To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Patricia L. O'Connor entitled, "From Arrest to Trial: The Experience of Being A Family Member of an Accused Felony Offender." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Human Ecology.

Connie Steele
Dr. Connie Steele, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Priscilla Blanton
Dr. Priscilla Blanton

Dr. Vey Nordquist

Ronald Taylor
Dr. Ronald Taylor

Accepted for the Council:

Interim Vice Provost and
Dean of The Graduate School

From Arrest to Trial: The Experience of Being A Family Member of an Accused Felony Offender

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Patricia L. O'Connor
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this manuscript to every researcher who had or will have the vision and intestinal fortitude to take the road less traveled–it does make all the difference.

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I would like to thank my dear husband, Daniel, for his unflagging emotional support, for fighting my computer battles with supreme confidence and skill, urging me on despite all obstacles, and walking the Ph.D. career path with me. My mother and father, Helen and Larry O'Connor, are honored as cherished lifelong sounding boards and supporters of my dreams. They successfully taught me at a young age that "persistence is omnipotent." My sisters, Pam Wood and Leslie Crumley, offered great encouragement and strength through their steadfastness and their prayers for me. My entire family's level of patience and belief in me provided sustenance during some very trying times.

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative body of work was designed as an exploratory, instrumental, collective case study, using multiple cases to provide insight into an infrequently researched area of inquiry concerning the issue of what happens with the family members of accused felony offenders during the time period from arrest to trial.

The participants interviewed were 11 individuals from 8 families, and their demographics included a representative sample of a cross-section of races, ages, gender, socio-economic status, felony charges, and family roles of offenders and interviewees. Particular variables in each of the families' cases were different, but their similar experiences unified them as a representative sample of families of accused felony offenders.

Analyses of the families' interviews demonstrated that they had similar concerns and issues they were confronted with after the arrest event, regardless of the diversity of their demographics and criminal cases. From these similarities it became apparent that certain themes were emerging. Cross-case analyses resulted in four patterns of themes emerging from the narrative data, and the comparisons of interviews revealed the family members' salient perspectives and descriptions of their experiences. The four themes were (a) immediate and future concerns, (b) systems, (c) relationships, and (d) wanting and needing help.

The analyses of the data from this study supported the assumptions of McCubbin's and Patterson's (1983) Double ABC-X model of family crisis. Furthermore,

these families of accused felony offenders also demonstrated characteristics associated with catastrophic stressors (Figley & McCubbin, 1983). These families experienced an additional factor that is embedded within the family crisis model but not attended by the catastrophe model. The family members who had not been part of the event of the arrest of the accused felon believed that their family had been stigmatized by society for being related to an accused criminal. This study challenged the concept of the family crisis theory and the characteristics of catastrophic stressors as capturing the full experience of this population of individuals.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For every victim of a crime, there are family members of the criminal offender who also become victims. Acknowledging the position he put his family in, before Harold McQueen was executed by the electric chair in Kentucky for killing a convenience store clerk, he apologized one last time to the victim's family and then said, "I'd also like to apologize to my family. They're victims as well, in a way" ("Killer of Kentucky," 1997).

The traumatic experience of being the family member of an accused criminal offender is readily apparent to those who care to look. In Jonesboro, Arkansas, where two boys stand accused of murder in a schoolyard ambush that left five dead, the chaplain of the Arkansas State Police observed of the boys' parents, "Those parents were utterly devastated....I pray that we can find compassion for those parents because they're suffering as well. One of the shooter's mothers kept saying, 'Our life is ending. Our life is ending'" ("Son not a monster," 1998).

Just because we think we know our family members whom we love, that does not mean they cannot surprise us horribly. On July 23, 1991, Mr. Lionel Dahmer learned, along with the rest of the world, the shocking extent of serial murders attributed to his son, Jeffrey Dahmer. Three years later, in a courageous and earnest memoir, A Father's Story, Mr. Dahmer took us back through the agonizing journey of discovery about his son: "Jeff had hit bottom as a son, absolute bottom, and I could feel that he was taking

me down with him, dragging me into the utter chaos that he had made of his life, and doing it publicly" (Dahmer, 1994, p. 129).

These family members of accused criminal offenders and the thousands like them who have not been given a voice have also not been given adequate acknowledgment, attention, or assistance with their own private situation. This study gives a voice to their experiences during the time period from arrest to trial.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research study was to explore being a family member of an accused felony offender during the time period from arrest to trial. To accomplish this, the present study was designed to explore the experience of the accused offenders' family members in order to understand the phenomena from their perspectives. A review of the literature revealed some of the stressors experienced by family members of convicted and imprisoned inmates, but no scholarly literature was discovered that examined the family's experience before the trial of the accused felony offender in their family.

Analyzing the stories from families of accused felony offenders may provide insights into an unusual family experience about which little has been known. The time period for the present study, from arrest to trial, was crucial because families are left in limbo awaiting the fate of one of their members. It should be noted that just because a person has been accused and arrested for a crime does not necessarily mean that person is guilty, but the person's family members undergo a very stressful experience waiting for the trial that decides the future of that entire family.

Definitions

The study of families of accused felony offenders includes information from many different systems, such as legal, correctional, social service, and family systems. Therefore, definitions of commonly used terms from these systems have been included.

Family - A social unit composed of members related by ancestry or marriage who are economically and emotionally interdependent with one another (Rice & Tucker, 1986, p. 44-46).

Stress - Pressure or tension in the family system (Boss, 1988, p. 12).

Crisis - A disturbance in the equilibrium that is so overwhelming, a pressure that is so severe, or a change that is so acute that the family system is blocked, immobilized, and incapacitated (Boss, 1988, p. 49).

Catastrophe - An event that is sudden, unexpected, and due to the circumstances renders the survivors feeling an extreme sense of helplessness (Figley & McCubbin, 1983, p. 6).

Felony - An act that constitutes all crimes punishable by imprisonment greater than one year up to the death penalty. These include a large range of crimes spanning from the least nonviolent crime of tax evasion to the most violent crime of murder. The severity of the crime determines the length of sentence (Office of District Attorney, personal communication, December, 1999).

Offender - A term used by the police to refer to a person suspected of a crime (Office of District Attorney, personal communication, December, 1999).

Perpetrator - A term used by the police to refer to an unknown person who

committed a crime (Office of District Attorney, personal communication, December, 1999).

Defendant - A term used by lawyers and courts to refer to the person who is being accused of committing a crime (Office of District Attorney, personal communication, December, 1999).

Accused - The person formally charged with commission of a crime (Office of District Attorney, personal communication, December, 1999).

Stigma - Something that detracts from the character or reputation of a person; mark of disgrace or reproach (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1988).

Notorious - A descriptor that implies being widely but unfavorably known or talked about (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1988).

Steps in a Case

The time period from arrest to the trial is important for investigation because the criminal justice process grinds slowly through a series of procedures that may continue for weeks, to months, or even years. The following are the basic steps that occur in most criminal proceedings from the time of arrest until trial (Selected excerpts from District Attorneys' General Conference,1990):

Warrant: A written order from a judge that a person be arrested. The warrant occurs if the person was not arrested at the scene of the crime.

Bail or Bond: An amount paid or pledged by the defendant to make sure he or she will appear in court.

Preliminary Hearing: A hearing to determine if there is reason to believe that a crime has been committed and that the defendant committed it. If so, the case is bound over to the grand jury.

Grand Jury: An independent group of private citizens who listen to information about the crime in order to decide whether or not the case should go to trial.

Indictment: The charge issued by grand jurors when they decide that a case should go to trial, charging the defendant with the crime or crimes the person may have committed.

Arraignment: The first scheduled appearance by the defendant in Criminal or Circuit Court. The indictment returned by the grand jury is read and the defendant is given a copy. Arrangements are made for an attorney for the defendant, and a trial date may be set.

Plea Agreement: A term used to describe a method of disposing of cases without a trial. When a defendant decides to plead guilty, it is up to the District Attorney's Office and the defendant's attorney to negotiate an agreement to present to the judge. The defendant may agree to plead guilty to the crime(s) charged or to a lesser offense, and there may be an agreement that the District Attorney's Office will recommend a sentence to the judge. The judge may accept or reject the plea. If the defendant pleads not guilty to the charges and accepts no offers from the District Attorney's Office, then the case goes to trial.

Trial: The court proceeding in which the District Attorney, or an Assistant District Attorney, presents the case for the State, attempting to prove beyond a reasonable doubt

that the defendant committed the crime as charged. The defendant's attorney presents proof to dispute the State's claim. The trial may be a bench trial, (only heard by a judge) or it may be a trial with twelve citizens serving as jurors.

Sentencing Hearing: The time at which, the defendant pleads guilty or is found guilty by trial and the sentence for the crime is imposed. The defendant is sent to jail (11 months and 29 days) or prison (2 years to life), depending on the severity of the penalty attached to the crime. In some cases, the sentence may be suspended and the defendant put on probation--i.e., the defendant is left free as long as he or she complies with the judge's orders. The defendant may also be placed in other programs--e.g., Community Alternatives to Prison Program (CAPP). However, suspended sentences and community programs are not commonly used in conjunction with felony crimes.

Depending on the nature of the crime and the individual's resources, the arrested alleged offender is very often sitting in a jail cell from the time of arrest until the trial. This time period for investigation was chosen because until the trial's conclusion, which can be as long as a year or more post arrest, the accused offenders as well as their family members exist in a virtual limbo waiting for the trial outcome in order to plan the rest of their lives. This investigative phase is also the period during which the family members must adjust to the situation, start learning the criminal justice process, and maintain the responsibilities of their homes, their relationships, and their jobs. To what degree these family members have been affected during this time period by their sudden and unusual situation has been unknown.

Research Questions

By interviewing family members from families of accused felony offenders and performing a comparative analysis within the families and across the families, I expected to capture the essence of what the experience is like to have a family member arrested. As a child and family researcher, the following areas were of interest to me, during the time period from arrest to trial, in order to determine in what ways the family was affected during this process:

1. The notification of arrest and how the families knew what to do next.
2. Talking to others about their loved one's arrest--from obtaining legal help to how the whole event had affected their relationships with other important people in their lives.
3. What events had occurred or changes had happened to the family since their family member's arrest.
4. How they had coped and what coping strategies they had used.

I used these areas of interest to help guide the research in an orderly fashion from the time of arrest to trial which, hopefully, would encompass the family experience. I also anticipated that delving into these areas would help the interviewees recall the process they had been through and would also open further lines of communication between us.

Importance of the Topic

The topic of family members of accused felony offenders is important because of our country's war on crime. Attempting to lower crime rates is a prudent, healthy, on-

going endeavor for all citizens, but in this pursuit of justice we have systematically overlooked a whole group of individuals who are affected by this war. The families of accused felony offenders have been largely ignored or scorned by society and overlooked by academic disciplines. As a nation, we are often quick to come to the aid of individuals in need and have learned to embrace special interest groups. Yet these individuals, the families of accused felons, may have numerous needs and require complex levels of assistance that have not been addressed because they have not been described or understood.

Whether their loved one is guilty of a crime or not, the families of the accused undergo a process that may affect the future growth of that family depending on how the family members recover from the event. If this area of inquiry seems unimportant, imagine your husband, wife, or adult child being accused of a felony and held in jail until the trial one year from now. Do you think the experience would have an effect on your family?

Because of this country's fascination with crime and our war against it, the government spends billions trying to fight it. Private prison corporations spend millions trying to cage criminals, and greater numbers of our population are being imprisoned to stop crime. Therefore, an ever growing population of families of the accused are affected by the war on crime.

The following section details recent crime statistics, government solutions to battling crime, legislation that acknowledges the families of the accused, and the consequences of having a felony record.

Crime Statistics

There are social indicators on a nationwide scale to justify the need for this study that are directly related to recent government crime statistics. On November 23, 1998, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) released its annual crime report stating that serious crimes reported to police in 1997 declined for a sixth consecutive year (Sniffen, 1998). The crime rate, which adjusts for population growth, showed a1997 rate of 4,923 crimes per 100,000 residents (Sniffen, 1998). When these statements stand alone, as they did when they made headline news, they sound encouraging and calming to the nation. What did not make the headlines were newspaper articles from earlier in the year that stated our prison populations are on the rise (Hedges, 1998). One article asserted, "While crime rates may be down, the number of those doing time for doing crime just keeps rising" (Hedges, 1998). According to Bureau of Justice statistics, in 1997 at mid-year, 1,725,842 persons were in federal, state or local prisons and jails. That is nearly a 6 percent increase–i.e., 100,000 inmates from mid-1996 (Hedges, 1998). In 1999, their mid-year report showed 1,860,520 persons incarcerated, which is an increase of 134,678 more people imprisoned in two years (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000).

Another startling fact to emerge is that the rate of women incarcerated increased slightly faster than men, with 78,067 women now in state and federal prison, 6.1 percent more than in 1996 (Hedges, 1998). So, while overall crime rates appear to be dropping, prison populations appear to be growing. This discrepancy of numbers may be explained by the reclassification of some crimes, stricter enforcement of laws, and harsher penalties for crimes that are committed.

An additional growing population to consider was reported on in USA Today, "The percentage of juvenile girls arrested for delinquency rose 83% from 1988 to 1997, a rate the American Bar Association and the National Bar Association called, 'alarming'" (Lawyers, p.3A). Officials in the article cited aggressive enforcement of laws against drug abuse, curfew violations, and loitering. If the theories of recidivism are correct, that criminals have a tendency to relapse into crime, many of these delinquent girls may become adult felony offenders. So, another population of individuals with families who may be affected is added to the mix.

The magnitude of these ramifications for our citizens was demonstrated succinctly in the Family & Correction Network Report (Mustin, 1994) that stated:

> There are over a million people locked up in the United States today. Estimating 5 immediate family members and 15 extended family members for each prisoner, there are over 5 million immediate family members, and 15 million extended family members with a relative in prison today. Therefore, an estimated total of 20 million Americans have a relative in prison (p. 2).

To update the Network's formula using the Bureau's incarceration statistics of 1999, there are an estimated 27,907,800 Americans with a relative in prison. In our society, the imprisonment rate for any crime is on the upswing; this means that more families than ever are exposed to experiencing the process from arrest to trial by their family members.

Government Solutions

The government is indeed very concerned about the effects of crime and how to combat this menace to families. In May of 1997, the government provided $40 million to community policing programs, and in July of the same year they appropriated $538 million to combat juvenile crime (U.S. to provide, 1997; House appropriations, 1997). In the fiscal year 1995, state and federal governments planned $5.1 billion in new prison construction at an average cost of $58,000 per medium security cell (Lindesmith Center, 1995). Even with these funds having been spent, there still has not been an announced governmental program that targets and assists family members of accused offenders. This reality is unfortunate considering that over half of the inmates in prison are repeat offenders. Trying to fight crime with more prisons ignores one of the crime problems at its genesis. Repeat offenders were at one time first-time offenders and probably had families involved in their lives. Considering that criminal justice sources have found that maintaining inmate family ties and community relations during incarceration may reduce recidivism (Senate Joint Resolution 319, 1994), and the social support of families enduring stress is a leading factor in determining the families' healthy adaptation to their situation (Boss, 1988; McCubbin & Patterson, 1983), it begs the question, "If the families of those accused offenders had been helped to cope and recover through their first criminal catastrophe, would there be as many repeat offenders now?"

It is true that government and local agencies are trying to prevent the rise in juvenile crime that evolves into adult recidivism. They have created many ingenious methods to combat juvenile crime such as midnight basketball to occupy youth free time,

yanking drivers' licenses with a first offense, curfews, and school expulsions. They have also gotten tougher on juveniles by trying them as adults for crimes they have committed. If the youth continues criminal behavior into adulthood and accumulates three felonies, then they may incur a "three strikes, you're out" penalty that means life in prison without possibility of parole. It could be that if the family system and its coping abilities were examined and aided, the approach of assisting accused offenders' families at the onset of criminal activity by a family member could be an effective avenue toward combating juvenile crime and adult recidivism.

Felony Record Consequences

An important point to keep in mind about crimes and their consequences is how detrimental possessing a felony record can be for the future of the offender and anyone who is dependent upon the offender. The consequences can be small enough only to be a nuisance or can be large enough to change the course of a family's destiny. An example of felony consequences is that a previously convicted felon can never purchase a handgun. This fact may make the general public feel safe, but for someone to whom the words, "the right to bear arms," mean freedom, this result could be construed as more than just a nuisance.

In addition, the future of the family may be affected by the offender having to say, "Yes," on any application question regarding whether or not they have ever been convicted of a felony. The opportunity for traveling outside the U.S., obtaining a good job, qualifying for public housing, buying a house, obtaining a loan from a bank or

scholastic lending institution, or even qualifying for certain types of insurance can all be greatly diminished by having to answer, "Yes," to the felony question; therefore, the family's future resources may be in jeopardy.

Senate Joint Resolution #319

On April 11, 1994, a Senate Resolution relative to the families of inmates incarcerated by the Tennessee Department of Corrections was adopted and signed by the then governor, Ned McWherter. With the passage of Senate Joint Resolution, 319, 1994, by the Tennessee General Assembly, families of inmates were recognized as victims suffering the effects of crime and incarceration due to no fault of their own. The Senate Joint Resoltion, 319, 1994 (See Appendix A)

> ...urges the Tennessee Department of Corrections, the Department of Youth Development, and the Board of Paroles to encourage programs that enable family bonding and to make visitation a priority for Tennessee correctional institutions. Furthermore, the Select Joint Committee on Children and Youth is urged and encouraged to examine how existing state agencies can better serve the needs of children with a parent in prison. (p.12)

It also stated, "As prison populations increase, more families and children may suffer emotional, social and financial hardships of their spouses' or parents' incarceration, and maintaining an inmate's family ties and community relations during incarceration may reduce recidivism" (p. 12). This resolution acknowledges and recognizes the special

situation and needs that the family members of criminal offenders experience, and openly encourages research that would assess the needs of these individuals and the service delivery to them.

Rationale for the Study

Within one of the least studied areas of crime, incarceration and its effects on families of offenders, is the previously relatively unexplored time period from arrest to the trial. This study gave voice to the family members of accused felony offenders during the time period from arrest to trial in order to understand the families' experiences. These individuals were selected for study because they largely have been ignored or overlooked by society and the social sciences. The period from arrest to the trial can be lengthy, leaving the family in limbo while awaiting the fate of one of its members.

The billions of dollars spent on fighting and punishing crime by private corporations and the government are clear social indicators that crime is a major concern in our country. Our growing prison populations amounting to over 2 million citizens in the system today can be exponentially calculated into millions of family members of the accused that have been and will be affected by experiencing the process from arrest to trial. In Tennessee, the Senate has recognized the families of inmates as victims suffering the effects of crime and incarceration due to no fault of their own.

Because the family unit is seen as an organized system, so that what affects one member or part affects others in the system, this research is built upon the foundation of family systems theory (Whitechurch & Constantine, 1993). The effect of having a family

member arrested for a felony crime would be stressful at the very least and may result in a family crisis. In crisis situations, the family struggles to achieve a balance at both the individual-family and the family-community levels of family functioning (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Therefore, the foundation of family systems theory combined with the theoretical underpinning of family crisis was used to explore the experience of being a family member of an accused felony offender.

The time period for study, from arrest to trial, was crucial because experiences of family members of accused offenders may provide insights for families' recovery. Future healthy development of the family is dependent upon how they survive this event in their lives. Finally, criminal charges in families' lives warrant scientific exploration because it is an unusual family experience about which little is known and has far reaching implications for the future of that family.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

For this study, it was important to examine and develop the background literature surrounding this topic in order to gain perspective on the issues that might affect the families of accused felony offenders. The areas of inquiry herein include victims' rights to gain a better understanding of what the people on the other side of the crime are entitled to and why, scholarly literature pertaining to families of prisoners to determine what previous researchers examined and found, programs for prisoners' families to discover what services were available to them, and the concept of stigma as it pertains to offenders' families. The literature included for theoretical consideration in order to analyze this study's findings were family systems and family crisis research.

When viewing the scholarly literature on crime and its effects on families, one is faced with volumes of work concerning the crime victims and their rights, and the crime victims' family members. Recovery and support groups exist in abundance for these individuals. Yet, when researching the effects of crime on alleged offenders' families, the literature available is markedly reduced. The following section offers a brief historical perspective of victims' rights.

Victims' Rights

The history of victims' rights reveals that the whole movement is deeply rooted in money and politics. In 1964, Johnson's presidential campaign placed "crime in the streets" as a campaign platform for the first time in politics (Boles & Patterson, 1997). After President Johnson's election, he appointed a Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. This Commission and its findings resulted in the 1974 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The LEAA was charged with the responsibility of improving the criminal justice system's approach to crime victims and witnesses (Boles & Patterson, 1997). By 1979, more than 50 million dollars in LEAA funds were allocated for victim assistance programs. In the late 1970's, street crime in disadvantaged areas started spilling over into affluent suburbs (Bard, 1993). These new, more affluent victims wanted the right to participate in the criminal justice system. In April of 1982, President Reagan enacted the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime to address the needs of millions of victimized families (Boles & Patterson, 1997). In October of 1982, the first piece of federal victims' rights legislation was enacted, the Federal Victim and Witness Protection Act. In 1984, the Office of Attorney General published guidelines providing fair treatment to crime victims in the federal criminal justice system. Over a decade later, victims' rights legislation has flourished and now exists in every state (Boles & Patterson, 1997).

From victims' rights legislation, the position of a Victim-Witness Coordinator was created in most District Attorneys' offices in districts of each state of the country. The Coordinator's duties include helping victims and witnesses of crime understand the

court processes in the criminal justice system, distributing information about local agencies that can help the victims, as well as helping victims understand how to obtain restitution if ordered by the court or compensation from the state if they are eligible (Selected excerpts from the District Attorneys' General Conference, 1990). There is no national service available for families of offenders in each city like the Victim/Witness Coordinator service available through District Attorneys' offices across the country.

Families of Prisoners

Scholarly literature pertaining to the families of prisoners recognizes that these families suffer great hardships because of the incarceration of a spouse or parent. The problems and needs of these families are reviewed in the following cited articles.

The families of prisoners are important in the fight against crime because most prisoners have children, most prisoners will be released on parole after their sentences are served, and prisoners who maintain strong family ties have significantly greater success adjusting to reunification with their families and acclimating to their communities upon parole (King, 1993; Lindesmith Center, 1995; Morris, 1965; Schafer, 1994; Zalda, 1964).

Various segments of the prisoner family population have been studied, such as wives and girlfriends of prisoners, the children of prisoners, and general studies of families of prisoners. The research methods most commonly utilized have been surveys, inventories, and interviews. Specific aspects of family problems have also been examined such as separation anxiety, role changes, and economic repercussions of losing an adult provider (Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Fishman, S.H.,1981; Fishman, L.T.,1988;

Fox, 1981; Hairston, 1991).

Some of the social effects demonstrated by children of an incarcerated parent have been documented as poor school performance, withdrawal from society, aggression at home and in school, antisocial behavior, and acting out (Barry, 1985; Fritsch & Burkhead, 1981; Gabel & Johnston, 1995; Gabel & Shindledecker, 1993; Lowenstein, 1986; Shaw, 1992).

Among the wives and girlfriends studied, their most predominate problems were related to financial loss, the burden of all family responsibilities, declines in health, loneliness, and lack of support (Daniel & Barrett, 1981; Fishman, S.H., 1981; Fishman, L.T., 1988, 1990; Girshick, 1996; Hairston & Lockett, 1987; Lowenstein, 1986; Padilla & Santiago, 1993; Schwartz & Weintraub, 1974; Smith, 1986).

The emotional impact of incarceration on families in general has been widely experienced as shock, fear, shame, anger, confusion, guilt, helplessness, and grief akin to the death of a family member (Dahmer, 1994; Ferrano, Johnson, Jorgensen, & Bolten, 1983; Hairston & Lockett, 1987; Jorgensen, Hernandez, & Warren, 1986; Lowenstein, 1986; Mustin, 1994; Nash, 1981; Shekar, 1985; Tait, 1998; Weintraub, 1976). Carlson and Cervera (1999) identified loss of self-esteem, grief, and associated stigma as emotional issues that wives of prisoners needed structured support in addressing. The quality of life for families of prisoners was seen to decline in Schneller's (1976) investigation of black families' experiences. A sense of loss likened to the death of a family member was documented by Daniel and Barrett's (1981) study of wives who also experienced guilt and anger at themselves and their imprisoned spouses. The emotional

trauma of wives losing their housing due to financial crisis after the imprisonment of their husbands was the most serious problem discovered by Morris (1965). Half of the wives interviewed in Bakker, Morris, and Janus's (1978) study group of wives reported ambivalence toward their marital relationship or the desire for divorce when asked how the incarceration of their husbands had affected their marriages. Padilla & Santiago (1993) related the years of shame and isolation experienced by the wife of an imprisoned gang leader. In addition to suffering from loneliness, deprivation, and financial difficulties, Fishman's ethnographic account of thirty wives' experiences found the wives of prisoners feeling as if they, themselves, were "doing time" (1990).

The families' need for help, guidance, and support when interacting with seemingly confusing and arbitrary criminal justice and correctional systems has been documented throughout the prisoner family literature (Anderson, 1967; Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Jorgensen, et al., 1986; Mustin, 1994; Nash, 1981; Shekar, 1985; Schwartz & Weintraub, 1974; Weintraub, 1976).

Research concerning the parents of prisoners was specifically targeted by Ferrano, et al. (1983) and Brodskey (1975). In interviews with 34 parents of inmates, Ferrano, et al. (1983) found that half of the parents experienced moderate to severe financial problems as a result of the arrest and confinement. Black prisoners and their families were studied by Schneller (1976) with their most frequently experienced hardships being sexual and emotional dissatisfaction. The life of a Puerto Rican wife of a prisoner was documented phenomenologically by Padilla & Santiago where the wife's decade-long struggle with societal stigmatization evolved into a campaign against the injustices

prisoners' wives suffer from correctional institutions (1993). Shekar (1985) and Zalba (1964) concluded that the effects of imprisonment of women on their husbands revealed a glaring lack of social support and role overload for the husbands.

In 1974, Schwartz & Weintraub conducted a social-work project involving the wives and girlfriends of prisoners to assess their problems through the duration of their men's incarceration and to offer the women supportive counseling. The study found the women in crisis from a number of problems, the first being a lack of crucial information that was described as, "Their world is a Kafkaesque one, in which important events that will profoundly affect their lives are taking place, but they are not receiving the facts necessary to interpret these occurrences"(p. 21). The second problem involved relationships, especially with the woman's in-laws, the husband's parents. It appears that after the husband's incarceration and removal from the family, a feeling often develops on the part of his parents that the wife is at least partially to blame for the man's turn toward crime. Another troubling relationship for them involves their children–i.e., having to explain the loss of their fathers and the reasons for that loss. These women often invented coverups, such as his joining the Army, to explain his absence in a socially acceptable way. The other most universal problem of their client group was the need for immediate financial assistance.

Weintraub (1976) went on to identify four crisis points for family members of inmates proceeding through the criminal justice system that are: 1) at arrest and arraignment, 2) sentencing, 3) initial incarceration, and 4) immediate/pre/post/ release. Her examination of the crisis points demonstrated that families experience a twofold need

for urgent information on what is happening with the arrested member, and the need for counseling to help redefine the family unit and deal with all the problems arising from the incarceration of a primary family member. This article also offered specific recommendations for the delivery of services to families of prisoners.

King (1993) described the family and interpersonal relationship group (FIRG), an educational/support group designed to help inmates cope with being separated from family members and significant friends. A study investigating the effects of incarceration on family life involving 63 inmates and 38 inmate wives found most wives commonly used family support and religion as their main coping strategies (Carlson & Cervera, 1991).

Families of inmates frequently lack adequate information about the conditions of imprisonment, economic resources are strained, contact is lost with the missing parent, and relocation of the prisoner to distant facilities for correctional housing issues often results in loss of family social supports. Jorgensen, et al.(1986) found that these changes were associated with depressive symptoms in the parent and with school and behavioral problems in the children. Shekar (1985) also found that loss of income, emotional stress, feelings of shame, and isolation of the wife of a male inmate can lead to depression, mental deterioration, and ill health among wives. Children of inmates often respond to these stresses by decreased academic performance and delinquent behaviors. Lowenstein (1986) found the ability of children to adjust successfully to their fathers' imprisonment was related to familial and personal resources of the mother and to the stigmatizing effects of the criminal event.

Programs for Prisoners and Their Families

Programs in prisons for inmates, and programs outside prisons for inmates' families seek to maintain the family bonds and reduce the effects of imprisonment as important rehabilitative tools. The most widely recognized national service programs in the United States include: The Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents, CURE (Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errants), Friends Outside, and Prison Fellowship Ministries.

The Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents provides a clearinghouse that distributes publications and audiovisuals to prisoners and others addressing incarcerated parents and their children; educational services, including parent education for prisoners and ex-offenders, family reunification services, and therapeutic services. CURE empowers prisoners and their families by providing information on reform and rehabilitation.

Friends Outside offers case management and inmate/volunteer match programs, support groups, a hospitality house, prison visitor centers, family transportation to prisons, information/referral, crisis intervention, and educational, social, recreational activities and counseling for prisoners' children.

The Prison Fellowship Ministries provide Christmas gifts and summer camps for children of prisoners, and present seminars on marriage and parenting for prisoners and their spouses (Directory of Programs Serving Families of Adult Offenders, 1998).

Each of these programs has multiple chapters across the country, although not

every state has a chapter, nor, of course, does every city. There are a few hundred more programs scattered across the country, but often they are only state or city specific, are usually small, generally non-profit, and mostly staffed by volunteers. That leaves many states and most cities without service programs for the families of accused offenders, because, again, there are no national services available for the families of accused offenders comparable to the proliferation of Victim/Witness programs available through District Attorneys' offices across the country.

After reviewing studies on the significance of the family in correctional rehabilitation, Nash (1981) stated, "The limited research and the paucity of the literature in the field of working with families of prisoners suggest that more needs to be done."(p. 164) This statement was made in 1981; however, after the database search for the present study, it seems the literature on offenders' families has grown only marginally and is especially lacking any information about the accused offenders' families from arrest to trial.

A number of questions occurred while considering research in this area. How do offenders' families work through the process of redefining their relationship with the offender, or is that necessary? How do these families go about reconciling and coming to terms with what may be a life-altering episode in their family system? Do family members want to cut the ties with the offender because they cannot accept his/her actions? Do family members think that one day something like this could happen because they knew the criminal capabilities of the family member? How do they decide whom they tell in their circle of extended family and friends? Are stories constructed in

order to protect the family's reputation?

Thus, this research became exploratory in nature and was based upon several theoretical perspectives oriented in family systems–i.e., it focused on finding family members' responses to one principal question, "How is crisis experienced within the family system upon the arrest of a family member accused of a felony crime?"

Family Systems

Systems thinking is a way of looking at the world in which objects are interrelated with one another. A fundamental assumption of systems thinking is *holism*, that is, a system must be understood as a whole and cannot be comprehended by examining its individual parts in isolation from one another. Therefore, families are considered more than just containing the subsystems of parents and children. It has also been stated that a system is "a set of elements standing in interaction" (Nichols, 1989). Families are organized as systems, so that what affects one member or part affects others in the system. In addition to affecting one another, human systems are characterized by self-reflexivity, their ability to make themselves and their own behavior the object of examination and the target of explanation (Whitechurch & Constantine, 1993). Self-reflexivity is what allows human beings to examine their systems and establish goals for themselves.

The family serves as the basic unit of socialization to teach cultural values and adaptation to society (Sauber, L'Abate, Weeks, & Buchanan, 1993). A systems approach can, and often does, involve working with other important systems that impinge on and

interact with the family. School, work systems, church, and other parts of the community network may be addressed as important adjunctive systems that affect the way individuals live and function (Nichols, 1989). The systems approach sees change as processed throughout the entire family system, rather than by just a single family member (Miller, 1978). With this perspective in mind, it is appropriate to examine the families of accused offenders during the family, system-altering change from arrest to trial of one of its members.

Family Stress

In prelude to exploring the theory of family crisis, the difference between family stress and family crisis needs to be defined. Within family systems literature, family stress is a widely recognized component of family function and dysfunction. Stress is change; by itself it is neither good nor bad; it depends on how the family reacts to it (Boss, 1988). Family stress is defined as a state that arises from an actual or perceived imbalance between demand (e.g., challenge, threat) and capability (e.g., resources, coping) in the family functioning (McCubbin & Figley, 1983). It is characterized by a nonspecific demand for adjustment or adaptive behavior. Boss (1988) finds stress as change, and its importance to the family is how they react to it. However, McCubbin and Figley (1983) regard stress as a disparity between demands and the family's capacity for managing those demands.

Stress is a demand-capability imbalance, whereas crisis is the family's inability to restore stability. Families in crisis have a situational inability to restore stability, they

undergo cyclical, trial-and-error struggles to reduce tensions, and they try to make changes in the family's structure and patterns of interaction (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1989). The crisis state is a transitional one and represents the family's efforts to achieve adaptation to the stressors and demands from both within and outside the family unit. So, stress is viewed as a continuous variable where a family experiences degrees of stress, whereas a family crisis is considered a categorical variable, meaning experiencing crisis or not (Boss, 1988, p. 52). This means a family can be in varying degrees of stress from high stress to low stress, but they are either in a crisis or not. A family cannot be in a low degree of crisis (Boss, 1988, p. 52).

Stressor Event

A stressor event is an occurrence that is of significant magnitude to provoke change in the family because it disturbs the status quo (Boss, 1988). McCubbin and Patterson (1982) defined a stressor as a life event (e.g., death, purchase of a home, parenthood, etc.) impacting the family unit that produces, or has the potential of producing, some change in the family social system. The event also has the potential to raise the family's level of stress (Boss, 1988). In addition to the stress of the actual event, stress researchers, including Boss, have determined the degree of stress experienced is also influenced by the family's perception of the event.

Boss (1988) also stated, "The type of stressor event influences the degree of stress experienced" (p. 38). In stress-related literature, stressor events have been identified and classified according to the source of the stress and its level of predictability across the

typical individual and family life span. The source of the stressor refers to whether or not the event has occurred as a result of internal or external pressures to the family. An internal stressor event would be an event that begins from someone inside the family--i.e., changing careers, or becoming an alcoholic. External stressor events would include events that begin from someone or something outside the family--i.e., rising interest rates, or earthquakes. The level of predictability of the stressor is also important to the family's ability to cope with the changes. In the literature, predictable family stressors are referred to as normative, and unpredictable stressors are referred to as non-normative (Boss,1988; Rice & Tucker, 1986). Normative family stressors are events that are predicable developmental changes, expected throughout the family life cycle, usually including the birth of a child, the launching of a teenager, marriage, aging, and death (Boss, 1988; McCubbin & Figley, 1983; Rice & Tucker, 1986). Non-normative stressors are life events that are unanticipated, unexpected, and are often, but not always disastrous--i.e., loss of employment, chronic illness of a family member, divorce, war, and natural disasters (Boss,1988; Rice & Tucker, 1986). These stressor events are related by the fact that both stressors tend to occur in families, but non-normative stressors have the added potential to disrupt normative developmental stages in families.

Family Crisis

A family crisis is: (a) a disturbance in the equilibrium that is so overwhelming, (b) a pressure that is so severe, or (c) a change that is so acute that the family system is blocked, immobilized, and incapacitated. At least for a time, the family does not function

as usual (Boss, 1988). Specific indicators of family crisis are: (a) inability of family members to perform usual roles and tasks, (b) inability to make decisions and solve problems, (c) inability to care for each other in the usual way, and (d) focus shifting from family to individual survival (Boss, 1988). Family crisis does not mean that the family is immobilized forever; it can "hit bottom," begin the recovery process, and repair itself. When the ratio between the family system's support and the pressure on it shifts so that the pressure lowers and the supports become stronger, recovery is taking place (Boss, 1988). Turning points result from (a) a change in the stressor event, (b) a change in the availability of resources for coping, or (c) a change in the family's perception of both factors (Boss, 1988).

In crisis situations, the family unit struggles to achieve a balance at both the individual-family and the family-community levels of family functioning. Since the family is a social system and a change in one level affects the other, family efforts at adaptation involve an attentiveness and responsiveness to both levels of family functioning simultaneously (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

In order to understand how a family progresses through a crisis from a systems perspective, it is necessary to become familiar with Hill's (1949) classic family crisis framework, then progress to a modification of Hill's framework known as the Double ABC-X Model of Family Crisis by McCubbin & Patterson (1982).

Reuben Hill (1949,1958,1963) created a framework for family stress theory called the ABC-X Model to identify the variables that account for the differences among families in their adaptations to stressful situations. Hill's perception of the process of family crisis is illustrated in Figure 1.

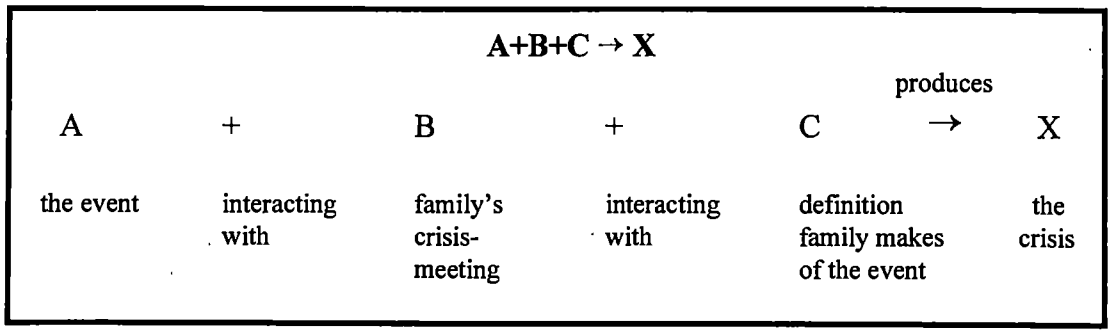


Figure 1. Hill's (1949) Equation for analyzing social stressors within the family
Source: Hill, R. (1949). Families under stress. New York: Harper & Row

How vulnerable families are to crisis depends on the interaction of (a) the provoking event or stressor, (b) the family's resources or strengths at the time of the event, and (c) the meaning attached to the event by the family. The family's resources (b) include internal and external sources of coping and support, and family perception (c) determines the severity of the stressor event (McCubbin, Joy, Cauble, Comeau, Patterson, & Needle 1980).

McCubbin and Patterson's (1983) Double ABCX Model expanded upon Hill's (1949) model by incorporating post-crisis variables that provided a way of viewing family efforts over time to adapt to multiple stressors through the use of various family resources and perceptual factors to achieve family balance. The model, illustrated in

Figure 2, suggests that coping is the central process of adaptation to crisis. Coping emerges out of the pile-up of demands on the family, and involves an interaction of resources, perception, and behavioral responses (Figley & McCubbin, 1983; Dyk & Schvaneveldt, 1987).

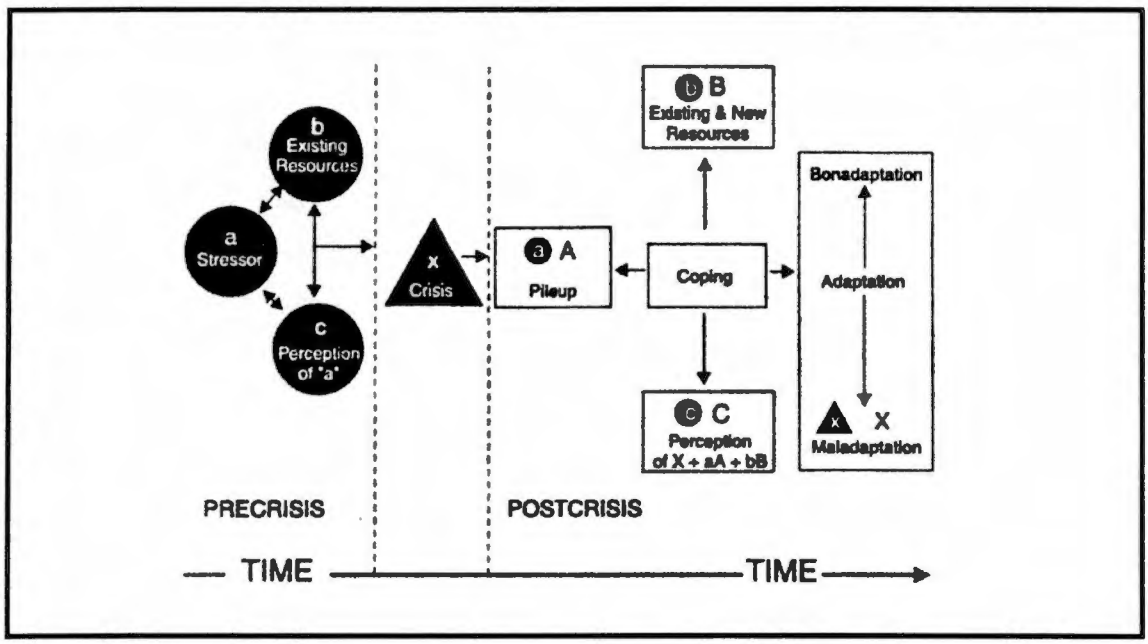


Figure 2. Double ABC-X model of family crisis
Source: McCubbin, H.I., & Patterson, J.M. (1982). Family stress, coping, and social support. Springfield,IL: Charles C. Thomas.

