

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: CRIME TO CRADLE: AN ANALYSIS OF ATTACHMENT ON PREGNANT INMATES

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Approximately 80% of the women incarcerated each year are mothers. Some are currently mothers, and some are expecting (Bertram & Sawyer, 2021). Prior research shows (See Carlson et al. and Goshin et al) that prison nursery program participants tend to have a lower recidivism rate than women in the general population. However, there is a gap in understanding why these prison nurseries are more likely to keep women from recidivating. Using theory and prior research, a study has been crafted to address this gap. The research asks if a prison nursery facilitates the attachment between a mother and child among those who give birth in prison. Semi-structured qualitative interviews asking questions based on the Maternal Attachment Inventory, will be used to gain a detailed account of these women's experiences. Participants will be sampled from two states: Maryland and Illinois. These two states are being sampled because Maryland does not have a prison nursery program policy, but Illinois does. Prison nurseries allow mothers to keep their newborn children with them in prison after birth for a specific period of time. The research is intended to address the current gaps and impact policy changes for the criminal justice system in the future. Further, it is hoped that additional research will

build upon the proposed research and help better understand the relationship between prison nurseries, attachment, and recidivism.

CRIME TO CRADLE: AN ANALYSIS OF ATTACHMENT ON PREGNANT INMATES

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the United States, there are 1,400 births that occur in custody each year. Additionally, 58,000 estimated pregnant women are incarcerated each year (Prison Policy Initiative, 2021). Unfortunately, many of these women will not receive the prenatal care necessary to keep themselves and their babies healthy before birth (Bertram & Sawyer, 2021). Even though women make up a smaller percentage of the incarceration population than men, women are much more likely to be a child's primary caregiver pre-arrest. Additionally, many women express that they plan to care for their children after release (Goshin et al., 2014). Pregnant women are a unique population in that depending on the length of their sentence and stage of pregnancy, there is a chance that they give birth in prison.

The laws and regulations regarding pregnant women are limited, and often women do not receive proper prenatal care. Despite being in prison, women should have access to proper prenatal and post-natal care, but unfortunately, that is not always the case. Pregnant women in prison are often neglected and treated poorly by prison officials and correctional officers (Lambert, 2019). For instance, it is common for women to be shackled before, during, and after giving birth in prison, which is physically hurtful and outdated but still occurs in many correctional facilities (Pregnant Women in Prison, n.d.). In addition to being shackled, they can also be placed in solitary confinement, ignored when reporting birth-related health complications such as bleeding or contractions, and declined access to abortion (Lambert, 2019).

While these are some extreme examples of the incarceration experience for pregnant women, there is a wide range of medical care varying from state to state (Lambert, 2019). Some states will allow the newborn to stay with the mother in a prison nursery program, while some mothers cannot see their child again until after release. Prison nursery programs are currently

only allowed in eight states in the United States (US). Some research (See Goshin et al. and Carlson et al.) have found a relationship between prison nursery programs and recidivism. The trend shows that women in prison nursery programs tend to have lower recidivism rates than the general population. What the studies fail to assess is why this relationship occurs. Through this research, the gap will be addressed investigating specifically if attachment is facilitated in prison nursery programs. Attachment is an important factor in criminology and when bonds are strong crime can be reduced. Additionally in psychology there are theories that show how a strong attachment is formed and ways in which it is beneficial for both the mother and baby. Psychological and criminological theories will serve as the basis for this research, as well as proposed study that will focus on what is facilitating how prison nurseries and recidivism are related.

