses were removed after data collection due to her responses to the *University of California, San Diego Brief Assessment of Capacity to Consent* (UBACC) (Jeste et al. 2007). This instrument was designed to evaluate a survey respondent's ability to understand the purpose of, and consent to participate in research. All 104 respondents were scored on their UBACC responses, and only one respondent fell below the threshold for comprehension and consent. The final sample includes complete data for 103 women.

Interviews were conducted in June of 2017 by a team of graduate students from Penn State University and Ohio State University. The interviews were conducted with computer assisted personal interview (CAPI) software on WIFI-disabled laptop computers that were brought from the university into the prison. While most of the survey was dedicated to various peer network relationships and health measures, I contributed a small section designed to tap into an inmate's feelings regarding visitation in prison. These questions are a mix of open-ended response items

and closed survey questions. Content analysis of these interviews will reveal any evidence of feelings of deprivation or stigmatization regarding prison visitation.

Measures

The visitation-related measures fit into two categories. The first category consisted of two open ended items. The first item was designed to gather the general thoughts and feelings of the respondent about being visited while she is in prison. The second question was a leaf to the first stem and the wording changed slightly based on the respondent's parental status. If the woman had no children, the question inquired about any potential differences in her feelings about visitation by her family than by other people. The respondent was then asked if her feelings about visitation differed for specific types of visitation. If the respondent reported that she had children at an earlier point in the survey, then the follow up question was filtered to ask about differences in feelings when it is the child, or children visiting, as opposed to another member of the visitation list.

The second type of visitation questions consisted of multiple-choice responses about the actual experience of visitation. In an attempt to gather overt measures of the respondent's contentedness with their number of visits, I included one question to ask whether the respondent was okay with the current number of visits she received, or if she would like more or fewer visits. The second closed question was designed to garner a sense of the respondent's perception of the difficulty her visitors face when they travel to visit them in prison. The wording and answer options for all of these measures can be found in appendix A.

Dependent Variables

The primary variable of interest to the quantitative portion of this study is the frequency of visitation an inmate receives while she is incarcerated. This information was made available through the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections (PADOC) in a data request alongside many pertinent data such as entry dates into the department of corrections, and the controlling offence from her sentencing. From this DOC request, a count variable for visitation in the last six months was coded from all of the available visitation data. Analyses in this study makes use of the six-month time frame for two reasons. First, this restricts the visits to a salient time frame – omitting visits experienced by inmates early in their incarceration that have since tapered off – and second, to capture a wider subsection of the sample that had not experienced visitation in a shorter time frame – say only three months. Count data is used to allow for the computation of models that predict the effects changes in the independent variables have on the number of visits an inmate was likely to receive in that time.

Primary Independent Variables

First among the independent variables, travel time from each respondent's committing county, is included to account for the findings from previous research. Clarke and Duwe (2016) find distance to be a strong predictor of who is visited while in prison. The distance the prison is from the respondent's committing county is a loose control for the distance the inmate's family would need to travel to visit. Driving time is used to capture time taken to navigate congested areas that may not be accounted for by a direct measure of distance. This measure is a loose proxy as it assumes that the respondent was committed from the same county that their would-be visitor lives in. However, it provides an approximation of the relative deprivation an inmate might have in the difficulty their visitors would face in visiting them in prison. This measure was

constructed from an automated web query which returned the time in hours from the center of each committing county to the prison, according to Google Maps' Driving Directions.

The next two independent variables included in the multivariate models are the respondent's preference for more or less visitation and inmates' perceptions of the level of difficulty their visitors may face in coming to visit them in prison. Inmate preference for visitation is assessed to determine if the respondent's overt assessment of their desire for visitation is in line with the content of their open-ended responses. The measure of difficulty of visitation is included alongside distance from prison, as broad assessment of difficulties that would not appear in administrative data and could not be assessed without a lengthy segment of survey items. The opaque nature of the question allows the respondent to impute their own sense of challenge or hassle their visitors face by coming for visitation at the prison.

The final two primary independent variables included in the analysis are from the quantitative portion of this study and are the overall tone of their response about visitation, and any evidence of feelings of stigmatization or feelings of deprivation. The overall tone of visitation will characterize their answer to the open-ended item about visitation as either generally positive, of a mixed of ambivalent nature, generally negative, or if their answer qualified their feelings about not receiving any visitation.

Evidence of stigma and deprivation will be derived from content analysis of the open-ended interview questions. Codes will be created to indicate feelings such as; pain when a loved one sees the inmate in prison, anger at the thought of not being able to be with a loved one, frustration at the difficulties of obtaining visitation, and feelings of deprivation regarding their visitor's ability to travel to visit them in prison. Any code that qualifies will be included as a flag

for either deprivation or stigmatization, and these flags will be used alongside control variables to predict frequency of visitation.

Control Variables

There are multiple variables that must be controlled for to account for between-prisoner heterogeneity that may make spurious the associations of primary consideration. This selection of covariates was constructed from a review of contemporary literature (Cochran 2012; Duwe and Clark 2011). These include; age and race of offender, type of offence and whether the respondent is serving a life sentence, time spent in prison, the offence gravity score. All of these variables were obtained from the data request from the Pennsylvania DOC. Controlling for these variables will help to isolate the impact of internalized stigma and deprivation on visitation patterns.

It is important to control for the age and race of the respondent when attempting to predict the number of visits an inmate receives. Respondent age is important to control for the number of potential visitors they might have. Younger inmates likely have more family members who might come to visit, and while older inmates may have lost members of their family, they may have older children who could travel independently of their other visitors. Knowing the race of the inmate is a loose proxy for both the SES and the location of their family. In Pennsylvania, African Americans populations are concentrated in urban areas, and with Philadelphia and Pittsburgh located far from the institution of interest, controlling for race of the respondent gives some information about the distance their family might have to travel. The type of offense and whether the respondent is serving a life sentence are also both likely to play into the amount of visitation experienced and the respondent's feelings about it. A long sentence holds the potential for visitation falling off, depending on how far into the sentence the inmate is,

and inmate feelings about visitation can vary between short and long sentences. During short periods of incarceration, the respondent may prefer to forego visitation, while during a longer sentence, visitation might be the only way to maintain bonds with those on the outside. To this end, it is important to account for the large number of respondents who are serving life sentences, as their visitation patterns are likely different. Similarly, the type of offence the respondent was committed for may change the feelings about, or frequency of, visitation. If an inmate is particularly ashamed of the type of crime they have been imprisoned for, or if their crime is held in particularly low regard by society, then that inmate might respond by attempting to reduce the opportunities for outsiders to see them in prison. Violent crimes might lower a visitor's likelihood to visit an inmate, and conviction of drug crimes might cause more feelings of stigmatization about incarceration.

The offense gravity score (OGS) and the length of time spent in prison both speak to the severity of the offence the respondent was sentenced for. While these are likely to be correlated, both should be accounted for because long stays in prison could be generated from several low-severity sentences, whereas OGS is dependent on the charge that generated the current sentence. Accounting for these characteristics will help to isolate the impact of the focal variables net of criminal past.