In addition to Hill's variables that account for a family's vulnerability to crisis, the Double ABC-X Model added the following variables to incorporate the family's adaptation to their situation over time: (aA) represents stressor pile-up; the combination of the current stressor, family hardships such as financial burdens, and strain such as child care problems; (bB) represents the family's coping resources that can include

psychological, social, interpersonal, and material characteristics of individual family members, the family unit, and of the community that are used to meet family demands and needs; (cC) represents the family's perception or meaning the family gives to the total crisis situation that includes the stressor believed to have caused the crisis, as well as the added stressors and strains, old and new resources, and estimates of what needs to be done to bring the family back into balance (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

Numerous researchers have used the Double ABC-X theoretical model in order to identify the characteristics and conditions that foster adaptive coping to family crisis (McCubbin, et al., 1980; Crossman & Edmonson, 1985; Van Hook, 1987; Figley, 1993). Crossman and Edmonson (1985) used fifty divorced and widowed displaced homemakers to determine what crisis meeting resources were utilized by them in assuming the provider role. Their findings suggested aid from other family members was given to the widowed homemakers more often than the divorced women.

The Double ABC-X model has been used also to identify the needs of farm families in crisis to design intervention strategies. Van Hook (1987) found the pile-up of stressors of farm families in crisis resulted in severe role strains in the husband and wife. Many farm families did not seek help until their resources were exhausted because they were reluctant to seek outside help. Counselors who might work with farm families in the future were encouraged to make existing resources more available and acceptable to those in need and to develop new resources.

Figley (1993) has addressed the psychological impact of families who have had a member engaged in war. He used the crisis model to help categorize and account for the

stressors affecting these families at various stages in the Persian Gulf War. The points of stress identified included the of soldiers'/family member deployment to a foreign land, readjustment of roles for family members at home during the war, the point of homecoming and reintegration of the soldier/family member after the war. One of the most effective coping methods utilized by the family members at home was increasing their social supports.

Social support has been found to protect against the effect of stressors and, therefore, contribute to a family's lessened vulnerability. The influence of social support has been found as a protective factor against complications of pregnancy and childbirth (Nuckolls, 1972). The stress of job terminations and difficult work environments on individuals and their families may be mediated by social support (Gore, 1978). Social support has also been found to promote a family's recovery from health related crisis–i.e., psychiatric illnesses, heart attacks, and illnesses resulting in death of a family member.

It appeared from the family-crisis literature that the use and availability of social support systems, and the families' positive perceptions of their overall situations were most effective in combating and recovering from family crisis.

Stigma

Another dimension that may contribute to a family crisis is the stigma attached to the crime, the accused criminal, and the accused's family. Stigma is an attributional response to individuals who stray from social norms. It is deeply discrediting, and disqualifies them from full social acceptance (Goffman, 1963).

For every major crime committed in this country, there are families who are hurt by that crime. The victims and their families are not the only ones hurting. For every major crime committed in this country, there are parents, children, siblings, or grandparents who find themselves faced with the fact that they are related to and probably love a criminal. Their beloved family member now has joined the statistical ranks of "those people" we love to hate.

Dr. James Fox, the Dean of the Criminology Department at Northeastern University, has devoted his career to studying murder. In his book, Overkill: Mass Murder and Serial Killing Exposed, Fox illuminated the reality of life for many offenders' families.

> The families of the killers themselves are also scapegoated and victimized by negative public opinion. Not only is their child or loved one taken from them, but they are blamed---often without justification---for not intervening in time or for their role in "creating a monster." Haunted by self-doubt and wondering what they might have done differently, many suffer profound feelings of guilt and depression. Yet, they typically receive more condemnation than compassion from former friends, neighbors, and even relatives; there are no support groups for the survivors (Fox & Levin, 1994, p. 245).

A Tennessee newspaper carried an article "Fighting the stigma, Notorious suspects' families suffer" (Feinsilber, 1998). The article discussed family names being tainted forever by the crimes of one family member. It also pointed out that in "notorious

cases" families of victims grieve and are comforted by millions, but the families of offenders live the rest of their lives with the deed, the accusation, and the stigma (Feinsilber, 1998). "Notorious" is defined as well known; publicly discussed; widely but unfavorably known or talked about (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1988). One family member of a notorious criminal stated, "I felt numb, frightened, and vulnerable. There is the instantaneous feeling that you know your life is never going to be the same" (Feinsilber, 1998, p. A1, A11).

Another example of the troubles faced by family members of offenders was illustrated in the action taken by the "Unabomber's" brother, David Kaczynski. David quit his job as an assistant director of a youth shelter when he "grew increasingly aware that my role in attempting to defend and protect my brother, Ted, is in itself a full-time job" (Brother of Unabomber,1998, p. A11). As a final example of how devastated a family member may become over their loved one's criminal behavior, the father of the alleged triggerman in a widely publicized murder case known as "The Lillelid Murders" apparently hanged himself from a tree in an act of despondency over his son's criminal conviction (Father of Lillelid Gunman, 1998).

News reporters often attach themselves to "notorious crimes" and sometimes reveal the anxiety of the family members of accused offenders, but there are thousands of suspects with anguished families who are not "notorious" that are not acknowledged, much less helped.

Laura Fishman (1990), a college teacher and a wife of a prisoner, conducted a study of 30 prisoners' wives "doing time on the outside" and wrote Woman At The Wall.

She devoted a chapter to the stigmatization of prisoners' wives and their feelings of shame. The majority of wives reported that they experienced feelings of shame independent of other people's reactions. However, they spent a great deal of time minimizing the opportunity for stigmatization and being concerned with "impression management." Who and what to tell thus became critical. How wives controlled information about their husbands depended on the management strategies they used to present what they considered to be "normal" faces to others. Wives devised strategies to cope with potential public reactions and to convey an appearance of normalcy (Fishman, 1990).

From arrest to trial, there appears to be no organized help or guidance for the accused offenders' family members. Only after being convicted by judge or jury do the offenders and their families qualify for counseling, guidance, and classes through some correctional systems. Since the process from arrest to trial can last for weeks, months, or even years, the burden these families must carry with no clear avenues for help is heavy.

In summary, the literature has revealed that while victims of crime do suffer hardships, they have legal rights and representation in addition to assistance programs to help them cope and recover from the effects of the criminal act–whereas, families of accused criminals may be recognized in some states as victims also, yet they have no legal rights or assistance provided for them.

Literature pertaining to families of prisoners recognizes that these families suffer hardships due to the incarceration of a family member, and many endure separation anxiety and loneliness, economic losses, diminished physical and mental health, and a

pervading sense of helplessness. Some service programs do exist for inmates and their families; however, they can only be accessed and utilized by the accused and their family members after the accused has been tried, convicted, sentenced, and incarcerated.

Theories of family systems regard change as being processed throughout the entire family system, rather than just by a single member. Changes in a family system can be potentially stressful, and the family's inability to restore stability to their system may result in a crisis. The arrest of a family member could be regarded as a non-normative stressor where the event is sudden, unexpected, and potentially disastrous to the rest of the family. Crisis literature maintains that combating and recovering from a family crisis is accomplished most effectively by positive perceptions the families may have of their situations, and the use and availability of social-support systems. The presence of stigmatization often associated with criminals and their family members may add to the crisis that families of accused offenders may be experiencing.

Because the families of accused felony offenders can be categorized as victims of crime due to no fault of their own, and may experience hardships similar to those of the families of incarcerated persons, yet apparently have no access to social support systems that recognize their needs, it is important, therefore, to discern what is occurring with these families considering the fact that the potential crisis-inducing period from arrest to trial has been so infrequently researched.

The family systems perspective became the foundation for analysis of the level of crisis for families as systems that must be understood as a whole, where change is processed by the entire family, and individuals are considered self-reflexive where they

can examine and explain their own behavior (Boss, Doherty, LaRossa, Schumm, & Steinmetz, 1993). From this perspective, the concept of family crisis was used to analyze the patterns emerging in the data. The patterns and themes of responses from the data determined the actual theoretical concepts used during analysis. By the time the interviews from the families' experiences were completed, a repetitiveness in their statements became apparent, which signaled that the essence of their experience was captured. The final analysis of data was a descriptive document of the families' experience of having one of its members arrested for a felony crime.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Noted family researchers Gilgun, Daly, and Handel (1992) conceptualized a "lean definition" of qualitative family research as research with a focus on experiences within families as well as between families and outside systems. Data are words or pictures and not numbers; the data are conceptualized, collected, analyzed, and interpreted qualitatively. The subjects or informants of the research are persons who mutually define themselves as family, are in committed relationships, have a sense of personal history, and who usually but not always have legal and biological ties.

This chapter on methodology includes the steps taken for this study: the initial investigation of a problem, the rationale for this research, and the preliminary fieldwork. The type of qualitative research chosen for the design of this study is identified herein as an exploratory, instrumental, collective case study using the long interview as the means for collecting data. The criteria identified for the participant selection process, the process for locating the families to be interviewed, interview procedures, and the disparate demographic characteristics of the interviewed population are noted. Finally, the coding system that was used in the analysis of the transcriptions of the participants' dialogues with this study's investigator is explained.

This research was designed as an exploratory investigation using the long interview to provide insight into the issue of what is happening with the family members of accused felony offenders during the time period from arrest to trial. The qualitative

method of the long interview was used to gather the data because the primary issue is to generate data that give an authentic insight into people's experiences (Silverman, 1993). The interviews lasted from one to two hours per family. Each interview was tape-recorded with the interviewee's consent and later transcribed with pseudonyms for the families' names. The interviews were semi-structured using an interview guide that covered five broad topic areas concerning the families' experiences from arrest to trial of one of its members.

Included in this chapter on methodology are the steps taken to design this study that include the pilot study, making a case for research, the preliminary fieldwork involved, and the development of the interview guide. Also included are the participant criteria, participant selection process, interview procedures, and investigator precautions. The chapter ends with explanations of the coding of the transcripts.

The Initial Investigation

I first became aware of the legitimacy of the problems accused offenders' families endure through a qualitative investigation that I completed in 1995.

In this investigation titled, "Detectives' Perspectives on Victims' and Perpetrators' Families," qualitative methods of exploratory research were used by tape-recording semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with correction professionals to determine what the similarities and differences were between families of victims and families of perpetrators. Access was gained to the criminal justice system through the use of a name of an acquaintance of this research investigator whom the corrections'

professionals greatly respected. The interviews were scheduled appointments with detectives, and each lasted approximately one-and-a-half hours.

Each of the interviews began initially with questions and ideas concerning the detectives' perceptions of the victims' and perpetrators' families. A specific set of questions was not designed for these interviews; rather, specific issues and topics were raised in order to gain the detectives' perspectives on the subjects. The analysis revealed an important finding regarding the amount of similarity of experiences that exists between the victims' and perpetrators' families. Most compelling were the facts that both the victims' and perpetrators' families had lost a loved one, both tried to cope with that loss, both endured the stress of adjustment to a sudden change in the family system, both groups of families started blaming other family members for their troubles, and both families experienced a traumatic phenomenon in their lives. The perpetrators' family members endured an added aspect of the situation that the victims' family did not, and that was the potential of having stigma attached to each perpetrator's family because of one member's criminal actions (O'Connor, 1995).

I was able to obtain one other interview that shed more light on the problem at hand. The detectives suggested interviewing the Victim/Witness Coordinator for the police department about her perspective on victims' and perpetrators' families' experiences. Her duties as a Victim/Witness Coordinator included helping victims and witnesses of crime understand the steps in the criminal justice system and how the steps affect each individual case, as well as helping victims understand how to obtain restitution from the state, and offering referrals for emotional, financial, and legal

counseling. When asked if perpetrators' families were considered victims, she responded, "Well, no, they're not" (O'Connor, 1995). When asked if she knew of any local or state programs that addressed the needs of the perpetrators' families, she did not.

All three of these interviews from professionals well-placed within the criminal justice system confirmed that there are striking similarities between the trauma suffered by victims' and perpetrators' families; these professionals admitted that there were no known programs in place that they were aware of to assist the perpetrators' families from the time of arrest to conviction.

Making The Case for Research

Upon further research after completing the pilot study, I was intrigued to discover that there were no local services or agencies known to serve the needs of accused offenders' families. Through a search of local services that are available to the general public in the yellow pages or the blue government pages of the area phone book, from a medium-sized Tennessee city and its surrounding counties totaling a population of 350,000, the following agencies either responded "no" or "don't know" when questioned if they offered programs for families of accused offenders who had not yet been convicted. The agencies contacted were a Rescue Ministry, Tennessee Community Service Program, United Way, Child and Family Services, Community Alternatives to Prison, Contact, Tennessee Human Resource Agency, an Intake Center, Project Change, Community Network Services, Legal Aid Society, and the Public Defender's Office. The approach of using the local phone book to find family assistance could reasonably be

assumed to be the first place the family members of accused criminal offenders might seek help for their situation. They would find no formal organization designed to meet their needs. These facts were disturbing, because even the police department acknowledged that accused offenders' families are often as traumatized as the victims' families, yet they were receiving no services I could find.

Previous scholarly work found that families of prison inmates suffered the consequences of their relatives' behaviors in terms of physical, mental, and emotional hardships. The literature review left me asking many other questions--e.g., doesn't the suffering begin right after the arrest? Are the families thrown into a crisis? Do the hardships only come after conviction and imprisonment? What feelings do they experience when first faced with the event? How do these families go about reconciling and coming to terms with this possible life-altering episode in their families? How do they decide whom they will tell in their circle of extended family and friends? Do they find themselves downplaying the incident to others for social acceptability reasons? Are inventive lies constructed in order to protect the family's reputation?

With all those questions in mind, I set out to discover what is happening to families of accused felony offenders from the time their loved one is arrested until that accused felon is at trial.

Preliminary Fieldwork

In order to understand what families may face when one of their members is arrested, it was necessary to familiarize myself with the different systems they would

encounter. Months were spent searching for and talking to people in person, over the phone, and on-line within legal, correctional, and social systems all around the country. Finding the names and positions of persons in these systems was excruciatingly slow, tangled, and as difficult to unearth as a secret. Eventually, I started recognizing a whole web of these systems and people who were related, and sometimes they were not even aware of their connections. Many hours were spent on the phone with numerous directors of prison outreach programs, as well as searching for faith-based support groups for the families of criminal offenders. I talked to Public Defenders and District Attorneys in various cities to understand the perspective of each of these different camps. I visited one prison and one jail, staying the day at the jail interviewing case workers, correctional officers and program directors, going to anger management classes with the male and female inmates, and finally eating dinner with the female inmates. I attended a Police Advisory Review meeting, spent hours at the courthouse learning how it worked, and spent a night shift with a police officer through the city's Ride-Along program.

A preliminary interview was also conducted to test and refine the development of the interview guide that I would use with future research participants. The interviewee was a middle-aged, single, black woman to whom I was referred by a fellow researcher from another field. The interview lasted an unprecedented eight hours and took place in her home in a local, housing-project. The information she imparted alerted me to the existence of some of the systems families might encounter during the criminal justice process, as well as the high levels of stress associated with the arrest event with respect to the family members involved.

This mother had three sons who had been involved in the gang lifestyle. One son had been murdered, and the other two sons were in prison, each serving time for different murders they had committed. Late in the day during the interview, she and I were in her kitchen as she prepared more coffee for us. She had turned her back to me while she worked and told me how she lay awake in bed the night before thinking about this upcoming interview. With her back turned, she said:

> I wondered what I was going to tell this white woman comin' to interview me about my experience with my sons goin' to prison and wondering how I was gonna get you out of here fast. Now, here we are, been goin' at it all day and I still ain't done talkin'. I didn't figure I had this much to say ... guess I still need to talk about it (G'Mom, personal communication, April 8, 1999).

She said all the families that she knew who experienced a family member being arrested had needed assistance of some sort. She and some other mothers in the neighborhood had tried in the past to organize themselves and seek help from various city officials including the mayor, but she did not get satisfactory responses. "Maybe now, with you being a Ph.D. and all, someone will listen. We need a legit (legitimate) representative they'll listen to, and you just might be it" (G'Mom, personal communication, April 8, 1999.) Her comments helped confirm that I was on the right research track.

All of these investigative activities helped introduce me to and familiarize myself with the new world I was exploring. Although a qualitative researcher conducting an

exploratory study wants to remain fresh and open to the new world they have entered, they must familiarize themselves with the territory in order to work within it (Bailey, 1996).

The Qualitative Research Design for This Study

To capture the essence of what it is like to discover that a close family member has been arrested for a felony, some would argue a qualitative method of inquiry best captures the richness and complexity of such an emotional experience. The choice of a qualitative method of research inquiry was appropriate for this study where individuals from eight families were interviewed in an attempt to capture the meaning of their lived experiences. Qualitative family research requires in-depth and detailed information about family interactions, perceptions, understandings, and memories of family members (Rosenblatt & Fischer, 1993). This research method tapped into the multiple realities of the situation in which parents, adult children, and/or other immediate family members found themselves.

There are common elements (Creswell, 1998) that characterize qualitative research, and even though each strategy has its distinctive characteristics, there are large areas of overlap among them (Yin, 1994). Creswell (1998) examined five different traditions of qualitative inquiry–biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study. For the purposes of this research endeavor, the overlapping phenomenological and case study characteristics assessed by Creswell (1998) and Yin (1994) were addressed, but this study maintained the structure of a multiple-case or

collective case study.

The need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena, and allows an investigation to retain the meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Handel, 1991; Jarrett, 1992; Trepper, 1990;Yin, 1994). Yin (1994) stated, "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p.13). Three types of case study strategies are exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. The justifiable rationale for conducting an exploratory study in this instance was established because the research inquiry focused mainly on "what" questions (Yin, 1994; Creswell, 1998). The question of "what" was happening with the families of accused felony offenders became the driving research question in this study.

Table 1 lists some of the characteristics associated with phenomenological and case studies as reviewed by Yin (1994) and Creswell (1998). The phenomenological and case study approaches have overlapping research characteristics. Both approaches are used to gain insight into a phenomenon through the experiences of others, both can document single or multiple participant experiences, both can use the interview method to obtain data, both seek to derive the meanings individuals attached to their experiences, and both attempt to define themes emerging from the data.

Table 1. Comparison of Phenomenological and Case Study Characteristics

Comparison of Phenomenological and Case Study Characteristics	
Phenomenological	**Case Study**
Psychological approach	Evaluative approach
Lived experiences	Real life context
Meaning of experiences	Meaning of experiences
The concept experienced	The process experienced
Single or multiple participants	Single or multiple participants
Philosophical perspectives	Bounded system
Researcher description of own experience	Context of case
Long interviews with up to 10 people	Multiple sources of data
Bracketing researcher experiences	Categorical aggregation
Reduction	Patterns
Themes	Themes
Horizontalization	Within-case/ Cross-case analysis of themes
Statements	Full description of cases
Meaning themes	Assertions
General description of the experience	Instrumental
	In-depth study of "cases"

Where they differ most distinctively can be evidenced in that the phenomenological (psychological) approach of incorporating the researcher's own experience with the phenomenon being documented while the case study approach purposefully does not include the researcher's experiences and only attempts to evaluate the experiences of others. In a phenomenological study the account of the experience for the researcher is described, followed by accounts of the experience for each participant–creating a composite description. The horizonalization of statements used in phenomenology treats each statement as having equal worth, and works to develop a list of nonrepetitive, nonoverlapping statements. The concept of reduction is used to reduce meanings from data into a description of the "essence" of the experience.

This study used the case study approach as an exploration of a "bounded system"–often bound by time and place, with interrelated parts that form a whole. Creswell (1998) explained that the study of a bounded system can focus on an issue that is illustrated by cases. This study of family experiences explored the "bounded" time from arrest to trial, with the "system" being the family systems that were represented by individual members from multiple families (p. 61).

Qualitatively speaking, this study is also classified as instrumental. An instrumental study may provide insight into an issue, or redraw a generalization, or refine a theory. Insight was gained in the infrequently researched area of the experiences families undergo when one of their members is accused of a felony crime. In addition, a classic theoretical approach was utilized in attempting to understand the experiences of families faced with a felony accusation directed toward one of their members. This study recruited members from multiple families in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition. It was an instrumental study expanded to several families (Stake, 1995, 2000) in order to gain insight regarding the experiences of a family when a family member is accused of a felony.

Furthermore, case studies use categorical aggregation as a form of data analysis where the researcher seeks a collection of instances from the data for issue-relevant meanings (Creswell, 1998). The case-study approach seeks to find established patterns of responses within-case and across-case, which further validates the study's findings (Yin, 1994).

In this case, consistent repetitions of individual responses resulting in major themes were found emerging from the narrative data during within-case and cross-case analyses.

Case Study

This qualitative research study explored the phenomenon of having a family member accused of a felony crime by examining the experiences of individuals from multiple families during the time from arrest to trial by using the method of the long interview to obtain the data. While this research contained some qualitatively phenomenological aspects, it was designed as a multiple-case study where the families' experiences through the process from arrest to trial were explored.

It has been established that case-study research can include both single and multiple-case studies (Yin, 1994). Creswell (1998) agreed,"The study of multiple individuals, each defined as a case and considered a collective case study, seems acceptable practice" (p. 114). This study documented the experience of having a family member accused of a felony crime during the time period from arrest to trial. In fact, Herriott and Firestone (1983) suggested that the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is, therefore, regarded as being more robust. Furthermore, they stated that every case should serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of inquiry. Yin (1983) asserted, "The flexibility of case study designs is in selecting cases different from those initially identified (with appropriate documentation of this shift) but not in changing the purpose or objectives of the study to suit the case(s) that were found" (p.52).

Case-Study Interviews

The strengths of case study interviews are that: (a) they are targeted--focused directly on the case study topic, and (b) they are insightful and can provide perceived causal inferences (Yin, 1994, p. 80). This study focused directly on the topic of what families experience when one of their members is arrested for a felony crime. The findings from the narrative data as to what the families of criminally accused persons experience from the time of their members' arrest to the time of that members' trial provided insight into an often experienced, but infrequently researched phenomenon.

The weaknesses that may be associated with these interviews are: (a) bias due to poorly constructed questions, (b) response bias, (c) inaccuracies due to poor recall, (d)reflexivity–interviewee gives what the interviewer wants to hear (Yin, 1994, p.80). Addressing these potential interview weaknesses began with a potential bias of questions used in the interviews. To counter possible question bias, the interviews for this research were designed to elicit open-ended answers pertaining to five areas of inquiry that the participants may have experienced from arrest to trial, and probes were used as needed to stimulate the participants' memories concerning that time period. Additionally, each of the interviews concluded with an open-ended question asking the participants if there was anything else they wanted to share about their experiences that had not been addressed during the interview. The possibility of having a response bias by the participants existed, especially when more than one member from a family was interviewed at one time. However, the information sought and provided pertained to what the families

experienced during a particularly stressful time period of their lives during which they had no visible means of social support, and the interview event for this study turned into the respondents' opportunity to share their experiences with a knowledgeable, interested, outside party. As for the possibility of their responses being inaccurate due to poor recall, these families sometimes expressed difficulty in relating facts from their family members' cases in chronological order, but their feelings associated with the arrest and subsequent events were vivid, strong, and deeply etched in their collective memories. Finally, addressing the issue of reflexivity, this researcher/interviewer did not deem it particularly relevant to this situation. It seemed unlikely that the interviewees attended at all to considering what the interviewer might have wanted to hear in that so few families agreed to participate in the study and that two families volunteered and wanted to share their experiences even though their situations at the time of the interviews were past the process from arrest to trial.

Data Collection for This Study

The narrative data for this study were obtained from individuals from multiple families by using the qualitative, data-gathering method of the long interview. Natural settings for the families were sought for the interviews with all taking place in the families' homes. The rationale for interviewing participants in their homes is complex, but purely qualitative in methodology. First, the home is where the phenomena are occurring for the family (Weiss, 1994). Their family system has been affected to some degree by the arrest and accusation toward one of its members, and their living quarters

were where the heart of this system existed. In order to determine to what degree the family had been affected by this event, it was imperative to earn their trust and establish their comfort, which would most likely take place in their home. The home environment could possibly ease and enrich the dialogue by offering conversational pieces such as family photos, drawings, journals, and other background materials. The visible state of the home was also important by perhaps indicating economic level, community location, and, lastly, it could evidence what might have occurred since the member's arrest--eviction. If the "home is where the heart is," then the researcher needs to experience the heart of each family if possible, in the long interview.

For the purposes of gaining an understanding of the processes an accused offender's family-system experiences, the tape-recorded, long-interview method was used.

Long Interview

The qualitative method of the long interview was used to gather the data for this research because the primary issue is to generate data that give an authentic insight into people's experiences (Silverman, 1993). The long interview is used extensively in social science research such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and history. The findings are used as research bases in multiple fields such as urban planning, public policy, social work, family studies, and education. The long interview is the method of choice when cultural perspectives, assumptions, and themes are objects of investigation (Bogdan & Bilken, 1982; Bogdan & Taylor, 1984; Denzin, 1978; McCracken,1988; Marshall &

Rossman, 1995; Siedman, 1991; Weiss, 1994). McCracken (1988) stated, "The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves" (p.9). For those reasons, the qualitative method of the long interview was used in this study.

Development of the Interview Guide

An interview guide of five broad topic areas with probes (Appendix A) was designed for use during the interviewing of the research participants in order to have each respondent provide perceptions of specific areas of concern during their experience. The interview guide served solely to remind the interviewer to ask about certain things. The researcher decided during the interview situation how to phrase the question and when to ask it (McCracken,1988). The guide and probes were in place to ensure that each participant across all families gave a personal response to a variety of topics so that themes and patterns could emerge from those topic areas. The use of probes helped to stimulate the participant's memory of the family processes from arrest to trial. The stimulating of their memories also uncovered new areas of the experience for exploration, which was very desirable for this type of research.

The interviews were semi-structured using an interview guide that covered five broad topic areas concerning the families' experiences from arrest to trial. The opening interview question of the guide asked: How has the arrest of your family member affected you and your family? The five broad topic areas were (a) self and family demographics,

(b) notification of arrest, (c) talking to others about the arrest, (d) happenings to family since the arrest, (e) dealing with the event/coping strategies. Each of these broad topic areas and their probes helped the participants recall events. The final open-ended question asked: What else can you tell me about how this event affected you and your family?

The interviews were intended to be for one to two hours per family. It was requested that the interview be tape-recorded with the interviewee's consent and later transcribed with pseudonyms for the families' names and with details of their personal lives omitted to preserve their confidentiality and protect their identity.

Participant Selection Process

The selection of participants for this study was difficult and complex.

Criteria for Selection

The families were chosen through the criterion that their accused member had been charged with a felony. By restricting the families chosen for participation to the felony criterion, it was highly probable that the justice process for their accused member would be lengthy--leaving the family unable to achieve quick closure and adjustment.

Another reason for choosing families of a member charged with a felony crime pertains to the three-strikes law now in effect in some states in the United States. The three-strikes law means an accumulation of any three felonies results in a sentence of life in prison without possibility of parole. Considering that a burglary is a felony if the property stolen is worth over five hundred dollars, and only a misdemeanor if the

property is valued at less than five hundred dollars, one faces the chance of a multiple-burglary offender being locked up for life. One intention of this study was to find out how such a possibility of losing a family member for multiple years affects the family. Weiss (1994) explained that this type of research calls for studying the experiences or behaviors of people who have some common characteristic of people who are, in this respect, in the same boat. "What is needed is a sample of people who together can represent the population of concern" (p.17). Interviewing a variety of immediate family members of accused felony offenders displayed what happens within the population affected by this type of situation.

The one factor that remained constant in participant recruitment was the selection of only accused adults and their adult family members. This sample control was in place because there was more access to adult records, as juvenile records are sealed. Excluding children from the interview process also lessened the risk of this study.

Locating the Families

The city and surrounding counties in this study averaged 20 to 30 arrests every day of the year. The nature of the arrests ranged from public drunkenness to murder. Because the courthouse records were not fully computerized, and in order to find arrest reports with the charge of a felony on them, each report for each day of every month had to be checked by hand for the criminal charge. Taking the average of 25 arrest reports a day multiplied by 30 days in a month equals 750 arrest reports each month; then the sum of 750 reports per month for eight months of searching for adults accused of felony

offenses equals 6000 arrest reports read by the principal investigator to find potential participants to contact for this study.

Once an arrest report with a felony charge was found, then the report had to be checked for the particular county and a complete address and phone number for the accused--which was often illegible or incomplete by the arresting officer. The incompleteness of the reports resulted in losing hundreds of potential participants that could have been contacted. Access to the accused adults' records and, subsequently, their families' records was obtained through local, public-court records available to anyone who has been a citizen of a city for six months or longer.

To lessen risks to the participants, the families were not approached for participation in the study until at least two months had passed since their family member had been arrested. This measure was in place to ensure that I did not disrupt their initial period of adjustment to their situation. This cooling-off period allowed the families to mobilize and assess their situations. Waiting two months after the initial event of the arrest had occurred found the families well into their new roles and interaction patterns.

Of the 6000 arrest reports culled over eight months, 110 potential reports were found that fit the criteria of the research, were legible and fully completed. After obtaining the names of potential participants from court records, a letter of introduction and informed consent was sent by mail at three different time periods to the families of the accused. One week after the letter was received by the families, I called them to ask if they would participate. Many of the letters were returned by the post office, indicating that the person had moved (or sometimes stamped "no such address"). Often the phone

numbers had been disconnected, changed to an unpublished number, or were wrong numbers. One phone number was for a local restaurant, so I assumed the accused invented the phone number given to the arresting officer. Some people denied their phone number was for the person I was seeking. A few even refused to admit that their relative was arrested, although I had the arrest report in my hand during the phone call.

Four different families who agreed to participate did not keep our appointments. I have assumed that they either forgot or were uncomfortable telling me that they had changed their minds. Some people asked to reschedule our appointment numerous times and then finally declined.

Introductory Letter

An introductory letter (Appendix B) was sent to each potential participant that explained the purpose of the study, how their names were obtained, their location choice for the interview, the length of the interview, the future date I would contact them, the potential benefits to researchers from their input, and the name, address, and phone numbers of the principal investigator and her faculty advisor. In addition, statements were included addressing the voluntary nature of their participation, their ability to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty, and the confidentiality of information from other family members. In recognition of their potentially stressed situation, I did not send the introductory letter of contact to the family until at least two months after the felony arrest. When planning the interview with a potential interviewee, I requested that only one member from each family talk with me.

Informed Consent

Included with the introduction letter was a standard human subjects protocol statement of informed consent (Appendix C). At the beginning of each interview, the participant and the investigator read through the informed consent together. Any questions they might have had about confidentiality were addressed at that time, their willingness to participate voluntarily was clarified, their signature was obtained, and a copy of the informed consent was left with them after the interview. Because of the nature of the study--i.e., talking to relatives of accused felony offenders, a statement was added to the informed consent that read, "If I disclose any illegal activities about myself, the interviewer will not disclose the activities to anyone else."

Contacts Who Would Not Participate

Many of the families contacted would converse with me to a certain extent on the phone but not agree to be interviewed for research. The following includes examples of some of the comments and explanations that they gave that are illuminating about their feelings of participation and arrest. Also included are reasons why I did not pursue some potential participants. All names have been changed to protect all persons' confidentiality.

One wife whose husband was charged with Murder said, "The family is like a fish out of water." Another wife angrily claimed she "did not want to talk to anybody!" concerning her husband's arrest for Theft from his employer. The grandmother of a grandson who was charged with Aggravated Assault said she did not want to talk now

because the case was not through trial yet and they "don't know what life holds" for them.

When I asked to speak to a family member of the accused (Mike), the person on the phone informed me, "Mike's in jail and we don't want to talk about it," and hung up. Mike was charged with Shoplifting, Forgery, Fraud, and Cocaine Possession. The mother and father of one son charged with Aggravated Assault did not want to talk to anybody else; they had seen a therapist. Another father said his son's arrest for Aggravated Burglary was "a little misunderstanding and would soon be all over with."

A disabled, recently divorced father who could not read the introductory letter I sent but agreed to chat on the phone said of his retarded son's imprisonment, "My nerves are ripped up," "I feel like the world is coming down on me," and, "If not for church, I would have already jumped off a bridge." His son was arrested for Felony Fleeing and Evading Arrest.

Some families expressed feelings of isolation, such as the mother who told me she that "feels all alone" and wanted to talk to me, but had to ask for permission from her jailed son first. When I called her back the next week after she went to visit him, she said her son told her not to talk to me. The father of a son arrested for Aggravated Assault, DUI, DOR, Theft, and Road Lane Violation did not want to talk to me now, but he did say the event had been stressful, and that he would have appreciated an agency to help his family.

Two of the most memorable refusals were from the father of a son who was charged with two counts of 1st Degree Murder who sent me a letter respectfully declining

to participate. He closed by saying, "I do not wish to bring up all the memories of this tragedy for myself or my family members." The other refusal came in the form of a threat. The accused, who was out on bond, had read the letter mailed to the family and called my office cursing and threatening to sue me and the University.

One arrest report I decided not to pursue turned out to be from a former high school classmate of mine who was charged with Forgery, Fraud, Criminal Impersonation, and Resisting a Stop, Halt, and Frisk. I figured that it would be too awkward for both of us because I would be talking to his mother about him. I also chose not to pursue arrest reports that involved domestic violence because I did not want to endanger the abused spouse any further by possibly enraging the abuser.

Thus, the recruitment was a long and painstaking process. First of all, I was seeking to interview a family member of persons who had been arrested for a felony but had not yet entered the trial phase of the justice system. For this study, the 11 recruited interviewees who were from eight different families were the only ones found after eight months of the search. Although I originally requested that only one member from each family talk with me, three of the interviews resulted in two family members from their household who wished to participate.

Participant Interviewees

The rationale for the sample size was twofold: (a) this study was an exploration into uncharted territory, and (b) all of the individuals who agreed to participate were interviewed. Recruiting for interviewees resulted in this researcher being able to

interview individuals from five families from the 110 potentials found to fit the criteria of the research–i.e., family members of accused offenders whose arrest records were legible and fully completed and, whereby, the interview would take place between the time from arrest to trial--and who consented to be interviewed. A sixth interview came from a family member who expressed interest in participating although their accused member had already been incarcerated for seven months at the time of the interview. Two additional families who heard about this research volunteered to participate, as they had suffered the stress of having a member of their families accused, tried, and convicted of a felony. They, along with the sixth interview, added to this study their retrospective responses of what affects the felony of a family member had on them. Thus, the data accumulated for this research study are compiled from eight different families with 11 adult family members participating in the interviews.

Admittedly, this study did include accessible cases that were different from the initially identified ones. Five of the families, comprising seven individuals, met the original study criterion of being in the process from arrest to trial at the time of the interviews. The other three families, comprising four individuals, were past the process from arrest to trial when the interviews occurred. Interestingly enough, the retrospective data from the families who were past the arrest to trial process when interviewed and the current data from the families undergoing the process from arrest to trial at the time of the interviews revealed similar patterns of stress, trauma, and victimization during the same period of time of inquiry, between the arrest and trial of their accused family member. In addition to including families past the process from arrest to trial, the differing

demographics of the participants, the variety of relationship roles between the accused and the participant, and the range of felony crime charges represented all contributed to the idea of having a flexible case-study design. Furthermore, these perceived differences among cases and participants served to strengthen the findings from the study.

Table 2 illustrates the relationships between the interviewees and their accused family members, the felony charges lodged against the accused members, and denotes the criminal justice status of the accused's cases with regard to their incarceration at the time of these research interviews.

Table 2. Relationship Between Interviewee and Accused, the Felony Charge Against the Accused, and the Criminal Justice Status of the Accused.

Interviewee	Accused Member	Felony Charge	Case Status
1. Mother & Daughter (Accused)	Daughter (Self)	Cocaine for Resale	Pre-trial
2. Wife	Husband	Aggravated Robbery	Incarcerated
3. Sister	Brother	Murder	Pre-trial
4. Wife	Husband	Murder	Pre-trial
5. Mother & Father	Son	Child Abuse	Incarcerated
6. Wife	Husband	2 Vehicular Homicides	Pre-trial
7. Daughter	Father	Marijuana for Resale	Incarceration served
8. Mother & Father	Daughter	Aggravated Burglary & Drugs	Pre-trial

Participants' Demographics

The investigator of this research interviewed all persons who were willing to participate. It was unavoidable that, when the families participated in this study, there were a variety of family members interviewed across the different families. For instance, some families consisted of two parents and other adult children besides the accused, while other families consisted of a grandmother, mother and the accused, or other constellations. The participants for this study were only a sampling of representatives. It must be noted that there are certain difficulties in remarking on their experiences of having a family member accused of a felony for the first time. Some of these include varied ethnicity and race, ages of persons being interviewed ranging from 18 to 69 years, more women than men responding to interview requests, varied educational backgrounds of participants, more than one person being part of the dialogue with the interviewer, and in one situation having the accused felon in part of the conversation–as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Participant Demographics of 11 Individuals from 8 Families

Participant Demographics 11 Individuals from 8 Families	
Ethnicity: 8 White 3 Black **Gender:** 9 Female 2 Males **Age Range:** 18-69 years	**Education:** 4 High school drop-outs 1 Completing one year of college 4 Bachelor's degrees 2 Master's degrees **Marital status:** 7 Married 3 Single 1 Divorced

Obviously, these could be confounding factors in attempting to compare similarities and differences in their experiences or other types of analysis. The factor of race with both white and black persons as part of the justice system might be questioned. Communications when an accused felon is listening might occur that would have been different without the alleged person within hearing distance. Including not only arrest-to-trial participants as interviewees but also retrospective interviewees in this research study's analysis must be considered as a potential confounding factor. Dialogue with more than one person–e.g., a mother and father present at the interview as compared to having the interview with only one family member of the accused–occurred and is addressed in this exploratory research study.

Finding members from different families who fit the research criteria and could be located proved to be difficult as well as finding family members in this situation who wished to participate in a research study. Finally, attempting to determine how many interviews were necessary to capture the experience before the research began was problematic. When does one decide sufficient persons have been interviewed in order to determine the experience of being the family member of an accused criminal offender? The stopping point of interviewing occurs when diminishing returns are encountered (Weiss, 1994; McCracken, 1988; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Weiss (1994) suggested that the stopping point presents itself when the information obtained becomes redundant. By the time 11 people were interviewed across eight different families, a redundancy in the different family members' statements became apparent, which signaled that the essence of their experience was captured.

Investigator Precautions

As a means to conduct this study with University approval, it was considered appropriate to design precautionary measures for the investigator who would visit the homes, as such visitation might pose some risk involved due to a family member having been accused of committing a felony. The measures included: (a) established check-in times by cell phone with an outside party before, during, and after the interviews to insure the investigator's safety; (This measure was used during a preliminary fieldwork interview and worked well. The interviewee was told the investigator was checking in with her office.) (b) acquaintances in law enforcement were requested to increase their patrols in the general area the investigator was visiting; (c) the day before each scheduled interview, the investigator drove by the interview site to find the address and assess the environment.