Overall, pregnant women are a marginalized population that does not get talked about enough, and need to be, because of the range of impacts incarceration has on the mother and child. State policies regarding pregnant women's care and health vary throughout the United States. This study aims to address these variances and how they impact the women and children. The variances in state policies affect the women because these prison nursery programs might not always be available. Additionally in states where they are available, they may be geographically sparse and not hold enough space for all the women who may need them. This proposal will outline the current literature, emphasizing the theoretical orientation of attachment theories in criminology and psychology. Then, will also discuss any previous research related to the study of prison nurseries, attachment, and recidivism. Finally, a research study will be proposed that will address the gaps in current research. The results from this study will provide

more insight on this population that is often neglected and influence policy change for pregnant women in the criminal justice system.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Framework

Attachment is an important component in both psychological and criminological theory. It takes shape in both Hirschi's social bonds theory and Bowlby's Theory of attachment. Both theories will be used in the following research. In developing a research study for this proposal, control theories, more specifically Hirschi's social bonds theory was used as theoretical framework. The crux of Hirschi's theory lies in the bonds that humans innately create with other people beginning at birth. Hirschi contends that all humans have the instinctual drive to act in selfish and aggressive ways. However, our bonds with other people or things are what reins in those behaviors (Key Ideas in Criminology and Criminal Justice, n.d). Hirschi's theory emphasizes the importance of attachment to prosocial attributes such as values, people, and institutions (Hirschi, 1969). These kinds of bonds can influence criminality specifically when our bonds are stronger, that is when crime is less likely to occur.

Hirschi has four elements to his Social Bonds Theory. The first element is attachment. Attachment is the amount of sensitivity a particular person has towards others. For example, how emotionally attached someone is to their parents. The second element is the commitment to the stereotypical goals of society (Costello, 2010). For example, if someone is doing well in school or getting a job. People who have goals of attaining a job or getting a degree are less likely to commit crime than someone who is not committed to these goals. The third element is involvement, the amount of time someone puts into their goals (Costello, 2010). Involvement suggests that if someone is working from 9-5 and is committed to that job, they will not have time to commit a crime since they will be working. The fourth and final element to Social Bonds Theory is the belief in societal norms. Someone who believes in the conventional goals that

apply to the society they are in will then also be committed and involved in the continuation of achieving these goals (Costello, 2010). All these elements: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, are intertwined, and Hirschi believed that the more substantial one component was, the stronger the rest would also be (Costello, 2010). In the discipline of criminology, a bond is an important deterrent that keeps individuals from committing crime. While Hirschi's social bonds theory has four key elements that tend to overlap together, for the purposes of this research, only attachment will be focused on. It would be too difficult to try and assess all four components of Hirschi's social bonds theory through interviews and because of the psychological importance of attachment, that is how I chose which component to focus on in my research.

Hirschi's Social Bonds Theory has roots in sociology and criminology because his original research is based on delinquent behavior. Another critical theory with more psychological origins is also essential for this subject. The Attachment Theory of Bowlby and Ainsworth was crafted in 1991 and emphasized the importance of a child's bond to its mother (Bretherton, 1992). The primary conclusion of Bowlby's work was that for an infant to have a healthy development, they must have a "warm, intimate and continuous relationship with their mother" (Bretherton, 1992). Bowlby and Ainsworth's attachment theory emphasizes the importance of the role of a mother, which is a crucial component of the following research.

Another key component of Ainsworth's work was observing three main attachment styles. The three styles of attachment are secure, ambivalent-insecure, and avoidant-insecure. A secure attachment is characterized by a child who is upset when a parent leaves them but is easily calmed down by their parents return (Fraley, n.d.). An ambivalent-insecure attached child would be extremely upset when separated from their parents and are not easily comforted by

their return (Fraley, n.d.). An avoidant-insecure attachment style would include a child who avoids their parents and does not seek comfort from them (Fraley, n.d.). A secure attachment in adulthood is often correlated with a secure attachment between parents and child during childhood (Neustadt et al., 2006). A secure attachment is key for positive outcomes in a child in various aspects of the child's life and development. Bowlby and Ainsworth's research also found that a secure attachment typically is formed at 3-6 months (Bretherton, 1992). While the proposed research will not specifically be looking for a secure attachment, this will be an important marker for the interviews.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The Bond Between a Mother and Child

Maternal bonding has lifelong impacts and affects various qualities of child outcomes (Fuchs et al., 2016). For one, a bond between mother and child facilitates their mutual empathy (Lee et al., 2017). Another impactful outcome from the maternal bond on a child is their social-emotional and cognitive development (Lee et al., 2017). A solid maternal attachment will foster these developments in a child. Behavior problems are another aspect of a child's development that a maternal bond can influence (Fuchs et al., 2016). The bond between a mother and child is the key driving force behind the research and what will be used test the strength of in different prison settings.