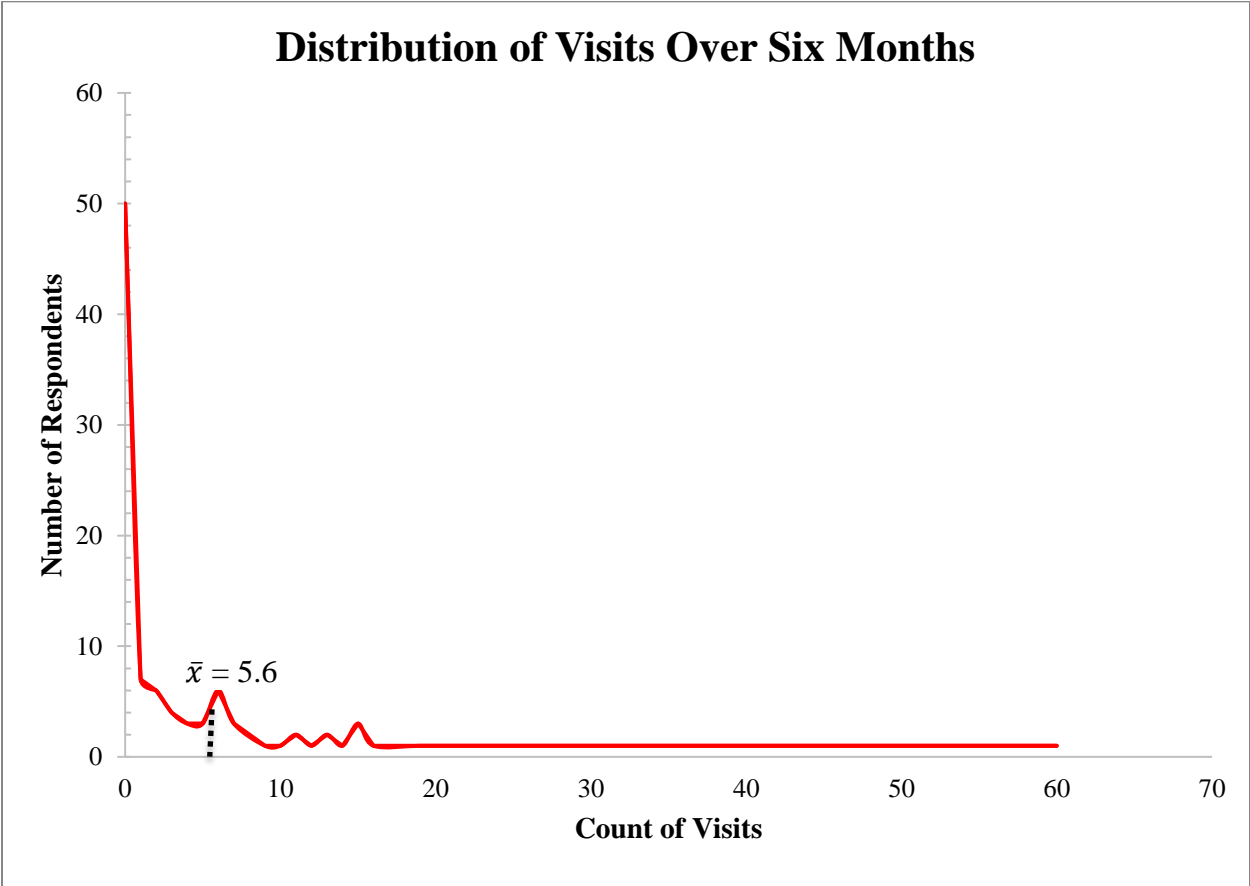
Analytic Strategy

I take a threefold approach to evaluate my research questions. First, descriptive statistics and correlational analysis will gain an initial understanding of the relationship between the focal dependent variable, visitation in the last six months, and my primary predictor variables. Next, content analysis of the qualitative data obtained from the open-ended survey items will be analyzed for the overall tone of the inmates' responses regarding visitation, as well as for

indications of stigma and deprivation. Emblematic examples will be chosen to represent inmate responses that were coded as each of the tonal codes, as well as to provide examples of narrative elements which would qualify as evidence for feelings of stigma or deprivation.

Finally, a series of negative binomial regression models will be estimated to predict the number of visits the respondents will experience given the constraints of the independent variables. Each of the negative binomial models will introduce a group of independent variables to assess their impact on the model, before including all variables in the final model. A negative binomial model was selected for this analysis because of the over dispersed count nature of the dependent variable. Frequency of visitation is a type of data where occurrences are most easily counted, and many inmates do not experience any visitation at all. Figure 2 displays the distribution of the dependent variable. The curve of the distribution generally resembles a truncated Poisson distribution. The non-zero slope of the curve represents the count of visits an inmate has received; with a cluster of women receiving no visitation. Over-dispersion of the distribution (i.e., a variance that is substantially greater than the mean) makes a negative binomial regression an appropriate modeling strategy.

Figure 2: Distribution of Dependent Variable



RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Distributions and sample characteristics can be found in Table 1, beginning with the focal dependent variable, frequency of visitation in the last six months. As discussed above, a half year period was selected for analysis due to the salience of recent visitation on the respondent's feelings about the experience of visitation, and their feelings about those who are visiting them. Of the 103 women in the sample, 53 (51%) experienced visitation during the time frame relevant to this analysis. On average, women received 5.6 visits during this time, but there was a wide range evident by the standard deviation of 10.7.¹

Next, Table 1 displays the primary independent variables of this analysis. The average travel time from the respondent's committing county to the prison is 4.1 hours, with a standard deviation of 1.9. In describing the perceived difficulties would-be visitors face in the process of visitation, respondents had four choices. Forty respondents (39%) rated their visitor's experience as "very difficult." Similarly, 34 women (33%) said that it was "difficult" for someone to come visit them. Of those who rated the process as less challenging, 23 respondents rated their visitors experience as "not very difficult," and only 6 women said that it was "easy" for their potential visitors to come and visit them. These last two categories represent 22% and 6% of the sample, respectively. For analyses, these four categories were collapsed into two; "very difficult" and "difficult" were combined, as were "not very difficult" and "easy." This compression sacrifices some nuance in the perception of difficulty but retains more robust portions of the groups by

¹ In consideration of the high variance on this variable, I top-coded all respondents who received more visits than a standard deviation above the mean (mean of 5.6 + 10.7; top code of 15 or more visits; 10 respondents [9.7% of the sample] effected). The regression models did not change in patterns of significance, only slight changes to the regression coefficients. Given the lack of change, I elected to use the unmodified variable in the presented analysis for the sake of retaining respondent information.

partitioning them into approximately 72% of the respondents finding it difficult for their visitors and approximately 28% rating the experience as relatively easy.

The next survey item represented in Table 1 is the respondent's desire for visitation. Seventy respondents (68%) said that they would like more visitation. The next largest group, those who were satisfied with the current number of visits they receive, amount to 26% of the sample with 27 members. Last, and the smallest proportion at 6% of the sample, six respondents indicated they would like fewer visits.