Methods of Case-Study Analysis of This Study's Data

For case-study analysis, one of the most desirable strategies is to use a pattern-matching logic. If the patterns coincide, the results can help a case study strengthen its internal validity (Yin, 1994). The analysis needed to show that it relied on all the relevant evidence. This study included the use of multiple sources of data obtained–e.g., field notes, observations, documentation, and interviews to set each case in its context of occurrence. Furthermore, it incorporated the data from families who volunteered for the study although they fell outside the original study criterion of being in the process from

arrest to trial when they were interviewed in determining the emerging themes. "The analysis should show how it sought as much evidence as was available, and researcher interpretations should account for all of this evidence and leave no loose ends" (Yin, 1994, p. 123). Concluding his thorough review of the qualitative case study approach, Yin(1994) remarked, "Case study research is remarkably hard, even though case studies have traditionally been considered to be 'soft' research. Paradoxically, the 'softer' a research strategy, the harder it is do" (p. 16).

Coding

Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other relevant materials accumulated to enable one to present what has been discovered (Bogdan & Bilken, 1982; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Silverman, 2000; Stake, 2000). As the data are read, certain words, phrases, patterns of behavior, subjects' way of thinking, and events repeat and stand out. A search is conducted through the data for regularities and patterns as well as topics, and then one records the words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns. These words and phrases are coding categories (Bogdan & Bilken, 1982). Each qualitative researcher codes in a slightly different way. For each collected comment or note, the researcher asks if a logical connection exists between it and any other comment or note (Taylor, 1994).

In this study, the participants agreed to having the interview audio-taped. The five topic areas outlined in the interview guide helped to create the first themes from participants' responses. The first topic and its probes were designed to include the

demographics of the interviewee in order to create a context for them and their experience. The second topic in the guide was "notification of arrest." This area was designed to help the interviewee start at the beginning of the story and to assist them in recalling the event. The third topic was "talking to others about their loved one's arrest." This area covered the steps the family members took to negotiate the paths the experience was taking them and also how this event affected relationships with the primary people in their lives. The fourth topic explored the happenings to the family since the family member's arrest. This included any changes in jobs, finances, or housing. The final topic was concerned with "how they have dealt or coped with the event such as relying on religion, substance abuse, making new friends, starting an exercise program or finding a support group."

After the interviews were transcribed, the transcripts were coded in the margins beside each response using a single word or phrase that captured the meaning of the response, as recommended by Weiss (1994). This was done for each transcript. Next, the transcript notations were sorted by how the codes fit or answered the interview-guide topics. Then six 3'x4' cork boards were used end-to-end with the labels of each of the five broad topic areas distributed as headings across the length of the boards. Down the left side of the first board, eight large index cards with the demographics from each family were attached. Each of the transcripts were duplicated onto eight different colors of paper, so that each family had its own identifying color of transcript.

Each coded response from one colored transcript was cut out with the identifying paper number on it and was affixed under one of the five broad topic areas in line with

that particular family's demographic index card. This was done with each of the eight transcripts until all the responses from each family were affixed to the boards under the appropriate topic area. The result looked like a rainbow of responses under each of the topic headings, and each family's response was clearly identifiable where one could see at a glance how each of the different families responded to a particular topic.

After analyzing and interpreting these coded responses, it became apparent that there were certain topics that were not particularly salient to the families, and new categories began to emerge. The new emerging themes were issue-relevant and seemed most important to the families. The boards were reconfigured because of the consistent repetition of responses in conjunction with certain issues. From this secondary analysis across the multiple cases (Stake, 1995), the issues most important to the families became salient, as each had a distinct theme. These themes are identified and explained in Chapter IV - RESULTS. Finally, naturalistic generalizations are developed from analysis so that people can learn from the case either for themselves or for applying it to a population of cases (Creswell, 1998). This researcher used the study's thematic findings to suggest in CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION that they might be generalized to other individuals experiencing the process from arrest to trial from the felony arrest of one of their family members.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Qualitative researchers gather primarily verbal and visual data that are said to be "valid, real, rich, deep, and thick" (Taylor, 1994). The narrative data obtained from eight families were rich and informative in understanding the experiences of family members of accused felony offenders. The results from this study include brief contextual descriptions of each of the eight families who participated, field notes and dialogue that describe the picture of each family, the analysis of the interview topics and the emerging themes, the cross-case analysis of the emergent themes and the subsequent conclusions, and closes with an explanation of the standards of verification used in qualitative research.

Contextual Descriptions and Field Notes of Participating Families

The following section provides a brief description of each of the families including demographics such as age, occupation, education, race, relationship to the accused as well as the accused's criminal charge. Following the family demographics are the field notes that further describe each interview.

Family #1: Michelle & Terri/Contextual Description

Terri is a forty-two-year-old single, black woman who is the mother of two grown children--the accused, Michelle, and Michelle's brother. Terri finished high school and

one year of college and is now a cashier at a grocery store. The accused, Michelle, is a twenty-four-year-old, black, single mother of a seven-year-old boy. Michelle finished eleventh grade and is a house cleaner. Michelle has been arrested for Possession of Schedule II Drugs for Resale. She had enough cocaine in her possession at the time of the arrest to raise her charge to the level of a felony. After spending two months in jail, Michelle is out on bond awaiting a court date with a judge at the time of our interview. When the family receives my introductory letter, Michelle, the accused, calls my office and asks how soon I could come to see them.

Michelle & Terri/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Michelle has been arrested and charged with Possession Schedule II Drugs for Resale. The amount of cocaine found on her constituted a felony level crime. She is out right now on bond. She and her mother (Terri) are the interviewees. Michelle's father is not in the picture. Michelle has a son and the son's father helps the family somewhat, but does not live with Michelle. If Michelle goes to prison, and it seems likely that she will, her son is going to be left for her mother and the boy's father to rear.

(After Michelle received my introductory letter she began calling for me at the office.)

* * * *

Michelle lives in a housing project that looks like jail dormitories. The apartment buildings are red brick streaked with soot and are in major disrepair with flaking paint on

the trims. Each of the apartments has old, ripped screen doors. There is no grass to speak of anywhere, mostly mud. Cars are jammed in everywhere, and I park very carefully in a questionable spot. People come out on their front stoops and to their doors to watch me. They act as if I cannot see them right in front of me. They stare unabashedly. I call my contact and tell him I'm OK. I go to her door.

Michelle is tiny in stature, thin, very dark skinned, and she wears her hair in short tight corn rows. She wears boys' clothes and could pass for a boy except for her delicate face and hand bones. She looks at me simultaneously as if she respects the authority, likes my car (comments), but also as if I am the minority on her turf and she does not trust me. Her mother, Terri, is hunched on the edge of a club chair. She looks at me suspiciously yet respectfully, but she does not get up. She is a taller, equally lean version of Michelle, but with more hair. She is dressed in leggings and a long top. Michelle has me sit next to her on a love seat.

The apartment is very small and dimly lighted. She owns very few possessions, and there are no homey touches. Everything is dingy. We are in a little living room with a small kitchen off to one side with a door leading out back. A staircase at the front door leads upstairs to the bath, and perhaps a bedroom. The women start straightening things on the table. We sit around a large coffee table that is covered in papers and other items. The table is dirty with crumbs and liquid rings.

Shortly after we begin the interview, they break out an ashtray and cigarettes. I join in and they start to relax a little. (We have something in common.) They both speak in very low tones, very funereal. As they start to warm up, they start speaking louder. A

friend walks up to their screen door and presses to see in. Michelle asks her to come back later.

As mother and daughter talk, they sit hunched up on the edge of their seats, and their hands work their cigarettes or they pick up a piece of paper or a lighter and constantly work it around in their hands.

As we talk about the public housing project where she lives and her eviction (due to the felony charge), they both start letting their indignation show. They sit up straighter, raise their voices and stab at the air with their hands.

Michelle's son bounds into the apartment from the back door through the kitchen. He is jumping around, full of energy and volume, and is soaking wet. He is medium dark skinned, slender, tall for his young age, and grinning. He wears jeans, tennis shoes, and no shirt. Michelle hollers for him to take off his shirt and go dry himself. He bounds upstairs two at a time, talking very loudly to himself. The women just carry on talking, son comes back down, they all talk loudly to each other and he goes outside.

They start talking quietly to me again. They chain smoke. Terri, the mother, is quiet, low-key, enough so to seem depressed. Michelle, the accused, is quiet and quick, and semi-jittery.

When Michelle talks about her stress, she looks down at the table shaking her head back and forth; gropes for words, the adjectives she lacks, to describe her sense of being overwhelmed, stunned at the desperate corner into which she has been forced. Her facial expression and shocked look of hopelessness says it all. Terri's affect is flat. She's lived in the projects, and she came here a young, black, single, woman with two children.

She wears the look of one who knows that her daughter is halfway down a slippery slope to nowhere.

When I query them about a term or procedure they use with which I am not familiar, they cut their eyes to me with a look that says, "Hey, I thought you understood how the system worked and what all these things mean" as well as, "Let me teach you a thing or two about the real world," topped off by, "This person is actually listening to me and really wants to find out about me and my situation." After a time or two of this happening, they seem to take it in stride and are even pleased by the give and take of guiding me through their world.

As we talk about their immediate problems, the conversation occasionally breaks out into larger issues of government, police work, and public housing. They want me to understand their whole world experience in which this incident (arrest) is being played out. They both express strong negative feelings about the people with authority over their lives. They demonstrate bewilderment and disgust that this is how things are in their world. There is a sense that they know, or are just realizing it as fact by my queries, that not everyone's experience in life is like theirs. They seem aware that they live in a bubble from hell, and that some other (many) people in the world do not. There is a matter-of-factness and familiarity with the way they describe their acknowledged, bleak existence.

Another neighbor comes pressing up to the screen door; they leave when Michelle tells them they will talk later.

They demonstrate their knowledge of the law and court cases through our

conversation. At one point, Michelle pulls over her arrest record and shows me "everything I've ever been convicted of or whatever." I feel I have earned their trust and am touched at how openly she did it. She seems to decide I was not judgmental of them and senses I wanted to help.

When I point out the possible loophole about public housing evicting "convicted felons," they latch onto that tightly. Michelle also shows me her credit report. She seems to think and feel that if she works this thing right, she will wind up OK. As I glance at her listless mother, I am glad Michelle has the youthful energy and hope enough to "fight" as she puts it.

At the end, they are very polite and appreciative of my coming to talk (and listen) to them. Michelle says, "There's got to be somebody that cares."

I leave without incident. Once I enter and start my car, the neighbors come out to watch me drive away.

Family #2: Ellen/Contextual Description

Ellen is a twenty-four-year-old married, white woman who is the mother of two young children--a boy who is eight years and a girl who is four years old. Ellen did not finish high school, has no GED, and works for the city as a laborer. She has been married for one year and has been with her husband for thirteen years. Her husband is the accused. He was arrested for Aggravated Robbery and at the time of our interview was serving time in prison for violating the conditions of the probation he had attained. He was originally accused of stealing a car and was on probation. He violated his probation

and had to serve more time before being released on probation again, which he violated again, landing him in the penitentiary. He is not scheduled to be released until 2004.

Ellen/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Ellen's husband had been sent to a penitentiary for aggravated robbery. Although his offense was somewhat in question, his habit of violating probation for previous offenses landed him in the pen. Ellen has been trying to make it without him and is rearing two small children. She is also very ill and has missed a considerable amount of work. Her best friend, Tracy, helps her the most. Ellen's mother died recently, and she does not really talk about her Dad. Her husband's family seems the most supportive of her. Other people who tried to "help" her ended up being "sponges." Her husband and his family do not know it yet, but Ellen is considering divorce. She appears trapped because without her in-laws she would only have her friend, Tracy, to whom to turn.

* * * *

Ellen's house is a small, four-room, box, crammed in on a street with other houses like hers. Cars are parallel-parked on each side of the road in front of the houses, making the whole road look like a traffic jam. Most houses have small front porches where mostly black males are sitting. All eyes are on me as I pull up to her house. I have to walk next door to ask the men on the porch if I have the right house, because I cannot get to her porch. They state they do not really know her, but she is a white girl with children.

Her house is set apart from the others by a chained link fence surrounding the little lot. Within the fence are two large, aggressive, grown dogs. Since I cannot get to her porch because of the dogs, I use my cell phone to call her house. There is no answer and I figure that she is going to stand me up. I decide to wait for a few minutes, and I sit in my car as everyone around watches me.

Eventually, a small red car with a young, white female pulls up in front of me. I get out thinking it is Ellen, but it is her friend, Tracy. I explain why I am there, and Tracy says she can call to where Ellen is to tell her I am here. I offer my cell phone and she calls Ellen. Tracy says Ellen is right down the street and will be here shortly. We stand outside the fence and smoke a cigarette together and talk about Tracy's dog that she holds in her arms. Tracy's appearance is that of an average, low-income, white girl–sweet, good-natured, bad skin, plain, and average Ellen eventually pulls up and unloads with her two children.

Ellen is very thin, but she wears it well, like a model. She is surprisingly attractive, delicate bone structure, long streaked hair and make-up. Her children have arm loads of stuff and are curious and talkative. Ellen is apologetic for being late and looks exhausted. We all proceed into the house where it is small and cramped with all of us there. The home is decorated in a girlish sort of way--dreamy pictures, candles, blue and mauve ruffle pillows. There is an attempt at some style and order, with a scattering of toys, clothes, and dishes coating every surface. The women immediately start straightening the living room and offer me some water, which I take. I sit on a love seat, soon surrounded by dogs and kids. Ellen asks me to give her a few minutes to get the

children settled.

The children want to watch a video and the dogs are in our faces, so Ellen asks Tracy (her friend) to watch the children, and Ellen and I go into her bedroom to talk. Her room is very girlish--pinks and blues, posters on the wall, butterflies and hearts abound. Clothes are flung everywhere, dresser and vanity tops are covered with stuff, it is dusty and semi-dirty. She offers me a small, wobbly chair, and she sits cross-legged on the bed. She pulls over an ashtray, and we smoke a cigarette together.

Ellen not only appears exhausted, she seems to be "on something." Her eyes are at half mast, and she blinks long, exaggerated, slow blinks. I discover that she has a heart infection and is medicated.

The interview is interrupted many times by the children, the phone, and friends coming over. At one point soon into the interview, Ellen gets off the bed and starts folding the apparently clean laundry that is flung all over the bed. As we talk, she folds, makes the bed, and then starts straightening the room. I cannot decide if she is doing this because she has a moment away from her children, feels self-conscious with a guest in the house, or is just trying to stay awake; it may be some of all three.

Ellen repeatedly tells me how good-hearted and sweet her husband is, he just can not follow rules. It seems as if she has been more of a mother to him than a wife.

Besides being medicated, when she talks of jail and the position it has left her in, she seems so weary and defeated; there is no fight left in her. Everything she says is accompanied with a sigh. She seems to know exactly how bad everything is and will continue to be, "Every way I look it's a dead-end street."

Ellen is sweet, soft-spoken, matter-of-fact, so thin and exhausted, she seems very fragile as she gently drifts about the room, straightening and cleaning. She finally comes over and sits across from me on the edge of the bed as we share the ashtray. We are close enough to touch knees.

When we get to the part where her husband was taken away to the penitentiary from the courtroom, she relates how she could not touch him one last time and how now she cannot even visit him because her car would not make it that far—she stands up and announces she is going to be sick. It is obvious this rehashing of painful reminders is upsetting her. As she heads off to the bathroom, the children clamor for her attention. As I sit there in her bedroom waiting for her return, I am seriously considering stopping the interview. It seems the memories and the reality of her situation are painful enough to make her physically sick on top of the fact that she is admittedly ill. Between this and the fact that she can barely keep her eyes open, I decide that I should go.

When she returns, I tell her I think I should leave, and she assures me that she wants me to stay. She says it in such a way, combined with closing the door behind herself and standing in front of it, that she convinces me she does not want me to leave. It appears she would prefer the secluded quiet of her bedroom with me for a while longer.

When she mentions divorce, "lots of issues," and her credit, I wonder if she has anybody to whom she can say these thing without their judging her. I get the feeling she does not have an outside person with whom to talk. Her circle of friends is very small, tight knit, mostly family, and they have a history together. Whenever she stopped talking, her eyes would start to glaze over. I decided I needed to get out so she could

catch a nap in her freshly straightened room.

She walks me to the front porch and expressed dismay that the sun has gone down, and I am here in the neighborhood after dark. She warns me to be careful and not to stop at the stop signs because the "people" will all be in the streets. And sure enough, when I turn the corner from her street, I enter another dimension. Now that it is dark, people have come out from everywhere and are sitting or standing in their little front areas all over the housing projects around the corner from where Ellen lives. There are people cruising in hopped up cars and walking all over the sidewalks and the streets. At each corner are clusters of men studying the cars going by. These must be the drug dealers to whom Ellen has alluded.

I am forced to go slowly and am getting nervous because I obviously do not belong in the cruising line. I call my police contact while I drive, and we talk until I am well out of there.

Family #3: Ruby/Contextual Description

Ruby is an eighteen-year-old, single, black woman with no children. She is a high-school dropout and is working at her first job as a clerk in a clothing outlet. Ruby's brother is the accused, and he is charged with Murder. He has been held in jail since his arrest 10 months ago. Ruby is trying to gather money from working and from other family members to pay toward his bond so he can come home with her until his trial. His bond is $500,000. If he is convicted when he goes to trial, he will probably receive a sentence in the range of twenty to thirty years.

Ruby/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

(The whole side of the first tape of the interview with Ruby did not record. Transcription begins on second side).

Scenario: Ruby's older brother has been arrested for Murder. Her comments show that she and her brother have obviously taken care of each other and with him now in jail, she has no one. She states her mother is a "drunk," and her father also seems emotionally unavailable. Ruby does have an aunt to whom she talks, but the aunt is emotionally drained by being a recent widow. Ruby mentions her grandmother with whom she does not get along or know that well. The grandmother has served prison time for an unknown offense. As for the rest of Ruby's relatives, she speaks of them with contempt, "half-assed backwards," and says that they are only concerned with themselves. She does have one girlfriend she mentions. She also alludes to a boyfriend, but their relationship seems uncertain. She has just recently started her first job as a clerk in a discount store. She is trying to earn money to pay her own bills, no longer having her brother to help her. She is also trying to earn money to pay her brother's bond so he can get out of jail until his trial.

* * * *

I arrive outside her apartment on a dark and rainy night. These housing projects are very military like--severely stark, each exactly like the others. While the military may have cleanliness, order, and light, these projects are bleak, dirty, dark, haphazardly arranged and cared for. I am struck by what is missing in these projects; like all the others, they lack

personal touches outside. No flowers, no wreaths or decorations are on the doors, no individuality whatsoever is here.

I go into the building and upstairs to where I think her apartment is. There is no answer to my knock. I wait and her neighbor, a black female, comes out and tells me this is the right place. As I stand alone waiting, another black female comes in downstairs and walks up beside me into the neighbor's place. I just stand there not knowing what to do. As Ruby finally approaches me upstairs, she is flustered and embarrassed by being quite late for our appointment. She unlocks her door and we enter. Her neighbor steps out of her door to make sure everything is all right, Ruby assures her that it is.

The apartment is barren, like someone who is just starting to move in or is almost moved out. I find out later that both these assumptions are correct.

Ruby has two small love seats in the living room set in an L-shape, a small cocktail table in front of them and two identical, medium-sized, small store-bought pictures oddly mounted up high near the ceiling, one at each far end of the wall. This is the total of everything in her living room. I see her tiny kitchen from the living room. Where a kitchen table and chairs might usually be placed is only a small, neat pile of possessions stacked on the floor in the corner. A bare lightbulb hangs over this table area and is the only light available for the kitchen and living room. To the left of the living room, I see a small bedroom that contains a mattress on the floor and a small bedside table with a little lamp. She owns virtually nothing and the lack of personal possessions or any personal touches is obvious.

I sit on one love seat and Ruby sits on the other. As I usually do, I start showing her

the tape recorder, the introductory letter, the informed consent, and the arrest report from the courthouse. As I talk her through the arrest report, Ruby starts to cry. I pause and let her pull herself together. As soon as she indicates that she is OK to go on, I start and she begins crying again. This happens another time and then she starts sobbing. She leans forward with her hands over her face and her head down on her knees and escalates into a wracking, keening, sobbing. At this point, I say to myself, "To hell with investigator objectivity," and go over to sit beside her and put my arms around her. She leans into me with her head on my shoulder and cries her heart out. We sit like that for a long, long, time, and I start to tear up listening to and feeling her anguish.

Ruby is very young and a little taller and heavier than I am. She is dark-skinned, wears no makeup, and wears her short, straightened hair pulled back tightly in a small ponytail. She is outfitted in jeans, a long shirt and a sweat jacket over that.

I hand her some tissues that I carry with me, and she attempts to stop crying. My arm is still around her shoulders as she tries to apologize and talk. By now, her nose is stopped up and her throat is swollen to the point where I cannot really understand her. She gives up and continues to cry for a while longer.

I consider stopping the interview, but I worry about leaving her alone like this. I decide to stay to see if I can help her in some way and wonder if the process of talking to her through the interview might help.

Eventually Ruby cries herself out, and I move back over to my love seat. This is when I realize that I never had a chance to turn on the tape recorder properly. So she will not freeze up, I let her start talking about the bad day she had at her job without checking the

recorder right away. When I get the opportunity to check the recorder, I discover the whole first side of the tape never recorded, so I turn it over and start recording on side two.

After the interview, Ruby thanks me profusely for being there for her and talking to her. She is not crying when I leave and appears to be much calmer and relaxed. She says repeatedly how much better she feels for "letting it all out."

At one point during the interview, gun shots ring out in the parking lot below us. It sounds like a 9mm to me. I try not to flinch or look around because Ruby never bats an eye. She is totally unresponsive to it. Her comments about "kind of being glad her brother was safely in jail and not out on the streets" make a lot of sense to me then.

I leave the building after the interview without incident and call my contact as I drive away.

Family #4: Candice/Contextual Description

Candice is a forty-seven-year-old, married, white woman with no natural children of her own and two grown step-children from her husband's previous marriage. She and her husband have been married for twenty-three years. She has a Bachelor's degree and a Master's degree and works in the public relations field. Her husband is the accused and he is charged with Murder. He spent a month in jail until his large bond was paid, and for the past eleven months has been on house arrest with electronic, ankle-bracelet monitoring. The bond conditions are very restrictive--Candice must be with her husband twenty-four hours a day except when he is in treatment. Because of these restrictions, she started working out of her home to earn income. When the trial finally occurs, her husband if found guilty, will

likely receive life in prison without parole or the death penalty.

Candice/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Candice's husband is charged with first-degree Murder. Although I do not realize it when I go to her home for the interview, her husband is out on bond under house arrest using the monitored, ankle-bracelet procedure. It has been almost a year since the murder occurred, and this couple is waiting for trial.

* * * *

Candice's townhouse is located in a secluded community. It is dark when I arrive, and I have a hard time negotiating the roads in the neighborhood. Her townhouse is located at the end of a dead-end road. As I approach her front gate, I note that the flower garden is well-cared for and complex. It is decorated with a pond, garden ornaments, bird feeders, and wind chimes. A very secure, low wooden gate has been built that stops my progress to the door. Candice sees me through the kitchen window and goes around to let me in.

She is in her late forties, plump, blonde bobbed hair, make-up, a well-made outfit, and she is smiling. I enter and she offers me a beverage, and we chat in her little, but highly decorated, wet-bar area. Her home is stylish, and very neat. She gestures for us to go downstairs into the sunken living room that has high-vaulted ceilings. Her home has a massive two-story, stone fireplace in the living room. The decor is color coordinated, artfully arranged, with many warm personal touches included. The fire is burning in the fireplace and scented candles are lit. She has obviously prepared for a guest and is very

gracious and confident. She sits in a club chair, and I sit on the sofa with an end table between us. She starts talking, and I ask her about her work.

Candice is very talkative, and appears to be honestly expressive. She has an airy, feminine voice, yet is firm and clear. She has a sharp sense of humor and long, thoughtful responses. At one point, I realize that beneath Candice's charming presentation, she seems to be seething with anger and bitterness.

As she explains her husband's house arrest and the accompanying court restrictions, it is clear that she is also a prisoner in their home. This crime and its repercussions have affected every facet of their lives. Yet, she also explains how the house arrest for a year before the trial has also been a gift for them. From her comments, it is apparent that she and her husband have reached a very deep and fulfilling new level in their marriage. She remarks that they have also grown as individuals and found joy in their day-to-day lives. The reality is that her husband is probably going to be taken from her, through life in prison or the death penalty. She alludes to that finality briefly, but I do not think she can allow herself to dwell on it for long.

During my time with her, Candice's affect shifts like quicksilver from a matter-of-factness, to rolling laughter, to a visceral contempt for the victim's family. She is forthright in her feelings about them.

Toward the end of the interview, her husband, the accused murderer, walks in from a back room to the living room with us. I try to stay unaffected--i.e., "keep a poker face" and rise to greet him. We shake hands, and then he goes to the far side of the room and stands near the fireplace, as if he is giving me the opportunity and the space to get comfortable with

the idea of his being there. Shortly, Candice and I finish the interview.

She makes general comments about their situation in a way that draws him to the couch. He sits down at the far end from me and gets comfortable. The three of us start talking about his treatment, the classes he teaches with AA members at his treatment center, and what he would like to accomplish with other inmates when he is in prison. They share their redevotion to God with me and talk about how spiritual their lives have become. They agree that the house arrest is the best and worst thing that could have ever happened to them.

Her husband is charming and attractive with a slow Southern drawl that almost makes him sound drunk, but he obviously is not. His eyes have the heavy-lidded, wry, bemused expression of so many "bar flies." We all talk for some time and the conversation returns often to their predicament. There is a sense of a quiet, dignified desperation between them that their world is soon going to fall apart. They are like a sophisticated, loving couple aboard the Titanic, toasting each other with a last glass of champagne as the water swirls around their ankles. The husband almost seems to exist on another plane--one of peace, tranquility, and serenity. As an aside, I wonder if he has decided to commit suicide before he can be sent to prison for the rest of his life.

When I finally leave, they walk me to the door and after sharing the most intimate parts of their lives with me, there is an emotional bond between us that is palpable. Candice holds my hand and her husband, the accused murderer, reaches over and hugs me close. For some reason they have let me into their lives, and I am profoundly aware that in all probability I will never have the opportunity to see them together as a couple again.

Family #5: Ed & Nancy/Contextual Description

Ed and Nancy are a retired, white, married couple, both of whom are sixty-nine years of age. Ed has a Bachelor's degree and his career was in the business-management field. Nancy has a Business College degree and her career was formerly in an administrative field. Their grown son is the accused and he has been charged with Child Abuse. He has been in prison for two years and his sentence is from three to fifteen years.

Ed & Nancy/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Ed and Nancy are a retired couple. Their grown son, who lived in another state with his own family, has been imprisoned for Child Abuse. This son is serving his prison sentence and soon comes up for his first parole attempt. Since this son's family lost their primary breadwinner, Ed and Nancy have bought another house in town for the residence of their daughter-in-law and their grandchildren. They help babysit these grandchildren on a daily basis in their own home. They also have Ed's elderly, ailing father living with them for whom they care. Ed and Nancy know one of my relatives and upon hearing how difficult it was for me to find families willing to participate in the research, they volunteer.

* * * *

I arrive at their house in the late afternoon. They live at the end of their road in a circle. Their home is situated at the top of a hill with woods behind it. The house is typical of a middle-class, retired white couple--a large, one-and-half story brick, well cared for,

mature shrubbery, neat and tidy with decorative touches near the front door, and a motorcoach at the side of the house.

Nancy greets me at the door with a dishcloth in her hand and a puzzled look on her face. It seems she has forgotten I was coming, even though we had made an appointment. Nancy is taller than I am and of average weight for her height and age. She has short, pale brown and gray hair, a soft voice, no makeup, and casual clothes. She brings me inside the foyer and simultaneously calls for her husband and then starts apologizing for the "mess" her house is in. Ed greets me in the foyer and he has a strong presence. He is tall, somewhat thick bodied, has a full head of silver-white hair, wears wire rimmed glasses, and has a deep, cultured, melodic voice. He is wearing slacks, a button-down shirt open at the collar and tucked in, a leather belt and loafers.

They lead me through their living room into the dining area just off the kitchen. I gesture that the table would be a convenient place to sit. Nancy scurries off to finish what she was doing in the kitchen and then joins Ed and myself at the dining table. Their home is decorated in a conservative, traditional style. I sit with my back to the living room and face the windows of their side and back yard. I hear a television program in another room, and Ed and Nancy state that his ailing father is living with them and is in one of the back rooms. They talk in low voices, and I surmise that they do not want the father to hear any of our conversation.

After laying out the recorder and paperwork, we talk about the informed consent and their volunteering to this interview. They inform me hesitantly that their son's offense was labeled "inappropriate touching of his step-daughter." He was charged with Child Abuse and

sentenced for three to 15 years.

As Ed and Nancy start explaining the situation, they quietly talk over each other and finish each other's sentences like many long-married couples. As I talk with them, the conversation and answers go back and forth between them rhythmically, and they reinforce what the other has said. In the beginning, Nancy is more revealing in her answers from a personal perspective, and Ed seems more concerned with chronology and answering the question, "What kind of help have you received during this incident?" They are both a little stiff in affect and answers. I come to realize that they are guarded in their responses because they are so disgusted and angry at all the systems involved in their son's case, and especially because of the treatment they and their family members have received at the hands of these systems. When they realize I am listening sincerely about these systems, they become more open and relaxed in affect and responses.

Ed controls the extent of Nancy's responses by clearing his throat and shifting in his chair during her answers. It works well--like a dog corralling a herd of sheep, he seeks to contain her responses. For the most part, she obeys his silent commands. The rhythm of his throat clearing in time to the content of her responses becomes clear enough to me that I find I can predict when he will clear his throat next. Eventually, Ed starts dominating the conversation, and Nancy slips into a commentary role. This dynamic seems very familiar between them, although I think Nancy was hoping to give more input of a more personal nature. She seems resigned to her familiar role, but not content. She busies her hands with a pen, then a piece of paper, then lint. Meanwhile, Ed leans back in his chair, crosses his legs and starts expounding, just like his former executive position might have called for.

It becomes apparent that they are deeply ashamed of their son's offense and are also extremely angry at the conduct of the systems involved. But, they control themselves emotionally. Their emotional level at recalling events is revealed through their sometimes clipped answers, downcast eyes, and pursed lips. They seem to want to stand up and scream and swear out their frustrations with the people in the systems, but they keep a tight lid on it.

They explain their situation; their retirement plans and money are being consumed by having to support their daughter-in-law and grandchildren and having to care for a live-in elderly, dying father in their home, their son in prison, for a shameful crime, and knowing that when he is released from prison he will be living with them. I am confronted by the depth of the effect this is having on their lives. There is no end in sight for them, and we are all silently aware of it. Throughout the interview, when we briefly peek at this reality, their affect becomes carefully quiet and flattened. They are so obviously torn between the love for their family members plus their self-assigned duty to them and their despising the situation in which they find themselves, that they do not seem to be able to acknowledge it.

Because this interview started by immediately getting into their story, we do not discuss their demographics until the end of the interview. Asking them how families' needs could be met gives them input and acknowledges the importance of their experiences as it may relate to future families in their position.

Ed's father wheels into the living room, and Ed and Nancy both incline their heads and lift their eyebrows to let me know. This combined with their lowered voices lets me know that we have completed the interview.

Family #6: Tamara/Contextual Description

Tamara is a twenty-two-year-old, married, white woman, and the mother of two young children--a son twenty months old and an infant daughter three weeks old. Her education extends to the eleventh grade, and she has no occupation. Her husband is the accused, and he is charged with two counts of Vehicular Homicide. If convicted, he faces eight to twelve years in prison. After he serves his time, he faces deportation because he is an illegal immigrant.

Tamara/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Tamara is a young white, woman who has had a long-term relationship with Lopez, an illegal immigrant, Mexican man who is younger than she is. They had one child, named Enrique a year before Lopez's arrest. When Lopez had the drunk driving accident that resulted in two counts of Vehicular Homicide, Tamara was pregnant with their second child. The shock of their situation after the arrest put Tamara into labor and resulted in Contessa being born prematurely while Lopez was being held in jail. He is being denied bond because he is a flight risk; they could not afford bond anyway. Their son, Enrique, is twenty-months-old and Contessa is only three-weeks-old. Even accounting for Contessa's prematurity, she looks extremely ill, nearly comatose. She hangs from the crook in Tamara's arm like a rag doll. There is no money for the child's hospitalization.

* * * *

Tamara's living conditions give definition to the term, "squalor." Tamara has moved

back home with her mother, grandfather, two brothers, Tamara's two babies, and six dogs in a small house off a main highway. The yard is dirt, with piles of discarded odds and ends everywhere. When I drive up, Tamara hangs out the door watching me with a tiny baby in her arms while the dogs bark and she screams at her little brother. As I start up broken steps that appear treacherous, she starts apologizing for the mess her house is in and blames her brothers. The little house is filthy and crammed with old furniture, toys, and stuff. Food is stacked on the galley kitchen counters. She leads me straight through the kitchen area into a small dining area where she has obviously cleared a spot for us at a round table with a straight-backed chair and a rocking chair. She gives me the rocker, and we sit down in the dimness and try to start. She just sits and stares straight at me waiting for something to happen.

The baby in her arms is unbelievably tiny and very still. I notice Tamara has brushed her hair back neatly, applied foundation and lipstick, and tucked in her shirt. Little Enrique, in a diaper and t-shirt, starts climbing on everything; he must because there is no place to walk except through the small paths between the furniture and stuff. For a moment the house is exceptionally quiet except for Enrique's babbling. As we start to talk, Tamara gets more comfortable with me. Not long into the interview, Enrique stands up under the table, cracking his head loudly. I climb under there to retrieve him while he cries and struggles for Tamara. She attempts to pick him up in her free arm and the baby flops over the other arm. I gently take the infant from her and sit down with her in my arms. The infant is so light, thin, still and quiet, she does not seem real or alive.

Lopez has been in jail since the accident four months previously. He missed

Contessa being born and has never been allowed to touch her which upsets Tamara terribly. When she starts talking, it is like a flood gate opening. She tells me anything I ask in great detail. She seems starved for an adult in an authority position with whom to talk and to listen to her concerns. Although her situation is extremely impoverished and she lacks education, she seems very bright. By the end of the interview, I determine that she has had the potential at one time to lead a different life, but she seems to have chosen to stay on a similar level with her family. She tells me that she married Lopez in the jail eight days before our interview.

While we talk, she jiggles the lifeless Contessa she is holding again, and merely watches as Enrique continually endangers himself by climbing on the mounds of stuff littering the room and playing with electrical cords, succeeding in two physical mishaps of cracking his head under the table and skinning his knee.

The filthy, dim, little, crowded, noisy home might push others towards insanity. Tamara appears quite unhappy and speaks of her severely depressive state. Like so many of her uneducated counterparts, she lacks the vocabulary to express her anxiety, fear, and sense of being at a loss and overwhelmed. She can merely repeat how "very, very hard" this situation has become. For what she lacks in verbal expression, she more than makes up for in her emotional affect. A number of symptoms seem specific to this situation: complete emotional exhaustion evident in her eyes, facial expressions and sometimes dulled recitation of events. Yet equally apparent is her high state of agitation expressed in jiggling legs or feet, fiddling of hands and staccato bursts of emotion communicated by a marked increase in volume, slapping the table top and stabbing the air with her finger. All of this expression

is accompanied by eyes frequently cast downward, a slow shaking of the head back and forth, slow hard blinks of the eyes and deep sighs.

As I sit gently rocking in the chair during one of my breaks from holding the infant, a large roach slowly crawls across the back of my hand that is lying loosely on the chair arm. I do not move for fear of embarrassing Tamara, who does not notice it. I wait while the roach makes its way down the outside edge of my hand toward my little finger. When it reaches that point and before it can turn and walk up my wrist inside the cuff of my jacket, I gently flick my hand and the roach lands somewhere on the carpet. We continue to talk through this and she has not noticed.

At some point during the interview, I decide I cannot not try to help her. I request a phone book, as she has many lying about for some reason, and she says, "Let me go get the good one I hide in my bedroom." She brings the book to the table, and I stand to lean over it and start reading. When I start to walk, my feet come right out of my slip-on loafers that are stuck tightly to the sticky, dirty carpet. I quickly step back into them, and we start looking in the book for agencies that could help her.

I mark numerous agencies that might help her and then start looking for an immigration attorney. She shows me all the attorneys she has called from whom she has requested help to no avail. I also realize there is no organized help for local Hispanics here that I can find. I promise her that I will look into the situation and get back to her. As I leave when the interview is over, she asks, "So I will hear from you, right?" I assure her that she will.

A few days later, after many phone calls resulting in dead ends, I see a segment on

the local news about an ill Hispanic boy being helped through a local charity organization. At the bottom of the screen was printed a phone number for the Hispanic Catholic Charities. Upon talking to the charity, they say that they would be willing to try to help Tamara. I call her and give her the information and number. She is very appreciative and somewhat surprised that I have called back.

Family #7: Lou/Contextual Description

Lou is a forty-three-year-old, divorced, white woman with no children. She has a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, and works as a college instructor. Her father is the accused, charged with Possession II Drugs for resale and distribution. He was sentenced sixteen years ago when Lou was twenty-seven-years-old. His sentence was for twenty years, and he served four-and-a-half years. Her father was in his forties when he served time in prison. A condition of his early parole required that he live with his parents (Lou's grandparents) who were in their late sixties. He has lived with them since his release eleven years ago.

Lou/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

This interview is conducted over the telephone, long distance. It is tape recorded for transcription purposes. I mail Lou the informed consent after reading it to her over the telephone before the interview. She signs it and mails it back to me.

Lou volunteered to be interviewed for this research. She is a friend of mine from the

University of Tennessee whose father served time in prison for Possession and Distribution of Marijuana. Upon hearing how difficult it is to locate participants for this research, she offers her and her family's experience to me. Our interview arrangements are made by phone and email. A date and time are set for me to call her and tape record our conversation.

* * * *

I conduct the interview from my home office, and Lou is in her home in another city. The phone call lasts for an hour-and-a-half. After preliminary chatter and reading the informed consent to her, we begin the interview. I start with recording her demographics and then move to the story of how her father wound up in prison.

Lou struggles to recall the chronology of events. We pick our way slowly through her recall. Lou recounts that she has suffered from depression for most of her life, including the time before her father was imprisoned. She has been counseled and medicated various times during her life for this depression. Between her Master's degree in Sociology, her counseling experiences, and our deep friendship, Lou has become knowledgeable and comfortable talking about her own personal issues and her family's dysfunctions. She readily shares very emotional and sometimes scathing memories and opinions about her family, especially her father. Her starts and stops during the interview are from her desire to recall events and emotions and put them into meaningful responses, as opposed to lacking the vocabulary to express herself or displaying resistance to responding.

Lou uses large doses of humor and sarcasm when revealing vulnerable issues, "But see, (laughing) I've forgotten a whole lot of my life." Her insights are often bitingly accurate and funny. She often chuckles or laughs when revealing hurtful episodes and emotional

memories. She also struggles to remember how she felt during marker events in her life. She readily admits to forgetting, "stuffing it down," and outright denial as means of coping with emotional pain. She basically negates her having suffered any emotional pain, or at the very least, define it and express it. The things she dreads the most are rejection and conflict, yet she admits that these are the most prevalent experiences with her father.

Lou's communication with me often seems to avoid exploring painful or uncomfortable emotions to the point of not talking about many episodes that make up the entire family history. The family members even avoid talking to each other while in the same room. The silent treatment seems to be a popular tool of defense.

Our interview reveals the depth of emotional dysfunction in her family, and she finds it painful to acknowledge. The only hint of Lou's personal anger is revealed in her sarcasm. Even this is delivered with a laugh and a sigh of resigned defeat.

Since the family does not share much emotionally, the effects of her father's arrest and imprisonment are mostly expressed through her sister Lillie's reaction and her grandpa's silence. Her grandma was reportedly devastated. Lou was concerned for her father, but claims she did not feel much for her own situation during that time. She now states she does not care.

After the interview is completed and the tape is turned off, we continue to talk for awhile of other, lighter topics to end on a higher emotional note.