The maternal bond is equally as important for the mother as it is for the child. During the postpartum period new mothers are more susceptible to psychiatric disorders associated with postpartum such as anxiety and depression (Hornstein et al., 2006). In addition to causing harm to the mother's health, postpartum psychiatric disorders can also have a detrimental effect on the mother and infants' relationship by disrupting the cohesion of emotional bonding that occurs between mother and newborn. In a study done by Slomian et al., the researchers found that postpartum depression creates a disruptive environment for the child and mother to bond therefore should be diagnosed and treated as early on as possible (2019).

One component to postpartum that has been shown to reduce the likelihood of depression is breastfeeding (Hahn-Holbrook et al., 2013). Breastfeeding not only creates a physical bond but also a psychological bond between the mother and baby. In prisons where the woman is separated from her baby, she will not experience breastfeeding. Research suggests that breastfeeding within the first three months of postpartum may reduce depressive symptoms in

new mothers (Hahn-Holbrook et al., 2013). This is another consideration for the research that contends the importance of the early bond of mother and baby specifically for the mother's mental health.

Link Between Motherhood and Offending

There is an abundance of criminological research that attempts to identify the key events in a person's life that affects their criminal behavior. In life-course criminology, these key events are called turning points. A turning point is a type of transition that alters one's life course such as education, marriage, or parenthood (Laub & Sampson, 1997). Sampson and Laub argue that turning points can decrease offending when the individual has a strong bond to that turning point (Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). Parenthood is a turning point in which, with a strong attachment, may lead to decreased offending.

With parenthood comes a new set of roles and responsibilities that may hinder an individual's ability to commit crime in various ways. For instance, a previous offender might simply not have time to commit crime after becoming a parent, especially if that person is the sole caregiver (Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). Parenthood may change the daily activities of an individual causing limited opportunities to commit crime or spend time with other criminals (Huschek & Blokland, 2016). Parenthood can also influence the effects of social control because children need both financial and emotional support that may create stronger feelings of attachment between a parent and child (Huschek & Blokland, 2016). Huschek and Blokland also contend that becoming a parent creates a new identity for some and characteristics of being a criminal does not coincide with the characteristics of being a parent (2016). For women specifically, a study found that during pregnancy, a woman is less likely to commit crime than they would before or after the pregnancy (Hoyde Lyngstad & Skardhammer, 2009).

Additionally, further studies showed that motherhood was a stronger inhibitor for offending than marriage and resulted in more significant reductions of criminal offense (Zoutewelle-Terovan et al. 2014). There is evidence that women are often more affected by becoming a parent which is why often parenthood reduces crime rates in women (Huschek and Blokland 2016). Offending patterns show that motherhood acts as a turning point in the life course that may tend to reduce the likelihood of offending further exemplifying the importance of motherhood and maternal bonds.

Motherhood and Incarceration

There are around 150,000 incarcerated women that are mothers. This is 58% of the prison population and 80% of the jail population (Bertram & Sawyer, 2021). While motherhood can act as a turning point in the life course for some women to desist from crime, motherhood while incarcerated may not have the same effect. One of the most impacted components of motherhood during incarceration is emotion (Baldwin, 2018). Post release, incarcerated individuals rely heavily on family members for all kinds of support but mostly emotional (Mowen & Visher, 2016). Over time, researchers have found that women are influenced every day by the challenges of motherhood and conformity to its ideals (Baldwin, 2018). As a result of incarceration, this conformity can be put on hold, and the mother's tactics become questionable. Being separated from their child in general may elicit its own trauma and stress, in addition to the physical and emotional trauma from incarceration (Baldwin, 2018). The correlation between incarceration and motherhood is one with little research that fully explores how being detained affects the relationship and needs continuous investigation.