Table 1 also contains the distributions of the top codes for the qualitative flags generated through content analysis of open-ended survey items. These top codes describe both the general tone of the respondent's answer to the main question about their feelings regarding visitation, and the presence of textual evidence supporting either stigmatization or relative deprivation as explanations of their visitation patterns. Within each top code, categories are mutually exclusive, and each respondent was classified once under each code. There are two top level codes, the tone of the inmate's response, and a flag for explicit theoretical statements made in their answer. The first is the overall tone of the respondent's answer to the main visitation question. Split into four categories, this code was constructed to identify the overall tone the respondent had toward the experience of being visited in prison. The first of these were those respondents who had a positive general response about visitation. These 37 women comprised 36% of the 103 respondents in the sample. The next grouping consists of the 37% of respondents with a mixed or ambivalent tone regarding their thoughts and feelings on visitation. These 38 women gave responses that held many distinct concepts which are further detailed in Table 2.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N=103)

	n	% of Sample	Mean	(SD)
Dependent Variables				
Count of visits	53	51%	5.6	(10.7)
Primary Independent Variables				
Travel time (hours)			4.1	(1.9)
<u>Survey Item Assessments</u>				
Difficulty of Visitation				
Very Difficult	40	39%		
Difficult	34	33%		
Not Very Difficult	23	22%		
Easy	6	6%		
Desire for Visitation				
Want more visits	70	68%		
Current number is okay	27	26%		
Want fewer visits	6	6%		
<u>Qualitative Codes</u>				
Tonal evaluation top codes				
Positive remarks on visitation	37	36%		
Mixed remarks on visitation	38	37%		
Negative remarks on visitation	17	17%		
Remarks on no visitation	11	11%		
Theoretical evidence top codes				
Flag for feelings related to Stigma	13	13%		
Flag for feelings related to Deprivation	18	17%		
No flag for Stigma or Deprivation	72	70%		
Control Variables				
Age			46.8	(12.3)
Race				
White	62	60%		
Black	34	33%		
Hispanic	6	6%		
Asian	1	1%		
OGS				
OGS 1 - 18			12.5	(4.2)
Serving life sentence	19	18%		
Years in PA-DOC			10.4	(9.9)
Offense Type				
Violent	80	78%		
Drug	9	9%		
Property	8	8%		
Other	6	6%		

Seventeen women, 17% of the sample, gave responses characterized by a clearly negative impression of visitation. Finally, the last category of the tonal top code is comprised of those respondents who gave answers about not receiving visitation. These eleven women, 11% of the sample, responded to the prompt in an abstract way due to their lack of visitation.

The second top code was constructed to indicate evidence of the theorized explanations for differences in visitation perceptions. A binary flag was coded for thirteen respondents whose answer to either the main prompt, or the child or family follow-up, contained statements indicating elements of shame, stigma, or protecting their own self-image. While 13% of the respondents is a minority of the sample, the mere presence of this group provides early evidence of stigma in the experience of visitation by some incarcerated women. The second category of this code is a flag that marked elements of deprivation the respondents associated with the process of visitation. Eighteen respondent's answers contained indications of deprivation, such as the institutional hassle of the visit, the distance their family would have to travel, or the burden of taking time away from work to make a trip to visit. Lastly, to fully classify the respondents, a flag was created to denote respondents whose answers contained no evidence in favor of either theoretical explanation (i.e., stigma or deprivation). This group comprised 70% of the sample, and the responses of these 72 women were typified by shorter, more direct characterizations of their opinion on visitation.

Finally, Table 1 displays the various distributions of the control variables included in the multivariate analysis. The mean age of the unit is 46.8, with a standard deviation of 12.3 years. In terms of race, the unit is composed of 60% white residents, 33% black residents, 5% Hispanic residents, and less than 1% Asian residents. Due to the unequal racial composition of the unit, race is collapsed in the analysis to black and non-black respondents, these categories constitute

33% and 67% of the sample respectively. The offense gravity score of the unit residents ranges from 1 to 18, with a mean of 12.5. Linked to the relatively right skewed OGS distribution, nineteen of the women in the sample are serving a life sentence. The most common offense type in this sample is a sentence due to a violent offense, with 80 women, or 78% of the respondents serving time for a violent controlling offense. The next most prevalent controlling offense is that of drug-related sentences with nine residents, 9% of the sample. Third most common, offenses relating to property crime, comprise only 8% of the sample with eight women of the sample sentenced under property offenses. Finally, six women were sentenced under a variety of miscellaneous offenses classified as 'other' and totaling the final 6% of the sample. Given the small cell sizes of the later three categories, controlling offense has been collapsed to violent and non-violent offenses for analysis. These groups comprise 78% and 22% of the sample respectively.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Tables 2 and 3 present a distribution of the narrative elements coded from the open-ended questions asked in the survey. These elements were coded separately from the tonal coding, and the tables show the variance in tone even when there is overlap in the topics of discussion. Table 2 displays the top-level tone codes as well as the sub-codes attributed to each respondent that was categorized according to that top code. As discussed above, the top codes are mutually exclusive categories, while the sub-codes represent narrative elements not unique to a given top-level code. While each response was coded for at least one sub-code, any response was capable of being coded for more than one narrative element, given this, the sum of the sub-codes is greater than the total number of respondents. Spread across the four categories of tonal codes, content analysis revealed 31 unique sub-codes with much overlap between the top codes. Of the

37 (36%) women whose responses were generally positive; seventeen sub-codes were used to identify 67 separate elements within their responses. Compared to the next category, those who had a mixed response, the next 38 (37%) women had a slightly higher number of sub-codes, with eighteen, but fewer total elements at 43. The women with a negative tone in their response to visitation are composed of seventeen (17%) respondents with sixteen sub-codes, and with 39 coded elements. Finally, the eleven (11%) respondents who made more abstract comments about not receiving visitation were marked with ten sub-codes, the prevalence of which sum to fifteen. Given these distributions, the respondents with a negative overall tone regarding visitation have the highest average number of sub-codes per response with a mean of 2.29. In other words, the women who had a negative tone about their visitation gave responses with the highest number of unique elements. However, those with a positive tone share the most overlap in codes, with an average frequency of use of 3.94 per code. These positively inclined respondents shared the most themes between their answers.

The following are example responses to the main visitation question given by women in the sample. They were selected to be emblematic of the tonal top code they represent but are also comprised of multiple narrative elements that can be explored further in Table 2.

Response 1: Positive Tone

“There is nothing like a visitor. I call it a legal escape. Being in touch with people who have the mindset of what is really going on in the world, the fresh outlook, to find out what is going on in their lives. There's one thing to do it in person, and another to do it in an email. That personal contact is what is most important to me.”

77 Years old, white, 33 years in DOC

Response 2: Mixed or Ambivalent Tone

“It's a chance to get caught up with my family. It's not a situation that I would like for them to see me in. I'm in prison---this is not exactly what my mother and father thought I would be. But one of my nieces and nephews do visit me, and they can learn from my experiences and learn that they don't have to do it on their own.”

30 Years old, white, 5.8 years in DOC

Response 3: Mixed or Ambivalent Tone

“I think that it doesn't have to do with the length, or how many times, it has to do with the dynamic. People don't grasp that when you come to prison, people come with you. I see that people are stuck in the same patterns with others, of eating, crying. When you come here, your family comes with you. Especially when you have children. I think that there was a way that a child could come here and stay for a year or so, that would be good. My main concern with visits is about children and their mothers.”

50 Years old, African American, 31 years in DOC

Response 4: Negative Tone

“It's difficult. I see the hurt on their face. The helplessness. I hate it when they cry when they leave. It's really a no-win situation. I've cut a lot of ties with my family because I just did not want to keep them in prison with me. If I call them during the Holidays, I call two or three days before the Holiday itself. Because if they are all together having a nice meal, you know what getting a call from mom would do to you. I try not to lock them up in here with me.”

70 Years old, white, 29 years in DOC

Response 5: Response about no visitation

“If I was closer to home; I would get visits from both of my sons. But being here, outside of Philly, I'm like 8 hours away. And it's just too far away for them to come up here. And I know that I say, "I need visits, I need visits." But I know that if they were to visit me, it would be break me---it would be hard on me. We do lots of phone calls and virtual visits. I would like for them to visit, but at the same time, it would hurt me inside to see them have to leave.”