Family #8: Bob & Sherri/Contextual Description

Bob and Sherri are a white couple who have been married for thirty years and have

three grown children--a twenty-one-year-old son, an eighteen-year-old son, and a twenty-three-year-old daughter. Bob is fifty-nine-years-old, has a Bachelor's degree, and works in property management. Sherri is fifty-one-years-old, has a Bachelor's degree, and works in the computer field. Their daughter, Jennifer, is the accused, and she is being held in jail while waiting for a judge's decision concerning her sentence. She has been charged with Aggravated Burglary and Possession of Schedule III & IV Drugs. They tell me "her sentence could range from a couple of years in a drug treatment program to nine to twelve years in prison." At this time, Jennifer is refusing to cooperate with the judge, so her parents are trying to come to terms with her actually going to prison.

Bob & Sherri/Field Notes (These are written in the present tense to take the reader to the scene, as it occurred).

Scenario: Bob and Sherri's daughter has been accused of Drug Possession and Aggravated Burglary. She admits committing these crimes. She is a former high-school honor student and recent University student who is facing a possible nine year prison sentence. She is being held in jail for violating house-arrest rules. In the last two years, this oldest child and only daughter started drinking heavily and taking pills. She became addicted to all forms of pills and one, in particular, for which the desire motivated her to break out a plate-glass window of a business and step through the window to steal the pills. She acted alone in this crime, and there were no accomplices.

* * * *

I arrive at Bob and Sherri's house in the dark. Their neighborhood is middle-class,

but there are no telephone light poles, only pretty lampposts that cast little light. After searching for their house number amongst the discreet numbering system, I stop at the foot of their driveway filled with anxiety. Their driveway is very steep and long, winding through the woods up a hill and ending at a parking pad that is filled with cars. I think I am at the wrong house because these people seem to be having a party until I realize that all the cars packed onto the pad are abandoned cars. Now I have a new uneasy feeling. This does not seem to be the type of family with whom I had contact, and I wish that I had come in the daytime. Nevertheless, I proceed to creep up hill. Once I drove to the top, I realize I am now stuck up there, no way to turn around to descend and no way to back down in the dark.

As I open my car door, I hear music and young men's voices coming from inside the garage. Along with the condition of the other cars and the yard, I start getting more anxious. What if this house is full of rowdy young men? The junk cars are all sporty, and I hear the men's voices in the garage. The yard is neglected, the parking pad is full of abandoned sports cars, yet the house is large and fairly expensive and the neighborhood most certainly is.

The house is perched on the side of a very steep hill. Standing on the front stoop, I am between an overgrown flower bed to the right and a sheer drop down on the left to the wooded ground below. While I wait for someone to answer the door bell, I glance through the glass side panels of the door and see a decorated home inside. Sherri answers the door and lets me in, immediately leading us toward the back of the house. When we enter the den, I come face-to-face with two sights. The first is a very large gun case filled with shotguns and rifles. Secondly, Bob comes around the corner with a grim expression on his face and

is wearing a medical brace of some sort. He does not seem pleased to see me. Sherri indicates that we can sit in the den, but I spy a breakfast table in the kitchen that suits the three-person interview. They somewhat reluctantly agree to sit in the kitchen. After we finally get settled, Bob wants to know what this is all about and how I got their names. This is my first indication that Bob and Sherri do not seem to communicate well. He does not seem pleased at this point and appears very suspicious of me.

I go over the introductory letter with them and then walk them through the informed consent. Bob demands to know how he can be sure his identity will be concealed. I launch into the explanation of how I arrived here in their kitchen. I also explained my background, my husband, our family business, and my hopes for this research. Bob is finally mollified, and Sherri appears exasperated with his attitude. We all talk for about fifteen minutes before the interview begins.

After our wrangling with the arrest reports, they insist that one is missing and want to get the chronological order of multiple arrests straight. When that issue is resolved, Bob becomes more relaxed and verbose. They both start talking rapidly and, alternately, each takes over the conversation. At times they discuss adamantly what was really happening at some certain time or event.

Sherri is middle aged, average weight for her average height, is dressed casually, has short light brown hair, wears little or no makeup, and low key jewelry. It is obvious that she has studied people and systems in college. Her observations seem clear and concise. She sometimes corrects Bob's explanation of things, even to the point of clarifying his emotions to him. Sherri is bright, involved and attentive on many levels and very open to sharing her

feelings and experiences.

Bob is late middle-aged, tall, average weight, has gray/white hair, and wears wire-rimmed glasses. He is dressed "like casual Friday at work," khakis, button-down shirt and loafers. Since calming down after my arrival, Bob starts talking in single sentences and then starts getting into it. I learn the brace he is wearing is from a recent car wreck.

When I first enter the kitchen, one of their teenage sons comes in from the garage and his parents introduce me. He stands there and seems interested, but Sherri tells him to go on back out into the garage with his friends. They are working on a car out there throughout the interview. The phone rings many times during the evening, all for this son. They explain that all the cars in the driveway are abandoned because of recent multiple car wrecks by the family members.

Their two biggest problems seem to be their self-imposed isolation and their dysfunctional communication style. They speak of avoiding friends and family, withholding information from others including each other, snapping at each other and aggressively correcting one another. I get the feeling that they may have been arguing before I arrived and might argue after I leave.

When I ask about how they have been coping since their daughter's arrest, they soften their affect with one another and admit that they "are not coping well at all." After the interview ends, I take the opening and talk to them about their future perception of their lives, whichever way their daughter's case works out. We talk briefly about adjustment, acceptance and nurturing their marriage. They have been suspending their lives basically for the past two years, especially the last year. It is almost as if they need permission to

acknowledge their personal issues in light of this crisis. They also respond to their need to hear encouragement in visualizing their next decade with their daughter's foreseeable imprisonment as a part of it.

When I leave, they are very relaxed and calm, even peaceful. We all go outside and work together to get my car turned around and down the driveway.

Cross-Case Analyses of Interview Topics

The five, broad interview-guide topics helped to stimulate the memories of the family members pertaining to specific areas of concern during their experience from the arrest to the trial of their relative. Some examples of responses are included to further define the generalizations of these categories of interest.

Notification of Arrest

The arrest occurrences for the interviewees of this study were referred to as interesting, sometimes troubling and sad, but ultimately were not crucially regarded by the family members. Ed and Nancy indicated how they discovered their grown son was in criminal trouble for "inappropriate touching of his child:"

> Nancy: We called up there (in another state) one morning and he was off work that day and he didn't quite seem right.
>
> Ed: Yeah, he was very, obviously something was going on and I don't know if it was that day later, or I think it was on another day, he called and said, he broke down, and said, this is what has happened and what has happened

now....

Nancy: At the time that we had called the day before and everything was so strange, he said there had been an officer there talking to him.

Terri had been notified of her daughter, Michelle's, drug arrest by one of Michelle's girlfriends calling her the day after the arrest. Lou's father's arrest in a drug sting was related to her by her sister a few days after the arrest occurred. Ruby was at the scene when her brother shot and killed another young man, and she watched him being arrested and driven away. When Candice's husband was accused of murdering someone, he left town to escape being arrested. She related how her husband was finally arrested:

Candice: My husband had been gone for a few days after the murder, and I hadn't heard from him or seen him. On Sunday, I was getting ready to go to church–he called me about 10 a.m. and he said, "Can I come home?" And I said, "No the police want to talk to you." So, I told him that some things had gone wrong and that the police wanted to talk to him and he couldn't come home–that it would be dangerous and he should turn himself in. I made the phone call to 911 and told them that my husband was in town, gave them his name, told them of the charge I knew he was being sought for and that they needed to go pick him up, he wanted to turn himself in. And then he (husband) called me back on the phone and we waited (on the phone together) at the store (he was calling from) for them to come get him.

When Tamara's husband had a car wreck that killed two people in the other car, Tamara had been driving to her house in a separate car; she related the following sequence of events:

> I seen the wreck myself and I was pregnant at the time and, like, I just started.... I seen his truck slammed into a tree, I couldn't tell if there was any other cars around, because the way there was so many cops and stuff around. I couldn't tell what went on. I just seen it had, it was stopped into a tree and he wasn't in it. So I kind of assumed they took him to the hospital already, so I just left. And I was in shock, and I come here (mother's house) and my mom went over there to find out what happened for me. She said, "Well I think they're all dead but, they took them to the hospital." When I got there, he was all right, you know, he was in a neck brace, they thought he was going to be paralyzed at first from the waist down. He wasn't, thank God.... But, I stayed with him as long as they allowed me to, and then they made me leave around 5:30 in the morning. The cops made me leave, they wouldn't let me stay with him. And then the next day, sometime around 7:30, 8:00 o'clock that night is when they arrested him (at the hospital) and took him to jail. He called me and told me the next day when they took him in and everything, when they arrested him and all that.

Sherri related her and husband's feelings when their daughter, a former honor student, was arrested for Aggravated Burglary and Possession of Narcotics, "Well, first of

all, you can't believe it, it's just like, and still sometimes I think it's like living dream, a bad dream. You can't believe you're little girl was involved in it, that she did these things."

Not knowing the "system," the players or the rules impacted their subsequent actions, reactions and ultimately their ability to cope. The "system" to which the participants often referred was actually a compilation of various legal, judicial, correctional and social-service agencies who became involved in these families' lives, to the point of dictating to them or limiting their avenues for being able to cope, recover, and progress. I was uneasily aware with how intertwined the agencies to which they referred were with one another.

The actions of the court-appointed attorneys for the children and Child & Family Services involved in the case of Ed and Nancy's son, in part, determined that they needed to step in and rescue their daughter-in-law and their grandchildren by moving them out of state, to be with them.

> Ed: They were threatening, they were threatening to take those children away out of the home.
>
> Nancy: Because she wasn't divorcing him, they threatened to take those children from her, all three of them.
>
> Ed: This was a, this was a real, you know, a monster, if you would.

Candice's entire life was turned upside down by the bond conditions the judge set in her husband's Murder case. She recounted:

> She (the judge) stood there in the courtroom and set the bond conditions, and set the most restrictive conditions that our attorney has ever seen in his life.

> I'm required to be with my husband twenty-four hours a day. I cannot leave this house until Monday morning. The only time I'm allowed to leave is when he is over at the center for his treatment. I can't go to the store to buy milk tomorrow. I'm in for the weekend. And when the judge set these conditions she said, "You will stay with him, you will do this or I will hold you in contempt of court." And she said, "I don't feel like there's any problem with that because you're the wife and the wife is always the enabler, so you're just as responsible for what happened as he is."

Candice and her husband had been living under these conditions for one year, and the trial date at this time was still four months away.

Lou related how her father's parole conditions changed his parents' (her grandparents') lives, and still affect them all 15 years later.

> Lou: He was required to live with them, mainly 'cause he had to have some place to move into, someplace were, you know, that is a condition of parole, that you have to have some place that you're going to stay. I think he stayed there partly as a way to deal with, 'cause there was a hefty fine imposed as well, and he wouldn't be able to pay on the fine or work if he was living by himself. And I'm not sure what all the in's and out's of it were. Just that if he was living there, that if he was having to pay on his fine he could still survive, and there may have been some reason why him living there made it unnecessary for him to pay the fine.

Interviewer: How many years do you think he ended up living there?

Lou: Well, he's still living there.

While the court did not dictate that Lou's father live with his parents forever, the act of a forty-five-year-old man being forced to move back home with his parents appeared to have greatly affected the parents' and the father's ability to be independent.

Terri and Michelle's lives had been affected by the collusion between police officers and public-housing authorities. Terri explained how Michelle is facing eviction from her unit if she does not cooperate with these two systems by providing them with information they want about other residents.

> Terri: Like I told her, don't be telling--don't snitch and tell on nobody, because she got her child she got to live for and raise. Because when you sit there and you tell on somebody, it goes right back and they tell the person who told on them, and plus the person telling has to appear in court as a witness.
>
> Michelle: That could be my life or something.
>
> Terri: That's right, or her family's life, or anybody.

It appeared that if Michelle would snitch on other housing residents' crimes to the police, the housing authorities would rescind her eviction notice. Understandably, Michelle did not want to cooperate with these systems because the retribution from her neighbors for snitching could cost her or her family their lives.

These are a few examples of how the various systems involved deeply affected the

families of the accused offenders.

Talking to Others About Arrest

Two conclusions were obvious from responses to the question of reactions to the arrest; (a) So little help or guidance was apparent anywhere for these families. They gave me the impression that they believed that they had been left on their own after being dropped into a "foreign country" with no guidebook, dictionary, map, no language skills, no embassy.

When the participants were asked who had helped them know what to do next, and understand the systems and procedures in each system, Terri replied, "No one!" When I asked if they had been able to talk to any friends who had a similar experience to know what to tell them to do, she said, "No, we just been dealing with it ourselves and praying to God that everything will work out." When Ellen was asked how she dealt with the realization that there was no one to help, she said, "My nerves, I didn't know what I was going to do, my head was spinning." Shortly after her husband's arrest, Candice recalled, "Back in March, April, May, I was begging for help and there was nothing out there."

Even simple things such as trying to find out the name and phone number of the jail where their loved ones were being held was trying. Nancy and Ed related:

> Yeah, because we had trouble trying to find the number for the (unintelligible). Yeah, it wasn't immediately, it wasn't something you could turn, as I recall we had difficulty finding it and we did, but it could have been a lot easier, definitely, definitely. But the biggest problem is to have people listed there who are genuinely willing to help instead of giving you a song

and dance and then turn the other way when you do need help.

As simple as the problems may appear to be on the surface, in actuality they are multifaceted, as Sherri stated:

> Because when it first happens, you have no idea what to do at all. You don't know how, if you should get a lawyer, you don't if the court's going to give her one, you don't know what it's going to cost, you don't know who to go to, you don't know what's going to happen.

During the interview with Tamara, when I tried to assist her in finding help in the yellow pages, she stated, "If you wasn't here telling me all this right now, I wouldn't know the slightest clue of anybody else to call."

The event and, therefore, talking about the event had a disturbing effect on relationships. Families who were emotionally distant before the arrest became divided, and family members were often avoided. Sherri said, "He's (Bob) one of the big problems, he doesn't want to tell anybody, but it took me a long time to tell my family too." Ruby alluded to arguments that arose between family members when the issue of her brother's bond was mentioned:

> That's why my family, they start talking about it, they get into it over it. And that ain't making it no better, so I stay to myself. You know, and that's why I, I think that's why I really broke down (crying with me) like I did, 'cause, there ain't nobody to talk to. You know, I mean, they (family members) say I can come and talk with them, but we don't do nothing but get into it, you know? I don't asked them for nothing, they don't ask me for nothing.

In addition to arguing with relatives and withholding information from certain members, families also withheld specific information that was perhaps most embarrassing to them, as Ed and Nancy and then Bob and Sherri demonstrated:

> Ed and Nancy :We didn't want the extended family to know either. There were a couple, three, in the extended family that he (the accused son) was all right to share with, not what the offense was, but the fact that he was in trouble.
>
> Interviewer: And how do you go about....?
>
> Nancy: We just told them he's in trouble and just doesn't want you to know what the offense is.
>
> Interviewer: But I mean, how do you go about keeping it from the others in the extended family?
>
> Nancy: Well, we haven't been successful in all cases. I think one family.... (Ed quietly cuts her off).

Bob and Sherri related their reluctance to share with family members.

> Bob: I didn't tell my Dad for a long, he probably didn't know about it for, what, a year, year-and-a-half.
>
> Sherri: And my Dad still doesn't know a lot of it. And it's not really any reason that I haven't told him, it just that, I started to tell him, and I was kind of building up to it. I wanted to tell him in person, and he lives way over on the coast, so it's not that I get to see him very often. And, so I really haven't told him everything. I told him the other day that she was in jail. But he

doesn't know about the burglaries and things like that. He knows about the drugs and the alcohol and, you know....

Interviewer: So you just kind of let him assume that the jail thing is related to the drugs and alcohol?

Sherri: Right, right. And I'll tell him eventually, it's not even like I'm hiding it from him.

It appears the arrest furthered the schism between family members and added another variable into their mixed communications.

Friendships were lost, diminished, or avoided following the arrest as Nancy attested, "There are people we should contact that I just don't want to contact because I don't want them to know about our family, and I don't want to deal with it." Sherri also expressed the reasons why they let go of friendships:

You know what is so bad about it, you feel so much shame over it. It's not our fault, but we're ashamed of it. And so that's why you don't talk about it. I've lost friendships over it, because I don't want to talk about it, I don't want to tell my friends about it, so I don't even contact them anymore. 'Cause I don't want to talk to them about it, I don't want to tell them. I don't want to admit, cause I still feel like a failure in some ways. (She starts to tear up).

Sometimes neighbors were not dealt with, and some coworkers and bosses were lied to. Reality of the situation was seemingly omitted to the point of even denying marriage. Ellen stated that she usually does not tell people in her work environments that she is married, "You tell people your husband is in a penitentiary and they're like, 'Oh my God!'"

Media accounts were only a factor with one family, and it was used as a tool for coping by receiving help. By giving a T.V. interview of her and her husband's situation, Candice reported her mailbox, "...filled up with money and cards, up to fifty cards from strangers with no signatures and cash."

There was such a lack of communication between family members! Perhaps avoiding the conversations about the arrest and the accused helped to keep the other negative dynamics of the family at bay. Lou said of her family's avoidance and denial of unpleasantness, "If we don't talk about it, it just isn't so." Denial and avoidance appeared to promote a lack of caring and persons' helping. The fallout from the arrest seemed to provide a good scapegoat or excuse to maintain or escalate emotional distance between family members. It seemed almost as if the families would emotionally shred each other if true feelings between family members were allowed to be expressed. Lou recounted, "Even after Daddy got out (of prison) and was living there in the house with them, he (Grandpa) would barely speak to him." Sherri described how their oldest son was affected by his sister's criminal actions, "He's so angry at her because of what she's done to us-how she's affected us. And they just, half the time they, he won't even, he won't even give her the time of day, he doesn't want to have anything to do with her."

The effects of the arrest seemed to magnify their existing family problems. "My family is, you know, not much of a family," Ellen said of the lack of support from her family. When I mentioned to Lou that I imagined it must have been upsetting to talk to her father through glass while he was in prison, Lou snorted a laugh and said, "Well, metaphorically speaking, I've been talking to him through glass most of my life." Young Ruby who was so

lost without her imprisoned brother to take care of her, tearfully told me, "I ain't got nobody, I can't even depend on my own Mama."

Happenings to Family Since Arrest

The families revealed homes lost, vehicles lost, money lost, and control lost. Tamara explained that Lopez had been working twelve hours a day, six days a week before his arrest, "He was just trying to save everything he could where we could get married in a church, ya know, and have a good life together, ya know, and have stuff before she (the infant) came here. 'Cause we had an apartment once, but, ya know, after he got in trouble I come here–I couldn't stay by myself." When recounting her losses, Candice angrily proclaimed, "The victim's family, he goes where he pleases, he has plenty of money--a lot more now than he did before, and he comes and goes as he chooses. He works, nobody took his job away. I've lost more than he's lost--screw him." As Bob and Sherri explained how much their daughter's drug problems had cost them, they revealed a painful decision they had reached concerning having to pay another attorney in the near future:

> There's not going to be a next time, we've already decided that. We don't have the money to put any more money into it, you know? For the last three years we've had so many expenses with her, you know, we've borrowed all we can borrow from our families, we've done everything we can do--we can't do anymore.

Overwhelming financial problems burden them all to varying degrees, depending on

their level of resources before the arrests. Ruby said:

> Right now I'm late with last month's and this month's light bill. Then I got a furniture payment, you know, ain't no telling what bill they done slapped on there now. I ain't even had this (sparse furnishings) a month. But, I'm ready to call and tell them to come and get it. I can go without furniture for a while, 'cause you know (crying again), I mean, this is hard.

The families also reported varying degrees of their physical health diminishing, their emotional health severely threatened, and their social health deteriorating. Michelle and Terri both reported losing weight because of the emotional stress of their situations, "It's all stressful, and I been stressed out for about three months now," said Michelle. She stated, "I done lost weight and done got skinny. I barely eat, I might eat once a day, you know, I pick over food." Her mother Terri claimed, "I'm upset and nervous and worried about her. I have an appetite, it comes and goes, but I work and just worry that everything will be all right."

One of Ruby's comments about her condition since her brother's arrest covered all these aspects of poor health when she said:

> I mean, I used to be bigger. I don't eat like I used to, I guess 'cause my mind don't let me eat. I'm going to be hungry, when I do get hungry sometimes I get sick. I used to be bigger than this, but other day my aunt said, "You're losing so much weight." She asked me why, and I told her "I'm just stressed out." You know, she just think I'm stressed out on my boyfriend, but it ain't. I let her think that, but it ain't. I ain't talked to nobody about how I feel.

Tamara's responses were also very revealing about the state of her physical, emotional, and social health:

> My Mom, ya know, she's, she talks to me a lot about it, ya know, cause most of the time I stay secluded in my room and I cry all the time, I don't really talk to anybody, but she tries. And there's times I can't even eat or anything, my nerves are just gone, I go three or four days without eating. I can't, it's just something I can't hold down, I just get real sick. I mean it's just like, it's just like, ya know, I'm in there with him, I can't, I can't, I don't know how to, I don't know how to do it without him. I can't be without him, it's just something I'm not used to. I'm like a zombie every day really I just, I just cry all the time, stay by myself a lot, ya know, and when he calls me it makes it worse. 'Cause you know I actually have to hear him on the phone and when I go see him it's just, I cry the whole time I'm there. It's just the hardest thing.

Dealing with Event/Coping Strategies

After their family member's arrest, they all tried to get information and were desperate to understand and learn, crash course style. Though the interviews were long after the arrest, they demonstrated needs for empathy, understanding, guidance, counseling and help. They had not made new friends, but currently had many acquaintances with people they thought they would never need to know (about the arrest). They found moments of support with empathetic others, but no consistent helping support. No support groups were found.

Admitting addictions to eating, drugs, alcohol, smoking, they indicated that smoking had increased, eating had decreased. Michelle admitted, "That's mainly what I've been doing, smoking cigarettes and stuff." Ruby also volunteered, "I sit and I smoke, smoke, I smoke. I will go through two packs of cigarettes a day, I mean. For me to be that young, this young I shouldn't have to be worrying about tomorrow, how my bills going to get paid." Candice expressed a need for taking prescription drugs for her nerves shortly after her husband's arrest for Murder, "I was on a megadose of Xanex. Yeah, I had a good doctor who was generous with the prescriptions when things were really bad. I used them, and they really helped."

Some comments and demeanor led me to suspect substance abuse had started or increased for some; some had the look of dissipation--i.e., gaunt faces, pale skin, lifeless hair. Comments such as Ruby's cigarettes and "stuff" she had been smoking in connection with her jittery demeanor, and Ellen's listlessness combined with an explanation that smoking pot was not so bad, not like crack cocaine.

No one mentioned taking up new hobbies except for Candice who is imprisoned with her husband in their home. She is coping by exploring every wish or dream that can be accomplished around her house or yard:

> So, we have fifteen dollars for a roll of wallpaper, and we can afford a flat of flowers to put in the ground. And it takes very little if you're very creative, to make a nice home. I have learned to arrange dried flowers and make the wreath like the one over the fireplace. We have, we did the corn, the fountain, we have about twenty bird-feeding stations around, outside the

windows. And the place is constantly alive, we have a balcony up there and at night we have raccoons and possums that come over the roof to get to the feeders and the cats love to watch. And I feed my critters. I have ten window boxes, you know, I change the plantings. I always wanted to cook, I've had the finest Calpholone pots and pans and everything you could dream of, every kitchen appliance known to man and never used them. And so, I'm getting ready to bake a pecan pie cake, and I'm making everything you could dream of. I mean, I can cook anything now that I have a working kitchen. It's, you know, the pantry's full and anything that we want from anyplace on earth, I can whip up in a few minutes because I've collected the ingredients, by using the internet, from all over the world.

Of all the families, Candice and her husband were the most resourceful and positive about their predicament (at that time). They were on a mission of exploration and memory building because they were living in a finite bubble of time during his house arrest. If he is sentenced and taken to a maximum security prison, they will never be allowed to touch each other for the rest of their lives, and he will never see his lovely home again.

Sherri mentioned that she kept journals of her daily life. I asked her about it.

Interviewer: You mentioned that you write in a journal, does that help you?

Sherri: Oh yes, I scream, I scream in my journal (laughs). I told Bob, if I die, you destroy that journal. 'Cause I've kept them for years, but I read them after a couple of years, and I throw them away 'cause I don't want anybody

reading my private thoughts. (laughs) So we have a deal, 'cause I just, I do, I scream sometimes. Yeah, it helps a lot, it helps to write it down.

Interviewer: Is there anything in particular you do, Bob, to help yourself cope?

Bob: At one time way back, I had these yellow legal pads I'd fill out, I wrote out everything. When I do stuff like that it's so damn meticulous though you wouldn't believe it. (laughs) I mean, I'll go....

Sherri: That was kind of a journal for you too.

Bob: Yeah, it was for a, I did it for a while and then finally I just quit.

Their journal writing and Candice's new hobbies were the only signs of positive coping mechanisms being used by the families.

Other

They all wanted and needed to talk about their cases; they gave numerous details about becoming very knowledgeable, almost a desire to show and share their new knowledge. By rehashing their cases they seemed to search for an understanding of how they came to be where they are, as if the details of the case contained hidden clues. My probing of the case was to help stimulate memories, but their need to chronicle the events was very clear. Finding order in the chaos appeared important for their acceptance of the magnitude of the events.

Conclusions from Cross-Case Analyses of Interview Topics

The interview-guide designed for this study contained five, broad, topic areas that were intended to help stimulate the memories of the experiences the families had lived from the arrest to the trial of one of their family members. These areas determined the primary analysis of responses from the families. The topics were, notification-of- arrest, talking to others about the arrest, happenings to the family since the arrest, dealing and coping with the event, and a category termed, "other," that contained a mixture of subjects.

The notification-of-arrest topic examined how the family member learned of the arrest of their relative, and whom they contacted in order to determine what to do next. The arrest occurrences were interesting and sometimes troubling, but ultimately not crucially important to the family members. What did emerge from this area of conversation was how the families felt the systems involved in their individual cases were determining their level of recovery and progress. The three systems involved were readily identified as the legal system, the correctional system, and social systems. It became evident through their discussions that the three systems were intertwined and worked in unison. The subject of systems was so extensive and universal among the different families that it evolved into its own theme.

The next area of inquiry, talking to others about the arrest, offered the families an opportunity to explain how they obtained legal help, who had helped them through the process from arrest to trial, and how the arrest event had affected relationships with the primary people in their lives. This area revealed how little help there was for these families as they attempted to navigate through the process. As Ed said, they were "going blindly."

No one helped the families learn what to do next. The effects, on their primary relationships from the arrest of a family member, were so pervasive that this area of inquiry became an emerging theme from the data that is discussed in the following section.

The third topic area explored what had happened to the families since their member's arrest. Circumstances in their lives were altered dramatically for all the participants except for Lou. She claimed her father's arrest and imprisonment had virtually no affect on her. The rest of the families suffered great losses–financial means, jobs, homes, cars, and control over their lives. Their physical and mental health were also diminished. My observations in my notes recorded the families' emotional states as shocked, stunned, and traumatized as Tamara presented by secluding herself in her room and crying all day. Severe mood swings and a manic-edged desperation were evidenced by Candice and her charming, seething self. Five of the families were anxiously awaiting in dread for their member's trial, or the next step in their particular case. Ruby, Tamara, and Michelle were reduced to a primitive level of survival. The families also exhibited loneliness, fear, frustration, and immense personal pain.

The fourth topic area covered subjects related to how the families were dealing with their situations, and what coping strategies they may have been utilizing. It became obvious that the families were not coping well at all. They had no social support whatsoever, and the need for it became so consistently mentioned that it emerged as a second-order theme. The families revealed altered eating habits and increased substance use. Specific coping strategies were employed by Candice, and Sherri and Bob. Sherri and Bob spoke of keeping journals, although Bob had stopped by the time I interviewed them. Sherri continued to

record her "screams" in her journal. Candice's hobbies became strategies for coping with the house-arrest conditions under which she lived with her husband.

The fifth topic area included other notes of interest, but the most prominent feature became the families' need to chronicle the events in each of their cases. As they sought order in the details of their recent experiences, their responses further solidified the second order of the four emerging themes.

Cross-Case Analyses of Themes

After the interview topics were arranged and analyzed, themes began to emerge from the narrative data that expressed the most salient concerns of the eight families. The four themes were: (a) Theme of Immediate and Future Concerns, (b) Theme of Interactions with Systems, (c) Theme of Relationships, (d) Theme of Wanting and Needing Help.

All four themes emerged under the conceptual umbrella of repercussions for the family members of accused felony offenders. These themes evolved from the narrative data by the consistent repetition of similarly themed cross-case responses. Particular variables in each of the families' cases were different, such as the relationship of the accused to the interviewee, the differing genders, ages, socioeconomic status, and racial orientations of the participants, even the differing crimes their relatives were accused of, but their anguish unified them as a representative sample of families of accused felony offenders. The stories were different for each family, but eventually they all resulted in the same experiential place--one of crisis. They all expressed fear, uncertainty about their futures, existing in limbo while serious decisions had to be made, and worry about the consequences from those

decisions.

The next section explores each of the four themes across all eight families with examples given for clarification.

Theme of Immediate and Future Concerns

This theme included the families' most pressing concerns at the moment of the interview, and their future concerns including varying degrees of fear about the unknown, in the process from arrest to trial. The immediate concerns of the different families is presented first, then their future concerns are explored cross-case.

Immediate Concerns

Michelle and Terri

Michelle's most immediate concern was her housing situation. She was being evicted from public housing because they do not allow drug felons to reside on their premises:

> I lived here for four years. I have never been in any trouble or nothing like until the day that I got arrested, then everything changed. They evicted me because they said if you get caught with drugs or whatever it's one strike and you're out. The most pressing thing is a place to live. I have to be out by the thirteenth, and I don't even have no money to go, move nowhere–to even put my stuff in storage, or rent a truck, or anything. Ya know, that just, it hurts.

When I asked her what she was going to do, she said:

> I don't know what to do 'cause I can't stay in a shelter. But, I'll probably stay in the shelter till I can find somewhere else to go. But nobody wants to stay in the shelter, not with your child anyway. It's just stressful, depressing, hard on me.

Ellen

Ellen stated her most pressing concern was for the children, "It's the children is what it is for me, it's the children." Her worry about her children was related to her financial situation since her husband's arrest. She and her children were suffering the backlash of being the family of an accused felony offender:

> I mean it always seems like it's just a dead-end street, every way I look it's a dead end street. And like I told my husband, "You know, I trying my best to hang on to what we have." I know that we're not rich, but I've come a long ways. 'Cause I had my little boy when I was fifteen-years-old, and we started out with nothing. And I feel like I've done a very good job for myself, though, we've come a long ways since then.

We discussed one of the ways in which this backlash manifested itself, and she said, "Everything down to simple things like your credit report and stuff are affected by those actions (felonious actions)." When I asked her if it came up when she tried to buy things, she confirmed that by saying, "We couldn't even buy a trailer last year because of the several things that has happened with him."

Ruby

A frightened and tearful Ruby explained how financially desperate her situation had become since her only caretaker, her brother, had been arrested for Murder:

> It just seems like it is, it do, it seems like it's just been forever. I'm just going through so much right now, I don't know what to deal with first. It's just like that, I don't know what to deal with first. It's hard though, I tell my sister-in-law, "I ain't got no food, you know, you got to bring me something over so I can eat." (crying) It hurts me to tell her that.

Ruby's minimum-wage job as a clerk did not cover her basic requirements, "Even though I know I got a job, you know, I still got to get food. Right now my meat, my freezer, I got couple of meats in there. But my refrigerator is straight empty. (crying) You know, it's just, it's not right."

Candice

The arrest of her husband for murder had reduced the former moderately affluent and accomplished Candice to an instinctual level:

> But I, I have freaked out, there have been times I have just gone completely bizzerk, and there have been times I have wanted to die. That I just wanted to die. Usually because of financial hardships. See, I don't care about the victim, I could give a rat's ass. Because that's not what our life is about, our life is about survival, it all changed. I'm not the person I used to be. I'm about surviving right now, about me surviving. I care about obtaining

> groceries, about keeping the phone bill paid, about keeping that piece of crap car out there running. I care about being able to pay the rent for the landlord, I care about being able to get the cats to the vet when something goes wrong. I don't have room to care (about others).

In addition, her apparent emotional trauma associated with trying to grasp the concept of her biggest loss yet to come was virtually indescribable, "I guess my biggest, my biggest thing right now is trying to be super faithful. Someday there will be a trial, and it's more likely than not that my husband will be gone forever, and never come back, never come out."

Ed & Nancy

Ed and Nancy's primary concern was simply trying to maintain the status quo. Their emotional obligations to their son and his family had evolved into a huge emotional, financial, and physical burden for this couple in their late sixties. They were also caring for Ed's aging father who lived with them. In addition to those burdens, the couple was also preparing for their son's eventual release from prison and his moving in with them:

> The goal is to get his parole changed from the other state's jurisdiction to Tennessee. We're very hopeful that this will all be over, at least this phase be over come, come August. Then he starts phase two, where he has to live apart from the family and can't see his children, except on a restricted basis. He could live with us, which he will do.

Tamara

The immediate pressure on Tamara was two-fold. (a) The states's prosecutors were trying to force her to testify against her husband who had killed two people in a traffic accident. "They're trying to have me as a witness against him for the state. And I told them there's no way, I don't care what they do to me, I will not go against him for nothing in this world." In addition to that stress, Tamara's living conditions were abysmal–one of poverty and overcrowding with seven people and six dogs living in a little house:

> Yeah I'm gonna have to find somewhere to go, 'cause it's very small here, ya know, trying to live here with all the people who live here and the babies I have, I'll have to find somewhere to go, something. I just don't want to live in the projects, that's my problem. I'm the kinda person that don't want to be there, around a bad thing and have my children.

Bob & Sherri

As Bob and Sherri waited for a criminal-court judge to decide what should be done with their once promising daughter, they agonized over the damage her addiction to street drugs had wrought upon her brain. They had been told effects from the drugs were "Permanent and irreversible brain damage." Sherri said the judge wanted their daughter to be repentant of her crimes before it was decided whether or not to put her in a long-term drug treatment program or prison:

> If she is, has a mental problem caused by drugs or has a personality disorder also, then she is not going to react to any verbal stimulus or anything else that

> anyone expects her to do. Like the judge expects her to show this remorse and plead, "Well, I know I'm an alcoholic and drug addict, and I know I'm going to stop." It isn't going to happen. It's not even that we want her to get out of it, we just want to get her help. Because she needs more than that, if she is, if she truly is mentally damaged in some way from street drug.

Future Concerns

Michelle

As Michelle faced eviction from the housing projects in which she lives, she was confronted with the long-term consequences of having a felony record for Drug Possession:

> Once you get put out of here you don't have nowhere else to go, and then I'll a have a charge on my record. My records gonna be messed up--it's gonna be hard for me to try and get a job, ya know, if I ever want to go to a company or something and work. That felony is gonna follow me the rest of my life on my record, ya know, then it's gonna be hard for me to move in housing or do anything because they won't let you move into housing with a felony on your record.

As she filled out an application for different federal housing, she faced her first of many challenges, "But then, see it say, 'Have you ever been convicted of a misdemeanor or a felony?' I didn't even put nothing right there, I just left that blank." She then expressed hope for her future that she may never have the opportunity to realize, "I wanna go back to school

and get my GED and then take some college credits."

Ellen

When I asked Ellen if she was a student in school, she revealed dashed hopes for her future. "No, I'm not in college, that was one of my main steps I was gonna do before all this happened. I was gonna go back to school and get my GED while he worked. And then it just all blowed up in my face, is what it is, when he went to jail." Her level of stress was apparently so high, she was considering options for her future that she seemingly never would have considered before:

> And then I've been thinking about going ahead and getting a divorce while he's in there just because, you know, he's going to be in there a long time. I love my husband dearly, he's the love of my life. If he just goes up for parole within a year and then he gets another year added on to that, then that's just, you know, that's just too long. I've got to do something, I can't keep doing this by myself, 'cause it's too hard on me. It's probably why I'm having so much heart trouble, it's too much stress.

Ruby

While we discussed Ruby's need to take care of herself, she evaluated her present situation with reference to her future, "I try hard, I do, I try hard. I think that's why I got no kids of my own. 'Cause I'm going through rough, I'm going through things, you know? I can't pay my bills right, what makes you think I can feed another mouth?"

Candice

The actions of Candice's husband, admittedly murdering someone during an alcoholic blackout, have colored her future with fear and despair:

> I feel fear, I feel that the family, the victim's family, will, is likely at some point--I know that they really want to retaliate. I know that they want to kill me and my husband. There's this thought in me that says, well, you know, your husband killed his wife (another man's wife) so you don't have the right to protect yourself, you would just have to let them do whatever they wanted to do to make it even. And I can feel that in my mind. Kind of some really weird, negative, compensation and I know that's not right, but I feel it in there. That's one of those things that I think would be ideal to work out with a therapist, but there isn't one.

I acknowledged her difficult situation and her need for assistance in the future, and she replied:

> It's real hard not knowing--am I going to have to start a whole new life over by myself forever, or not? We don't know until the last minute. There's no way to prepare for the future. He's going to be fed and clothed and cared for as long as he lives. But I have arthritis, you know, I can't carry firewood down the steps and I'm the one that's going to be sick and alone and have no one to call. You know, the family is screwed.

Ed & Nancy

As our interview was ending, Ed and Nancy expressed regret for the loss of their retirement plans with the use of a vast understatement considering their enormous care-giving situation, "It's a full plate, yes, yes it is. It's not what we expected when we retired. We were going to play a lot of golf when we retired."

Tamara

At one point in our interview, Tamara assessed her situation, "Now I've lost everything, he's lost everything. We don't even know what the future is going to be like, ya know. It's just very, very hard." When I asked her if she would wait for and follow her illegal immigrant husband after he served his prison years for two vehicular homicides and then was deported, she replied

> Yeah, I want to go with him. I told him, I was like, I'll never leave him for nothing in this world. I'll go straight to Mexico with him. I would, I'd do anything for him in the world. It's just been off on me 'cause I can't work, I can't do much, I barely get enough money to send to jail for him to live on.

Bob & Sherri

Sherri and Bob both predicted a realistically bleak future for themselves and their drug damaged-daughter, when first Sherri said:

> See, now she's in the legal system, and I don't think she'll ever get help. I truly don't, I think she's just going to be in it, she's just going to fail. The

> way things are going now, she is going to fail, no matter what they do. She's going to end up being in prison, and when she comes out of prison in nine years she's going to be a totally different person. Then there's going to be no help for her at all.

Bob added his thoughts:

> She'll be gone if that happens, I really believe that unless there's someway we can get her into some kind of place that is going to really and truly try to help her–which I don't think that is going to happen. I just don't see any end to it. I almost believe that there's no way out of this, that we will have this problem forever.

The families' immediate and future concerns were vastly different, from being forced to live in a homeless shelter to losing a brain-damaged daughter to the prison system, but all their fears and grief of loss were similarly life-altering and inconsolable.

Theme of Interactions with Systems

Interactions with systems was a pervasive theme throughout every interview. Included are the legal, correctional, and social systems through which the families had to navigate without guidance or direction. Their treatment by these systems was a large source of great frustration, bewilderment, and anger among the family members of accused felony offenders.

Legal System

Michelle & Terri

> Michelle and Terri's experience with lawyers was troubling. Michelle explained: I been tryin' to talk to everybody, been trying to get me a Legal Aid lawyer, or a lawyer up at the University, but they not taking cases, and Legal Aid won't help me. If I don't have anybody to help me fight it, I can't fight it to try to keep my apartment. I been calling people, I called the Bar Association, they sent me to a lawyer, they recommended me to him. Then when I went to him, I had to give him $25 for them, and then he told me that there's nothing that he could do to help me. I felt like they beat me out of $25, ya know, 'cause I, and I could took that $25 and did something else with it that I really needed to do. I tried to get a paid attorney but I couldn't afford a paid attorney.

Her mother, Terri, qualified that by saying, "They wanted $50,000 straight up front before they would even handle the case."