Recidivism

Recidivism is the act of re-offending done by a former criminal. The criminal justice system in the United States (US) punishes criminals for breaking the law and seeks to deter them from doing so again (Rehabilitate or Punish? n.d.). While the goal is to keep former offenders from recommitting crime and reducing recidivism, there are various reasons and predictors that may indicate which populations are more likely to reoffend. Some populations include those who did not finish high school, minorities, and criminals who committed crimes with guns (Seven Things to Know About Repeat Offenders, 2016). Recidivism is typically measured within the first three years of release (Recidivism, n.d.). While the criminal justice system's goal is to decrease recidivism and ultimately lead to desistance, frequently, this is not the case.

Recidivism and Prison Nurseries

The purpose of a prison nursery is to facilitate the relationship between a mother and baby in prison. In a study published in 2014, researchers studied the effect of the prison nursery program in a New York state sample (Goshin et al., 2014). This research found that the recidivism rates of women released from prison nursery programs tend to be lower than in the general population (Goshin et al., 2014). The study was done by Goshin et al. and aimed to measure the maternal and child characteristics and the long-term mother and child outcomes from a prison nursery (Goshin et al., 2014). Recidivism was measured as a re-offense resulting in a prison sentence within three years from release (Goshin et al., 2014). The results indicated that out of the sample population, 86.3% of women did not re-offend (Goshin et al., 2014).

The mass incarceration dilemma in the US impacts all populations, including pregnant women. A meta-analysis done by Carlson looked at the Nebraska Correctional Center for Women to analyze the effect of their prison nursery program from 1994-2014. The program's

success was measured in recidivism, program cost savings, and women returning to prison custody (Carlson, 2018). Carlson found that women who completed the prison nursery program were less likely to re-offend in three years. The prison nursery program also provided moms with resources to improve parenting skills. The research suggests that with the mass incarceration continuation in the United States, the government should establish a policy on dealing with pregnant inmates in the criminal justice system.

A Brief Description of Prison Nursery Programs

Prison nursery programs are for incarcerated mothers and allow the newborn to be kept with the mother in the correctional facility (DeBoer, 2012). These programs aim for the mother and child to form a bond during the postnatal period (DeBoer, 2012). Typically, the goal of the prison nursery is for the mother and child to leave the correctional facility at the same time when the mother's sentence has ended (DeBoer, 2012). For the mother to initially qualify for the program, the mother must have a mental and physical evaluation done to determine the capability of caring for the child. They must also have no history of violence or child abuse (DeBoer, 2012). While the prison nursery program design has been around for centuries, most of the prison nursery programs that are implemented currently have been developed within the last 30 years (DeBoer, 2012).

A Brief History of Prison Nursery Programs

Prison nursery programs have been around for quite some time. They first arose in 1800s England (Dodson, Cabage, & McMillan, 2019). Later, the United States took on a similar system for women to keep their children in prisons (Dodson, Cabage, & McMillan, 2019). In the early 19th century, women, especially mothers with less severe offenses, were less likely to be sent to prison. Women were also perceived to be far less dangerous than men, so women were sentenced

less often (Craig, 1991). Some of the first states that allowed children to stay with their incarcerated mothers include New York and Massachusetts (Craig, 1991). Additionally, women received prenatal and postnatal care, including special diet and physicals (Craig, 1991). It is thought that the loss of funding and eventual closure of various reformatories and prenatal programs for women, can be attributed to the Great Depression and World War II (Craig, 1991).

In 1946, Zemans and Smith's study looked at the participation of incarcerated women and girls in the war effort (Craig, 1991). However, during this study, they came upon information regarding women and keeping their children while incarcerated. They concluded that in most states there were no laws about pregnant women or the amount of time they could keep their babies with them (Craig, 1991). Standard practice was to allow women to keep their babies for brief periods or they were not allowed to keep them at all. There was a lot of variation in state policies, which continues to be the case today.

In the 20th century, thirteen states had state laws pertaining to the child policy for incarcerated women. The states were California, Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia (Dodson, Cabage, and McMillan 2019). However, the issue with these states was that there was no specified amount of time the infant or child was allowed to stay with the mother. The vague description used was "when it was no longer healthy for the child to remain in prison" (Baunach, 1985; Shepard & Zemans 1950). This continued until around 1960, when the federal government became involved due to concerns regarding the number of children that began to accumulate in women's prisons (Dodson, Cabage, and McMillan 2019). With the number of women in prison also on the rise, the federal government saw fit to intervene.