48 Years old, African American, 5.5 years in DOC

Beginning with Response 1, this answer to the main visitation question was coded for having a positive overall tone of visitation. The respondent is a 77-year-old white woman who has spent 33 years of her life in the custody of the PADO. For her, visitation is a main source of contact with the outside world, and a way to get perspective that is different from what she experiences every day. While the overall tone is positive, there are smaller elements that were also coded. For example, she associates visitation with contact with the outside, and makes the distinction that visits are unique because of the personal contact. Compared to Response 2, this answer has a more clearly directed theme. Response 2 is the first of two examples of the mixed or ambivalent top code. Here, a 30-year-old white woman who has spent nearly six years in the DOC expresses somewhat divergent themes in her response. She expresses enjoyment at

catching up with her family, but at the same time acknowledges that it is not a situation she wants her parents to see her in. She ends with the idea that if her young relatives do visit here, they might be able to learn something from her choices. Like the first response, there are many elements highlighted by sub-codes such as how her family perceives her and how her experience can be valuable to future generations.

The third response is offered by a 50-year-old African American woman who offers a mixed perspective from her 30 years of incarceration. She broaches the idea that incarceration has an extended impact on the families of those who are imprisoned. Offering a suggestion for extended visitation between mothers and children, she reiterates the importance of maintain relationships between incarcerated mothers and their children. The near inverse perspective is espoused by the fourth response, given by a 70-year-old white woman, who has also spent nearly three decades in prison. Negative towards visitation in general, she characterizes it as a no-win situation that hurts participants on both sides. While the third woman advocates for extended visitation between mothers and children, the fourth admits to pulling back from her relationships due to the pain her incarceration causes them.

The fifth example represents those inmates who gave an abstracted response to the question about their feelings regarding visitation. This woman, like eleven others, responded to this question by expressing how visitation would make them feel if they received any. While the content of her answer describes feelings of pain caused by visitation, because it is an *anticipated* pain, and not the *experience* of painful visitation, she is not categorized as having a negative tone about her experience with visitation. She provides an expectation of how she thinks she would feel if her sons did come to visit her.

Table 2: Distribution of Visitation Stem Codes (N=103)

<i>Overall positive tone about Visitation</i>	<i>Mixed or ambivalent tone about 37 visitation</i>	<i>Overall negative tone about 38 visitation</i>	<i>Comments about not receiving 17 visits</i>	<i>11</i>			
After visit feelings	3	After visit feelings	3	After visit feelings	2	Connection to reality	1
Connection to reality	14	Bad for both sides	1	Connection to reality	1	Frequency of visits	1
Dynamic of visit	7	Connection to reality	2	Express emotions	3	Good for mental health	1
Easier at this prison	1	Dynamic of visit	6	Family expectations	1	Hard because distance	3
Express emotions	2	Easier at this prison	2	Family health issues	2	I like visits	1
Family interaction	8	Express emotions	1	Family interaction	1	Institutional hassel	2
Feel blessed	2	Family expectations	2	Frequency of visits	1	It would be hard if they came	1
Frequency of visits	1	Frequency of visits	1	Hard because distance	5	Longing for visit	3
Good for both sides	1	Hard because distance	1	Hard on visitors	4	Reasons people can't come	1
Good for mental health	4	Hard on visitors	4	Hard when they leave	1	Types of visitors	1
Hard because distance	3	I like visits	9	I don't like it	4		
I like visits	8	Infrequent but good	1	Institutional hassel	3		
Infrequent but good	4	Its hard	2	Its hard	1		
Longing for visit	2	Longing for visit	1	Longing for visit	1		
Types of visitors	4	Prefer no visitation	1	Prefer no visitation	8		
Visits at other prison	2	Support system	1	Worrying about visits	1		
Visits help me	1	Teaching younger generation	1				
		Types of visitors	4				
<i>Sub-code total</i>	17		18		16		10
<i>Narrative element total</i>	67		43		39		15
<i>Mean codes per respondent</i>	1.81		1.13		2.29		1.36
<i>Mean code frequency</i>	3.94		2.39		2.44		1.50

Table 3: Distribution of Visitation Child and Family Leaf Codes

Visitation different for family leaf (N=10)	Visitation different for children leaf (N=26)		
<i>Greater Impact</i>	<i>Negative</i>		
Family affects me more	1	Bad memories	1
Family more emotional	3	Damaged relationships	3
Family visits are better	3	Difficult or Emotional	6
<i>Type of visitor comparison</i>		(They) don't want to see me in jail	3
Friends are just different	4	Guilt	1
Legal or Case visits	1	Harder than other visits	2
Religious or Spiritual			
Visit	1	Only if they want to visit me	1
Specify immediate family	1	Parenting concerns	2
<i>Self-Image</i>		Prefer they not visit	1
Make family proud	1	Separation from children	1
Seen in negative situation	4	Shame	1
<i>Prospective or Commentary</i>		Tell them not to visit	1
Cautious of some visitors	1	<i>Length and Time and Structural</i>	
Family passing away	1	Brief then over and gone	4
Prospective	1	Children far away	1
		Compared to other prison	2
		Institutional hassle	1
		Kids wanted to stay with me	2
		Limited visits or want more	1
		<i>Positive</i>	
		Children most important or stronger connection	4
		More Emotional or More Personal	3
		Very positive	1
		<i>Prospective or Commentary</i>	
		About the future	1
		Different at different ages (of children)	1
		Other contact than visits	2
		Prospective or abstract	1
		Religious visitation	1
<i>Sub-code total</i>	12		26
<i>Narrative element total</i>	22		48
<i>Mean codes per respondent</i>	2.20		1.85
<i>Mean code frequency</i>	1.83		1.85

Table 3 displays the sub-codes for both the child and family follow up questions. Recall that respondents were asked if their feelings differed for various members of their family based on an earlier filter question for children. Those without children were asked if their feelings on visitation were different for their family than for other people, and those with children were asked if their feelings about visitation were different for their child or children. Only 36 (35%) respondents indicated that their feelings differed, ten (10%) of whom gave further answer about their families visiting, and the remaining 26 (25%) giving further clarification about their child or children. For either branch, the responses have been loosely categorized for discussion, not separated into mutually exclusive top codes as the main visitation responses were. For those with differing feelings about their families visiting, twelve sub-codes were identified with 22 elements coded from the then responses. This results in an average of 2.2 codes per response. For the 26 respondents who elaborated on their feelings about their children visiting them, 26 unique sub-codes were identified across 48 narrative elements in their responses. Here, there were slightly less codes on average than in the family member responses, with approximately 1.85 codes used per response. These follow up questions resulted in a lower overlap in code usages between respondents; the average code was used 1.83 and 1.85 times, in family and child visitation respectively.

To further explore the distribution of inmates' tone about visitation, Table 4 displays the tone of the response by the binary indication of whether a respondent received a visit during the focal period of this study. Table 4 shows that tone about visitation is spread somewhat evenly among those who have not received a visit recently; 22% have positive feelings about visitation, the majority (38%) have mixed feelings, and both negative tone and those who gave responses about not receiving visits comprised 20% of the sample each. For those who had been visited in

the last six months, the tone about visitation was skewed towards positive, with 49% of the sample in this category. 36% of those who had been visited responded in a mixed tone, while only 13% gave a generally negative response. Finally, 2% of the sample – just one woman – gave a response related to not receiving visitation even though she had been visited in the last six months.

Table 4: Tone on Visitation by Visitation Experience

Tone	Visit in last 6 Months?				Total	
	No		Yes			
Positive Feelings	11	22%	26	49%	37	36%
Mixed Feelings	19	38%	19	36%	38	37%
Negative Feelings	10	20%	7	13%	17	17%
No Visit Feelings	10	20%	1	2%	11	11%
Total	50	100%	53	100%	103	100%

The following are responses to the main visitation question and the follow up question aimed at feelings about visitation from children or families. They were selected to represent the types of responses that were coded as containing evidence of feelings of stigmatization, the effects of deprivation on visitation, or if the response contained no overt theoretical evidence.