Candice

Candice related how the judge's orders had controlled her and her husband's lives, and she lamented how ambitious and unscrupulous the District Attorney (D.A.) seemed:

> If we go to him (judge) to ask, for example, if someone could be added to the house-arrest relief list, like to come on Sunday so I can go to church, he'll

just say, "Well, if you're having trouble keeping up restrictions that's no problem, let's just put him back in jail." If we can't make it, he goes back to jail and the D.A. has kept the community safe, and the bond that I've paid would be forfeited, and he goes back to jail. Every time we've gone to court the D.A. has told blatant lies. The man has no concern for honesty whatsoever. Our public defender has had to tell us, "This is not about doing the right thing, this is about winning. They are going to win and we are going to fight them and that's all it's about. It's not about doing the right thing, it's not about justice, its about winning, and the D.A. will do anything he needs to do in order to win and to look good." The D.A.'s been incredibly dishonest and I'm astonished, because I'm so naive I've always believed in fairness and equal justice and those are hard principles to let go of.

Ed & Nancy

Ed and Nancy's experience with the legal system in the matter of their son's act of alleged child abuse was very disturbing:

The guy that worked with the prosecuting attorney was shocked that she wasn't divorcing him, and after the sentencing they (the attorneys and investigators) were high-fiving each other and so forth. These guys were extreme, they were extreme. The judge made some remarks that were just, I thought, totally, totally inappropriate. His attorneys had to go back down and get those remarks removed from the record.

Ed's remarks characterized many of the other families' feelings about the legal system also:

> So, there was nothing (long pause and sigh) there was nothing unbiased about this in terms of the judge and so forth. There was no, let's listen to the evidence and then make a decision. That wasn't there. The judge's remarks, I just felt that, I had to restrain myself to keep from, as an interested party listening to this, I had to restrain myself to keep from saying something that I should not have said. I didn't, I said nothing. There was bias from the beginning, not only bias but their minds were made up, period. So, well we feel very strongly that there's a terrible bias against people involved in such things including family unless the family separates themselves completely from the accused.

Tamara

> Tamara related problems with her husband's own attorney and the judge:
> From what I understand he's (husband's attorney) not going to do anything to try to help him neither. He's just very smart in attitude with me and everything. I told him I am not testifying against my husband. Hopefully, I can come up with some money to get him a better lawyer to do something for him, because they're trying to give him twelve years flat.

When I asked if she had tried somebody like Legal Aid, she responded, "I've called them and ask them, and they said they don't handle cases like that, and didn't know anybody that would."

She had this to say about the criminal court judge in her husband's case:

> He (the judge) was talking to one of the other public defenders, and she said she has a vehicular homicide case involving an illegal alien in a little while, and he was like, "Yeah they always find a way to come across the border don't they, and get in trouble." And he was laughing about it. Like they're not caring, you know, they're just throwing it off on him 'cause he's not from here, not legal to be here.

Bob & Sherri

Bob and Sherri pointed out their frustration with lawyers, that even though they pay the attorney for his services, he works only for the daughter because she is the client:

> We were lucky enough to able to hire a good attorney for her. We can talk to them, but it's almost like right over their heads. They hear you, but they don't listen to you, and they don't do what we want them to do, because she is the client. So, do we sound like frustrated parents or what?

The families' experiences with the legal system were troubling in and of themselves, but they had two more additional systems to cope with that impacted their lives. The correctional and social systems involved in their cases are examined next.

Correctional System

The correctional system referred to includes jail and prison personnel, police officers, and criminal detectives and investigators.

Michelle & Terri

Terri, Michelle's mother, recalled her first encounters with the local jail when she was trying to locate her daughter:

> I called and they gave me the run around, they wouldn't let me come and see her. They gave me the basic, "Not her, we don't have her." They did me like this even before I was able to go visit her. I would call, and they'd say, "Well, she's not here, and I'm new"--cracking jokes at the detention facility. They was out there cracking jokes on the phone one morning when I had called to ask, "Was (she) allowed to see visitors before I drive up there again?" "It's too early in the morning to be"--something she said to me real smart, and I got mad about it. She said, "Well I'm just joking with you." It's nothing to joke about when your concerned about your child and you want to see your child.

She went on to describe further mistreatment by the jail:

> The day she was to be released I made her bond; two o'clock that evening I kept calling downtown asking do they still have her, "No call the Penal farm," "no we don't have her, we don't have her"--it was twelve o'clock at night before she was released.

Ellen

Ellen expressed her views about being caught in the system, "It's just like I told my husband, you know, I tell everybody, once you're in their paper there ain't no getting out of

it. Once you're on that book, there's not no getting out of it. They've got you there, and they got you there good."

Tamara

Tamara recounted racial insensitivity by local police officers toward her Mexican husband regarding the vehicular homicides, "The cops and everything were very prejudice that night to me, saying stuff about him being illegal and he deserved what he was getting. They was saying all this kind of stuff. It was like, he killed them he deserves what he is getting. He's drunk, he's illegal, he don't deserve anything."

Lou

Lou vividly recalled a humiliating encounter that occurred 16 years ago with her sister, her mother, and herself at the prison where her father was incarcerated. "Lillie and I went in first, well, we all went in, but they wouldn't let Mom in 'cause she hadn't worn a bra. So Lillie and I went in and visited with Dad, and then I went out and gave Mom my bra so she could go in."

Candice

Candice's numerous experiences with the correctional system had been trying at best, starting immediately after her husband's arrest for Murder:

> I called a friend that I had known for years, he was on the police force and asked him, "What am I waiting on, how can I find out what to do?" He said

> he shouldn't talk to me because he would hate for me to say something he would have to use against me at some point and time. He didn't want me to talk to him.

At the police station, a detective questioned her at length about her husband's actions. "I kept asking him, 'Why are you talking to me without legal representation?' And he kept saying, 'Well, why do think you need legal representation, have you done something wrong?" She also went on to explain the visitation area at the jail:

> When you do go visit you can't hear, there's screaming, there's seventy-five kids in there playing. Everybody's child by six different men is in there in the floor screaming or climbing up your legs and you're sitting there trying to talk, and other prisoners were excited and angry and would start beating on the glass, and you wouldn't be able to hear anything, they just scream at each other.

In her final thoughts concerning her experiences with the correctional system, Candice commented, "I wanted him to be brought in because I thought that he could be dangerous, I didn't know. So, I had wanted him to be arrested. But, if I had it to do over, knowing what I know now, screw them. And screw them twice."

Ed & Nancy

Ed and Nancy's experience with the correctional system was equally frustrating. Ed told how they had driven many states away to visit their son at the prison where he was being incarcerated, only to find out they needed to get back home immediately to care for their

deathly ill daughter. They attempted to get word to their son that they could not stay to see him. Ed related the following conversation they had with a prison guard:

Ed: We'd like to leave a message.

Guard: We can't do that.

Ed: This is an emergency, his sister is terrible ill and we have to go, and we aren't going to be here for visitation this afternoon, he's expecting us–can we leave any message?

Guard: No.

Ed: Can we talk to him?

Guard: No you can't do that.

Ed: Can we talk to the chaplain?.

Guard: No.

Ed: Can we leave a message for the chaplain?

Guard: No.

Ed: Well what can we do?

Guard: I don't know, you could go to Western Union and send a telegram.

Ed explained how even their phone calls with their son had become an issue to cope with.

He calls us. It's a collect call, and it runs about $14 bucks a call, and he can only talk for fifteen minutes, and during the call a recording keeps interrupting every three minutes announcing what jail facility the call is coming from. Fourteen bucks a call, when you can make long distance calls out of state for five cents a minute? And knowing the financial situation that

most of the families, with the husband in there, must be in, you know, this is robbery. This is robbery! It's just a real financial burden. I'm not complaining that he called, but someone from the state has to realize that these aren't dogs up there.

Bob & Sherri

Bob described the way in which their daughter was arrested in their home without their knowledge after she had been taken to the hospital by the police the night before for a drug overdose:.

The police called here the next day and said, "Mr. X, this is officer so-and-so," and I said, "Well how are you doing?" And he said, "We're just calling to see how your daughter is doing," and he made some small talk, then the call ended. I left the house then, and I guess I had been gone fifteen minutes, and they came and arrested her. They were just checking to see if we were here or not so they could come and get her. I think they don't care at all.

Sherri said when she and Bob got home later that day and their daughter was gone, they put two-and-two together with the prior phone call:

We finally called the county, the Detention Center to see if they had arrested her. And, of course, they told us they had. You know, we had to find out on our own. See, that's the other thing, you have no idea where they take them, you have no idea, we didn't even know what the place was called. We couldn't find out any information, it's so hard in the telephone book even, to

> find out the Detention Center's phone number. You don't know what it's called, and so you don't know where to look. And you call a number, it's always after hours, and you can't get in touch with anybody to give you any information, and when you do, they're rude to you.

At this point, Bob proclaimed, "You know what you have out there at the Detention Center, it's rampant incompetence!" When their daughter was finally released days later on bond, Bob disclosed another correctional practice and his thoughts about it:

> God, I mean, you know, we went down, of course when they bring them out, they actually bring them from the Detention Center and drop them off downtown, they just drop them off on the curb. Dump them on the street. Right on the street there. You know, it's the middle of the night. They always release them around midnight. It's the damnest thing! Everything about that place is so incompetent.

Social System

The social systems consist of numerous social-service agencies that seemingly become involved in the criminal justice arena, such as, The Department of Human Services, Child and Family Services, a crisis service, psychiatric hospitals, clinics, community alternative prison programs, and public housing.

Michelle and Terri

Terri commented on the practice of public-housing programs and police departments

working together:

> They have their ways of doing things, putting on pressure to make her go through this, providing she might be willing to give us information that they want her to give in order to keep her apartment, by them knowing she's a single mother with a child. They have their ways of doing things, and it's wrong, it's not fair.

Ellen

Ellen's situation was made worse because she barely made enough money to get by, but it was too much money to be eligible for welfare. "It's just that, mainly it's a money situation. I cannot stand the thought that like, you know like, I can't even get a welfare check. I think that's ridiculous. 'Cause, you know, I mean, they don't take enough things into consideration of what you're going through."

Ruby

At one point during the interview, a comment about the much discussed subject of public housing evoked this response from Ruby, "Those people are, excuse me, assholes over there."

Candice

Candice related some the ways in which she was denied mental care during her most stressful moments. Her experiences with these social systems revealed how under served the

families of felony offenders may be:

> We go through times that we've wanted it worse than others. I've tried to get counseling this year. I go to the clinic for mental care, and they recommended, they started trying to find me a therapist in May. I still don't have one (this comment was made in November of that year). They sent me to (another facility), and the lady there spent an hour telling me why nobody wants to be my therapist. My husband might kill them!
>
> They spent the whole hour they were interviewing me to see if I was suitable, telling me why they didn't want to be my therapist, because it might be dangerous, and trying to help me come to the realization that I need to get out of this house, divorce my husband and let him go to prison and get away from him because I'm endangering my own life.

Because of the lack of mental help for her, Candice had resorted to books to help heal herself. She shared her perspective about the situation, "I'd rather be 'subcounseled' than counseled by idiots. I decided that since they (therapists) don't want to participate, that's nature's way of telling me they don't need to be here."

Ed & Nancy

Ed bitterly remembered his encounter with social services in his son's state of residence:

> We haven't found a whole lot in way of support for families of whose in prison. The support that is supposedly in place, Child and Family Services,

> in his state was anything but support. The only way she could get support, I don't think I'm exaggerating, it appeared to us that the only way she could get any support would be if she would agree to divorce him. Yeah. But, they're (unintelligible) but she is, she has it so much better than she could possibly have had it up there without her going along with their, with their lies. But in terms of constructive help to the family at this time of need, I saw none. But what I saw was, was the "negative help," if you will.

Bob & Sherri

Bob and Sherri explained how one social system was intertwined with the legal system, and their lack of knowledge of how it worked. Bob asked a young man his daughter had served time within a community alternative program to prison about their level of care, and the man stated that he got more out of going to an AA meeting than he got out of going to the community program. Bob reacted, "I thought, now there's something wrong here. This is supposed to be a very hotshot thing." Bob went on to explain the relationship of the community program to the court system and their role in determining their daughter's future:

> The program is a controlling factor now. They would have to go along with anything, they'd have to make the recommendation, I think, to the judge or maybe vice versa, and maybe they agree on it, I don't know. But it, but you're still, you've got, there's no one to turn to, you don't know how to, you just sort of stumble around.

Sherri concurred, "There's nothing, nothing for family (of accused offenders). So, I don't

know, I wish I had an answer for something, but we're still just kind of struggling through all of this."

Theme of Relationships

This section explores how relationships within and outside of the families of the accused offenders were affected by this event.

Michelle & Terri

I asked Michelle and Terri how this event affected relationships with other family members, and Terri replied, "Well they, they, we really don't discuss with our family about it. They know about it, but they, they're not in a situation to try to help. It's mostly me and her we try to deal with it and I try to help her the best way I can."

If Michelle is sent to prison, that would leave her son in the care of Terri and his semi-absent father. Terri's response to this likelihood was "My problem is I'm his Grandmother, but I can't take her place and raise him, that's impossible." Later, Michelle expressed the emotional isolation she felt from her family members, "When I'm cryin' I won't tell nobody, I feel like I can't."

Ellen

I discussed her children's relationship with their imprisoned father, and Ellen's comments pertaining to this area were "I don't want them to see their Daddy, where he's at right now. I don't want to subject my kids to that kind of life." After hearing these

comments, I asked her if the children knew the truth of where their father was and she said, "My little boy does, but my little girl sort of thinks he's in school." Her explanation for the deceit was "'Cause I don't want her thinking that her Daddy is such a bad person."

She mentioned how difficult the court situation had been, and I asked her, "That day in court, when they were going to send him to the penitentiary, were you able to be there with him?" She said, "Yeah, I was there with him. Yeah, and I didn't get to hold or touch him when they took him away." I asked her if she had been able to touch him since then, and she answered, "No, when he went to prison, we had our contact visits and everything. Now they got him moved so far off (to another prison), that I can't get to him 'cause my car don't make it that far." These recollections upset her so much that she stood up quickly and said, "I think I'm going to be sick," and she left for the bathroom. When she had recovered, she started talking about how difficult her struggle was:

> I mean, I pay all my bills myself. That's what a lot of judges and everybody else don't understand; it's more hard on us out here than it is on them in there. And that's exactly what I told my husband, too, I said, you know, 'cause he'll call here whining and crying and I say, "Buddy, you ain't the one that's out here trying to take care of these kids. You know, I know that's not where you want to be, but I don't want to be in this position neither."

Ruby

Ruby's brother was the most important person in the world to her, emotionally,

financially and socially. Now he is waiting in jail for his Murder trial. Although she has other family members in the area, the animosity and emotional distance between them keeps her virtually isolated:

> He was more like a father figure than a brother, you know, 'cause he was there to talk to me. When a man was supposed give me advice on some stuff, you know, I asked him. I wouldn't go to my Daddy, I still don't go to my Daddy, you know, (crying) I just don't like to see my brother sad. If he's sad, I'm sad. (crying again) And when he cry, I cry.

She and her brother apparently loved each other dearly, and they only had each other to rely upon. "My brother told me the other day on the phone (from jail), 'You're too independent, that's why you can't keep no boyfriend, you're too independent.' If it was up to him, I wouldn't have no boyfriend. I really wouldn't, tell you the truth. 'Cause he'll tell the guy, 'My sister don't need you as long as she's got me, she don't need you.'"

The arrest event changed both their lives and their relationship tremendously. Ruby's level of desperation had reached a point where even though she needed her brother, she was almost glad he was safely tucked away in jail:

> I pray, just help my brother, you know, just help him stay out of trouble up there and just keep his head up, just think positive, you know. You know, just calm down. In a way I feel like, I'm glad he up there 'cause everything that's going on in the street now. I told him, I rather see you locked up than coming to your funeral and putting you in the ground and not having you around me at all. You know, not being able to talk to you,

> just thinking about you looking down on me, no! I'm really going crazy here, I ain't lying.

The emotional distance between Ruby and her other family members was exacerbated by the arrest of her brother. Their lack of attempts to contribute to paying down her brother's bond enraged her and widened the gap between them all:

> They care, but they be putting on an act. My family, there's something about them, they half-assed backwards, put it that way. You know, so, they worrying about themselves, you know? They say they worrying about him, they want him out, but deep down they worrying about themselves. That's why my family, they start talking about it, they get into it over it. And that ain't making it no better, so I stay to myself. I think that's why I really broke down like I did, 'cause, there ain't nobody to talk to. You know, I mean, they say I can come and talk with them, but we don't do nothing but get into it, you know? When the family get together, it's like, "how much you got on brother's bond?" And then, somebody will say, "I ain't got nothing." And that makes me MAD, that makes me so mad when you know they got it, you know. That tears me up, it really does, it tears me up on the inside, so I don't, you know, I don't asked them for nothing, they don't ask me for nothing.

Ruby's relational isolation applied to both her parents, and made the imprisonment of her brother that much harder. Her earlier comment about not going to her Dad for advice started her thinking about her mother, whom she referred to as a drunk, "Sometimes

when I see mothers and daughters walking around, like going shopping together, I think to myself, well, (crying) why me and my mama couldn't do that, you know? Why can't we get along? It's just hard."

Candice

At the time of her husband's arrest, Candice had no living relatives of her own. Her only relatives were her in-laws and other members of her husband's family. While her husband was in jail, his family members came to visit him briefly, and then the division of his family began, leaving her even more isolated:

> His son came to town, but he decided to cut me off and his father, and now the daughter has cut him off too, they don't speak. And the brother has quit speaking, the only relatives that speak are his mother and his seventy-five-year-old step-father, and his one brother who still speaks to us, and that's it. The family has decided that he doesn't have a right to a trial, that he should turn himself in and admit to whatever the police want to charge him with. That's taking it like a man. If you're a man, you don't need a trial. Just stand up and say, "I did it." Take your licks like a man, and that would redeem the family, his punishment would.

The relationships she had with her former co-workers had also deteriorated beyond repair:

> When he goes to court for his hearings, the entire staff, all the people that I worked with, they come and will sit over together, and they all glare at me.

> I was afraid to look at them and make eye contact at first, but now I glare back. And I just, I want to jump in the elevator with one of them and scare the shit out of them (laughs). You know, I don't dare, but, I'm the kind of person that would do something like that (sticks out her tongue), just that would be enough to send them into tears. They sit there and weep and they are really mean people, they're really mean people. And I, I just don't feel sorry for them.

Severe alcoholics are often viewed as being two separate people by their loved ones, because of the vast difference between that person when they are drunk and when they are sober. Candice articulated how her husband's crime and the punishment for it will be misplaced, and the person with whom she fell in love will be destroyed:

> When he drinks there's another personality that completely takes over, and it's guided entirely by fear. And, oh it's just bizarre. And it'd be very easy for me to want <u>him</u> to go back to jail, just to wash my hands of the whole deal and let him go, if he were drinking. But, I can't do that to <u>this</u> man. And what's so bad is that no matter what happens, whatever punishment this legal system gives out to him, they can never punish the guy that did the crime. They're going to punish this man. This charming, intelligent man who's real soft-spoken, and I've married. He doesn't even, he knows less about the crime than you do, or than I do(alcohol blackout). He didn't see any of it. He knows nothing about it. And the fellow that did it can't ever be, we cannot bring him to justice. We can't even talk to him. But,

> we can find this fellow who looks just like him, and just screw him up totally.

Ed & Nancy

Their grown son's arrest had an all encompassing effect on their lives. With their retirement dreams vanishing, this couple at the end of their sixties detailed part of their daily routine:

> I think we've kind of buried ourselves into helping our daughter-in-law and the kids make it go. It came to the point where I don't know what would have happened had we not moved them here. We bought them a house, and we can do the child care. She starts at six in the morning, sometimes six-thirty and we open up, we have a hide-bed there in the den. We open that up, and she comes in with these little guys at five-thirty in their jammies and just puts them into bed. They go back to sleep until, they either wake up on their own or we have to wake them up to go to preschool. We take them, we got them into preschool at the church. So they're there three mornings a week. We keep the kids, and that leaves her that amount of money that she has for other expenses.

We talked about communicating with friends and other relatives concerning their son's situation:

> And I think, I think our son has really come to the realization that you can't keep this from everybody, and in some ways I think it's healthier not

to hide it. But on the other hand, it does present us problems. I think it's easier to share it with people that don't know him; people that know him, he just doesn't want them to know. We've shared with friends, who've supported us–limited. We didn't want very many people to know about this. And so we've been selective, although it's not widely known here that he's where he is.

When I asked how their extended family had reacted, Ed said, "I think they know how ashamed he is, and I think they would probably open their arms to him." But, they still had not told everyone in the family.

Tamara

The relationship between Tamara's husband, Lopez, and his new daughter was affected by his arrest before she was born. Tamara had been taking the three-week-old girl to the jail so Lopez could see her, but it is very upsetting for them all:

No, you see them through a window, they won't let him touch her or anything. And they always have him in shackles and chains and handcuffs. You know, like a he's a really bad criminal. He's just upset, he's never been able to touch her (baby), just look at her through a window, you know. Every time he sees her he cries. And I was like, you can't find anybody that's a hard criminal going to cry over a baby or cry for the fact that they're in there; he cries every single day. It's like the biggest, hardest thing he's ever had to go through is being without me and the

babies, and he missed her being born too. Never been able to touch her.

I asked her if he had family here in town, and her answer revealed the effect their reaction was having on her:

> Yeah, he has family scattered everywhere. And a lot of them, they have pretty good money, and they just, they don't care. They act, you know, it's not a big deal, they're not understanding what he's going through. They don't hardly go see him. I'm about the only one who goes to see him on the weekends. They barely go, once a month maybe. (She starts tearing up.) Just me and her (baby) always go. It's just been the hardest thing, 'cause he's all I have and I might have to live without him for a long time. And it's very, very hard.

Lou

When Lou first learned about her father's arrest, the first person she called was her best friend at the time, not a family member. This was an indication of the emotional distance that existed in her family before the arrest had occurred. She described how the arrest event affected other members of her family, including herself:

> It was whole lot more upsetting for Lillie (her sister) than it was for me. She was, it impacted her much more emotionally than it did me. I guess I had longer to, or at least was more deeply indoctrinated with my father's, uh, stoicness. 'Cause Lillie and Daddy had always been much closer than he and I had been. It impacted her much more deeply than it did me. I,

uh, I quite frankly didn't really care all that much.

I asked her if she still felt the same way about the whole situation, and she replied:

> Yeah, yeah. I mean, I'm sorry for him, I'm sorry that he lost all that time, that he had to spend time there, you know, go through what it must be like to be there. You know, the kind of man that he is, having to be in that kind of environment with those sorts of people. It must have been very difficult. I know it was very hard for him. And you know, I feel badly that he had to go through that. But I, hmmm, I gave up a long time ago being really emotionally invested.

Besides Lillie being so deeply affected by her father's imprisonment, Lou divulged how upset her father's own parents had been: "Oh, she (Grandma) was just devastated. She was devastated. She was really torn up by the whole thing. Grandpa had just stopped talking to Daddy altogether." I asked, "Was he that angry?" She replied:

> Oh, he was, oh yeah, yeah. Even after Daddy got out and was living there in the house with them, he (Grandpa) would barely speak to him. He was just so deeply angry that, it's hard to say what kind of, it obviously had a rather significant impact on him. But it, it really ate Grandma up, it was really hard on her.

I went on to ask her how this anger affected the relationship between her Grandma and Grandpa: "Well they had (laughs) kind of a live-and-let-live relationship. So, you know, it didn't really seem to make that big of a change in their relationship." I went on to ask, "Do you think he and his father ever mended fences before his father died?" She

said:

> Uh, as much as they could I guess. Not what I would consider fence-mending by any means. Grandpa softened somewhat, but not a lot. But, then he became very ill, and Daddy was his primary caretaker because Grandma couldn't lift him. So he helped a lot taking care of Grandpa during his illness. That may have, have affected some mending of the relationship. But again, you know, it's not something we discuss so it's hard to say.

The lack of communication in Lou's family was very evident from her stories, and the arrest of her father seemed to exacerbate it. As the interview wound down, I asked her if her father ever talks about his time in prison, and her reply was revealing:

> Uh, no, well, no not really. Nobody really does, actually. It just, it isn't discussed. It's, we're big into uh, (laughs) "forgetting." We just, we don't talk about it, if we don't talk about it, it just isn't so (sarcastically). So it's, I can't really remember that it has ever really come up.

Bob & Sherri

Sherri remarked again about how they did not want people to know what they were going through:

> Well, I don't think people talk about it. So you really keep this thing within the family, you don't, you don't talk about this. It is hard, especially when your child's involved. It's real hard.

When I asked Sherri if she thought this event had affected their marriage, they both quickly chimed in with revealing observations; Sherri said: "How about yelling at each other all the time? I'm always in a bad mood."

> She went on to explain, "Yeah, we've done that. Yeah, it's hurt our relationship to the point where we just, it's not that we're going to divorce or anything like that, but it has hurt our relationship because we don't have social life at all. And I think that kind of goes back to not really being in the mood to be around other people. People that are, "normal." (She laughs)

Bob commented:

> And it's just, you know, I have no desire to go out and be around people. It would probably help us, but neither one of us want to. We don't want to have people over, we don't have people over, we don't do anything. But, so you're not happy. Yeah, you're not happy. We're truly not happy, there's not a happy moment in the day of your life.

At the end of our interview, Sherri addressed how deeply she'd been affected by the events surrounding her daughter, "So she's the oldest, my only girl." I acknowledged that it must be hard, and she replied, "It is, it's real hard. 'Cause we've always been real close, it's really been hard. I think that's what it is, I miss her, I miss her as a person, even when she's here I miss her."

I asked, "Because she's not the same?"(brain damaged) Tearfully, she shakes her head "Yes."

Theme of Needing and Wanting Help

The families responded to my queries of what type of help they had received during the time from arrest to trial. Their answers varied according to their experiences with their particular cases, but all reflected a lack of help for families of alleged offenders. In addition to their responses regarding this inquiry, some of the families directly addressed their perceived need for this research study.

Terri and Michelle

Michelle shared her views regarding the need for help for the families of the accused:

> It's just got me stressed out. And I just hope that you can do something, you know, to make a difference to change everything. Help families that go through what I'm going through so they can have somebody to go and talk to, or somebody to help them deal with their situation. Because people go through different things, you know, it's stressing me out, I'm stressed out but you might have somebody else that might have a weaker mind than what I have and they might do something, you know, to hurt themselves or hurt somebody else, you know. Everybody needs help though, everybody. Everybody needs help. And I just thank you for coming to talk to me. We very much appreciate it.

Terri alluded to her reception by the agencies involved in her daughter's case: "Because regardless, you call people and they give you the run around about the situation.

'Well, we can't help,' that's because they're not going to take time out to listen and try to help." Michelle's final comment summarized all the participating families' feelings when she said, "There got to be somebody that cares."

Ruby

When I asked her if she had seen flyers about a hotline for families of the accused person, or a support group, did she think she might have gone or called that number, she replied, "No, to tell you the truth." To determine why she would not seek help, I asked if her experience with our conversation made her more open to help in the future, and she replied, "Yeah. 'Cause now, I mean, I knew I needed somebody to talk to. I just, I guess at the time I couldn't, couldn't talk. I wanted to, but I couldn't. You just don't know how much I needed somebody to talk to." I was left with the impression that if an agency had approached her instead of her having to find help, she would have readily accepted their assistance. As I was leaving, Ruby referred to her crying jag and her talk with me, "I really appreciate this time, I do. Whew, I feel so much better, SO MUCH BETTER."

Candice

Candice's disclosure about her experiences with helping agencies in this town were illuminating about how devastating the position as a family member of an accused felon can be:

> At first, the church was really with us. The church really rallied around me, they brought me things, they cared for me, people wanted me to sit

> with them at church, you know, strangers would come up to me and say, "I'm so glad to see you feel welcome here." And then suddenly, when my husband got out of jail on house arrest, it all changed. We're not welcome there anymore. I couldn't even find anyone from that church who would bring communion out here, or come out here and have prayer with us. The minister said he didn't feel it would be right to ask a parishioner to come out here and lay their life on the line.

I asked her if any counselors had been available for her to see, and she reported, "The lady that, I can't think of her name--that tries to find counselors for people that go to (a clinic). She's contacted several dozen people; none of them will take the case, 'cause they don't want to get killed."

The one source of help Candice finally found was through Al-Anon, a program for alcoholics and their family members. Her husband allegedly murdered someone during one of his frequent alcoholic blackouts, and this group welcomed her with empathy and understanding, "I would have to say that Al-Anon has pretty much saved my life," she remarked.

Ed and Nancy

Ed and Nancy's comments about wanting and needing help during this time in their lives was enlightening: "It's kind of a non-help system. There was a, obviously we feel very, we have very poor feelings about the level of systems and help that was there, it was virtually nonexistent. It was a struggle to get anything." Nancy spoke of how lost

families with no prior experience are when they get pulled into the systems, "And you know, you've probably, same as our family, you've never had this kind of experience. Never. And you don't think that way."

When I asked if they would have called a hotline number for help if it was totally geared to the families of the accused, they both responded, "Oh yes, I think so, if there was a reliable objective source of help (not tied to any of the systems)." They went on to say, "But the biggest problem is to have people listed there who are genuinely willing to help instead of giving you a song and dance and then turn the other way when you do need help." They concluded with this statement, "Are we disgusted with this system, yes."

Tamara

When I asked Tamara if any agency or person had offered to help her during her time of need, she replied, "Nobody's tried to help me, you're the only person who's come over here to talk to me about anything, ya know, besides lawyers or cops." I asked her if she felt she still needed help since the arrest was a few months ago, and she said, "Yeah, if anybody would go to court with me or anything (during the trial). I need a lot of people there to support me."

Bob and Sherri

Sherri expressed their views on the lack of help available to families of the accused from any source or system:

"It's terrible, even now, I mean, we've learned a lot because we've been going through it so long, but there is nothing to help, you can't get anybody to help you at all. It's because nobody cares. Or like Bob said, maybe they're just hardened to it. But, even the attorneys don't care. There's nothing for us or for people like our daughter either, there's nothing."

Conclusions from Cross-Case Analyses of Themes

The four themes that emerged from the narrative data with the families were: immediate and future concerns, systems, relationships, and wanting and needing help. The themes evolved from the narrative data by the consistent repetition of similarly themed, cross-case responses. Particular variables in each of the families' cases were different, but their anguish unified them as a representative sample of families of accused felony offenders.

The theme of immediate and future concerns emerged from the data as a result of the families' disclosures of their most pressing fears at the time of the arrest, and the worries they had about their futures. Many of the immediate concerns were financially related translating into losing their homes, not being able to pay their bills, not being able to afford health care, lacking financial means to hire an attorney, and literally not being able to eat for lack of money. Some of the future concerns that weighed heavily on their minds pertained to hopes and plans they each had for themselves as individuals--enjoying a fulfilling marriage, completing their educations, and for their families by providing a safe, healthy home for their children, and fulfilling retirement goals. These immediate

and future issues were a particular source of great concern about financial security for their families.

The systems theme was proliferate throughout the interviews as a source of contention to the family members. The legal, correctional, and social systems involved in the families' cases were viewed through their experiences as unfair, uncaring, using dirty tactics, intimidating, aloof, and insulting. The inner workings of the systems were bewildering and frustrating to the families, and they felt lost trying to negotiate the presented challenges with a total lack of forthcoming information.

Their feelings of personal and institutional defeat, coupled with their immediate and future concerns, along with the societal stigma associated with criminal behavior, began undermining the family relationships wherein they had once sought comfort. Family members began arguing with and avoiding each other. Information was withheld or lies were told to avoid embarrassment and shame with their own members. Bosses and coworkers were lied to. Friends and neighbors were avoided, and the emotional support of friendships was lost. The families were reduced to avoiding conversations pertaining to their "missing" member so they would not have to produce more lies to save face. Finally, the pressures on their relationships magnified any preexisting family problems.

The changes and losses involved in all of these prior themes created the fourth and final theme of needing and wanting help. These families desperately needed help on several levels, and none was offered to them or found by them. Their requests for assistance, aid, guidance, and compassion went unheeded by most everyone they

encountered.

Standards of Verification

Quantitative researchers emphasize reliability and replicability in research, whereas qualitative researchers emphasize construct validity (Bogdan & Taylor, 1984) or standards of verification (Creswell, 1998). For qualitative researchers, the accuracy and comprehensiveness of their data (Bogdan & Bilken, 1982) produce validity. These research methods are designed to ensure a close fit between the data and what people actually say and do. By listening to and observing people in their everyday lives, the researcher obtains first-hand knowledge of social life unfiltered through concepts, operational definitions, and rating scales (Bogdan & Taylor, 1984).

To answer the question of knowing if a qualitative study is believable, accurate, and right introduces standards of quality and approaches to verification. Creswell (1998) conceded, "Multiple perspectives exist regarding the importance of verification in qualitative research, the definition of it, and procedures for establishing it" (p.197). To establish the "trustworthiness" and "credibility" of a study, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested prolonged engagement in the field and the triangulation of data sources, methods, and investigators to establish credibility. Creswell (1998) viewed verification as a process that occurs throughout the data collection, analysis, and report writing of a study and standards as criteria imposed by the researcher and others after a study is completed.

Creswell (1998) presented a classification of eight verification procedures. He

recommended that of these eight procedures, at least two of them be engaged in any given study (p. 203). This study used five of these eight verification procedures as outlined by Creswell (1998), (a) prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field (b) external audits or consensual validation, (c) rich, thick description, (d) negative case analysis, and (e) triangulation.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field includes building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking misinformation. In this study, a deep level of trust was exhibited by the participants with this investigator that was discernable in the participants' agreeing to be interviewed and allowing the investigator into their homes. Furthermore, the building of trust between the participants and the investigator was demonstrated by the participants' extensive sharing of a profound family secret. The culture of the criminal justice field was explored in depth during the preliminary fieldwork of this study, and the individual family cultures were examined by observation of their environments during the interviews. Any contradictory or seemingly misinformation from the families was probed and rectified during the interviews.

"Consensual validation seeks the opinion of others in order to come to an agreement among competent others that the description, interpretation, and evaluation and thematics of an educational situation are right" (Creswell, 1998, p.198). In addition to validating the themes and interpretation of the data with the major professor of this research endeavor, the authenticity of this study's findings were confirmed by the similar thematic patterning of the narrative data by the investigator and an outside evaluator who had independently coded a copy of the narrative transcripts.

The outside evaluator utilized the program, NUD*IST Vivo, an acronym that stands for Non-numerical Unstructured Data–Indexing, Searching, and Theorizing--a second generation, advanced computer program used for handling qualitative data to discern emerging themes. The evaluator's computer search results closely matched this investigator's themes. The comparative analysis of identified themes between the principal investigator and the outside evaluator are examined in Table 4.

Table 4. Comparative Analysis of Identified Themes Between the Principal Investigator and an Outside Evaluator

Comparative Analysis of Identified Themes	
Principal Investigator	**Outside Evaluator** (Independently coded transcripts)
Immediate and future concerns	Repercussions Feelings
Systems: legal, correctional, and social	Treatment by others
Relationships	Relationships
Wanting and needing help	Lack of knowledge Need help

The first of the four themes the investigator discerned as emerging from the narrative data was the theme of "immediate and future concerns." These were concerns that were most salient to the families at the time of our interviews. The evaluator used the terms "repercussions" and "feelings" to describe/encompass these issues. Upon

further review with the evaluator, we agreed that she categorized the repercussions and associated feelings that pertained to the major stressors the families' were enduring since the arrest event of one of their family members, whereas, the investigator had teased out the most salient issues of concern to the families which included their associated feelings. Furthermore, the repercussions and feelings that she separately categorized were replete throughout the other three themes the investigator discerned.

The second theme the investigator determined as emerging from the data was one of "systems"--specifically, legal, correctional, and social systems. This theme encompassed the families' interactions and strong feelings accompanying those interactions with the systems that they had to negotiate concerning their accused members' cases. The evaluator used the term, "treatment by others," to categorize responses in this area. The evaluator reported that if she had been asked to take the next step in analysis, she would have reduced this category into the treatment and associated feelings the families experienced with legal, correctional, and social systems.

The issue of relationships was recognized by both the investigator and the evaluator as a distinct and substantial theme in which the families consistently indicated how their relationships with the primary individuals in their lives had been affected or altered due to the arrest event.

Finally, the families' appeals for help with their circumstances from anyone, particularly from the legal, correctional, and social systems involved in their lives, was readily apparent to the investigator and the outside evaluator. The evaluator specified the families' "lack of knowledge" and "need for help" into different categories, whereas the

investigator chose to combine them into one theme of "wanting and needing help" that arose from the families' lacking knowledge of how to navigate these institutional systems embedded in their lives. As these comparative analyses indicate, the use of consensual validation verifies not only the research investigator's perceptions of the data but likewise has the ability to authenticate the most salient issues concerning the families.

A third verification procedure as outlined by Creswell (1998) that lends credibility to this study's conclusions are rich, thick, contextual descriptions of each of the families' situations, as well as the findings from analyses of the interview topics and the themes.

"In negative case analysis, the researcher revises initial hypotheses until all cases fit which eliminates all outliers and exceptions" (Creswell, 1998, p.202). In this instance, all accessible interviews were included in the analyses despite the demographic differences among participants and the interviewing circumstances–whereby, five families retrospectively reported the effects of the arrest on their family system and three families retrospectively reported from long-term memory the continuing impact on their family system of the arrest for a felony.

The fifth validation procedure used in this study consisted of triangulation where multiple sources of data gathered through documentation, field notes, transcripts, observations, and interpretations of each interview were employed. Multiple methods of analysis were utilized by the categorization and analysis of responses, and then through determining emerging themes. The use of multiple investigators further confirmed the authenticity of the themes emerging from the data .

The analytic methods used by the investigator were cross-case analyses resulting

in four patterns of themes revealing the family members' perspectives and descriptions of their experiences from arrest to trial of their family member.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The discussion of the findings produced from the research processes of this exploratory, instrumental, collective case study examines how the data address the issues identified through the development of the interview topics and themes, the comparison of this study's data with prisoners' family literature, and the relationship of this study's results to the theoretical concept of family crisis. Limitations and strengths of this study are noted. Suggestions of areas for future research are offered as well as suggestions for interventions with the families of accused offenders.

This discussion includes the results of the data analyzed for eight families, with special attention to the analysis of the five families who met the study criterion from arrest to trial. Three of the eight included families that had members who were convicted and in jail, but the families were interviewed about their experiences concerning the time frame from arrest to trial. Though retrospective, interestingly, their responses were similar to those of the other five families. These conclusions do note the similarities and differences among all eight families for the effects from arrest to trial.

Summary of the Conclusions from Cross-Case Analyses of Themes

Four themes emerged from the narrative data under an umbrella of repercussions that the families were experiencing due to the arrest of one of their family members accused of committing a felony crime. The following section offers a brief synopsis of

the dominate issues embedded within the four themes: immediate and future concerns, interactions with systems, relationships, and wanting and needing help.

Theme of Immediate and Future Concerns

The immediate concerns expressed by the families were issues they related as being most pressing and fearful for them at the time of our interviews. Their immediate concerns varied according to each family's particular circumstances and the elements involved in their accused members' legal cases. However, the levels of anxiety they expressed with their particular situations were unifying and, thus, recognized as a predominant theme emerging from the data.

Literally surviving was an issue being faced by some of the families. Obtaining food, securing housing, and having access to required health care were instances of how some of the families' functioning had been reduced to concentrating on satisfying their basic survival needs.

Many of the families' immediate concerns were financially related. Survival issues can be included in this classification; in addition, the issues of lacking funds to hire attorneys, not being able to pay bills on time, losing their cars, losing jobs, and decimated bank accounts were also factors that contributed to the immediate concerns of the families.

Lastly, impending legal decisions by the courts were seen by the families as suppressing their abilities to cope with their situations. One family was anxiously waiting for a judge's decision concerning the mental capacity of their daughter when she

committed her crimes because his judgement would determine whether their daughter would be sent to a psychiatric program for long-term treatment or sentenced to prison for nine years. In another case, the wife of an accused murderer was virtually imprisoned in her home along with her husband during his house-arrest, bond status while they waited over a year for his trial. These types of legal decisions were affecting the construction as well as the function of the families' systems.

The future concerns of the families that weighed heavily on their minds pertained to the hopes and plans they each had for themselves as individuals and for their families as a whole. Their personal aspirations and goals that had been made before the arrest were now in question as well as the futures they had envisioned for their families. Because the substance of their futures were in doubt, the ability for the individuals and the family systems to recover was circumspect since they were living in limbo during the arrest-to-trial period and simultaneously faced the loss of one of their members who previously had contributed to their support.