States Currently with Prison Nursery Programs

Within the correctional system, there are different state policies regarding prison nurseries. Currently, eight states implement prison nursery programs. These states include Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Washington, and West Virginia (Dodson, Cabage, and McMillan 2019). Additionally, California does report having a prison nursery program; however, this program is not offered in a correctional institution. Therefore, it does not meet federal standards to be considered a prison nursery (Dodson, Cabage, and McMillan 2019).

The program details vary in each state. Additionally, while it is a state policy, the program may not be offered in each facility (DeBoer, 2012). The minimum time an infant can stay in the prison nursery is 30 days, and this minimum is in South Dakota's Mother-Infant Program. Comparatively, the maximum stay in the Illinois Mothers and Babies program is two years. Additionally, in each state, there are eligibility requirements, and while none are the same, they all have similar guidelines by which they abide (DeBoer, 2012). Some of these criteria include: the child must be born while the mother is in custody, the mother cannot have been convicted of a violent crime or have a history of child abuse or neglect (Dodson, Cabage, and McMillan, 2019). Most states require that the mother have around 18 months or less left in their sentence from birth except for South Dakota (DeBoer, 2012).

States Currently Without Prison Nursery Programs

There are many more states without prison nurseries than there are with them in the United States right now. The protocol is as follows under the remaining 42 states in the US that do not have a prison nursery program. Following the birth of a child, the woman is separated from the newborn immediately (Chambers, 2009). This does not allow for any attachment or

bonding between the mother and infant (Chambers, 2009). The newborns are then sent to the hospital nursery, and women are allowed to say goodbye 2-3 days post-birth (Chambers, 2009). After the final goodbye is when babies are sent home to the father, grandparents, other relatives, foster care, or adoption centers (Chambers, 2009). This creates interference in the natural motherhood process. There is no time for bonding, attachment, or breastfeeding (Chambers, 2009). This abrupt disruption brings on various other complications like grief, anxiety, and feelings of loss. Bonding is not only an important developmental factor for the babies but the mothers as well (Chambers, 2009).

Chapter 4: Proposed Research

This research is designed to study the levels of attachment between mother and child in different prison conditions. The research question is does a prison nursery facilitate the attachment between a mother and child in mothers who give birth in prison? The hypothesis is that a mother in a prison nursery program will have stronger attachment rates than women who do not participate in prison nursery programs. The use of studying two procedural state laws regarding prison nurseries will determine the success of the nursery in supporting attachment. Specifically, two states have been chosen for this study, one with a prison nursery policy (Illinois) and one without (Maryland). Having both procedures represented in the study will make for a stronger comparison. In order to get a detailed account of the women's varying experiences, semi structured qualitative interviews will be conducted using the Maternal Attachment Inventory. Following the interviews, a thematic analysis will be done using the transcripts in order to assess stronger or weaker attachment rates in both settings. Due to the lack of research on this topic, the goal is to advance the understanding of prison nursery programs in relation to the mother and child bond and inform about future criminality. Additionally, this research will be done to advocate on behalf of incarcerated pregnant women and develop criminal justice policies based on the findings.

Chapter 5: Data and Methods

Data Collection

The measure of attachment between mother and baby will be the primary data source for the study. To measure attachment between the mom and child, the Maternal Attachment Inventory (MAI) (See Appendix) developed by Müller in 1994 will be utilized (Müller, 1994). The MAI was designed to measure affectionate attachment between a mother and newborn baby (Müller, 1994). The construct validity was tested by 12 experts in the field and was completed by 196 women with infants (Müller, 1994). This inventory was chosen because it fits the population being studied. Attachment measures may change as the child grows older, so the MAI will effectively measure the attachment between a mother and a young baby. The MAI has demonstrated internal consistency reliability as an attachment measure for mothers and babies (Müller, 1994).