Response 6: Deprivation Thematic Code

“My home is 6/6.5 hours away; I don't want them to come because it's a long trip. There's little babies and stuff like that. That would make me be thinking about it like a whole month and I would be thinking about it and worrying about it. It's really hard to see them, and then they have to go home, and I have to stay - it's like starting all over again.”

34 Years old, Hispanic, 1.5 years in DOC

Response 7: Stigma Thematic Code

“I hate it. I didn't even have a visitors list until a year and a half ago. I refused to have people come see me. I was so uncomfortable with them seeing me in this environment - it was a friend came and saw me first and we were shaking the whole time, we were - it was nerve-wracking and then having to leave and just go back to my unit. It was almost like leaving again - leaving them again. It's terrible. I don't know how people do it every week - I really don't.”

36 Years old, white, 6.5 Years in DOC

Response 8: Flag for no Thematic Content

“I treasure those visits. I usually have a visit every weekend. My husband travels almost 5 hours to see me. He comes every other week. My mom and two sisters come once a month. My nieces are 11, 12, and 19 --- they come with my sisters. My brother in law, my sister in law --- they come to visit me. I have a couple of friends come up every month. The visits are bitter-sweet; you really look forward to the day of the visit, and my visitors stay all day with me, about 6 hours, but then when they walk out of the door it's sad that you can't go with them. That sadness lasts the rest of the day, but then you look forward to the next time they visit. I love seeing my family. We're very close knit. It's what keeps me going.”

48 Years old, white, 1 year in DOC

The first of these three thematic flags, Response 6, was given by a 34-year-old Hispanic woman who has spent about a year and a half in the PADO. While her response was also given a tonal tope code, the content of her narrative was also coded as referencing elements of structural deprecation in reference to her feelings about visitation. She makes specific reference to the time it takes for her family to come to visit, emphasizing the challenge of traveling with young children. She goes so far as to say that she does not want them to come. While she mentions the difficulty of seeing those she cares about and their immediate departure again, the content of her response is focused more on the structural impediments to their visitation. In contrast, the seventh response – from a similarly aged white woman who has spent five more years in prison – focuses on the elements of a visit that make her uncomfortable. She cites being seen in prison as an uncomfortable experience that she avoided for the first five years of her prison tenure. Her first experience of visitation shook her emotionally, and she questions how other find comfort in the experience.

To fully classify the respondents under this thematic code, a majority of responses were classified as having no specific theoretical evidence present. The eighth response is an example from this category. For this particular 48-year-old white woman, her visitation during her year of

incarceration was not hampered by elements of deprivation, nor does she mention feelings of stigmatization from her experiences with visitation. Her characterization of the experience is mixed and is coded as such with a tonal top code, but she does not attribute any pattern in her visitation dependent on her family's ability to visit her or her emotional response to being seen as a prisoner by the people she cares about.

To summarize, the qualitative data from these open-ended responses was quite varied. The women who receive visitation give both positive and negative evaluations of their experience, citing the connections they maintain with their families, the difficulty of travel, and their self-reflections on how visits made them feel – both loved and embarrassed. Women who had not received visits recently were more likely to have a negative view of visitation, and many of their responses are characterized by elements of deprivation. For these respondents, the distance, time, and sacrifice their visitors must make are all used to explain their feelings about their experience with visitation. Theoretical themes are present across the varied tones these women have when responding to prompts about visitation, so in the next section of analysis quantitative methods will be applied to illuminate any significant patterns of responses and occurrences of visitation.

Correlational Analysis

For quantitative analyses, I first present variable correlations in Table 5. The first column shows the correlation coefficients between the dependent variable, visits in the last six months, and each of the other variables included in later multivariate regression models. There are five significant correlations between visitation and other covariates. The strongest association is between visitation and travel time, with a -0.40 correlation. The next association is that of the difficulty of visitation and the count of visitation. Those responses indicating that the process is

difficult for visitors have a -0.27 correlation with visitation. The last two significant correlations represent inverse associations with visitation. Those inmates that indicated they *would like more visits*, have a -0.20 correlation with visitation, while those who responded that *the current number of visits is okay* have a positive correlation of 0.28 with visitation.

Among the four groups of primary independent predictors, the perception of visitation difficulty, the desire for more or fewer visits, the tonal codes for responses, and the flags for theoretical evidence, there are many significant correlations. Respondents who said it was difficult for their visitors to come had responses that were significantly negatively correlated with having positive feelings about visitation ($r=-0.43$), and positively correlated with giving a response about not receiving visitation ($r=0.22$) and the distance their visitors would need to travel ($r=0.42$). Wanting more visits has a very strong negative correlation ($r=-0.87$) with rating the current number of visits as acceptable, and a less pronounced but still negative correlation ($r=-0.36$) with wanting fewer visits. This predictor has a significant negative correlation ($r=-0.31$) with having a negative tone about visitation and giving responses with evidence of stigmatization. However, there is a positive association ($r=0.32$) between an inmate wanting more visits and not having any outright theoretical evidence in their responses. Inmates rating the current number of visits as acceptable have a positive correlation ($r=0.24$) with those whose responses gave evidence of stigma but have a negative correlation ($r=-0.33$) with those who have no theoretical flag attached to their responses. Respondents who want fewer visits are positively correlated with having negative perceptions of visitation ($r=0.34$) and serving a life sentence ($r=0.20$).

Table 5: Pairwise Correlation Coefficients

	Visits in 6 months	Visits Difficult	Would like more visits	Current visits are okay	Would like fewer visits	Positive Feelings	Mixed Feelings	Negative Feelings	Feelings about no visit	Stigma	Deprivation	No theoretical flag	Age	Black	OGS	Lifer	Time in DOC	Violent Crime	Travel Time	
Visits in 6 months	1.00																			
Visits Difficult	-0.27	1.00																		
Would like more visits	-0.20	0.17	1.00																	
Current visits are okay	0.28	-0.17	-0.87	1.00																
Would like fewer visits	-0.12	-0.03	-0.36	-0.15	1.00															
Positive Feelings	0.15	-0.43	0.04	0.01	-0.10	1.00														
Mixed Feelings	0.09	0.17	0.09	-0.04	-0.10	-0.57	1.00													
Negative Feelings	-0.16	0.16	-0.31	0.15	0.34	-0.33	-0.34	1.00												
Feelings about no visits	-0.17	0.22	0.17	-0.13	-0.09	-0.26	-0.26	-0.15	1.00											
Stigma	-0.14	0.04	-0.30	0.24	0.16	-0.04	-0.11	0.30	-0.13	1.00										
Deprivation	0.08	0.06	-0.12	0.19	-0.11	-0.13	-0.19	0.21	0.25	-0.17	1.00									
No theoretical flag	0.03	-0.08	0.32	-0.33	-0.02	0.14	0.24	-0.39	-0.12	-0.58	-0.70	1.00								
Age	-0.13	0.06	0.03	-0.07	0.07	0.08	-0.03	-0.10	0.04	0.12	-0.15	0.04	1.00							
Black	-0.19	0.12	-0.05	0.00	0.09	-0.01	-0.07	0.02	0.09	-0.02	0.06	-0.03	0.09	1.00						
OGS	-0.11	-0.10	0.04	-0.02	-0.04	0.08	-0.06	-0.07	0.06	0.00	0.09	-0.08	0.18	0.27	1.00					
Lifer	0.00	-0.15	0.00	-0.11	0.20	0.17	-0.05	-0.14	0.00	-0.03	0.04	-0.02	0.30	0.25	0.58	1.00				
Time in DOC	-0.06	-0.02	0.03	-0.07	0.07	0.17	-0.03	-0.17	-0.01	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.51	0.31	0.63	0.74	1.00			
Violent Crime	-0.06	-0.02	0.13	-0.10	-0.07	0.01	0.07	-0.14	0.03	-0.08	0.12	-0.05	-0.01	0.23	0.70	0.26	0.39	1.00		
Travel Time	-0.40	0.42	0.01	-0.05	0.07	-0.15	0.00	0.09	0.13	-0.01	0.05	-0.03	0.01	0.43	-0.20	-0.18	-0.13	-0.03	1.00	