Theme of Interactions with Systems

Involvement with the legal, correctional, and social systems in which the families were functioning as a result of having one of their members accused of a felony was viewed as a source of contention with the families. Claims that the correctional system was using dirty tactics with them was made by more than one family. As reported by them, the legal system was experienced as unfair, aloof, and intimidating by the families. The uncaring and insulting treatment that the families received from the various legal,

correctional, and social systems involved in their particular cases was described numerous times by the families. These described bewildering and stigmatizing experiences resulted in the families feeling frustrated and lost within the three systems.

Theme of Relationships

The pressing nature of the families' immediate and future concerns coupled with their feelings of personal and institutional defeat began undermining their family relationships. The family members began arguing among themselves as their roles became more strained and their futures became more ambiguous. Many of them related instances of simply avoiding other family members in order to elude confrontations. Quite often the different families chose to withhold information concerning the accused member from other extended family members. Many of them also recalled instances of lying to coworkers, friends, and other family members about the state of their own family systems. They reported this tactic was employed to avoid the shame and embarrassment that is often associated with individuals who have been accused of conducting criminal activities. The strain of their experiences appeared to magnify any pre-existing family problems.

Theme of Needing and Wanting Help

Transformations in the families' roles and systems combined with the losses they were experiencing produced the families' need and desire for help on several levels. The necessity of applying for financial assistance with food, housing, and income was widely

documented. Many of the family members expressed a desire for mental counseling that was not available to them. Their lack of knowledge concerning the legal, correctional, and social systems that they were required to navigate for the sake of their accused family member hindered them and contributed to their feelings of institutional defeat. Although they requested aid, guidance, and compassion from individuals working within the systems, the families reported that their requests for assistance went unheeded by most everyone they encountered.

Comparison of Findings to Prisoners' Family Literature

Generally, the findings of this study supported the findings from the prisoner family literature. The majority of the families of this study exhibited effects similar to those of the families of incarcerated prisoners. This study's families also experienced economic strain and financial loss, role changes, the burden of sole responsibility for family, declines in health, lack of support, loneliness, troubled family relationships, the invention of coverups, the effects of being stigmatized, and feelings of shock, shame, fear, confusion, anger, guilt, loss, and helplessness (Daniel & Barrett, 1981; Bakker, Morris, & Janus, 1978; Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Fishman, S.H., 1981; Fishman, L.T., 1988, 1990; Mustin, 1994; Schneller, 1978).

The implications for this conclusion indicate that the families of accused offenders recounted experiences that parallel levels of crisis throughout the criminal justice processes, perhaps even more so than the families in the literature, because of their initial lack of familiarity with the systems involved since all accused had not previously

been arrested for a felony. These stressors appear to be exacerbated by the lack of any support or guidance in the beginning of the process as compared to the level of stressors related by families of members who had already been incarcerated, who at least had some opportunities for help after the incarceration had taken effect. It is important to reiterate that the majority of the studies noted in the literature review had been performed after the accused offender had been tried, convicted, incarcerated, and considered prisoners instead of detainees--whereas, this study captured the recollections of the families midway through the criminal justice process.

The exception to this statement takes into account the three families whose members were currently serving time for their offense or had already served their time and in one case, been released when the interviews were conducted. The three families that were not midway through the criminal justice process at the time of this study's interviews were Ellen, Ed & Nancy, and Lou. Ellen's husband had already been sent to a penitentiary for violating the probation assigned to his Aggravated Robbery charge when she was interviewed. Ed and Nancy's son was already serving his sentence in prison in another state for Child Abuse at the time of our interview, and Lou's father had served his time for Possession of Narcotics for Sale and Distribution and been released. So, five of the families in this study were midway through the process from arrest to trial at the time of their interviews, and three of the families' interviews were retrospective to the period from arrest to trial and where their accused family member had either been in the latter stages of the criminal justice process or through it.

Curiously enough, the family members of these three exceptions gave the same

type of responses as the families who were only midway through the process, with few distortions occurring in the data across the topics or themes. Although the three accused individuals were incarcerated or were post-incarceration, their family members conveyed that there had been no provisions made for them or assistance given to them. They also did not feel any programs had been made available to them, echoing the sentiments of the other five pretrial families.

Comparison of Findings to Family Crisis Literature

The data from this study support the assumptions of the Double ABC-X model of family crisis that lends proof to the argument that these families were enduring crisis. McCubbin & Patterson (1982) defined a stressor as a life event impacting upon the family unit that has the potential of producing change in the family social system. Stressor events are identified and classified according to the source of stress and its level of predictability. The stressor event in this study was the arrest of a family member for a felony crime. The source of this event was considered external to the family, because it began from something outside the family unit. The level of predictability of this type of stressor in the family life span was considered non-normative, as it was unexpected. The narrative data also met the definition of family crisis (Boss, 1988), where the disturbance in their equilibrium was so overwhelming, the pressure was so severe, and the change was so acute that the families' systems were immobilized and incapacitated.

The Double ABC-X model (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983) identified the variables that account for the differences among families in their adaptations to stressful

situations over time through the use of family resources and perceptual factors to achieve balance. The model suggests that coping is the central process of adaptation to crisis. The variable (aA) represents stressor pile-up that includes the current stressor and the family's original stressors. The resource stressor (bB) represents a family's coping resources that include material, psychological, and social characteristics of the family members, in addition to available community resources. The family's perceptions (cC), refer to the meaning the family gives to the total crisis situation that includes the current stressor, original family strains, their new and old resources, and estimates of what needs to be done to bring the family back into balance (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

The concept of pileup (aA) appropriately fit and applied to the reactions of these families to the arrest of a family member for a felony. Their regular stressors in life before the event coupled with the added stress of the arrest accounted for their pileup of stressors. For these families, the pileup seemingly occurred because of the diminished state of their resources (bB), and the negative perceptions (cC) surrounding the event. Their material, psychological, and social resources (bB) were being depleted through financial losses, declines in health, mental deterioration, and their relationships were being negatively affected. Their perceptions (cC) of their situations were negative as were the perceptions in the systems they encountered, and these perceptions were also affected by the pile-up of stressors and their depletion of resources.

At this point in the analyses, the Double ABC-X model was examined to determine how well these families were responding to the transition from crisis to some form of adaptation. The McCubbin and Patterson model (1982) explains that the family

has a crisis because the "event" coupled with the family's original life stressors (a), their resources (b), and their perceptions (c) overwhelmed their adaptive abilities. According to them, after the crisis, the families' potential resources (bB) and the families' perception of the crisis (cC) would determine their level of adaptation to their situation, which could be identified as bonadaptation (i.e., excellent adaptation) adaptation, or maladaptation (i.e., poor adaptation).

In the study herein, it was documented that the families' original resources became depleted, and there were no new resources found or acquired. In addition, it was true that their perceptions were negative, but so were all the perceptions they encountered in society, including those perceptions within the systems in which they were trying to operate. Boss (1988) stated that families suffering from too much stress have two choices: (a) lower the stress on their systems, or (b) increase their supports and resources. These families did not have the opportunity or did not perceive that they had ways or means to lower their stress or adapt because their resources were depleted, and all perceptions surrounding the arrest event were negative.

In addition, McCubbin and Patterson (1982) and Boss (1988) asserted that individuals would learn to adapt to their situations in some form or they would not–resulting in maladaptation. The position that Boss (1988) and McCubbin and Patterson (1983) took was that a family's negative perceptual outlook of their situation would undermine the whole adaptation process, implying that their lack of adaptation and recovery would be the family's responsibility, and that such fault rested within the families' own perceptions of the situation. In this issue-specific case, it is stigmatizing to

place blame on these family members for their perceptions of the problems. Without resources and with society's perceptions that place a stigma upon them, the families appeared to have little to no possibility for healthy adaptation. Consequently, according the Double ABC-X model, these families would be residing in a state of maladaptation since the model suggests that coping is the central process of adaptation to crisis. Their coping appeared to be compromised by a lack of resources, a lack of social support, and the stigmatizing perceptions associated with their situations. Their outlook on their own situations was grim and in addition, the stigmatizing perceptions personally associated with them from society as individuals was equally grim.

Therefore, the first theoretical analysis began with using McCubbin's and Patterson's Double ABC-X model of family crisis to illustrate the accused offenders' family members' plight of maladaptation. The data in this study, therefore, led me to believe that something else was occurring with the family members, as four themes emerged from the narrative data. These were considered to be the theme of immediate and future concerns, the theme of systems, the theme of relationships, and the theme of wanting and needing help. It appeared that the way to examine what was happening to these families might best be captured by Figley and McCubbin's (1983) focus on family stress emerging from catastrophic events, which impacts families infrequently, but powerfully and without warning(p. xix).

Surprisingly, these families of accused felony offenders actually "fit" the criteria for family catastrophe far better then the criteria for family crisis. In other documented cases of catastrophe--i.e., natural disasters, fatal diseases, and missing persons, society

immediately empathizes and offers assistance of support by donating and providing relief funds, food, shelter, clothes, and counselors for a variety of needs, although these families appeared to meet the criteria for enduring a catastrophe, social support did not occur in the experience of these families of accused offenders. The following section examines the theoretical concept of catastrophe and the criteria determining catastrophic stressors.

Catastrophe

The family is a critical support system to human beings during and following a catastrophic event, and the system and its other members are affected in addition to the victim (Figley & McCubbin, 1983). A catastrophe is defined as an event that is sudden, unexpected, dangerous or even life-threatening, and due to the circumstances renders the survivors feeling an extreme sense of helplessness. With sufficient magnitude, the event disrupts the lifestyle and routine of the survivors, causes a sense of destruction, disruption, and loss, and provides a permanent and detailed memory of the event that may be recalled voluntarily or involuntarily (Figley & McCubbin, 1983, p.6).

Examples of Figley's and McCubbin's (1983) discussions of the immediate and long-term consequences of catastrophe draw parallels among the experiences of those who have survived war combat, being a prisoner of war, being a hostage of terrorists, being raped, or being a victim of a natural disaster. Figley and McCubbin (1983) developed a model of long-term stress reactions to help us appreciate the immediate and long-term emotional consequences of a catastrophe for those who survive and those who care for the survivor. They provided a schema of the interrelationships among factors

beginning with the catastrophic event and ending with emotional adjustment. The model suggested a sequence of perceptions and reactions during and following a catastrophe. A major factor in this sequence was the victim's coping ability. The internal and external resources available to the individual and how they defined the event would affect how well they adjusted to their new situation. Figley and McCubbin (1983) stated, "The more social support the victim receives during this period, providing him or her with an opportunity to talk about the experiences and with a sense of appreciation and respect, the faster the adjustment"(p. 10).

Figley and McCubbin (1983) have written a second volume in their series on stress and the family entitled, Coping with Catastrophe. In this volume, the authors defined family functions during catastrophe, what a catastrophe is to a family, and three factors that may account for the intensity of the traumatic stress. They listed these three factors: (a) the coping abilities the victims have prior to the event, (b) the degree to which the experience was degrading, humiliating, or embarrassing, and (c) the sense of helplessness or inability to influence or stop the situation.

According to these theorists (Figley & McCubbin, 1983), at least 11 characteristics of catastrophic stressors differ from normative stressors. They are:

1. the amount of time one has to prepare;
2. previous experience with the stressor;
3. sources of guidance available to manage the stressor;
4. the extent to which others have experienced the stressor;
5. the amount of time in a "crisis state;"

6. the degree to which there is a sense of loss of control or helplessness;

7. loss;

8. disruption and destruction;

9. psychological as well as physical danger experienced by people exposed to the stressor;

10. the quantity and quality of the emotional impact of the stressor;

11. medical problems associated with exposure to the stressor (p.14).

The eight families of accused offenders in this study demonstrated the presence of 10 of the 11 characteristics of experiencing a catastrophe. Only the ninth characteristic, danger experienced by people exposed to the stressor, has questionable application in regard to this study. However, even Candice's exposure to her husband's violent alcoholic blackouts might indicate inclusion of all 11 characteristics in her case, as could Ruby being at the scene of her brother's shooting and killing another person.

The amount of time the family members had to prepare for the arrests was virtually nonexistent with the exception of Ellen and Candice. Ellen's husband was on probation for Aggravated Robbery when he violated the probation and was arrested and imprisoned. Candice's husband was evading arrest for Murder when he called his wife to turn himself in to authorities. Otherwise, the rest of the families had no time to prepare mentally for the subsequent arrest of their family member.

None of the families had previous experience with the stressor of being arrested for a felony charge except for Michelle, who had previous misdemeanor charges. This was a new experience for the other seven families.

None of the families had any source of guidance available to manage the stressor. They all sought help from various individuals within the systems, but no one would assist them. There were also no services available specifically designed to address their needs.

Ruby was the only family member in this study who had known someone who had experienced the stressor of being arrested. Her grandmother had served time in prison in her past, but she and Ruby were not emotionally close and did not talk much together. Otherwise, the families did not have an experienced individual to whom to turn for advice.

The amount of time in the "crisis state" varied for each family. Tamara's husband, Lopez, was jailed for Vehicular Homicide five months prior to our interview. This family endured the crisis for the shortest length of time, and Candice, whose husband was charged with first degree Murder, accounted for the family member who had endured the state of crisis for the longest period of time of one year.

All the families attested to the high degree of loss of control and helplessness that they were experiencing. Even the three families of the retrospective interviews vividly recalled their feelings of utter helplessness during the period from arrest to trial.

The seventh characteristic of catastrophic stressors is simply identified as loss. These families endured severe losses on many levels that included financial, physical, emotional, and social losses, including the "loss" to their family of their accused family member.

Disruption and destruction were experienced in the form of the families' routines, plans, relationships, and harm to their social and financial standings. Tamara even had her

pregnancy disrupted from the shock that she experienced following her husband's arrest.

Danger experienced by people exposed to the stressor is a characteristic that generally pertains to families who have survived natural disasters. In this case, Candice and Ruby were exposed to the dangerous actions of their accused family members, although the other six families were not. So, this stressor may apply in their circumstances, but not necessarily to the other six families.

The tenth characteristic identified pertains to the quantity and quality of the emotional impact of the stressor. These families were emotionally affected at a devastating level that reverberated throughout their family systems. The isolation they felt and the lack of any social support available to them only served to exacerbate the emotional impact of the event.

Finally, medical problems associated with exposure to the stressor were demonstrated by numerous mentions of the declines in mental and physical health among the family members. Tamara's premature baby and Candice's need for nerve medications are prime examples of medical problems associated with exposure to the stressor of the "arrest for a felony."

The eight families' experiences from arrest to trial in this study met at least 10 of the 11 characteristics used to classify a catastrophic stressor. Their experiences also met the definition of a catastrophic event in that the arrest event was sudden and unexpected for the families, the composition and functioning of their families was threatened if not their very lives–although Candice and Ruby may be the exception--and, finally, the arrest event and subsequent effects rendered the feelings of extreme helplessness among the

family members. The effects on the families of the arrest for a felony of one of their members occurred with sufficient magnitude to disrupt the lifestyle and routine of each family, caused a sense of destruction, disruption, and loss for them, and etched a permanent and detailed memory of the event into their collective consciousness as evidenced by their detailed recounting of events, including the three retrospective interviews.

From the families' perceptions, the arrest event had been deemed as catastrophic and paralleled the effects that families suffer when surviving a natural disaster or war. However, much like the determining factors for recovery from a crisis, Figley and McCubbin (1983) asserted that recovery from the catastrophe event required the families to utilize their internal and external resources and perceptions in order to adjust to the situation. These abilities would account for their ability to cope. Once again, these eight families evidently could not muster the requirements for coping and adapting to their situation. In none of the eight families did the interviewees demonstrate that they were adapting and coping at comfortable levels.

In addition to meeting the definition of a catastrophic event by demonstrating 10 of the 11 characteristics of a catastrophic stressors, the families also typified the three factors that accounted for the intensity of traumatic stress where (a) although the victims' prior coping abilities were unknown, they did not give evidence of being prepared to cope with the repercussions from the arrest event, (b) their experiences with the arrest event and their interactions with individuals involved in the systems were degrading, humiliating, and embarrassing for the families, and (c) they felt a dominating sense of

helplessness and possessed no ability to influence or stop their situations.

When attempting to use the catastrophic stress concept to understand what the eight families of accused felony offenders were experiencing, the strength of the argument deviated from this theory with two important distinctions: In the first place, with respect to Figley's and McCubbin's (1983) statement, "The more social support the victim receives during this period, providing them with an opportunity to talk about their experiences with someone who could appreciate and respect their positions, the faster the adjustment." These families had no social support and gave no statements showing evidence of respect or appreciation of their plight from the legal, correctional, or social systems with whom the families came in contact. Secondly, these families had an additional factor of society's stigmatization added to their burdens that is only addressed by the family crisis model by its inclusion in the pileup that results in maladaptation to the stressors. The presence of a stigma placed on the family due to having an accused felon as a family member was suffered by all eight families, but the 11 characteristics associated with catastrophic stressors do not at all account for this factor.

The concept of catastrophe stress is applicable to individuals and families who suffer external forces exerted upon them--i.e., earthquakes, floods, terminal diseases, being held hostage, or the families of soldiers missing in action. However, in the case of the eight families in this study, in addition to attempting to cope with the catastrophic stressors associated with a family member being arrested for a felony crime, they were also suffering from an external force placed on them by society–the one of "stigma."

Stigma

A stigma is placed on or attached to an individual by society; the individual does not place the stigma on themselves. In the case of suspected crimes and criminals, society stigmatizes not only the accused individual but also anyone associated with them--especially the families from which they came. Society tends to treat criminals such as child abusers and murderers much in the way society historically has treated persons with leprosy or tuberculosis. Then, the families of the stricken individuals were also shunned as undesirable and even dangerous with whom to associate, and they were likewise quarantined from the rest of society along with their infected family member. Today, it appears that suspected criminals and their families are our "lepers" of yesteryear.

The additional stress of a societal stigma added to the characteristic features of catastrophe or remaining in a maladaptive status increases the miserable conditions for these families. What other formerly stigmatized population has not gained acceptance in our society? The most tainted group of individuals that comes to mind in recent history were the persons who had contracted the AIDS virus. The deadly virus was only discovered in 1981, two decades ago, yet we have already learned to understand the disease; more importantly, we have changed our perceptions of those who have been infected and have embraced them and their family members. AIDS charities are proliferate, federal money supports research and outreach programs, and support groups for the patients and their families are readily available. As for the families of accused criminal offenders, we have yet even to acknowledge their existence, much less ease their

suffering.

Societal stigma can be evidenced in a variety of forms--e.g., our past ill-treatment of diseased persons, defamation of character by the national press, as well as experiences directly conveyed by the families in this study. An example of the stigma of crime was played out on a national stage when Richard Jewell was falsely arrested and accused of a crime he did not commit, and it changed his and his family's life forever. The mother of Olympic bomb suspect, Richard Jewell, made a tearful plea to President Clinton to clear her son's name:

> He cannot work. He cannot know any type of normal life. He can only sit and wait for this nightmare to end. I am asking the President for his help. As the head of the Justice Department and the FBI, he has a moral duty to the citizens of this country, she said, breaking into tears. If the FBI does not intend to charge my son, please tell us. Please tell the world (Bomb Suspect's, 1996, p.1-2).

Guilt or innocence does not preclude the families of accused offenders from enduring the catastrophic process from arrest to trial and the stigmatization that results.

The families in this study offered their own versions of the stigmatizing preconceived expectations of the accused and their families that they encountered. Candice related what the probation officer who monitored her husband's house arrest ankle bracelet told her:

> He's worried, and a lot of people at his office think that my husband doesn't understand the seriousness of the charges against him, because he

> doesn't act like he should act if he were aware of it. Like he should be, you know, he looks normal.

I asked, "How do they think he should look?" She replied:

> I don't know. They think if he looked a little bit more disheveled or depressed or more dysfunctional that maybe, you know--we don't look like what they expect. Isn't that weird?

This same probation officer told her husband:

> When they put you in (prison), you've got to make sure everybody knows that you were convicted for Murder 'cause they'll look at you and say, 'college education,' he must be a child molester. Child molesters get on the low end of the food chain(with inmates in prison), but Murderers are really treated with respect. You make sure they know, it will make your life easier.

Ed and Nancy shared their perceptions about the systems' attitude toward families, "We feel very strongly that there's a terrible bias against people involved in such things (Child Abuse) including family, unless the family separates themselves completely from the accused." While lamenting the treatment of his son in prison, Ed proclaimed, "Does the state realize they're not dealing with substandard human species?"

As Ellen and I discussed the reason for her cover-up tactics she used to explain her husband's absence she said, "And like you says, when somebody finds out your husband is in the penitentiary, they think, they think automatically bad about you. Like

you're some drug dealer or something like that. That's what people don't understand."

During the preliminary field work interview for this study, the mother of two sons who were both in prison for Murder, related how her church had treated her. Her minister told her, "You must be an evil mother to have raised two Murderers," and he told her not to come back to the church.

A final disturbing example of stigma in the press was made by a respected, noted columnist and "Guinness Book of World Records" Hall of Fame inductee for the highest IQ, Marilyn Vos Savant. She advised a reader in her syndicated column featured in Parade Magazine (Vos Savant, 2000):

> Reader's question: Would you still love your grown child if he or she were a convicted Murderer?
>
> Marilyn's answer: No, I believe I would stop loving that person. (I'm assuming that you mean he or she is the sort of Murderer that most people would hate, not a sympathetic figure with special circumstances.)

Conclusions

This study herein confirmed Fox's and Levin's (1994) analysis of what occurs in the stigmatization of families whose member has committed a serious felony. This study was designed to ascertain what was happening with the family members of accused felony offenders during a potentially stressful time period, from arrest to the trial. This population of families was deserving of study because the United States now imprisons more people than at any time in its history and has the world's highest incarceration rate.

This translates into thousands of families being affected by the stress associated with the incarceration of a family member. In addition, the paucity of research in the area of families of offenders, including an assessment of their needs during the time period from arrest to trial needed to be addressed.

This exploratory, instrumental, collective case study of eight families who have experienced the accusation and arrest of one of their family members for a felony crime and, during the time period from arrest to trial and the issues that were most salient to this group of individuals have been determined. They had immediate and future concerns that weighed heavily upon them, their interactions with the legal, correctional, and social systems involved in their cases were frightening, demeaning, and frustrating to them, their primary relationships suffered severely, and the issue of wanting and needing help with their stressors was of utmost concern to them.

It is the perspective of this study from the topics and themes that emerged from the narrative data from the families in comparison to the findings in the literature review that a large population of individuals who have been identified remain unacknowledged and, therefore, under-served individuals. They lack social support, and are victims of stigmatization from society.

The analysis that led to these conclusions began with the use of the Double ABC-X model of family crisis in order to determine the stressors the families were experiencing. The model provided proof of their crisis situation, but characterized them as maladapted without determining how adaptation might be achieved for this particular group of individuals. Furthermore, the utilization of the catastrophe model also did not

lend sufficient insight for coping and recovery from the trauma these families faced. It appears that their coping will be compromised by the stigmatization placed on them by society.

These conclusions need to take into account that only eight families were interviewed, and only five met the criterion for interviews during the time period from arrest to trial; the three other families interviewed provided retrospective data. Albeit, the narrative data from all the families in this study could be considered retrospective, with regard to the fact that at the time of the interviews all of the families were relying on memories of their lived experiences throughout the arrest-to-trial process.

The strengths of this study lie in challenging the concept of the family crisis theory and the characteristics of catastrophic stressors as capturing the full experience of this population of individuals without theorizing the means for coping with the stressors. Participant demographics included a representative sample of a cross-section of races, ages, gender, socio-economic status, felony charges, family roles of offenders and interviewees that had common effects from the trauma. The validity of the data seemed to be enhanced by the level of trust that developed between the interviewer and the interviewees. The validity of the themes expressed by the family members was confirmed by the investigator's and an outside analyst's similar determinations of these themes. This study adds to the literature with an infrequently researched area of study–the experiences of family members of accused felony offenders from arrest to trial.

Suggestions for Interventions with Families of Accused Offenders

The families articulated the need for immediate assistance from the time of the family members' arrest until the conclusion of their trial. Repeatedly, the interviewees voiced their frustrations for the need of guidance, referrals, and accurate information. Having been through the trauma, the families indicated how much they needed such support. What must be considered is the fact that the interviewees have not been accused of a felony, but in so many ways they are suffering the effects that the society's systems place on the accused felon.

Receiving assistance at the beginning of the trauma–arrest event could assist in a family's coping so that the members remain strong and unified for the time when their offender member rejoins the family. Intact family ties have been proved to increase the success rate of released inmates when they rejoin society, thereby reducing recidivism.

What may be considered a pivotal issue in this study is that former researchers and interventionists have generally used a "crisis" approach to study or treat families of inmates; however, this study's findings reveal the time period from arrest-to-trial as particularly stressful–even catastrophic in its effect on families. Therefore, approaching and treating families in this situation as if they were indeed experiencing a catastrophe may well determine distinctive and applicable coping strategies that may prove effective in assisting families' adaptation to their new situations.

Suggestions for Future Research

No one theory alone is comprehensive enough to explain the complexity of the relationship between a family member's arrest and the resulting effects. Further research areas of inquiry that might be useful in generating more knowledge concerning this population could be family therapy using theory such as Trauma, Secondary Trauma, Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, and Victimization to assess the level of psychological harm families in this situation experience. The experiences documented from the families in this study revealed the depth of their stress and the level of crisis they were experiencing by meeting virtually all the criteria deemed characteristic of enduring a catastrophic stressor event. These families exhibited extended mental trauma from their situations and a therapeutic theoretical approach could reveal better ways to promote coping for families in this situation.

The use of Boss's Contextual Model of Family Stress, as it relates to systems, could add another element of insight concerning the "family's ecosystem." Boss's (1988) model takes into account an individual's and a family's place in their developmental cycle as well as the economics, history, and culture associated with the family's "place" and "time" where it finds itself (p. 29). In addition, this model may account for the concept of stigma as an outside/external stressor experienced by the families of accused felony offenders.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION #319

STATE OF TENNESSEE

STATE JOINT RESOLUTION #319 (EXCERPT)

A Resolution Relative to the families of inmates incarcerated by the Department of Corrections.

WHEREAS, Tennessee has opened five new prisons since 1989, bringing Tennessee to an operating capacity of 11,426 inmates incarcerated by the Department of Corrections, and

WHEREAS, Tennessee will add 1,584 beds by the end of fiscal year 1994 and Governor Ned McWherter announced the addition of 1,000 more beds during January 11th, 1994 address to the Assembly, and

WHEREAS, As the prison population increases, more families and children may suffer the emotional, social and financial hardships of their spouses or parents incarceration, and

WHEREAS, Children of inmates are at high risk for emotional and behavioral problems as a result of their parents' incarceration and most of these children live in low income families with limited access to therapeutic services, and

WHEREAS, Maintaining an inmate's family ties and community relations during incarceration may reduce recidivism, and

WHEREAS, Visitation is a positive management tool for correction professionals, now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE NINETY-EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING, That this general assembly recognizes the families of inmates as victims suffering the effects of crime and incarceration due to no fault of their own, and urges the Department of Corrections, the Department of Youth Development and the board of Paroles to encourage programs that enable family bonding and to make visitation a priority for Tennessee correctional institutions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Department of Corrections is urged and encouraged to:
(1) Make annual training regarding families of inmates available to correctional professionals through the Tennessee Correctional Association; and
(2) Conduct research on national visitation and family programs in order to formulate suggested correctional family programs for Tennessee; and
(3) Conduct research, through the research and planning division relative to the demographics of inmates' families in Tennessee children affected by their parents' incarceration.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Select Joint Committee on Children and Youth is urged and encouraged to examine how existing state agencies can better serve the needs of children with a parent in prison.

Adopted April 11, 1994 and signed by Governor Ned McWherter.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Family Members Interview Guide
Topics and Probes

Major Interview Question: How has the arrest of your family member affected you and your family?

1. **Self and family demographics:**
   Age
   Marital status
   Number of children
   Number of persons who live with you
   Education level
   Profession
   Hobbies

2. **Notification of arrest:**
   Who, when, where, and how notified of arrest
   Your first reaction
   First person you contacted
   What else did you do?
   How did you know what to do?

3. **Talking to others about _____'s arrest:**
   Who helped guide you through the process from arrest to trial?
   Did you obtain legal help? If so, how did that happen?
   Are there programs or services that have helped you?
   Tell me if this event has affected other relationships within your family.
   Tell me if this event has affected relationships with your friends.
   Tell me if this event has affected relationships with your neighbors.
   Tell me if this event has affected relationships with your co-workers and boss.
   Has the media been involved in your life since this event? If so, how has it affected you and your family?

4. **Happenings to family since _____'s arrest:**
   Family relationships
   Household routines
   Job or school performance
   Finances
   Housing
   Health
   Other

5. **Dealing with the event/coping strategies**
   - Talking to others
   - Religion
   - Gathering information
   - New friends/support
   - Eating and drinking habits
   - Drug use
   - Working harder or less
   - Exercise

Concluding Question: What else can you tell me about how this event has affected you and your family?

APPENDIX C

INTRODUCTION LETTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

College of Human Ecology
Department of Child and Family Studies
1215 West Cumberland Avenue, Room 115
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-1900
(615) 974-5316

Dear Family Member: February 23, 2001

We are studying the experiences of families who have had one of their members arrested for a felony crime. Specifically, we are studying how the family has dealt with this event occurring in their lives and how they have adjusted to the situation. The time period of interest is from the time the family member was arrested until that person's trial. We are asking you to help us by participating in this valuable research.

Your name was obtained either through public court records or through referrals from individuals who thought you might care to share the challenges you may have been faced with during this time period.

If you agree to take part in this study, I, Patricia O'Connor, will come to your home or other location of your choosing at a time that is convenient for you and me to talk. Our interview will be scheduled for an hour. I will be able to work around your schedule. Enclosed is an informed consent form. In order for you to decide if you want to take part in this study, please read this form. I will contact you within a week of your receiving this letter to find out if you are willing to participate.

Your participation in this study will be complete when you have been interviewed. Participation is completely voluntary. There will be no penalty for you to quit this study at any time. Your decision to quit this study will have no effect on any services you may be receiving from any agencies. Information from your interview will not be revealed to other family members.

The results of this study have the potential of helping crisis intervention practitioners, policy makers, and researchers understand the needs of families who have had one of its members arrested. Your input as a family member who has been affected by this event is very important.

This study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of a doctoral degree in Child and Family Studies by the Primary Investigator. If you would like to contact either the Principal Investigator or her faculty advisor to discuss any of the information in this letter, please call or write.

Patricia O'Connor, M.S.
Department of Child and Family Studies
115 Jessie Harris Bldg.
The University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-1900
(423) 974-5316

or

Connie Steele, Ed. D.
Department of Child and Family
115 Jessie Harris Bldg.
The University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-1900
(423) 974-4590

Sincerely,

Patricia O'Connor, M.S.

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

Project: From Arrest to Trial: The Experience of Being a Family Member of an Accused Felony Offender

*The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of families who have had one of their members arrested for a felony.

*Our interview will be scheduled for one hour.

*Talking about my experience of having a family member arrested may upset me. If so, the interviewer will refer me to a trained mental health professional if I wish to discuss any issues I may have. If I disclose any illegal activities about myself, the interviewer will not disclose the activities to anyone else.

*Anything I discuss during the audio-taped interview is confidential and tapes and documents will be given a number or pseudonym in place of my name.

*My participation in this study may help crisis intervention professionals, policy makers, and researchers improve the delivery of services to families who have had a member arrested. I may enjoy the process of talking about my experiences with the interviewer.

*The audiotape will be erased as soon as it is transcribed. The transcripts will be saved for three years. Information from the interviews may be presented at conferences and in publications. Results will be presented in group form and may be published in journals and presented at professional conferences. Specific quotations may be used, but names of participants, other people involved, and agencies will be changed in order to protect identification.

*I will be interviewed at my home or other convenient place for me. The interview will be audio-taped and no one except the researchers will know that I am the person speaking on the tape. I may ask for any portion of the tape to be erased in my presence at any time.

*I may contact Patricia O'Connor at (423) 974-5316 or Dr. Connie Steele (Faculty Advisor) at (423) 974-4590 to ask questions about any aspects of the study.

*Participation in this study is voluntary. My decision about participating in this study will have no effect on any services from agencies from which I may be receiving assistance. I have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw from participation in this study at any time without penalty. The tape of any interview to that point in time will be erased in my presence.

I have read the attached project description and agree to participate.

_____ _____ _____

name signature date

APPENDIX E

DIRECTORY OF PROGRAMS SERVING FAMILIES OF ADULT OFFENDERS

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Corrections



Directory of Programs Serving Families of Adult Offenders

National Institute of Corrections

Morris L. Thigpen, Director

George M. Keiser, Chief
Community Corrections Division

Kenneth S. Carpenter, Project Manager

Directory of Programs Serving Families of Adult Offenders

James W. Mustin
Editor

Stephanie Halfacre
Associate Editor

August 1998

This project was supported by the National Institute of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Introduction

This directory was prepared by the Family and Corrections Network to update the *Directory of Programs Serving Families of Adult Offenders* dated October 1995. This revised directory lists programs in the United States and Canada offering services specifically for families of adult offenders. Entries were identified by sending survey forms to directors of departments of corrections in the United States and Canada, to programs listed in the 1995 directory, and to other programs known to the Family and Corrections Network.

Questions about this *Directory* should be addressed to Jim Mustin, 32 Oak Grove Road, Palmyra, VA 22963.

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Programs in the United States

ALABAMA

Prison Family Foundation, Inc.

(334) 821-1150
643 Auburn Drive
P.O. Box 1150
Auburn, AL 36830

See national program listing page 29.

ALASKA

Friends Outside - Alaska

P.O. Box 111376
Anchorage, AK 99511

See California for description of services.

ARIZONA

Family Assistance Program

(602) 542-3148
1601 W. Jefferson
Phoenix, AZ 85007
Contact: Lynn Reiter Wieser, Family Assistance Coordinator
Agency Head: Terry L. Stewart, Director
Area Served: Arizona
Parent Organization: Arizona Department of Corrections
Established: 1982

Provides phone crisis intervention, networking for family issues; policy and procedure assistance; and city, county, and federal referrals.

Publications: Directions to state prisons, booklet on family assistance.

Middle Ground Prison Reform

(602) 966-8116
139 E. Encanto Drive
Tempe, AZ 85281
Contact/Agency Head: Donna Leone Hamm, Executive Director
Area Served: Arizona
Established: 1983

Provides public education, legislative advocacy, seminars for offenders' families, referrals, legal work (some fees involved), and expert testimony.

Publication: Periodic newsletter.

ARKANSAS

Arkansas Friends and Families of Incarcerated Persons and Society

(501) 275-3752
P.O. Box 7
Coy, AR 72037
Contact: Marie Fegans, Vice President
Agency Head: Michael Fegans, President
Area Served: Arkansas

Promotes a rehabilitative approach to crime in Arkansas by voter education and family support services.

MIWATCH (Ministries to Incarcerated Women and Their Children)

(501) 372-5113
2224 Main Street
Little Rock, AR 72206
Contact/Agency Head: Freddie Nixon, Coordinator
Area Served: Arkansas
Parent Organization: Women's Project and United Methodist Women

Pairs children of inmates with screened volunteers to transport them to visits with their mothers at the prison. Also collects personal hygiene items for inmates.

The Parent Center

(501) 666-6833
5905 Forest Place, Suite 205
Little Rock, AR 72207
Contact: Susan Phillips, Community Resource Development Coordinator
Agency Head: Doug Stadter, CEO
Area Served: Arkansas
Established: 1991
Parent Organization: Centers for Youth and Families

Has four programs. 1) Family Matters targets children of female offenders and relatives who care for them. Provides crisis intervention for children following the arrest of a mother, family life education groups for mothers in jail, assistance planning for the care of children of incarcerated women, support groups and parent education for grandparents and other relatives, and assistance accessing social services. 2) Parenting from Prison provides parent education classes for incarcerated mothers in the Arkansas Department of Corrections. 3) Second Genesis Support Group provides education groups for mothers who are returning to the community. 4) Community Resource Development provides public

education, seminars, workshops, research, public policy advocacy, and technical assistance in developing programs.

Publications: "What You Should Know: A Guide for Grandparents Caring for Children Whose Mothers Have Been Arrested," "Children of Incarcerated Mothers and Their Caregivers: A Needs Assessment," "The Effectiveness of Parent Education for Inmate Mothers: An Evaluation Report," "Results from Survey of Public and Private Agencies with Regards to Policies and Services to Incarcerated Women, Their Children, and Caregivers," "Mothers in Prison: What becomes of their children?," "Implications of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act for Children of Incarcerated Mothers," "Rethinking Child Welfare Assistance for Children Living with Relatives other Than Their Parents," and "Family Matters Pilot Project: Final Report to the Little Rock Task Force on Youth."

CALIFORNIA

Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents

(626) 397-1396
65 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena, CA 91105

See national program listing page 25.

Centerforce

(415) 456-9980
64 Main Street, P.O. Box 336
San Quentin, CA 94964
Contact Person: Judy Ziegler,
Administrative Manager
Agency Head: Peter A. Breen, Executive Director
Area Served: California
Established: 1971

Administers a network of prison visitor centers at all California state prisons. Provides transportation between public transit and prisons, emergency clothing exchange, information and referral, limited childcare, refreshments, and respite before and after visiting. Centerforce also educates community groups about prison visiting and the criminal justice system on a state and national level. Centerforce's network of prison visitor centers follows.