To obtain data from both the Illinois and Maryland prisons, conducting semi structured qualitative interviews is being proposed. These will be conducted at 3-6 months post birth. This time marker was chosen because according to Bowlby's theory of Attachment, a secure attachment begins to form around this time. The Maternal Attachment Inventory will be used to ask probing questions based off the statements in the MAI (See Appendix). There are a total of 24 statements so the structured part will be that all 24 will be used in all interviews. The participants will be asked how they feel about the statement, what feelings the statements may evoke, and do they agree with the statement or not. Additionally, there will be questions asked about the kinds of the experiences the women are having in or out of a prison nursery program, the different procedures, how much interaction she has with her baby, feelings toward her baby and general background questions.

While a secure attachment will not specifically be looked for, this marker of 3-6 months is being used to dictate when the timeline of the interviews should occur. After three months is when a secure attachment is formed between mother and baby ("Attachment: A Connection for Life."). A secure attachment is the most beneficial for a child's development and is characterized as the strongest bond between a parent and child. After three months, a baby will smile back at its mom and after six months is when a baby looks to its mother for comfort and reassurance ("Attachment: A Connection for Life."). Additionally, a component to the research is the mother's incarceration and status of participation in a prison nursery program. In Illinois, the babies are still held with their mothers in a prison nursery 3-6 months after birth. Comparatively, in Maryland, where there are no prison nurseries, the child will be living with another guardian for those 3-6 months post-birth.

Sample

This study compares two states with different policies for incarcerated pregnant women. The two states chosen to sample from are Illinois and Maryland. These two states were chosen because of their different policies regarding pregnant inmates. Illinois has a prison nursery program, whereas Maryland does not. By sampling from a state with a prison nursery and without, evidence of if the prison nurseries facilitate a stronger attachment level between mom and baby will be shown. There will be 20 total participants, ten from each state. All ten current participants will be used in the Illinois prison. To keep the numbers even, ten participants will be sampled in Maryland to have an equal amount in each state. However, if not all 10 participants from Illinois are available or willing to participate, the Maryland sample will be adjusted to reflect the same or a similar amount to keep equal participants from each group. For example, suppose the study begins, there are only seven participants in the Moms and Babies program in

IL. In that case, seven participants from Maryland will be sampled to make sure there is an equal amount from both states. Convenience sampling will be used for the Maryland population and recruit through flyers throughout the prison. The participants must have recently given birth or are currently pregnant.

Similarly, how the prison nursery programs have specific regulations for those who can participate, the same guidelines will be used for sampling participants from Maryland in order to get similar populations in both states. In the Moms and Babies program, the other eligibility requirements include no history of abuse or violent crime. Additionally, they must have approval from the baby's father and the parents of the women. The women must also be within a year of her release date at the time of the birth. The same eligibility requirements will be used when sampling the Maryland sample. It would be crucial for the research to use participants who would qualify for a prison nursery program if they lived in a state with one. This way, the two populations have similar characteristics in nature.

Maryland was chosen to represent those with no prison nursery policy because it is where I currently attend school. Maryland is one of 42 states in the US that does not allow prison nursery programs. In Maryland, the procedure is to separate the mother from the child immediately after birth. The mother is sent back to the prison right after giving birth leaving little time for the mother to bond, let alone meet her child. From Maryland, one prison will be sampled to get 10 participants to participate in the study. In 2015, Maryland passed a Title 9- State and Local Correctional System 9-601 for pregnant inmates (MD Correc Svs Code §9-601 2015). This code outlined the rights that pregnant inmates would receive from the government. These rights include that the women will be moved from the prison to another facility before giving birth, providing more comfortable and humane accommodations and medical care (MD Correc Svs

Code §9-601 2015). Another component of the code is that inmates are to be returned to the original facility as soon as medically possible post-birth (MD Correc Svs Code §9-601 2015). After the birth, the child is given to the father or another relative should the father be unable to care for the child. If no other relative can take care of the child, the child will be placed in the care of the Department of Human Resources (MD Correc Svs Code §9-601 2015). Another part of the code states that inmates may participate in programs to retain custody of the child. If it is in the child's best interest and public safety, the child will be placed back in the mother's care post-incarceration (MD Correc Svs Code §9-601 2015).