Note: Shaded cells = $p < 0.05$

Positive feelings about visitation has a negative correlation with the variables of mixed feelings, negative feelings, or responses that detailed the feelings of not receiving visits ($r=-0.57$, $r=-0.33$, $r=-0.26$) but had no significant correlations with remaining predictor variables. Having mixed feelings likewise had a negative correlation with those responses that reflected a negative ($r=-0.34$) or perceived lack of visitation ($r=-0.26$). However, mixed feelings toward visitation had a positive correlation ($r=0.24$) with responses that have no direct theoretical evidence. Negative answers about visitation are positively correlated with evidence of both stigma ($r=0.30$) and deprivation ($r=0.21$), and negatively correlated with responses that lacked theoretical evidence ($r=-0.39$). The group that gave responses about not receiving visitation is only positively correlated with the group of responses that contain elements of deprivation ($r=0.25$). Finally, the respondents who were coded for containing evidence of stigma had a negative correlation ($r=-0.58$) with those with no specific theoretical flag, and those with evidence of deprivation were negatively correlated ($r=-0.70$) with respondents who had no theoretical evidence in their responses

A number of (unsurprising) significant correlations appear among the control variables. Age is positively correlated with both life sentence status ($r=0.30$) and time in the department of corrections ($r=0.51$). African Americans have a positive correlation with offense gravity score ($r=0.27$), life sentence status ($r=0.25$), time spent in the DOC ($r=0.31$), having committed violent crime ($r=0.23$), and travel time between their committing county and the prison ($r=0.43$). The OGS is also positively correlated with life sentences ($r=0.58$), time in the DOC ($r=0.63$), and violent crimes ($r=0.70$), however it is negatively correlated with travel time ($r=-0.20$). Serving a life sentence and time in the DOC have a strong relationship with a positive correlation ($r=0.74$),

and life sentences have a weaker, but positive correlation with violent crimes ($r=0.26$). Finally, time in the DOC is positively correlated with violent crimes ($r=0.39$).

Evident in the numerous significant correlations in the former half of the matrix, there is significant overlap in the associations between variables of interest to this thesis. In the following multivariate models, groups of independent variables will be introduced separately to ascertain independent associations prior to a full model with all included covariates.

Negative Binomial Regressions

Further exploring the link between an inmate's feelings and visitation, I estimate a series of negative binomial regression models to predict the number of visits an inmate has received in the last six months given various groups of predictor variables. Table 6 displays the output from five models of visitation frequency. The first model predicts changes in the counts of visitation experienced by inmates when demographic controls are included in the model. These controls include; the respondent's age, whether they are African American or another race, the offense gravity score, if they are serving a life sentence, the total years they have spent in the department of corrections, and whether the crime they were sentenced for was a violent offense. In this model, the only variable with a significant effect is the flag for whether the respondent is African American or if they are another race. Race of the respondent is significant at the level of $p<0.01$. Respondents who are African American are expected to have a 1.27 fewer log counts of visitation in the past six months as compared to respondents of other races, holding all other factors constant.

The second model introduces the first set of primary independent variables to the negative binomial regression. The addition of these predictor variables to the model results in a change in significance among the control variables. The significance for race is attenuated, while

the offense gravity score becomes significant at the level of $p < 0.01$. For each unit increase in the OGS of the respondent's offence, their predicted log count of visits is reduced by 0.213. Also reaching the significance level of $p < 0.01$, the travel time from the prison to the respondents committing county is a significant predictor of difference instances of visitation. Holding the other predictors constant, each additional hour of driving time is associated with the respondents expected log count of visitation being reduced by 0.213. While only attaining a marginal significance of $p < 0.1$, respondents who said they would prefer fewer visits are predicted to have a log count of 2.082 visits fewer than respondents who said they would like more visits holding all other factors in the model at a constant.

Model three removes the survey items from the model and introduces the tonal codes generated from the respondent's qualitative responses. In comparison to the control variables of the previous models, the respondent's age is significant at the level of $p < 0.05$, while no other control variables are significant. Each additional year of age is associated with a -0.042 log-court reduction in an inmate's expected visitation, controlling for the remaining predictors in the model. Of the variables introduced in this model, having either a negative tone about visitation, or giving a response about not receiving visitation are both significant as compared to those who gave a positive overall response about visitation, at the levels of $p < 0.05$ for the former and $p < 0.01$ for the latter. Compared to those with a positive response about visitation, those who gave a negative response about visitation are expected to have a 1.489 log count reduction to their predicted visitation. Those who gave a response about not receiving visitation, are predicted to have a log count of visitation that is 3.184 fewer when compared to those with positive responses towards visitation, holding all else constant. Model four exchanges the tonal top codes about visitation for the theoretical flags for stigma, deprivation, or neither theoretical

explanation. In this model the only predictor achieving significance of $p < 0,05$ is the race of the respondent; in this model, African Americans are expected to have a log count of visitation that is 1.197 fewer than inmates of other races, controlling for variation across the other predictors. Neither those responses flagged for evidence stigma, nor those flagged for evidence of deprivation are statistically significantly different than the responses that were not flagged for evidence of a specific theoretical explanation.

The final model, model five, includes all of the previous groups of predictors in a single model to see which effects are attenuated by the presence of other predictors. Travel time and giving a response about no visitation are significant at the level of $p = 0.01$, while wanting fewer visits and having a negative tone about visitation are marginally significant at $p < 0.1$, and the OGS of the inmate is significant at the level of $p < 0,05$. Compared across models, travel time retains essentially the same magnitude level of significance as compared to its previous appearance in model two with each additional hour of drive time equating to an expected decrease in log count of visits by 0.356. When comparing respondent preference for visitation in the final model, those who would prefer fewer visits are predicted to have their logged count of visits reduced by 1.552 as compared to those respondents who wished for more visitation, holding all other predictors constant. Similarly, the respondents who gave a generally negative response about visitation are expected to have a reduced log count of visitation by 1.364 as compared to those with a positive tone about visitation. Respondents who gave a response about not receiving visits are predicted to have a log count of visits that is 2.926 fewer than those respondents who had a positive tone about visitation, controlling for all other factors. This coefficient is significant at the level of $p < 0.01$ and is of the highest magnitude represented in model five of Table 6. Finally, the level of significance for OGS varied over the estimated

models. Comparing to the only other model in which it was significant – model two – the magnitude of OGS has been attenuated slightly from -0.213 to -0.159.