1. Friendship Place #1 and #2
(California Correctional Center-Susanville)
P.O. Box 1701
Susanville, CA 96130
Karen Hester, Program Director
(916) 257-2211 (#1)
(916) 257-5581 (#2)

2. Welcome House Visitor Center
(CSP, Sacramento/Folsom State Prison)
P.O. Box 29
Represa, CA 95671
Shirley Neff, Program Director
(916) 985-2372

3. New Beginnings Visitor Center
(Mule Creek State Prison)
P.O. Box 667
Ione, CA 95640
Flora Phillips, Program Director
(209) 274-4749

4. Friendship House
(CSP, Solano/CA Medical Facility)
P.O. Box 1884
Vacaville, CA 95696-1884
Melinda Brister, Program Director
(707) 448-1821

5. The House (San Quentin State Prison)
2 Main Street
San Quentin, CA 94964
Joan Resnikoff, Program Director
(415) 456-4200

6. The Gathering Place
(Deuel Vocational Institution)
P.O. Box 1953
Tracy, CA 95378
Nancy Higginbotham, Program Director
(209) 835-4141, Ext. 4725

7. Rainbow Visitor Center
(Northern CA Women's Facility)
P.O. Box 30874
Stockton, CA 95213
Linda Perry, Program Director
(209) 948-5623

8. Mother Lode Visitor Support Center
(Sierra Conservation Center)
P.O. Box 1448
Jamestown, CA 95327
Yvonne Perea, Program Director
(209) 984-3538

9. The Lighthouse (Central CA Women's Facility
Madera County Action Committee
200 West Maple Street
Madera, CA 93637
Pat Bianchi, Program Director
(209) 665-7529

10. El Puente (Correctional Training Facility)
242 Capital Street
Salinas, CA 93901
Socorro Diaz, Program Director
(408) 678-3167
(408) 754-6127/24-Hr. Message

11. Bienvenidos (CSP, Corcoran)
P.O. Box 966
Corcoran, CA 93212
Monica Pinceno, Program Director
(209) 992-8628

12. Oasis Visitor Center (Avenal State Prison)
P.O. Box 340
Avenal, CA 93204
Maisol Rodriguez, Program Director
(209) 386-5668

13. Casa De Rosas
(Wasco State Prison/Reception Center)
P.O. Box 629
Wasco, CA 93280-0629
Alice Mgbafilike, Program Coordinator
(805) 758-9420

14. Centerforce/North Kern Visitor Center
(North Kern State Prison)
P.O. Box 638
Delano, CA 93215
Lupe Manzano, Program Coordinator
(805) 721-1074

15. Friends Outside Visitor Center
(CA Men's Colony)
c/o 1701 Fredericks Street
San Luis Obispo, CA 93401
Kathleen Richen, Program Director
(805) 543-3888

16. Tehachapi Visitor Center
(CA Correctional Institution)
P.O. Box 582
Tehachapi, CA 93561
Janey Felsoci, Program Director
(805) 822-7020

17. Centerforce/Lancaster Visitor Center
(CSP, Los Angeles)
P.O. Box 1395
Lancaster, CA 93584
Joy Applin, Program Director
(805) 940-6862

18. Descanso Visitor Center
(Ironwood State Prison)
P.O. Box 1937
Blythe, CA 92226
Josie Quintero, Program Director
(760) 921-8569

19. Friends Outside Hospitality Center
(CA Institution for Men)
P.O. Box 393
Chino, CA 91710
Cynthia Carey, Executive Director
(909) 597-5428

20. Casa Frontera (CA Institution for Women)
P.O. Box 70407
Riverside, CA 92513-0407
Nelda Waldron, Program Director
(909) 597-7845

21. Hospitality Place (CA Rehabilitation Center)
P.O. Box 282
Norco, CA 91760
Mary Molina Soria, Program Director
(909) 737-3742

22. Su Casa
(Richard J. Donovan Correctional Facility)
P.O. Box 432340
San Ysidro, CA 92143
Program Director
(619) 661-6865

23. Sorensen Visitor Center
(Calipatria State Prison)
P.O. Box 1108
Calipatria, CA 92233
Miguel Tellez, Program Director
(760) 348-5323

24. Centinela/Centerforce Visitor Center
(Centinela State Prison)
P.O. Box 220
Seeley, CA 92273-0220
Pete Nunez, Program Director
(760) 370-0320

25. Centerforce/Pleasant Valley Visitor Center
(Pleasant Valley State Prison)
P.O. Box 617
Coalinga, CA 93210
Bertha Lopez, Program Director
(209) 935-0184

26. Esperanza (Chuckawalla Valley State Prison)
P.O. Box 1452
Blythe, CA 92226
Yolanda Dagino, Program Director

(760) 922-8326

27. Gateway Visitor Center
(Northern California Youth Center)
P.O. Box 30432
Stockton, CA 95213-0432
Nadine Summers, Program Director
(209) 463-9338

28. Valley State Visitor Center
(Valley State Prison for Women)
Madera County Action Committee
200 West Maple Street
Madera, CA 93637
Nadeem Ahmad, Program Director
(209) 665-3192

29. Centerforce/Corcoran II Visitor Center
(CSP, Cocoran II)
P.O. Box 608
Corcoran, CA 93212
Annette Sherrell, Program Director
(209) 992-8100

30. Salinas Valley Visitor Center
(Salinas Valley State Prison)
242 Capital Street
Salinas, CA 93901
Program Director
(408) 678-0135
(408) 754-6127/24-Hr. Message

Friends Outside National Organization

(408) 985-8807
3031 Tisch Way, Suite 507
San Jose, CA 95128
Contact/Agency Head: Judy Evans, Executive Director
Area Served: California, Nevada, Alaska
Established: 1955

Provides case management within all 33 state prisons in California and parenting classes for female and male inmates in many state prisons. Also offers conflict resolution workshops in local, state, and federal institutions as well as in the community. Via 12 chapters in California, 1 in Nevada, and 1 program in Alaska, county jails are provided some or all of the following services: support groups for families and parolees; hospitality houses; prison visitor centers; family transportation to prisons; educational, social, recreational activities and counseling for prisoners' children; emergency services such as food, clothing, transportation, and lodging; pre- and post-release services such as parole planning and job/employment counseling support groups; crisis intervention; information and referral; inmate mother/infant residential facility; work furlough residences and reentry house

CHAPTER/TELEPHONE

1. Contra Costa Co., CA (510) 228-0644
2. Kern Co., CA (805) 323-0300
3. Los Angeles Co., CA (213) 681-1018
4. Monterey Co., CA (408) 758-9421
5. Orange Co., CA (714) 633-6551
6. Sacramento Co., CA (916) 446-3838
7. San Bernardino Co., CA (714) 597-5428
8. San Luis Obispo Co., CA (805) 543-3888
9. Santa Clara Co., CA (408) 295-6033
10. Santa Cruz Co., CA (408) 423-0554
11. Sonoma Co., CA (707) 526-7318
12. Stanislaus Co., CA (209) 522-3232
13. Las Vegas, NV (702) 455-3957
14. Anchorage, AK, P.O. Box 111376
    Anchorage, AK 99511

Publications: Chapter newsletters.

Internet Friends Outside

email address:LBoldon@aol.com
2533 Glen Dunde
San Jose, CA 95148

See national program listing page 28.

Kairos Outside Ministry

P.O. Box 179
San Ramon, CA 94583
Contact/Agency Head: Executive Director
Area Served: U.S. and England
Parent Organization: Kairos Prison Ministry
Established: 1990

Provides retreat weekends for women who support the incarcerated and follow-up support groups.

Publication: Newsletter, "God's Special Time," about Kairos and Kairos Outside programs across the country.

Legal Services for Prisoners with Children

(415) 255-7036, ext 313
100 McAllister Street
San Francisco, CA 94102
Contact Person: Karen Shain, Office Manager
Agency Head: Ellen Barry, Director
Area Served: California
Established: 1978

Provides information and referral services to incarcerated parents, their children, and families; technical assistance to lawyers, social workers, and community service groups; and class action and other litigation affecting incarcerated parents.

Publications: Manual for grandparents and caregivers, incarcerated parents' manual, and various publications on incarcerated mothers and their children.

COLORADO

FOCUS (Families and Friends of Convicts United for Support)

P.O. Box 2194
Canon City, CO 81215-2194
Contact Person: Barbara Pruett, Child Care Director
Agency Head: Linda Davis, Chairman
Area Served: Colorado
Established: 1982

Provides information and referral to families visiting in state prisons. Childcare available at Territorial and Fremont Facilities during visiting hours.

CONNECTICUT

Families in Crisis, Inc.

(860) 236-3593
30 Arbor Street-North Wing
Hartford, CT 06106
Contact/Agency Head: Susan Quinlan, Executive Director
Area Served: Connecticut
Established: 1977

Provides court outreach, crisis intervention, counseling, and case management for offenders and/or their family members; after school prevention program for children of prisoners; prison-based children centers; parenting programs; skill enhancement groups for offenders; and transportation services for visitation.

Publications: "Anger Management for Offenders," "Developing Prisoner's Parenting Skills," and "Going Home." For ordering information, contact Sarah Thomas.

Family ReEntry, Inc.

(203) 838-0496
520 West Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06850
Agency Head: Terryann Reed, Executive Director
Area Served: Connecticut
Established: 1984

Provides family programming in prisons, alternative-to-incarceration centers, and adult probation offices.

Publications: "Action Plan for Success" and "Parenting from Inside."

Isaiah House 61:1, Inc.

(203) 367-9440
112 Clinton Avenue
Bridgeport, CT 06605
Contact: Rainey Randolph, Program Director
Agency Head: Bonnie Rogan, Executive Director
Area Served: Southwestern Connecticut
Established: 1983

Provides residents referred from Connecticut Department of Corrections with housing, family therapy, substance abuse counseling, Bible studies, life skills seminars, and individual counseling.

DELAWARE

Delaware Center for Justice Incorporated

(302) 658-7174
501 Shirley Street
Wilmington, DE 19801
Contact/Agency Head: Janet Laban, Executive Director
Area Served: Delaware
Established: 1920

Provides special visits for female offenders and their children, monitored by a parent aide who also visits children's homes.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CURE (Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants)

(202) 789-2126
P.O. Box 2310
Washington, DC 20013

See national program listing page 25.

FAMM Foundation (Families Against Mandatory Minimums)

(202) 822-6700

1612 K Street NW #1400
Washington, DC 20006

See national program listing page 28.

National Center for Women in Prison

(202) 775-0323
c/o 1400 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036

See national program listing page 28.

Prison Fellowship Ministries

(703) 478-0100
P.O. Box 17500
Washington, DC 20041-0500

See national program listing page 30.

Visitors' Services Center

(202) 544-2131
1422 Massachusetts Avenue SE
Washington, DC 20003
Contact: Ann Cunningham, Director
Area Served: District of Columbia Detention Facility
Established: 1969

Provides volunteers to visit D.C. Detention Facility inmates, gather information, find lawyers and records, contact families, and assist wherever possible.

FLORIDA

F.L.I.P. (Families with Loved Ones in Prison)

(904) 254-8453
710 Flanders Avenue
Daytona Beach, FL 32114
Contact/Agency Head: Nadine Anderson, Executive Director
Area Served: Florida
Established: 1995

Provides names and phone numbers of Department of Corrections support groups, public education, lobbying, and seminars.

Publication: Newsletter.

Florida Department of Corrections

(850) 410-4403
2601 Blair Stone Road
Tallahassee, FL 32399-2500
Contact Person: Ila Waite-Burns, Literacy Specialist
Agency Head: Candace Burch, Chief, Bureau of Academic and Special Education
Area Served: Florida

Provides adult education, home education, parenting skills, parent and child together time, caregiver support and services, and childhood education referrals.

Tampa Crossroads, Inc.

(813) 238-8557
5120 N. Nebraska Avenue
Tampa, FL 33603
Contact: Lynn Jackson, Director of Programs
Agency Head: Peter Plant, Executive Director
Area Served: Tampa Bay area
Established: 1990

Provides community reintegration, family reunification, conflict resolution, problem-solving skills development, and case management.

The Aleph Institute

(305) 864-5553
9540 Collins Avenue
Surfside, FL 33154

See national program listing page 32.

GEORGIA

AIM (Aid to Children of Imprisoned Mothers, Inc.)

(404) 221-0092
599 Mitchell Street SW
Atlanta, GA 30314
Contact/Agency Head: Sandra Barnhill, Executive Director
Area Served: Atlanta
Established: 1987

Provides support services and visiting assistance for children of incarcerated women and their grandmother caregivers.

Publications: "Parenting from Prison: A Handbook for Incarcerated Mothers" and "Jails and Justice: A Handbook for Incarcerated Women."

Hope-Howse...a spiritual action

(770) 522-9818
4514 Chamblee-Dunwoody Road, #128
Atlanta, GA 30338
Contact/Agency Head: Rev. Jane Davis, CSW
Established: 1993

Provides counseling and support for families and prisoners, especially death row, Jewish, and general population prisoners.

National Association of Previous Prisoners

(770) 484-8675
P.O. Box 450
Atlanta, GA 30301
Contact: Carl Route, Jr., Co-Founder, CEO
Area Served: Atlanta Metro Area
Established: 1989

Provides former prisoners with life skills training and support groups in an informal setting.

ILLINOIS

CLAIM (Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers)

(312) 332-5537
205 W. Randolph, #830
Chicago, IL 60606
Contact/Agency Head: Gail Smith, Executive Director
Area Served: Chicago area, Illinois prisons
Established: 1985

Provides legal aid for prisoners, classes on laws and rights of prisoners, support groups for women recently released from prison, policy advocacy, conferences, referrals, and support.

Publications: "Handbook for Incarcerated Parent in Illinois" and "Legal Manual for Children's Caregivers in Illinois."

Hospitality House (Hebrews 13:2-3), Inc.

(618) 826-9810
120 Ferry Street
Chester, IL 62932
Contact: Mary Ann Funk, Secretary/Treasurer
Agency Head: Helen Childs, House Manager
Area Served: Illinois
Established: 1985

Provides overnight lodging for families and friends of prisoners in the Chester, IL, area.

Publication: Brochure.

Hospitality House of Vienna

(618) 658-2722
6th & Vine
Vienna, IL 62995
Conact: Sister Judy Pittman
Agency Head: Walter Briggs, President
Area Served: Illinois
Established: 1990

Provides overnight lodging for families visiting at four Illinois state facilities: Vienna Correctional, Shawnee Correctional, Impact Boot Camp, Illinois Youth Center (Harrisburg).

Publication: Newsletter.

HRDI'S (Human Resource Development Institute, Inc.) Center for Criminal Justice Services

(312) 441-9009
222 South Jefferson
Chicago, IL 60661
Contact: Chibuzor Obiakor, Vice President
Agency Head: Valerie Miright, Senior Vice President
Area Served: Chicago area
Established: 1994

Provides support program for pregnant inmates and parenting classes for inmates at Cook County Jail. Also provides parenting classes at day reporting center.

Prisoner and Family Ministry

(618) 997-9076
1001 E. Touhy Avenue, Suite 50
Des Plaines, IL 60018
Contact: Jane Otte, Executive Director
Agency Head: Rev. Frederick Aigner, Pastor, President
Parent Organization: Lutheran Social Services of Illinois
Established: 1985

Provides transportation for children to visit their incarcerated mothers, a children's storybook program, and overnight hospitality in conjunction with local groups.

Prisoner Family Support

(618) 997-1227
P.O. Box 123
Marion, IL 62959
Contact: Michelle Clark
Area Served: Southern Illinois
Established: 1974

Provides overnight lodging at a discount and local transportation for visitors to the U.S. Penitentiary in

Marion. Also provides support group for families and children of prisoners.

Publication: Newsletter.

IOWA

Iowa Correctional Institution for Women

(515) 967-4236
Box 700
Mitchellville, IA 50169
Contact: Amy Love, Family/Volunteer Coordinator
Agency Head: Barbara Olk Long, Warden
Area Served: Iowa
Parent Organization: Iowa Department of Corrections
Established: 1994

Provides support groups for incarcerated mothers where children visit once a month to promote bonding. Also offers parenting classes.

KANSAS

A Burden Shared

(913) 631-6940
Hope Lutheran Church
6308 Quivira
Shawnee, KS 66216
Contact/Agency Head: Martha Ulmer, Coordinator
Area Served: Kansas City area
Parent Organization: Hope Lutheran Church
Established: 1997

Provides assistance and support with court appearances, prison visits, and family needs due to incarceration and/or addiction.

Topeka Correctional Facility

(913) 296-7220
815 S.E. Rice Road
Topeka, KS 66607
Contact: Stepheny Minter, Coordinator
Agency Head: Kevin Pellant, Deputy Warden of Programs
Area Served: Kansas
Parent Organization: Kansas Department of Corrections
Established: 1988

Provides classes on parenting skills, prenatal and child development, nutrition, self-esteem, and anger management. Facility has a special visiting area for children.

KENTUCKY

Fathers and Children Together (FACT) (at Blackburn Correctional Complex)

(606) 246-2366
3111 Spurr Road
Lexington, KY 40511
Contact: Linda Everhard, Unit Administrator, FACT Program Coordinator
Agency Head: Thomas Dreher, Warden
Area Served: Kentucky
Parent Organization: Kentucky Department of Corrections
Established: 1992

Provides parent education classes for incarcerated fathers and a special child-oriented visitation program for fathers and children.

LOUISIANA

Families of Prisoners Support Group/Prison Ministry

(504) 336-8770
P.O. Box 1668
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
Contact: Linda Fjeldsjo, Prison Ministry Coordinator
Area Served: Diocese of Baton Rouge
Parent Organization: Catholic Community Services
Established: 1989

Provides a support group for families of inmates.

MAINE

Mid-Coast Hospitality House

(207) 594-1422
P.O. Box 155
Rockport, ME 04856
Contact: Gloria Zak, Manager
Agency Head: Susan Silverio, Executive Director
Area Served: Mid-Coast Maine
Established: 1988

Provides emergency and overnight shelter, transportation, and meals for prison visitors.

Publication: Annual newsletter.

Penquis C.A.P.

(207) 973-3500
262 Harlow Street
Bangor, ME 04401
Contact: Shannon Bonsey, Director
Agency Head: Charlie Newton, Executive Director
Area Served: Central Maine
Established: 1990

Provides 8-week parenting education to male and female offenders.

MARYLAND

Girl Scouts of Central Maryland

(410) 358-9711
4806 Seton Drive
Baltimore, MD 21215
Contact: Robin Gamble, Director
Agency Head: Lisa Cid, Executive Director
Area Served: Baltimore City
Parent Organization: Girl Scouts of the USA
Established: 1992

Girl Scouts Beyond Bars is a program for daughters of female prisoners, which provides transportation, visitation, and life skills training.

Maryland Division of Correction

(410) 764-5119
6776 Reisterstown Road
Baltimore, MD 21215
Contact: Barbara Boyle, LCSW, Director
Agency Head: Richard Lanham, Sr., Commissioner
Area Served: Maryland
Parent Organization: Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services
Established: 1985

Provides assistance in maintaining/establishing contact with children in foster or kinship care. Also provides parenting training, counseling, referrals, and domestic violence treatment.

National Fatherhood Initiative

(301) 948-0599
(800) 790-DADS
One Bank Street, Suite 160
Gaithersburg, MD 20878

See national program listing page 29.

MASSACHUSETTS

American Friends Service Committee/ Friends and Families of Prisoners

(617) 661-6130
2161 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02140
Contact: Jamie Suarez-Potts, Coordinator
Agency Head: Keith Harvey, Executive Director
Area Served: New England
Parent Organization: American Friends Service Committee

Provides meetings of prisoner families, advocacy, and a referral network.

Publication: "Outlook on Justice" journal.

Massachusetts Correctional Legal Services

(617) 482-2773
8 Winter Street, 11th Floor
Boston, MA 02108
Contact: Dianne McLaughlin, Paralegal
Agency Head: Barry Barkow, Executive Director
Area Served: Massachusetts
Established: 1972

Provides prisoners and their families with legal assistance pertaining to confinement issues.

Parents Anonymous (Massachusetts)

(617) 267-8077
140 Clarendon Street
Boston, MA 01801
Contact: Geri Fonseca, Coordinator
Agency Head: Jeannette Atkinson, Executive Director
Area Served: Massachusetts
Established: 1989

Provides ongoing support groups for incarcerated parents.

Publications: Handbooks on Parents Anonymous and anger management.

MICHIGAN

Project SEEK (Services to Enable and Empower Kids)

(810) 767-5750
806 Tuuri Place
Flint, MI 48504
Contact/Agency Head: Carol Burton, Project Director
Area Served: Flint and Genesee Counties
Parent Organization: Mott Children's Health Center
Established: 1988

Provides tutoring and support groups for children, adolescents, and caregivers. Also provides family outings, emergency financial aid, referrals, and transportation.

Women's Support Group

(616) 454-5014
P.O. Box 6032
Grand Rapids, MI 49516-6032
Contact: Barbara DeJong, Facilitator
Area Served: Western Michigan
Parent Organization: Prison Fellowship
Established: 1990

Provides a support group for women who have husbands/significant others in prison. Also provides childcare and tutoring.

MINNESOTA

Agape House of Hope

(218) 729-6238
5879 North Pike Lake Road
Duluth, MN 55811
Contact: Bernice Lillo, Registrar
Agency Head: Peter Buchanen, President
Area Served: Midwest
Parent Organization: Agape House of Hope, Inc.
Established: 1986

Provides lodging for women and children visiting inmates at Duluth Federal Prison Camp.

Citizens Council Family Services

(612) 348-7874
310 4th Avenue South, Suite 1020
Minneapolis, MN 55415
Contact: Jackie Turner, Program Manager
Agency Head: Richard Ericson, President
Area Served: Seven-county metro area
Parent Organization: Minnesota Citizens Council on Crime and Justice
Established: 1978

Provides advocacy, information, referrals, transportation, and parent education classes.

Publications: Family services brochures.

FCI (Federal Correctional Institution) - Waseca

(507) 835-8972, ext 3103
1000 University Drive SW
Waseca, MN 56093
Contact: Mike Kinniry, Teacher
Agency Head: Richard Stiff, Warden
Parent Organization: Federal Bureau of Prisons

Provides a parenting class for inmates.

MISSOURI

Agape House (Springfield)

(417) 865-5408
1225 N. Grant
Springfield, MO 65802
Contact: Norma O'Dell, House Manager
Agency Head: Jack Cole, President
Area Served: Springfield
Established: 1985

Provides overnight lodging for families of inmates at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, the Ozark Correctional Center in Fordland, and area jails.

Girl Scout Council of Greater St. Louis

(314) 592-2366
2130 Kratky Road
St. Louis, MO 63114
Contact: Janis Scheer, LCSW, Program Manager
Agency Head: Theresa Loveless, Executive Director
Area Served: St. Louis and 12 surrounding counties
Parent Organization: Girl Scouts of the USA
Established: 1996

Provides transportation and pays all fees associated with a Girl Scout troop for daughters of incarcerated women.

Let's Start, Inc.

(314) 231-9328
1408 S. 10th Street
St. Louis, MO 63104
Contact/Agency Head: Jackie Toben, Executive Director
Area Served: St. Louis
Established: 1989

Provides counseling to prisoners' children and their caregivers.

Publication: Monthly newsletter.

Lutheran Ministries

(314) 268-1171
3558 S. Jefferson
St. Louis, MO 63118
Contact: Sarah Barnes, Family Outreach
Agency Head: Rev. Dick Tetzloff, Executive Director
Area Served: St. Louis
Established: 1986

Provides information, referrals, and support groups for children and their caregivers.

Missouri Department of Corrections

(573) 751-2389
P.O. Box 236
Jefferson City, MO 65102
Contact: Gordon Howard, Volunteer Services Coordinator
Agency Head: Dr. Dora Schriro, Director
Area Served: Missouri

Provides support groups for families of prisoners.

Publication: "For Family and Friends" provides basic information regarding the Department of Corrections.

PATCH (Parents and Their Children) of Chillicothe

(660) 646-6462
P.O. Box 871
Chillicothe, MO 64601
Contact: Coleen Scott, Director
Agency Head: Nina Carr, President
Area Served: Missouri
Established: 1984

Provides transportation, parenting classes, and support groups. Acts as a liaison for Department of Family Services and Juvenile Courts.

Publication: Quarterly newsletter.

Prison PATCH (Jefferson City)

(314) 751-4748, ext. 256
P.O. Box 105454
Jefferson City, MO 65110
Contact: June Pearse, Site Director
Agency Head: Russell Maggard, Executive Chair
Area Served: Missouri
Established: 1984

Provides transportation, home-like environment for prison visitation, and parenting classes for prisoners.

Publication: Brochure.

Prisoner Family Services of Immanuel Lutheran Church

(314) 381-6001/5955
3540 Marcus Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63115
Contact: Susan Smith, Director
Area Served: St. Louis metropolitan area
Parent Organization: Immanuel Lutheran Church
Established: 1974

Provides low-cost transportation for family members to Missouri correctional institutions, paralegal and social services, and counseling for families.

Project COPE (Congregation/Offender Partnership Enterprise)

(314) 389-4804
3529 Marcus Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63115
Contact/Agency Head: Linda Schroeder, Executive Director
Established: 1984

Uses volunteers from local congregations to provide support for adult ex-offenders during the first year of community reentry.

Society of St. Vincent dePaul Criminal Justice Ministry

(314) 241-8062
1408 S. Tenth Street
St. Louis, MO 63104
Contact/Agency Head: Sister Karen Pollard, BVM, Director
Area Served: St. Louis City and surrounding counties
Parent Organization: Society of St. Vincent dePaul
Established: 1979

Provides ministry to incarcerated men and women. Also provides tutoring, family assistance, referrals, and correspondence to prisoners.

Publication: Quarterly newsletter.

NEBRASKA

Nebraska Correctional Center for Women

(402) 362-3317
RR 1, Box 33
York, NE 68467
Contact: Mary Alley, Parenting Program Coordinator
Agency Head: Larry Wayne, Warden
Area Served: Nebraska
Parent Organization: Nebraska Department of Correctional Services
Established: 1976

Provides parenting classes, childbirth classes, overnight and day child visits, and nursery for inmates' babies who may stay with their mothers up to 18 months of age.

Publications: Handbooks.

Agency Head: Wray Bailey, Director

Visiting Nurse Association

(402) 334-1820
10840 Harney
Omaha, NE 68154
Contact: Betty Cernech, Director
Agency Head: Jan Treml, CEO
Area Served: Nebraska and Iowa
Established: 1997

Provides women released from prison with nursing, prenatal and parenting education, case management of health needs, and home visits.

NEVADA

Friends Outside - Southern Nevada

(702) 455-3957
330 So. Casina Center Boulevard
Las Vegas, NV 89101
Contact: Bonnie Polley, Director
Area Served: Southern Nevada - Clark County
Parent Organization: Friends Outside - National
Established: 1979

Provides services to families and inmates, including referral and networking, and screens for transitional housing.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

New Hampshire Catholic Charities - Concord

(603) 228-1108
176 Loudon Road
Concord, NH 03301
Contact: Sister Rosemary Crowley, Outreach Coordinator
Agency Head: John P. Quinn, Director
Area Served: New Hampshire
Parent Organization: New Hampshire Catholic Charities
Established: 1996

Provides a support group for families of prisoners.

NEW JERSEY

American Friends Service Committee

(973) 643-3079
972 Broad Street
Newark, NJ 07102
Contact: Bonnie Kerness, Coordinator

Area Served: New Jersey, New York, Connecticut

Established: 1993

Provides casework services including counseling to ex-prisoners and their families, advocacy on control unit issues, and a mentorship program for pre-adjudicated youth.

Publications: "The Lessons of Marion," "The Fortress Economy," and "A Survival Manual."

Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women

(908) 735-7111
P.O. Box 4004
Clinton, NJ 08809
Contact: Helen Adams, Social Work Supervisor
Agency Head: Charlotte Blackwell, Administrator
Area Served: State of New Jersey
Parent Organization: New Jersey Department of Corrections
Established: 1975

Provides transportation, supervised visitation, and a Girl Scouts Beyond Bars program.

Offender Aid and Restoration

(973) 624-6610
303 University Avenue, Rm 3271
Newark, NJ 07102
Contact: Robert Shaw, Senior Case Manager
Agency Head: Linda Williams, Executive Director
Area Served: Essex County
Parent Organization: Patchwork Family Center

Provides transportation and supervised visitation for children, classes, workshops, and support and assistance for caregivers of inmates' children.

Rolling Hills Girl Scout Council

(908) 725-1226
1171 Route 28
North Branch, NJ 08876
Contact: Tonya Hall, Director of Special Projects
Agency Head: Marilyn Siegel, Executive Director
Area Served: Hunterdon, Somerset Counties and Middlesex Borough
Parent Organization: Girl Scouts of the USA
Established: 1995

Provides visitation and a Girl Scout program for inmates' daughters to enhance character and personal growth.

Publication: "The Next of Kin" newsletter.

NEW MEXICO

Alice King Family Center

(505) 471-2585
P.O. Box 16722
Santa Fe, NM 87506-6722
Contact: Barbara A. Robinson, President
Agency Head: Monica McCoy, Executive Director
Area Served: New Mexico
Established: 1981

Provides visitations, childcare, parent education, and referrals.

LOGOS System Associates

(505) 291-6412
2226 B Wyoming NE #130
Albuquerque, NM 87112

See national program listing page 28.

Prison Family Services

(505) 527-4046
P.O. Box 639
Las Cruces, NM 88004-0639
Contact: Charles Brewster, Managing Director
Agency Head: Bob Hawn, President
Area Served: Southwestern United States, and Northern Mexico
Established: 1981

Provides visitation and assistance for families of inmates.

Visitor Hospitality Center

(505) 471-2585
Route 16, Box 315
Santa Fe, NM 87501
Contact: Muiriel Kirschmeier, President
Area Served: New Mexico
Established: 1981

Provides daycare for children of inmates, facilitation of family visitation, meals for visitors, and childcare and parenting groups.

NEW YORK

Auburn Hospitality Association, Inc.

(315) 253-0121

148 State Street
Auburn, NY 13021
Contact: Barbara McLeod, Coordinator
Agency Head: Valerie Bauhofer, Chair
Area Served: New York
Established: 1972

Provides respite and hospitality services to visitors of inmates at the Auburn, Cayuga, and Butler Correctional Facilities. Also provides advocacy for families and childcare in the visiting room at Auburn Correctional Facility.

Publication: Brochure.

Family Works

(212) 673-6633
135 E. 15th Street
New York, NY 10003
Contact/Agency Head: Elizabeth Gaynes, Executive Director
Area Served: New York
Parent Organization: The Osborne Association
Established: 1986

Provides a parent education program for incarcerated fathers and a Children's Center adjoining the prison visiting room.

Publications: "How Can I Help? Working with Children of Incarcerated Parents," "Sustaining and Enhancing Family Ties," "Resources for Supporting the Children of Incarcerated Parents."

Hour Children, Inc.

(718) 433-4724
36-11A 12th Street
Long Island City, NY 11106
Contact: Sister Teresa Fitzgerald, Executive Director
Area Served: New York
Established: 1991

Provides foster care for children of incarcerated women. Works with incarcerated mothers and their children to strengthen family ties through advocacy, visiting assistance, and social services.

Publication: Free newsletter.

Incarcerated Mothers Program/Edwin Gould Service for Children

(212) 410-4200
104 E 107th Street
New York, NY 10029
Contact: Kathleen Kanet, Supervisor
Established: 1986

Provides home visits to children of incarcerated women and their caregivers; teaches parenting skills; and provides HIV/AIDS support, prison visits, court advocacy, and referrals.

New York State Department of Correctional Services

(518) 457-8106
Building 2, 1220 Washington Avenue
Albany, NY 12226-2050
Contact: Shirley Baker, Coordinator of Family Services
Agency Head: Glenn Goord, Commissioner
Area Served: New York
Established: 1977

Provides extended overnight visits for inmates and their families at 18 prisons, transportation, a safe play area at the prisons, and a hospitality center for visitors.

Ossining Prison Ministry, Inc.

(914) 941-0540
34 South Highland Avenue
Ossining, NY 10562
Contact: Marion Farrell, Director
Area Served: Sing Sing Prison
Established: 1985

Provides breakfast to prison visitors, appropriate clothing, toys, and child supervision during visits.

Planned Parenthood of Nassau County, Inc.

(516) 483-3193, ext 3019
540 Fulton Avenue
Hempstead, NY 11550
Contact: Nanette Ecker, Director of Training and Education
Agency Head: Karen Pearl, President
Area Served: Nassau County
Parent Organization: Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Established: 1992

Provides family skills training to prisoners and those who work with them, with an emphasis on human sexuality issues, birth control, parenting, sexually transmitted diseases, and HIV.

Publications: Fact sheets on HIV, STDs, birth control, date rape, and sexual harassment.

Prison Families Anonymous (New York City)

(212) 463-9500
c/o WomenCare
105 Chambers Street, 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10007

Contact: Barbara Allen, Project Director
Agency Head: Barbara Treen, Executive Director
Area Served: Greater New York area
Established: 1970

Provides a 12-step self-help group, referrals, and resources.

Prison Families Anonymous (Saratoga Springs)

(518) 587-5000
142 Regent Street
Saratoga Springs, NY 12866
Contact: Margaret Morahan
Area Served: Saratoga County
Parent Organization: Saratoga County Catholic Family and Community Services
Established: 1988

Provides a self-help group for families of prisoners.

Rochester Interfaith Jail Ministry

(716) 325-1942
121 North Fitzhugh Street
Rochester, NY 14614
Contact: Rev. Pearl Cunningham, Executive Director
Agency Head: Rev. Linda Dalby, Chair, Board of Directors
Area Served: Monroe County
Established: 1970

Provides support services to Monroe County Jail inmates, families of prisoners, and ex-offenders.

The Children's Center, Bedford Hills Correctional Facility

(914) 241-3100, ext 4050
247 Harris Road
Bedford Hills, NY 10507
Contact: Sister Elaine Roulet, Director
Parent Organization: Catholic Charities, Diocese of Brooklyn, Builders for Family and Youth
Established: 1980

Provides a children's center at Bedford Hills that includes a playroom, nursery, and infant daycare for inmates' children. Also provides parenting classes, children's advocacy, tutoring, and visiting programs.

Publications: Fact sheets, "Foster Care Handbook for Incarcerated Parents," "Parenting From the Inside Out - The Voices of Mothers in Prison," and "The Children's Center - Programs of Bedford Hills Correctional Facility."

U.S. Probation Department, Eastern District of New York

(718) 254-7278
75 Clinton Street, 4th Floor
Brooklyn, NY 11201
Contact: Margie Pesante, Sr. U.S. Probation Officer
Agency Head: James M. Fox, Chief Probation Officer
Area Served: Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, Nassau and Suffolk Counties
Established: 1998

Provides family-oriented case management and counseling services and monthly family orientation meetings.

Women's Prison Association and Home, Inc.

(212) 674-1163
110 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10003
Contact/Agency Head: Ann Jacobs, Executive Director
Established: 1993 and 1997

Provides intensive case management services for women on parole or probation or recently released. Also provides parenting training, counseling, support groups, peer education, living skills education, referrals, substance abuse services, advocacy, employment assistance, AIDS/HIV prevention education, and recreational activities.

Publications: "Breaking the Cycle of Despair," "Don't Forget About Your Children," and "Protect Your Rights as Parents!"

NORTH CAROLINA

ECO (Energy Committed to Offenders, Inc.)

(704) 374-0762
P.O. Box 33533
Charlotte, NC 28233
Contact: Ann Archer, Aftercare Coordinator
Agency Head: Myra Clark, Executive Director
Area Served: Charlotte
Established: 1974

Provides support groups, referral and advocacy for food, clothing, and shelter. Assists with employment, transportation, and referrals.

Family Services Center of Buncombe

County, Inc.
(828) 253-9314
50 South French Broad Avenue
Asheville, NC 28801
Contact: Peggy Buva, Program Administrator
Agency Head: Cassandra Pavone, Executive Director
Area Served: Western North Carolina
Established: 1995

Provides "Building Families" parenting course at Craggy Correctional Center.

Motheread, Inc.
(919) 781-2088
3924 Browning Place, Suite 7
Raleigh, NC 27609

See national program listing page 28.

NCSU - Cooperative Extension Service - Mecklenburg Center
(704) 336-2561
700 North Tryon Street
Charlotte, NC 28202
Contact: Marilyn Gore, Youth and Family Agent
Agency Head: Peggy Brown, County Director
Area Served: Mecklenburg County Jail North
Parent Organization: NC State University
Established: 1996

Provides inmate classes on parenting and personal development and, for graduates, visits with their children.

Prison Match of North Carolina, Inc.
(919) 828-4767
P.O. Box 14469
Raleigh, NC 27620
Contact/Agency Head: Nancy Moody, Director
Area Served: North Carolina
Established: 1990

Provides parenting classes, transportation, and supervised special visitation for inmate mothers and their children.

Summit House
(336) 691-9888
319 Smyres Place
Greensboro, NC 27403
Contact: Karen Chapple, CEO
Area Served: North Carolina
Established: 1987

Provides residential programs for female offenders and their children. Also operates a day reporting program for women in Greensboro.

- Publications: Annual report, brochures, and newsletter.

OHIO

Community Connection for Ohio Offenders, Inc.
(614) 252-0660
993 Main Street
Columbus, OH 43205
Contact: Candace Spitzer, Director of Operations
Agency Head: Joan Malarky, Executive Director
Area Served: Columbus
Established: 1971

Provides education, mentoring, and case management for offenders and ex-offenders; offers information and referral, employment assistance, housing assistance, and transportation. Offers education and mentoring to inmates and a support group and parenting education for their families.

Publications: "Community Resource Directory for the Ohio Adult Criminal Justice Population."

Family and Friends of Prisoners, Inc.
(614) 646-2001
P.O. Box 9249
Columbus, OH 43209
Contact: Marie Kabia, Director
Parent Organization: Center for Guidance and Enrichment Training
Established: 1993

Provides support, liaison counseling, and personal development to families of offenders.

Publication: "Encouraging Words," an inspirational guide to spiritual empowerment and self-esteem.

Family Bridges: Advocacy and Resource Services, Inc.
(216) 522-2200, ext 69
310 W. Lakeside Avenue #400
Cleveland, OH 44113
Contact: Donna Marie Kaminsky, Director
Area Served: Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown
Established: 1994

Provides information, education, support, and advocacy services to children and families of prisoners. Assists with reintegration.

National Marriage Encounter Prison Ministry, Inc.

(513) 385-0222
P.O. Box 53583
Cincinnati, OH 45253

See national program listing page 29.

Ohio Reformatory for Women

(937) 642-1065
1479 Collins Avenue
Marysville, OH 43040
Agency Head: Shirley A. Rogers, Warden
Area Served: Ohio
Parent Organization: Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction

Provides five programs for inmates, as follows.

1. Bonds Beyond Bars (Girl Scouts)
Contact: Kelli Moro, Camp Meridian Boot Camp Case Manager
Established: 1995

Provides participation in the Girl Scout program to inmates with daughters. Services include transportation and field trips with their mothers.

2. Camp Adventure
Contact: Rebecca Bright, Inspector of Institutional Services
Established: 1994

Provides inmates not imprisoned for offenses involving their children a three-day, day camp adventure with their children and transportation if needed. Community volunteers assist.

3. Merit Family Day
Contact: Rebecca Cardine, Unit Management Administrator
Established: 1997

Provides long-term inmates who achieve merit housing with a special family day in the summer that includes a cookout, talent show, karaoke, and other family activities.

4. Mom and Kids Day
Contact: Sandra Goodwin, Parenting Coordinator
Established: 1990

Provides inmates not imprisoned for offenses involving their children a special visiting component with their children at Easter, Christmas, and once during the summer.

5. Strengthening Family Ties
Contact: Sandra Goodwin, Parenting Coordinator
Established: 1988

Provides a parenting program in which inmates complete a 16-week educational phase followed by visitation with their children and counseling.

U.S. Probation Office, Northern District of Ohio - Pre-Release Family Services

(216) 522-2200
310 W. Lakeside Avenue #400
Cleveland, OH 44113
Contact: Donna Kaminsky, Pre-Release Services Coordinator
Agency Head: Keith Loenning, Chief Probation Officer
Area Served: Northern District of Ohio
Parent Organization: U.S. Probation
Established: 1996

Provides family orientation prior to release, support groups, and referrals.

OKLAHOMA

Families and Friends of Prisoners

(918) 587-0685
P.O. Box 9611
Tulsa, OK 74157
Contact: Rita Boyle
Area Served: Tulsa and surrounding areas
Established: 1990

Provides a bi-monthly support group and an information service for families of inmates at the county jail during visiting hours.

The Total Family Development Program

(405) 872-3543
P.O. Box 1475
Noble, OK 73068
Contact/Agency Head: Donald Vowell, Director
Area Served: Oklahoma
Established: 1985

Volunteers provide counseling on achieving drug-free families and institutions.

OREGON

Bridge Project (Becoming Responsible for Individual Decisions, Goals, and Effort)

(541) 267-0798
P.O. Box 239
Coos Bay, OR 97459
Contact: Jeff Salge, Incarcerated Project Specialist
Agency Head: Chris Bass,
Family Services Coordinator
Area Served: Coos County
Parent Organization: South Coast Head Start
Established: 1994

Provides parenting classes and resource referrals for inmates in the county jail.

Publications: Bridge Information Packet and "I'm in Jail" manual.

PENNSYLVANIA

AFSC (American Friends Service Committee) Criminal Justice Program

(215) 241-7130
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

See national program listing page 25.

ARIN (Armstrong and Indiana) Intermediate Unit 28

(724) 463-5300, ext 219
2895 Route 422 West
Indiana, PA 15701
Contact: Fredalene Bowers, Program Coordinator
Agency Head: Robert Coach, PhD,
Executive Director
Area Served: Armstrong and Indiana Counties,
Western Pennsylvania
Established: 1991

Provides incarcerated women with training in parenting skills, stress management, self-esteem encouragement, and money management. Also provides referrals.

Arsenal Family and Children's Center

(412) 681-4210
3939 Penn Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15224
Contact/Agency Head: Dr. Von E. Keairns,
Executive Director
Area Served: Allegheny County
Established: 1986

Provides Family Time, a safe, nurturing, developmentally appropriate play time for children and their inmate parents.

Capital Area Head Start - Woodside Center

(717) 558-9871
451 Mall Road
Harrisburg, PA 17111
Contact: Diana Ciucci, Center Director
Agency Head: Alison Rasen, Director
Area Served: Dauphin County
Established: 1995

Provides full-time, five days per week Head Start/ daycare services to children ages 3 - 5 whose mothers are incarcerated or have been incarcerated.

Family Planning Council

(215) 985-2630
260 South Broad Street, Suite 1000
Philadelphia, PA 19102
Contact: Dottie Schell, Family Services Specialist
Agency Head: Dorothy Mann, Executive Director
Area Served: Pennsylvania
Established: 1994

Provides parenting education, counseling, visitation, case management, and referrals for inmates and their families.