Illinois was chosen specifically as a state with a prison nursery program for a couple of reasons. For one, there was not much recent research or literature on the Moms and Babies program. Additionally, Illinois had the longest maximum stay for babies. The baby can stay for up to two years which out of the eight states with prison nursery programs was the longest. This ensures the likelihood that the baby will still be in the prison nursery at the 3–6-month mark.

While the state of Illinois does allow for prison nursery programs, there is currently only one in operation. The Moms and Babies program in Decatur, Illinois. This program allows mothers to learn how to take care of their babies, promotes a community environment, and supports re-entry into the real-world following incarceration (Moms and Babies Program, 2017). To be eligible for this program, women must be within two years of release and cannot participate if there are any protests from the father or immediate family (Moms and Babies Program, 2017). The mother also must have no prior history of violent crimes or abuse, and the child must be healthy to participate in the program (DeBoer, 2012). The Moms and Babies program was started in 2007 and have a maximum capacity of 10 babies (DeBoer, 2012). The total length of time that a child and mother can participate in the program is two years (DeBoer,

2012). This is much longer than the other prison nursery programs around the United States. Ideally all ten women participating in the program at the time of the study would be included in the sample.

While using only two states will make for a smaller sample size, this will allow for a more detailed account of the women's experiences. Additionally, using all eight states with prison nursery programs would create too diverse of a population and would be too many people to interview. Since interviewing will be the best strategy for this population and specifically learning about an intimate subject, a smaller sample will be more beneficial to get a more in-depth description of the women and their diverse experiences. These two states have similar arrest rates in addition to a similar incarceration rate which also went into the decision to use these states.

Analytic Strategy

In order to analyze the interviews, a thematic analysis will be conducted. After the interviews are transcribed verbatim, the thematic analysis will be done to identify domains. Using prior research and theory, the hypothesized domains that will indicate a stronger attachment are words like "intimate, connection, adore, secure and love." Comparatively, domains that may indicate a weaker connection are "neglect, trouble, disconnection and lacking." While these domains have been hypothesized, there will be left room for emergent domains and unexpected patterns to come up during the interviews.

Chapter 6: Discussion

When beginning research on this population of women who experience incarceration while pregnant, there was a decent amount of research on prison nurseries and recidivism but not how this relationship was being facilitated. Using control theories, a research study was developed to investigate if attachment could be the link between prison nurseries and attachment. The research question is does a prison nursery facilitate attachment between a mother and child in mothers who give birth in prison. Using a combination of both theoretical framework and prior research, the hypothesized result is that women in the prison nursery will have higher rates of attachment.

Implications

In order to protect and provide better care for the marginalized population of pregnant incarcerated women, there must be policy changes that will reform the justice system. A goal of the criminal justice system is to reduce recidivism which, as outlined in the literature review, is the act of reoffending within three years of release from incarceration (Recidivism, n.d.). As Hirschi contends, social bonds are crucial to decreasing crime (Costello, 2010). Through this study the strength of a maternal bond to a newborn will be measured and assessed in different prison conditions. Whether or not these conditions elicit strong bonds will be insightful for policy changes regarding the treatment of pregnant inmates across the United States.

If the hypothesis is proven, then more policy change should be implemented working to make prison nursery programs more available to those who are pregnant in prison. Beginning with the states that already do allow them and making them more accessible across the state so that a larger proportion of women are able to participate in the unique programs. Following this, there should be more legislation to extend the access of prison nursery policies into more states.

Not only would this make for more prison nursery programs that more women could have access to, but it will also work to lessen the gap and make for more uniform care. Research on this population is critical since so much is still unknown and the only way for there to be policy change is for stakeholders to know what kind of programs and interventions work.

In addition to reducing recidivism, there may be economic gains to changing policies. According to data from Vera, on average, the price per inmate in Maryland is \$44,601, and in Illinois, it's \$33,507 ("The Price of Prisons"). This is relevant because it costs a lot of money to imprison someone and keep them detained. If the attachment between a mother and child is shown to reduce recidivism, then this would keep people from reoffending and ultimately being reincarcerated. By reducing the number of people reincarcerated then the economy would benefit. Where does the money come from that pays for people in prison? What would the money be directed to if fewer people were to imprison? These are important implications to consider that may be addressed with the proposed research. It would be interesting to see if the cost of implementing a prison nursery would be less than the cost per inmate and if the opportunity cost of setting up a prison nursery outweighs that of running the risk that the inmate may recidivate.