In terms of model fit, I include the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) for each of the models in Table 6. When evaluating a model through the BIC, the lowest BIC is preferred as the addition of parameters to the model are penalized for potential overidentification. Were I to select a model based solely on this evaluation, model three would be a likely candidate, as it has a BIC only slightly higher than the preceding models, and the predictors significantly impact the expected counts of visitation. While model 5 does have the largest BIC, there is not a great range from the control only model to the fully constrained model, from a BIC of 521.8 to 532.31, and as groups of independent variables are added, the patterns of significance change. Should a less constrained version of the model be used to represent the relationship between frequency of visitation and the way inmates express their feeling about being visited, nuance could be lost, or significance could be falsely attributed.

Table 6: Negative Binomial Count Models of Visitation in Six Months (N=103)

	M1 (SE)	M2 (SE)	M3 (SE)	M4 (SE)	M5 (SE)
Age	-0.036 (-0.022)	-0.029 (0.018)	-0.042 (0.021) *	-0.033 (0.021)	-0.021 (0.018)
Race (ref = non-Black)					
Black	-1.277 (0.496) **	-0.116 (0.530)	-0.780 (0.518)	-1.197 (0.508) *	0.082 (0.506)
Offense Gravity Score	-0.083 (0.080)	-0.213 (0.072) **	-0.048 (0.078)	-0.055 (0.084)	-0.159 (0.071) *
Life Sentence	0.867 (0.837)	0.915 (0.785)	1.006 (0.846)	0.749 (0.862)	1.024 (0.810)
Time in PA-DOC	0.031 (0.037)	0.026 (0.033)	0.012 (0.037)	0.023 (0.037)	0.000 (0.000)
Violent Offender	0.077 (0.704)	0.474 (0.558)	0.012 (0.683)	-0.024 (0.710)	0.332 (0.538)
Travel time to committing county		-0.395 (0.133) **			-0.356 (0.121) **
Visitation Preference (ref = Would like more)					
Current number is okay		0.320 (0.465)			0.538 (0.489)
Would like fewer visits		-2.082 (1.087) †			-1.552 (1.043) †
Ease of Visitation (ref = Easy or Not Very Difficult)					
Difficult or very difficult		-0.222 (0.459)			0.223 (0.487)
Tone about Visitation (ref = Positive)					
Ambivalent or mixed tone			-0.227 (0.427)		-0.338 (0.413)
Negative tone			-1.489 (0.644) *		-1.364 (0.714) †
Feelings about no visitation			-3.184 (0.917) **		-2.926 (0.939) **
Theoretical Flags (ref = no flag)					
Stigma				-0.747 (0.694)	-0.684 (0.662)
Deprivation				-0.076 (0.539)	0.630 (0.635)
Fit Statistics (BIC)	523.6	521.8	524.1	531.8	532.3

Note: † = p<0.1, * = p<0.05, ** = p<0.01

DISCUSSION

Taken together, the results from these analyses allow me to evaluate my previously stated research questions. In order of presentation, the first question inquired to the prevalence of negative perceptions of visitation, and the second focused on whether both elements of stigma and deprivation contribute to a negative experience. Support was found for the first question in the closed item assessments of inmate respondents' desire for visitation, as well as in the content analysis of the responses given by these incarcerated women. When asked directly if they were satisfied with the amount of visitation they currently receive, or if they would like more or fewer visits, 6% of the sample reported that they would like less visitation. While a small proportion of the sample, this assessment is rather blunt and leaves room for considerable nuance to be teased from the open-ended responses. Evaluation of the open responses to the inmate's feelings on visitation identified a larger subset of the sample (17%) who gave a generally negative opinion on their experiences with visitation. Combined with the 37% whose answers were mixed between positive and negative remarks, there is evidence that a majority of the sample viewed visitation as emotionally complicated or unpleasant experience.

It should be noted that the animus located in negative responses could have two origins, and the second question of this thesis is focused on the locating elements of stigma or deprivation in the respondent's open-ended answers. Thirteen percent of the responses held components of stigmatization (i.e., protecting their self-image, expressing shame, embarrassment, etc.). Another 17% gave responses resonant of relative deprivation (i.e., distance to travel, comparing experience to other prisons, etc.). Consistent with prior visitation literature, this latter group of women centered their negative reactions to visitation in the obstacles their family and friends faced by coming to see them. Asking those close to them to face the

institutional hassle of visiting the prison and giving up time and resources only to briefly see them in prison led some women to feel they were a burden on their families by asking for visitation. The intensity of these feelings might be unique to a population of female prisoners in Pennsylvania. For this population, there are only two locations in which they can be incarcerated at the state level in Pennsylvania. Sixth largest by land area, these two facilities are inherently distant from many of the places these women and their visitors live. As the PADOE moves forward with innovative methods of maintaining family bonds, such as video visitation, it is possible that some of this ill will felt towards visitation will begin to dissipate.

The next two research questions are concerned with quantitatively evaluating how respondents' tone about visitation and any elements of their responses containing evidence of the theoretical explanations have on visitation counts. The third question explores the expectation that women with a negative tone about visitation will experience fewer instances of visitation than those with a positive tone. While seemingly intuitive, this question is posed to differentiate between general tones in responses about visitation and the presence of specific narrative elements pertaining to the theorized relationships stigma, deprivation, and visitation. Models three and five in Table 6 lend support to this hypothesized association. The third model predicts counts of visitation while controlling for demographic and sentence characteristics and finds that a negative tone in the response is significantly negatively associated with the frequency of visitation experienced by incarcerated women in the previous six months. However, in the fully constrained final model, the significance of a negative tone attenuated to marginal significance when visitation preferences and tonal codes are included as predictors. Given the attention of significance in the fifth model, I conclude that this research shows only a marginal relationship between feelings about visitation and actual occurrences.

The fourth question asks whether inmates whose responses overtly express themes of the theories of stigma or deprivation will experience fewer instances of visitation than those whose responses did not contain these theoretical elements. While a sizeable minority of the sample (30%) was coded for responses containing either stigma or deprivation, neither indicator was a significant predictor of the number of visits received. These flags for the theoretical elements of interest were not significant predictors in model four or five, and given this outcome, the fourth question of this thesis is not supported by the results of this study. There are, however, a number of things that may have influenced this outcome.

LIMITATIONS

This study is not without limitations. A number of concerns arise from the sample of responses these analyses are drawn from. These women reside on an honor block in their institution; they are also a somewhat unique in their composition given the high concentration of lengthy sentences for violent crimes. These characteristics call into concern the generalizability of their experience. However, it is not the goal of this study to generalize the experience of women in prison, but to provide an exploratory foray into the individual's relationship with their visitation experience.

This study is additionally hampered by the relatively rare occurrences of some key independent variables. Respondents who prefer less visitation, who have a predominantly negative tone about visitation, and whose responses include direct evidence of feeling stigma or deprivation are all lightly represented in this sample. While their narrative answers allow for the identification of a non-trivial minority of the sample, it is possible the small cell sizes on these characteristics prevent significant findings in the quantitative analysis. In the future data from this project will be appended to the responses of 121 more women from the survey of an

additional prison. These new respondents will be drawn from two units, one designated for good behavior, and one for the general population. This supplemental data will help to address both the relatively small sample and allow for comparisons to be made between the experience of ‘well behaved’ inmates and their general population counterparts.

Finally, there is some potential for the reversal in the causal order of visitation and stigmatization. Is it the case that an inmate is ashamed of their status and therefore avoid visitation, or do inmates not feel their position is stigmatized until they have been forced to display their spoiled identity in the visitation room? A lack of visitation could also be explained through the visitor’s shame regarding the inmate. Perhaps a parent is reluctant to visit their child because they are disappointed. While not a perfect rebuttal to this concern, conservative coding practices can address the origin of the stigma. Consider again the seventh example response from the open survey items. This respondent was coded with a flag for stigmatization because of her admission of feeling uncomfortable with others seeing her in the situation. Strict practices of reserving these flags for appropriate responses will prevent an individual who feels their parents abstain from visiting for their own reasons from being categorized under this code. Future use of multiple qualitative coders constrained by coding guidelines will also help to address this concern.