Family Services of Western Pennsylvania/Families Outside

(412) 261-3623
921 Penn Avenue, 4th Floor
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
Contact: Ned Pfundt, Coordinator
Agency Head: Phillip Campbell, Executive Director
Area Served: Southwest Pennsylvania
Established: 1980

Provides low-cost transportation, self-help support, reentry assistance, education, coping skills, and family videos.

Publications: Free monthly newsletter.

Inmate Family Services

(215) 564-6005
2000 Spring Garden Street
Philadelphia, PA 19130
Contact/Agency Head: Molly Depner, Director
Area Served: Philadelphia and suburbs
Parent Organization: Pennsylvania Prison Society
Established: 1993

Provides volunteer staffing for the Family Resource Center at SCI Graterford. Also, information, referrals, and job skills training.

National Clearinghouse for the Defense of Battered Women

(215) 351-0010
125 S. 9th Street, Suite 302
Philadelphia, PA 19107

See national program listing page 28.

Parent Resource Association/Incarcerated Parents and Their Children

(215) 576-7961
213 Fernbrook Avenue
Wyncote, PA 19095

See national program listing page 29.

Parents Anonymous (Pennsylvania) (aka ParentWISE, Inc.)

(724) 837-5410
1302 Poplar Street
S. Greensburg, PA 15601
Contact: Sandra Beauregard, Parent Education Coordinator
Agency Head: Terri Katzman, Executive Director
Area Served: Westmoreland County (southwest Pennsylvania)
Established: 1993

Provides parenting education and information on reintegration upon release.

Publications: Handouts and articles on family issues.

Philadelphia Society for Services to Children

(215) 875-3400
415 S. 15th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19146
Contact: Beth McLean, Program Supervisor
Agency Head: Helen Dennis, Executive Director
Area Served: Philadelphia
Established: 1992

Provides family therapy, in-home social work to caregivers, interaction with incarcerated mothers and caregivers as a team, Children's Therapy Group, and legal assistance.

ROC (Raising Others' Children) 18th Street Development Corp

(215) 271-0052
1815 S. 18th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19145
Contact: Sherra Dunn, Director
Agency Head: Kelly Woodland, Executive Director
Area Served: South Philadelphia (Point Breeze)
Parent Organization: ROC, Dixon House

Provides caregivers housing assistance and instruction in career achievement and home repair.

Publications: Quarterly newsletter and brochures.

State Correctional Institution at Muncy

(717) 546-3171
P.O. Box 180
Muncy, PA 17756
Contact: Melinda Yowell, Parenting Director
Agency Head: Mary Leftridge Byrd, Superintendent
Area Served: Pennsylvania
Parent Organization: Pennsylvania Department of Corrections
Established: 1995

Provides a parenting program and Project IMPACT visitation center.

Publication: "I Love You This Much" workbook with activities for improved parent/child communication.

Project IMPACT (Inside Muncy Parents and Children Together)
(717) 546-3171, ext 418
P.O. Box 493
Muncy, PA 17756
Contact/Agency Head: Karen Bush, Director
Area Served: Pennsylvania
Established: 1986

Provides a visiting center, parent education classes, and a social service program for prisoners at Muncy State Correctional Institution and their children.

The PROGRAM for Female Offenders, Inc.

(717) 238-9950
22 S. 3rd Street, 2nd Floor
Harrisburg, PA 17101
Contact: Valerie Simmons, Executive Director
Area Served: Dauphin and Cumberland Counties
Established: 1979

Provides alternatives to prison for female offenders referred by the court. Program includes counseling, employment services, HIV/AIDS education, life skills training, substance abuse case management services, academic remediation/GED tutoring, day programming, work release, transitional residential services, and children's programming.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Death Row Family Support Network

(803) 385-2902
3203 Center Road
Chester, SC 29706-6528
e-mail sshafer@infoave.net
Contact/Agency Head: Shelly Shafer
Established: 1998

Provides death row inmates and their families with emotional support and an inmate pen pal program.

Family Link

(843) 522-9119
P.O. Box 2071
Beaufort, SC 29901-2071
Contact/Agency Head: Dollie Morrall, President
Established: 1986

Provides information and referrals for families, legislative research, and advocacy for criminal justice reform.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Family Connection Hospitality House and Children's Programs

(605) 357-0777
303 North Minnesota Avenue
Sioux Falls, SD 57104
Contact: Anne Burkard, Operations Manager
Agency Head: Anne Marie Rossing, Chair, Board of Directors
Area Served: South Dakota Penitentiary
Established: 1996

Provides overnight lodging for women and children whose family members are South Dakota Penitentiary inmates. Also provides counseling, support, and other services for children of prisoners.

W.A.I.T. (We are Inmates Too)

(605) 338-1735
119 S. Van Eps
Sioux Falls, SD 57103
Contact: LeRoy Isminger, Pastor
Area Served: Sioux Falls area
Established: 1990

Provides a support group for people with a loved one in prison that meets twice monthly.

TENNESSEE

Bethel Bible Village

(423) 842-5757
(888) BBV-9499
3001 Hamill Road
P.O. Box 5000
Hixson, TN 37343
Area Served: Tennessee, North Georgia, North Alabama, Western North Carolina

Provides emergency respite care, a teen mothers' program, a residential group home, preparation for independent living program, counseling, special tutoring for children of offenders, and psychological and academic testing.

Families of Incarcerated Individuals, Inc.

(901) 354-0666
P.O. Box 27431
Memphis, TN 38167-0431
Contact/Agency Head: Andrea M. Payne, Executive Director
Area Served: Memphis, Shelby County, Jackson
Established: 1989

Provides bi-monthly support groups for families, transportation for prison visits, and Project Aware After School Juvenile Delinquency Prevention program for children.

Publications: "Day by Day," a workbook for adults; "One = One," a workbook for children; "To Us," a workbook for offenders returning to their families; $5 each.

Project Return

(615) 327-9654
1514 Church Street
Nashville, TN 37203
Contact/Agency Head: Linda Thomas, Executive Director
Area Served: Davidson County
Parent Organization: United Way of Middle Tennessee
Established: 1979

Provides employment and rehabilitative assistance to ex-offenders and their families.

Reconciliation

(615) 292-6371
702 51 Avenue, North
Nashville, TN 37212
Contact/Agency Head: Karen Fletcher, Executive Director
Area Served: Tennessee
Established: 1984

Provides guest house for prison visitors, support groups, summer camp experience for children and teens, family advisory board, family advocacy, Kids Korners, information, and referrals.

Publications: "The Reconciliation Handbook for Families and Friends of Tennessee Prisoners," "Two in Every Hundred," newsletters from each prison in Tennessee, monthly newsletter only for families and friends of Tennessee prisoners (free).

TEXAS

Bexar County Adult Detention Center

(210) 270-6330
200 N. Comal
San Antonio, TX 78207
Contact/Agency Head: Juliana Perez, BSW, LCDC, Program Coordinator
Area Served: Bexar County

Provides two programs for inmates as follows.

1. MATCH (Mothers and Their Children)
Established: 1984

Provides parenting and life skills education for incarcerated mothers and weekly contact visitation sessions with their children.

Publications: MATCH/PATCH information packet, MATCH video, and MATCH poster.

2. PATCH at San Antonio (Papas and Their Children)
Established: 1993

Provides parenting and life skills education for incarcerated fathers and weekly contact visitation sessions with their children.

Publication: MATCH/PATCH information packet.

Family Support Program for Ex-Offenders

(512) 445-1645
1616 Headway Circle, 2nd floor
Austin, TX 78754
Contact: Tanya Voss, Program Coordinator
Area Served: Travis County
Parent Organization: University of Texas at Austin, School of Social Work
Established: 1991

Provides parolees and their families information and referral; advocacy; support and educational groups; needs assessment; intervention planning; counseling; and assistance with housing, clothing, food, and medical needs.

Hospitality House (Texas Baptist Prison Family Ministry Foundation)

(409) 291-6196
912 10th Street
Huntsville, TX 77340
Contact: Chaplain Bob Norris, Director
Area Served: Huntsville
Established: 1986

Provides families of prisoners with counseling, food pantry, shelter, guidance, referral, and help in establishing support groups.

Publication: Newsletter.

Obadiah Ministries, Inc.

(972) 326-9742
10572 High Hollows, Suite 160
Dallas, TX 75267
Contact/Agency Head: Rev. Israela Montgomery
Area Served: Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex
Established: 1993

Provides parolees with practical and spiritual assistance, including emergency food for their families.

Open, Inc. (Offender Preparation and Education Network)

(972) 271-1971
P.O. Box 566025
Dallas, TX 75356-6025

See national program listing page 29.

Out But Not Free, Inc.

(214) 381-0099
8301 Bruton Road
Dallas, TX 75217
Contact/Agency Head: Rev. Roger L. Woods
Area Served: Dallas (specifically Pleasant Grove)
Established: 1994

Provides pastoral care, counseling, and parenting training.

Publication: Newsletter.

Parents and Children Together (PACT), Inc.

(817) 924-0995
P.O. Box 14828
Fort Worth, TX 76118

See national program listing page 29.

Texas Department of Criminal Justice - Parole Division

(713) 650-8429
2410 Hamilton Street
Huntsville, TX 77004
Contact: Julia Ortiz, Program Specialist
Agency Head: Veronica Ballard, Division of Parole Director
Area Served: Texas
Established: 1997

Provides weekly support group meetings for families of the incarcerated.

The Inner Change Freedom Initiative

(281) 277-8707
Jester II Unit
Richmond, TX 77469
Contact/Agency Head: Jack Cowley, Director
Area Served: Harris and surrounding counties
Parent Organization: Prison Fellowship Ministries
Established: 1998

Provides support groups for families of inmates.

Volunteers of America - Northern Texas, Inc.

(817) 649-7491
P.O. Box 200276
Arlington, TX 76006-0276
Contact: Donna Bailey, Assistant Dept. Director
Agency Head: David North, President, CEO
Area Served: Texas
Parent Organization: Volunteers of America, Inc.
Established: 1983

Provides specialized services for pregnant federal inmates and residential services for pregnant parolees and probationers.

Publications: Brochures.

UTAH

Utah Department of Corrections (Division of Institutional Operations)

(801) 253-5020
Lone Peak Facility, Building 414
Camp Williams National Guard Base
P.O. Box 250
Draper, UT 84020
Contact: Bob Steele, Deputy Warden
Area Served: Utah
Established: 1998

Provides family therapy and family support social services to help offenders successfully return to the community.

VERMONT

Vermont Department of Corrections

(802) 241-2338
103 So. Main Street
Waterbury, VT 05676
Contact: Maureen Buell, Director, Women Offender and Family Services
Agency Head: John Gorczyk, Commissioner
Parent Organization: Agency of Human Services

Provides family nurturing, Parents Anonymous, parenting classes, children's play group, and special family visits. In the process of implementing a residential program for children to live onsite with their incarcerated mothers.

VIRGINIA

Family and Corrections Network

(804) 589-3036
32 Oak Grove Road

Palmyra, VA 22963

See national program listing page 27.

Kingsway Prison Ministries

(540) 433-5658
P.O. Box 372
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
Contact: Louise Jennings, Associate Director
Agency Head: Shelton Jennings, Director and President
Area Served: Central Shenandoah Valley
Established: 1983

Provides ex-offenders and their families with food, clothing, financial management, reading, support groups, drug and alcohol referrals, children's camp, in-prison pre-release programs, help with post-release job search, housing, and transportation.

Publications: Bibles and Bible studies.

Offender Aid and Restoration of Fairfax County

(703) 246-3033
10640 Page Avenue
Fairfax, VA 22030-4000

Contact: David Manning, Coordinator, Jail and Family Services
Agency Head: Janeth Welch, Executive Director
Area Served: Fairfax County
Established: 1981

Provides emergency services for families of offenders, family support group, counseling for family members, employment counseling, and "Saturday Friends" support group for children.

Publications: "Handling the Crisis," "Your Visit to Jail," "Challenge to Change," and "Saturday Friends" fliers on children's program.

Prevent Child Abuse, Virginia (M.I.L.K. Program)

(804) 775-1777
P.O. Box 12308
Richmond, VA 23241
Contact: Karen Schrader, Director of Programs
Agency Head: Barbara Rawn, Executive Director
Area Served: Virginia
Established: 1981

Provides M.I.L.K. (Mothers/Men Inside Loving Kids) program. M.I.L.K. includes parent education, support groups, parent/child visits, and guardian groups. Also provides technical assistance and training to others for program implementation.

Publication: "Development and Implementation of M.I.L.K. and Programs in Correctional Facilities Manual."

Prison Family Support Services, Inc.

(804) 643-2401
1 North 5th Street, Suite 400
Richmond, VA 23219
Contact/Agency Head: Susie White, Executive Director
Area Served: Virginia
Established: 1978

Provides visiting day transportation to state prisons, family needs assessment and referral services, volunteer chaperones to accompany children on visits with their incarcerated mothers, and co-sponsors Girl Scout troop for incarcerated mothers and their daughters.

Publication: Newsletter.

Virginia Beach Community Services Board

(757) 437-4756
Pembroke 6, Suite 129
Virginia Beach, VA 23462

Contact: Pat Barner, Prevention Supervisor
Agency Head: Terry Jenkins, PhD, Director
Area Served: Virginia Beach
Established: 1995

Provides parenting groups for incarcerated fathers/ mothers and "Families Matter" programming for children of incarcerated parents.

Publications: "Families Matter" program brochures.

Virginia Cares Ex-Offenders Transition Program

(703) 838-0901
2525 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Unit #9
Alexandria, VA 22301
Contact: James Green Sr., Community Services Specialist
Agency Head: Nelson Smith, Program Director
Area Served: Alexandria
Parent Organization: Virginia Cares, Inc.
Established: 1978

Provides reentry support for offenders and their families, including employment, food, shelter, clothing, and transportation.

WASHINGTON

Jewish Prisoner Services International

(206) 985-0577
P.O. Box 85840
Seattle, WA 98145

See national program listing page 28.

Mathew House

(360) 794-8720
P.O. Box 201
Monroe, WA 98272
Contact/Agency Head: Rosaleen Wilcox, Executive Director
Area Served: Washington State
Parent Organization: Simon of Cyrene, Inc.
Established: 1979

Provides families of inmates with counseling, support groups, and emergency food and clothing. Visiting support includes childcare, overnight accommodations for families living more than 200 miles from Monroe, and roundtrip bus service to Washington State correctional institutions.

Publication: Newsletter.

WEST VIRGINIA

Alderson Hospitality House

(304) 445-2980
P.O. Box 579
Alderson, WV 24910
Contact: John or Hillary Benish
Area Served: Visitors to Federal Prison Camp, Alderson.
Established: 1978

Provides lodging, meals, transportation, and emotional/spiritual support to families and friends visiting female inmates at the Federal Prison Camp in Alderson.

WISCONSIN

Fox Lake Correctional Institution

(920) 928-3151
P.O. Box 147
Fox Lake, WI 53933
Contact: Glenn Lashway, Chaplain
Agency Head: Ken Sondalle, Warden
Parent Organization: Wisconsin Department of Corrections

Provides a monthly day-long marriage seminar for inmates and their wives.

Taycheedah Correctional Institution

(920) 929-3800
751 Highway K
Fond Du Lac, WI 54935
Contact: Mark Heise, Associate Warden
Agency Head: Kristin Krenke, Warden
Area Served: Wisconsin
Parent Organization: Wisconsin Department of Corrections
Established: 1989

Provides extended visitation with children for graduates of institution's parenting program.

The Salvation Army

(800) 264-6412
4757 N. 76th
Milwaukee, WI 53218
Contact: Major Dale Hale
Agency Head: Lt. Col. Robert Bonifield
Area Served: Wisconsin and Upper Michigan
Established: 1996

Provides support system for family members of inmates, worship and Bible studies, and a weekly support meeting.

Wisconsin Department of Corrections

(608) 266-2471
P.O. Box 7925
Madison, WI 53707-7925
Contact: Walt Thieszen, Chief, Program Services
Agency Head: Michael Sullivan, Secretary
Area Served: Wisconsin
Established: 1985

Provides bus service for families to visit adult inmates at state institutions.

National Service Programs in the United States

AFSC (American Friends Service Committee) Criminal Justice Program

(215) 241-7130
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
Contact: Pat Clark, National Representative
Agency Head: Kara Newell, Executive Director
Area Served: United States

Provides information and referrals for prisoners and their families. Advocates criminal justice reform.

Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents

(626) 397-1396
65 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena, CA 91105
Contact: Denise Johnston, Director
Area Served: Southern California, United States
Established: 1989
Parent Organization: Pacific Oaks College and Children's Programs

Provides a clearinghouse that distributes publications and audiovisuals to prisoners (free) and others (at cost), technical assistance, and a new training institute. Education services include five parent education projects; one women's empowerment series; and three projects for adult and juvenile prisoners, probationers, and substance-dependent parents in recovery. Family reunification services include CHICAS, a child custody advocacy project; and therapeutic services that include the public school-based TIP program of child therapy, family support services, and teacher training.

Publications: "CCIP Journal," issued annually; "Catalog of the Clearinghouse at Pacific Oaks," issued annually. All Prison Match publications are available, including "I Know How You Feel Because This Happened To Me."

CURE (Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants)

(202) 789-2126
P.O. Box 2310
Washington, DC 20013
Contact Person: Charles Sulllivan, Executive Director
Area Served: United States
Established: 1972

Provides advocacy to bring about prison reform. Provides information on reform and rehabilitation to offenders and their families.

Publication: Newsletter.

Other CURE chapters are listed below.

1. Alabama - CURE
Aaron McCall
410 S. Perry
Montgomery, AL 36104
(334) 264-7416

2. Arizona - Middle Ground
c/o Donna and James Hamm
139 E. Encanto Drive
Tempe, AZ 85281
(602) 966-8116

3. Arkansas - CURE
1905 Michael Drive
Little Rock, AR 72204

4. California - CURE
P.O. Box 32627
San Jose, CA 95152
(408) 251-1776

5. Colorado - CURE
3470 S. Poplar #406
Denver, CO 80224
(303) 758-3390

6. Connecticut - Inside-Out: Citizens United for Prison Reform, Inc.
P.O. Box 2393
Hartford, CT 06146-2393

7. Delaware - CURE
270 Beachwood Avenue
Dover, DE 19901
(302) 674-2496

8. Florida - FLIP
710 Flanders Avenue
Daytona Beach, FL 32114
(904) 254-8453

9. Georgia - CURE
P.O. Box 23074
Savannah, GA 31403
(912) 254-8453

10. Idaho - CURE
P.O. Box 1822
Boise, ID 83701-1822
(208) 367-0507

11. Illinois - CURE
3134 E. 92nd Street
Chicago, IL 60617
(773) 933-7057

12. Indiana - CURE
P.O. Box 199256
Indianapolis, IN 46219
(317) 546-1082

13. Iowa - CURE
P.O. Box 4178
Des Moines, IA 50306
(515) 284-5047

14. Kansas - CURE
c/o Assumption Church
204 W. 8th Street
Topeka, KS 66603

15. Kentucky - CURE
c/o P.O. Box 826
Eddyville, KY 42038

16. Louisiana - CURE
P.O. Box 181
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
(504) 922-8357

17. Maine - CURE
842 Prince Point
Yarmouth, ME 04096

18. Maryland - CURE
c/o 139 S Street NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 387-7476, ask for Azora

19. Massachusetts - CURE
President Emeritus Dorothy Briggs, O.P.
19 Dearborn
Medford, MA 02155
(617) 391-9435

20. Michigan - CURE
P.O. Box 2736
Kalamazoo, MI 49003-2736
(616) 383-0028

21. Mississippi - CURE
439 W. Northside Drive #404
Jackson, MS 39206
(601) 982-4475

22. Missouri - CURE
P.O. Box 29041
St. Louis, MO 63112

23. Nebraska - CURE
P.O. Box 6624
Lincoln, NE 66506

24. Nevada - CURE
3642 Boulder Highway, #280
Las Vegas, NV 89121
(702) 641-0233

25. New Hampshire - CURE
P.O. Box 3594
Nashua, NH 03061-3594

26. New Jersey - CURE
P.O. Box 1403
Blackwood, NJ 08102

27. New York - CURE
P.O. Box 102
Katonak, NY 10536

28. North Carolina - CURE
4464 County Home Road
Blanch, NC 27212
(910) 694-1253

29. North Dakota - CURE
c/o Erling Sannes
2033 St. Benedict Drive
Bismarck, ND 58501
(701) 255-4528

30. Ohio - CURE
P.O. Box 218272
Columbus, OH 43221
(800) 698-4286

31. Oklahoma - CURE
P.O. Box 9741
Tulsa, OK 74157-0741
(918) 744-9857

32. Oregon - CURE
P.O. Box 2210
Albany, OR 97321

33. Pennsylvania - CURE
1034 E. Sedgwick
Philadelphia, PA 19150
(215) 548-2227

34. South Dakota - CURE
P.O. Box 961
Sioux Falls, SD 57101

35. Tennessee - CURE
P.O. Box 416
Harriman, TN 37748
(423) 354-0839

36. Texas - CURE
P.O. Box 12623
Austin, TX 78711
(512) 476-3432

37. Utah - CURE
P.O. Box 702448
Salt Lake City, UT 84107

38. Vermont - CURE
21 Church Street
Burlington, VT 05401
(802) 786-0554

39. Virginia - CURE
P.O. Box 19453
Alexandria, VA 22320

40. Washington - CURE
P.O. Box 201
Monroe, WA 98272

41. Wisconsin - CURE
P.O. Box 259452
Madison, WI 53725-9452
(608) 835-3740, ask for Jackie

Family and Corrections Network

(804) 589-3036
32 Oak Grove Road
Palmyra, VA 22963
Contact: Jim Mustin, President
Area Served: United States
Established: 1982

Provides information on programs serving families involved in the correctional system. Offers consultation and technical assistance in program development, research, policy analysis, program evaluations, and conferences. Has an extensive website, http://www.fcnetwork.org.

Publications: "When Battered Women are Charged with Crimes: A Resource Manual for Defense Attorneys and Expert Witnesses," "NIS Report - Validity and Use of Expert Testimony," "Statistic Packet," and an annotated bibliography.

National Fatherhood Initiative

(301) 948-0599
(800) 790-DADS
One Bank Street, Suite 160
Gaithersburg, MD 20878
Contact: Malcolm Williams, Director
Agency Head: Dr. Wade F. Horn, President
Area Served: United States
Established: 1994

Provides information and materials for fathers. Maintains a database of programs for fathers in jail and after release.

Publications: Brochures, resource catalog, and newsletter.

National Marriage Encounter Prison Ministry, Inc.

(513) 385-0222
P.O. Box 53583
Cincinnati, OH 45253
Contact/Agency Head: Jack and Jane Katenkamp, Coordinating Couple
Area Served: United States
Parent Organization: National Marriage Encounter, Inc.
Established: 1981

Provides Marriage Encounter program for husbands and wives when one or both are incarcerated.

Publications: "T.I.M.E. By Mail - the Inmates Marriage Encounter by Mail."

Open, Inc. (Offender Preparation and Education Network)

(972) 271-1971
P.O. Box 566025
Dallas, TX 75356-6025
Contact: Ned Rollo, Executive Director
Area Served: United States
Established: 1979

Publishes self-help handbooks and audiocassettes to help offenders and their families survive incarceration and transition. Provides guidance on adjustment, employment, and dealing with addictions.

Publications: List of titles and prices available on request.

Parent Resource Association/Incarcerated Parents and Their Children

(215) 576-7961
213 Fernbrook Avenue
Wyncote, PA 19095
Contact: Ann Adalist-Estrin, Director
Area Served: United States
Established: 1983

Provides family counseling programs for paroled offenders and training and consulting to correctional programs internationally. Training focuses on parent/child relationships.

Parents and Children Together (PACT), Inc.

(817) 924-0995
P.O. Box 14828
Fort Worth, TX 76118
Contact: Debra Key, Executive Director
Area Served: United States
Established: 1984

Provides children center programs, parent education/ life skills classes, child and family support groups, and social services for federal inmates in Texas, Florida, and Georgia.

Publications: "SKIP, An Elementary School Age Program for Children with Parents in Prison" ($35); "Parent Behind Bars Program Guide for Correctional Facilities" ($12.95), available from the American Correctional Association; and "A Child Serving Time" (free).

Prison Family Foundation, Inc.

(334) 821-1150
643 Auburn Drive
P.O. Box 1150
Auburn, AL 36830
Contact: Daniel J. Bayse, Executive Director
Area Served: United States, Worldwide
Established: 1988

Provides family-based psycho-educational programs to prison systems, prison ministries, and other non-profit groups. Provides training seminars and/or consultation on effective methods to work with inmates and their families. Leads rehabilitation programs in Alabama prisons and the Lee County,

AL, jail. Provides inmate family support groups and counseling to adult and juvenile offenders and/or their families locally.

Publications: "How to keep your family alive while serving a prison sentence," "How to reenter family life and society after completing a prison sentence," and the inmate/family seminar, "What in the world are we going to do with him?"

Prison Fellowship Ministries

(703) 478-0100
P.O. Box 17500
Washington, DC 20041
Contact: Cynthia Smith, Liaison
Agency Head: Thomas C. Pratt, President
Area Served: United States
Established: 1976

Provides Christmas gifts and summer camps for children of prisoners. Also provides seminars on marriage and parenting for prisoners and their spouses.

1. Alabama
P.O. Box 530357
Birmingham, AL 35253-0357
(205) 870-9818

2. Arizona - Northern Office
P.O. Box 37577
Phoenix, AZ 85069
(602) 995-1397

3. Arizona - Southern Office
PO Box 5156
Tucson, AZ 85703-0156
(520) 629-9636

4. California - Los Angeles, East
P.O. Box 1897
Chino, CA 91710
(909) 465-5853

5. California - Los Angeles, South Central
P.O. Box 44959
Los Angeles, CA 90044
(310) 671-5463

6. California - Fresno
385 West Shaw Ave. #225
Fresno, CA 93704
(209) 224-8020

7. California - Sacramento
P.O. Box 276163
Sacramento, CA 95827
(916) 362-2515

8. California - San Diego
P.O. Box 152677
San Diego, CA 92195-2677
(619) 464-8943

9. California - San Francisco
P.O. Box 6657
Concord, CA 94524-6657
(510) 935-9902

10. Colorado
PO Box 3215
Littleton, CO 80161-3215
(303) 741-2877

11. Connecticut - New England Office
PO Box 816
Rocky Hill, CT 06067
(860) 257-8282

12. District of Columbia
No. 5 Thomas Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 265-4544

13. Florida
P.O. Box 5438
Lakeland, FL 33807-5438
(941) 607-9531

14. Georgia
P.O. Box 450106
Atlanta, GA 31145-0106
(770) 938-1054

15. Illinois
P.O. Box 7367
Springfield, IL 62791
(217) 698-6245

16. Indiana
P.O. Box 9591
Ft. Wayne, IN 46899-9591
(219) 459-3773

17. Iowa
P.O. Box 35513
Des Moines, IA 50315
(515) 287-4663

18. Kansas
P.O. Box 9065
Shawnee Mission, KS 66201-1665

(913) 341-3558

19. Kentucky
P.O. Box 23036
Louisville, KY 40233
(502) 426-7291

20. Louisiana
P.O. Box 1356
Covington, LA 70434
(504) 867-8360

21. Maryland - Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia Office
P.O. Box 5484
Baltimore, MD 21285
(410) 296-4909

22. Michigan
P.O. Box 411
Comstock Park, MI 49321-0411
(616) 785-8550

23. Minnesota
P.O. Box 23603
Richfield, MN 55423-2674
(612) 861-9529

24. Mississippi
P.O. Box 22484
Jackson, MS 39225-2484
(601) 969-3921

25. Missouri
P.O. Box 105121
Jefferson City, MO 65110
(573) 635-9254

26. Montana - Wyoming/Montana Office
P.O. Box 22708
Billings, MT 59104
(406) 655-0519

27. Nebraska
P.O. Box 22812
Lincoln, NE 68542-0812
(402) 438-2828

28. Nevada - Nevada/Utah Office
P.O. Box 93356
Las Vegas, NV 89193
(702) 362-2700

29. New Hampshire
P.O. Box 1079
Amherst, NH 03031
(888) 690-4857

30. New Jersey
P.O. Box 7291
North Brunswick, NJ 08902-7291
(732) 940-0600

31. New Mexico
P.O. Box 8895
Albuquerque, NM 87198-8895
(505) 254-1212

32. New York - Eastern Office
P.O. Box 953
Schenectady, NY 12301
(518) 370-1605

33. New York - New York City Office
P.O. Box 960
New York City, NY 10272-0960
(212) 732-9152

34. New York - Western Office
P.O. Box 532
Grand Island, NY 14072-0532
(716) 773-0160

35. North Carolina
P.O. Box 19846
Raleigh, NC 27619-9846
(919) 781-8116

36. Ohio
P.O. Box 27147
Columbus, OH 43227-9998
(614) 759-1571

37. Oklahoma
P.O. Box 18882
Oklahoma City, OK 73154-0882
(405) 840-4500

38. Oregon - Oregon/Idaho Office
P.O. Box 17204
Salem, OR 97305
(503) 363-8491

39. Pennsylvania - Eastern Office
P.O. Box 10486
Lancaster, PA 17605
(717) 393-5355

40. Pennsylvania - Western Office
P.O. Box 10613
Pittsburgh, PA 15235
(412) 829-0299

41. South Carolina
P.O. Box 6731
Columbia, SC 29206
(803) 790-0040

42. Tennessee
211 Donelson Pike, Suite 4
Nashville, TN 37214
(615) 595-2321

43. Texas - Austin Office
P.O. Box 16075
Austin, TX 78761
(512) 458-3700

44. Texas - East Texas Office
P.O. Box 130849
The Woodlands, TX 77393-0849
(281) 292-7646

45. Texas - Houston Office
P.O. Box 741961
Houston, TX 77274-1961
(713) 772-7875

46. Texas - North Texas Office
P.O. Box 153445
Irving, TX 75015-3445
(972-445-0091

47. Texas - West Texas Office
P.O. Box 53418
Lubbock, TX 79453
(806) 792-9442

48. Virginia
P.O. Box 71355
Richmond, VA 23255
(804) 288-2835

49. Washington
P.O. Box 12135
Mill Creek, WA 98082-0135
(425) 743-6248

50. Wisconsin
P.O. Box 18646
Milwaukee, WI 53218-0646
(414) 466-5228

The Aleph Institute

(305) 864-5553
9540 Collins Avenue
Surfside, FL 33154

Contact: Isaac Jaroslawicz, Executive Director
Agency Head: Rabbi Sholom Lipskar, Chairman
Area Served: United States
Established: 1981

Provides Jewish religious education, counseling, emergency assistance, and referrals for Jewish prisoners and their families.

Programs in Canada

ALBERTA

M2/W2 Alberta

(403) 275-6935
76 Skyline Crescent Northeast
Calgary, AB T2K 5X7
Contact: Brenda Tiessen-Wiens, Program Assistant
Agency Head: Darrel Heidebrecht, Director
Area Served: Alberta
Parent Organization: Community Justice Ministries
Established: 1985

Provides family support, one-on-one visits, and transportation from Calgary and Edmonton to Bowden Institution. M2/W2 Campership fund provides financial assistance to inmates' children attending summer camp.

Publication: Newsletter.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

John Howard Society of the Fraser Valley

(604) 852-1226
1790 McKenzie Road
Abbotsford, BC V2S 7B7
Contact/Agency Head: Sylvia Griffith, Executive Director
Area Served: Fraser Valley
Parent Organization: John Howard Society of British Columbia
Established: 1978

Provides family house for families of offenders to stay at a nominal fee, year-round activities for offenders' children, and bi-weekly prison visitation by staff.

MANITOBA

CMEO (Community Ministry with Ex-Offenders, Inc.)

(204) 783-8684
700 Notre Dame Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3E OL7
Contact: Bob Kesowan, Community Chaplain
Agency Head: Doris Beitz, Chairperson, Board of Directors
Area Served: Manitoba
Established: 1987

Provides food and clothing assistance, support groups, pre-release programs, and relapse prevention for offenders.

Publications: Quarterly newsletter and annual report.

Elizabeth Fry Society (Manitoba)

(204) 589-7335
773 Selkirk Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R2W 2N5
Contact: Debbie Blunderfield, Executive Director
Agency Head: Claudia Gagnun, President, Board of Directors
Area Served: Manitoba
Parent Organization: Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies
Established: 1983

Provides services to women who are, have been, or may be at risk of being involved in the criminal justice system, including group and individual counseling, information, referrals, advocacy, and visitation.

Publications: Pamphlet, stories, newsletter.

John Howard Society of Manitoba, Inc.

(204) 775-1514
583 Ellice Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 1Z7
Agency Head: Graham Reddoch, Executive Director
Area Served: Manitoba

Provides a self-help group offering families of inmates information and support and general parenting information to inmates at Headingley Correctional Institution.

Lifeline Lifers Program

(204) 344-5111, ext. 5663
Box 54
St. Pierre Jolys, MB R0A 1V0
Contact: Rene Du Locher
Area Served: Persons sentenced to life in prison in Manitoba
Parent Organization: John Howard Society of Manitoba

Provides family-oriented casework services for lifers in Manitoba. Works to inform and involve families in lifers' treatment plan and provides information and referrals.

NEW BRUNSWICK

John Howard Society of Fredericton, Inc.

(506) 450-2750
420 York Street
Fredericton, NB E3B 3P7
Contact: Marshia Frojoy, Office Manager
Agency Head: Valarie MarCullam, Executive Director
Area Served: Fredericton Region
Established: 1977

Provides transportation to federal institutions, a court worker who attends court sessions, immediate support to families, and referrals and counseling services for family members.

NOVA SCOTIA

Spring House

(902) 597-2171
P.O. Box 1096
Amherst, NS B4H 4E2
Contact: Sister Edna Walker, Hostess
Area Served: Atlantic Canada
Parent Organization: Christian Council for Reconciliation
Established: 1985

Provides hospitality home for inmates' families, including overnight lodging and meals.

ONTARIO

Bridge House (Kingston), Inc.

(613) 549-6303
333 Kings Court Avenue
Kingston, ON K7K 4R4
Contact: Moira Duffy, Executive Director
Area Served: Kingston
Established: 1982

Provides short-term lodging, counseling, referrals, information, childcare, and low-cost transportation for families of inmates.

Publications: Pamphlets on prisons in Kingston area.

Community Justice Initiatives

(519) 744-6549
39 Stirling Avenue N.
Kitchener, ON N24 394
Contacts: Caroline Duimering or Ada Vandenberg, Program Coordinators
Area Served: Waterloo
Established: 1974

Provides treatment and education for sexual abuse offenders and mediation services for criminal offenders, victims, and their respective families.

Publication: Newsletter.

Elizabeth Fry Society

(705) 673-1364
204 Elm Street West
Sudbury, ON P3C 1V3
Contact: Nicole Brauet, Social Worker
Agency Head: Diane Dicaite, Office Coordinator
Area Served: Northeastern Ontario
Established: 1979

Provides direct services, counseling, jail visitation, court support, shoplifting intervention, women's drop-in crime prevention rehabilitation, community education, and prostitution intervention.

John Howard Society

(519) 438-4168
601 Queens Avenue
London, ON NBC 1X7
Contact: Kim Scott
Agency Head: Lori Cunningham, Executive Director
Area Served: London
Established: 1971

Provides individual, family, and marital counseling for women with incarcerated loved ones and low-cost recreational activities for those women and their children.

John Howard Society of Ontario (Provincial Office)

(416) 604-8412
6 Jackson Place
Toronto, ON M6P 176
Contact: Bill Sparks, Executive Director
Area Served: Ontario
Established: 1976

Provides low-cost transportation for family and friends of prisoners to federal penitentiaries and provincial correctional centers.

Publication: Fact sheet on current issues in Canadian criminal justice.

John Howard Society of Peel

(905) 459-0111
134 Main Street North
Brampton, ON L6V 1N8
Contact: Nilda Bastme, Program Manager
Agency Head: Gary Rerst, Executive Director
Area Served: Peel region
Established: 1995

Provides a support group for families of incarcerated or post-release offenders.

Publications: Information on program, brochures, and annual report.

John Howard Society of Waterloo-Wellington

(519) 743-6071
289 Frederick Street
Kitchener, ON N2H 2N3
Contact: Joan Brown, Program Manager
Agency Head: John Bilton, Executive Director
Area Served: Regions of Waterloo and Wellington
Parent Organization: Affiliated with John Howard Society of Ontario
Established: 1984

Provides families of inmates at Canadian federal prisons in Ontario with information and transportation.

The Salvation Army Correctional Resource Centre

(613) 725-1733
1140 Wellington Street
Ottawa, ON K1Y 2Z3
Contact: Kelly Foote, Relink Program Coordinator
Agency Head: Todd Leach, E.D.
Area Served: Ottawa - Carleton Region
Parent Organization: The Salvation Army
Established: 1984

Provides transportation for prison visitors; information, counseling, and life management workshops for families; and support groups for children of offenders and their mothers.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

The Church Army

(902) 368-4590
P.O. Box 2710
Charlottetown, PEI C1A 8C3
Contact: Darren Gaudreau
Area Served: Charlottetown, PEI
Parent Organization: Anglican Church Army
Established: 1998

Provides release planning for inmates, linking with local support services, counseling, and basic needs assessment.

QUEBEC

Continuite Famille Aupres Des Detenues (C.F.A.D.)

(514) 989-9891
661 Rose De Lima
Montreal, QU H4C 2L7
Contact: Yolande Trepanier, Director
Agency Head: Christine Corbeil, President
Area Served: Montreal metropolitan area
Parent Organization: Federation of Family Unions
Established: 1985

Focuses on uniting incarcerated mothers and their children.

SASKATCHEWAN

Elizabeth Fry Society (Saskatoon)

(306) 934-4606
307-135 21st Street East
Saskatoon, SK S7K 0B4
Contact: Judith Heminger, Executive Director
Area Served: Saskatchewan
Parent Organization: Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies
Established: 1981

Provides prison visitation, community education, women's pre-release education, women's trade orientation program, parole supervision, volunteer program, community assessments, and a court worker program.

Publications: Program manuals: "Women's Choices" and "Women and Girls in Conflict with the Law."

YUKON

Community and Correctional Services - Department of Justice

(867) 667-8293
P.O. Box 2703
Whitehorse, Yukon Y1A 2C6
Agency Head: Sharon Hickey, Director
Area Served: Yukon Territory

Encourages inmates to maintain regular contact with their families and home communities through regularly scheduled visits or while on temporary absences of up to 60 days.

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National Institute of Corrections
Advisory Board

Shay Bilchik
Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice
and Delinquency Prevention
Washington, D.C.

Michael Brown
Attorney
New Hampshire Department of Corrections
Concord, New Hampshire

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Stillwater, Minnesota

Sharon English
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California Youth Authority
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Sacramento, California

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Washington, D.C.

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Director
King County Department of Adult Detention
Seattle, Washington

Odie Washington
Director
Illinois Department of Corrections
Springfield, Illinois

Judge Rya W. Zobel
Director
Federal Judicial Center
Washington, D.C.

VITA

Born in Knoxville, Tennessee, Patricia L. O'Connor attended Knoxville City schools and graduated from high school, June of 1980.

In 1990, Patricia completed her B.S. Degree in Human Ecology, and was awarded by the National Institute for Academic Excellence for Sustained Academic Achievement.

In January, 1991, she entered the Graduate Program in Child and Family Studies at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. In addition to her studies, she started her own business, Acquisitions, as a seller of fine jewelry to private clients. She earned her Master's Degree in Family Studies in the College of Human Ecology, December of 1993. She began pursuing her Ph.D. in Child and Family Studies in 1994. While completing her academic program, she was Treasurer of the Graduate Student Organization in her department, taught Marriage and Family courses as a teaching assistant, then taught Human Development for numerous semesters as a lead instructor. Her teaching experience earned her the Chancellor's Award for Graduate Student Teaching, and Outstanding Teaching as a Graduate Student by the Department of Child and Family Studies.

In the winter of 1995 she married, Daniel Cordaro, a master antique and fine furniture restorer who owns the restoration business, The Master's Touch. They make their home with their Italian Greyhound, Jet, in Knoxville, Tennessee.