However, this is a proposed research study so there is a chance that the hypothesis will not be proven. If this is the case the implications are different. There should be more research specifically on the relationship between prison nurseries and recidivism. If attachment is not facilitated then there should be research using control theory, specifically Hirschi's social bonds theory, to test possibly a different component. Additionally, there might have been some issues with the study. Perhaps 3-6 months was not enough time for a strong enough attachment to be shown in the interviews. Extending the interview to be after a longer duration of time could be a

solution to this. Overall, more research on this population and specifically prison nurseries is needed, and this research will hopefully serve as a steppingstone in that direction.

Limitations

The main limitation of my study is that it has been researched very little. Additionally, prison nurseries are the minority policy in states for incarcerated women. Only eight states in the US currently allow prison nurseries, and even amongst those eight, prison nurseries are not available in every prison. There are typically only one to two prisons in the state with a program, and those programs have limited capacity. Most of the available information is on the programs or a couple of studies that address if prison nurseries reduce recidivism. Thus, this gap will be addressed within the context of this study and see if there is a difference in attachment leading to recidivism reduction

There are also geographic limitations. Since only two states will be studied, that makes this study and its results difficult to generalize. As a result of the small sample size as well there are positives and negatives. Again, the small sample size makes the study less generalizable. On the other hand, the small sample size will really allow for expansion of the knowledge base on the varying experiences women who are pregnant and give birth in prison have as well as advocate to improve their lives and prison experience.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Through this research, the goal is to gain insight into the different criminal justice policies relating to incarcerated women who are pregnant and bring attention to a marginalized group of women. Learning more about the various state policies has shown that each state and the correctional facility handles pregnancy in prison differently. For both the sake of the child and the mother, there should be a chance for both to bond and form an attachment. Research has shown the mental health benefits and developmental gains in both mom and baby. This population of women does not have enough attention, and they are not receiving the care they deserve.

While previous research has begun to delve into the effectiveness of prison nurseries in reducing recidivism, there is no indication as to why they reduce recidivism. This gap will be filled through this research by investigating if the prison nursery facilitates attachment. In the future, policy implications could be rectified using the research to base prison initiatives and policies for pregnant women. At the end of the day, prisoners are still human, and the tiny humans they bring into the world deserve the best chance they can have to get off on the right foot. This research is a forward step in the right direction to advancing research in this niche area and improving the lives of pregnant inmates across the United States.

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Appendix: Maternal Attachment Inventory

Statement
1. I feel love for my baby.
2. I feel tender for my baby.
3. I feel happiness with my baby.
4. I make future plans with my baby.
5. I know my baby needs me.
6. I feel happiness when my baby is cheerful.
7. I feel my baby is safe with me.
8. I feel my baby is beautiful.
9. I'm glad my baby is mine.
10. I feel happiness when my baby does new things.
11. I enjoy having my baby near me.
12. I feel I'm important to my baby.
13. The time I spend with my baby is special.
14. I like to have contact with my baby.
15. I talk to others about my baby.
16. I enjoy being with my baby.
17. I think about my baby.
18. I recognize my baby's expressions and gestures.
19. It's easy to express love to my baby.
20. I'm glad to feel my baby.
21. I'm proud of my baby.
22. I'm looking out for my baby's care.
23. I'm keeping an eye on my baby while she/he is sleeping.
24. I comfort my baby when he/she cries.

Appendix: Sample Questions

1. How often do you interact with your baby?
2. Do you think your baby relies on you?
3. Do you feel confident you can comfort your baby when they cry?
4. How do you feel when you are away from your baby?
5. How would you describe your baby?
6. How does this statement make you feel?
7. What emotions does this statement evoke?
8. Do you agree with this statement?
9. Does this statement reflect your feelings?
10. Do you disagree with this statement?