CONCLUSIONS

This exploration into female inmate’s experience with visitation as yielded mixed results. Narrative analysis has broadened the conceptual understanding of the varying ways incarcerated women view their visitation, but quantitative analysis was unable to show significant associations between binary predictors derived from open ended answers and the number of visits the inmate experienced in the six months prior to this study. There are nonetheless valuable

contributions from this study. Foremost, this exploration of individual perceptions of visitation has uncovered a small, but resolute, portion of the sample that for various reasons have negative experiences with visitation. A subset of these women with a negative tone about visitation would prefer to be visited less often. Their reasoning varies, stemming from the desire to avoid being viewed in prison, or from the acknowledgement that their would-be visitors must expend exorbitant resources to overcome the structural challenges they face. Regardless, this population should be considered in future policies aimed at improving inmate visitation. Currently, Pennsylvania has two initiatives that could improve the visitation experience for these individuals. Located at only one women's institution, Project Impact allows an incarcerated woman to visit with her children in a venue more comfortable than the institutional visitation room. Project Impact maintains a trailer within the institution that is furnished as a home would be. This setting allows for more casual interactions between a woman and her family.

The second program is the expansion of virtual visitation. Today, there are only a handful of terminals that allow visitors to video conference with an incarcerated woman. The terminals are currently located in urban centers such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg. The department of corrections is in the process of expanding these terminals to allow an approved visitor to travel to the nearest State Correctional Institution (SCI) and conference with an inmate at any other SCI. Although it is unclear how this might alleviate the stigma of being seen in prison, the project will dramatically increase the opportunity for virtual visitation. This increase has the potential to dramatically lower the cost of face to face interaction. Future evaluation will determine if this compromise between phone calls and physical visitation retains the same benefit as sharing time together in person.

In sum, this foray into female inmates' perceptions of visitation has successfully highlighted the nuance in how visitation is experienced and has provided a starting point for further exploration of the complex experience of inmates interacting with those from the community. The coming years will hold exciting opportunities to explore the interplay between the feelings about visitation discussed here, and the upcoming changes to the Department of Corrections' approach to visitation.

APPENDIX

Survey Item Wording

Q7. What are your feelings about people visiting you in prison? [Open Ended]

Q7A. Are your feelings about visitation different for your children?

Q7A. Are your feelings about visitation different for your child?

Q7A. Are your feelings about visitation different for family members?

01 = Yes

02 = No

If Q7A = 01. Q7B. Why? [Open ended]

Q7C. Would you like more or less visits from your family?

01 = More visits

02 = Current number of visits is fine

03 = Less visits

Q7D. How difficult is it for a person to come and visit you here?

01 = Very difficult

02 = Difficult

03 = Not very difficult

04 = Easy

Bibliography

- Agnew, R. 1992. "Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency." *Criminology* 30(1): 47-88.
- Austin, R. 2004. "The shame of it all: Stigma and the political disenfranchisement of formerly convicted and incarcerated persons." *Colombia Human Rights Law Review* 36(173):173-192.
- Bales, W. D., & Mears, D. P. 2008. "Inmate social ties and the transition to society: Does visitation reduce recidivism?" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 45(3):287-321.
- Benning, C. L., & Lahm, K. F. 2016. "Effects of Parent-Child Relationships on Inmate Behavior: A Comparison of Male and Female Inmates." *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology* 60(2):189-207.
- Boudin, C., Stutz, T., & Littman, A. 2014. "Prison visitation policies: A fifty state survey." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 32(149):149-189.
- Carson, A. E., & Anderson, E. 2016. "Prisoners in 2015." *Washington D.C. Bureau of Justice Statistics*
- Casey-Acevedo, K., & Bakken, T. 2002. "Visiting women in prison: Who visits and who cares?" *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 34(3):67-83.
- Casey-Acevedo, K., Bakken, T., & Karle, A. 2004. "Children visiting mothers in prison: The effects on mothers' behavior and disciplinary adjustment." *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 37(3):418-430.
- Clark, V. A., & Grant Duwe. 2016. "Distance Matters Examining the Factors That Impact Prisoner Visitation in Minnesota." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 44(2):184-204.
- Cochran, J. C. 2012. "The ties that bind or the ties that break: Examining the relationship between visitation and prisoner misconduct." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 40(5):433-440.
- Cochran, J. C., & Mears, D. P. 2013. "Social isolation and inmate behavior: A conceptual framework for theorizing prison visitation and guiding and assessing research." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 41(4):252-261.
- Duwe, G., & Clark, V. 2011. "Blessed be the social tie that binds: The effects of prison visitation on offender recidivism." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 24(3):271-296.
- Giallombardo, R. 1966. *Society of women: A study of a women's prison*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Goffman, E. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster
- Hairston, C. F. 1988. "Family ties during imprisonment: Do they influence future criminal activity". *Fed. Probation* 52:48.
- Hirschi, T. 1969. *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huey, M. P., & McNulty, T. L. 200). "Institutional conditions and prison suicide: Conditional effects of deprivation and overcrowding." *The Prison Journal* 85(4):490-514.

- DV, Jeste, Palmer BW, Appelbaum PS, and et al. 2007. "A New Brief Instrument for Assessing Decisional Capacity for Clinical Research." *Archives of General Psychiatry* 64(8):966–74.
- Kaeble, D., & Bonczar, T. B., 2017. "Probation and Parole in the United States." *Washington D.C.. Bureau of Justice Statistics*
- Kruttschnitt, C., & Gartner, R. 2005. *Marking time in the golden state: Women's imprisonment in California*. Cambridge University Press.
- McCorkle, R. C., Miethe, T. D., & Drass, K. A. 1995. "The roots of prison violence: A test of the deprivation, management, and "not-so-total" institution models." *Crime & Delinquency* 41(3):317-331.
- Mead, G. H. 1918. "The psychology of punitive justice." *American Journal of Sociology* 23(5):577-602.
- Mears, D. P., Cochran, J. C., Siennick, S. E., & Bales, W. D. 2012. "Prison visitation and recidivism." *Justice Quarterly* 29(6):888-918.
- Morris, R. G., Carriaga, M. L., Diamond, B., Piquero, N. L., & Piquero, A. R. 2012. "Does prison strain lead to prison misbehavior? An application of general strain theory to inmate misconduct." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 40(3):194-201.
- Owen, B. A. 1998. *In the mix: Struggle and survival in a women's prison*. New York, NY: SUNY Press.
- Pollock, J. M. 2013. *Prisons and prison life: Costs and consequences*. Oxford University Press.
- Schafer, N. E. 1994. "Exploring the link between visits and parole success: A survey of prison visitors." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 38(1):17-32.
- Siennick, S. E., Mears, D. P., & Bales, W. D. 2013. "Here and gone: Anticipation and separation effects of prison visits on inmate infractions." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 50(3):417-444.
- Sykes, G. M. 1958. *The society of captives: A study of a maximum security prison*. Princeton University Press.
- Trammell, R. 2012. *Enforcing the convict code: Violence and prison culture*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- The Sentencing Project. 2015. "Incarcerated Women and Girls." *Washington, D.C.. The Sentencing Project*.
- Ward, D. A., & Kassebaum, G. G. 1966. *Women's prison: Sex and social structure*. Transaction Publishers.