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Got shame?

By

Scott Alden Mathers

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of
Mississippi State University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology
in the Department of Sociology

Mississippi State, Mississippi

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2014

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This secondary analysis represents a cross-sectional quantitative test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) on inmates in the Mississippi Department of Corrections. The sample consists of 726 questionnaires split evenly between male and female respondents. The questionnaire includes measures central to Braithwaite's theory (1989) as well as modifications that address the particular experiences of inmates including the frequency and communication with family, participation in prison programming, child-parent attachment, and moral conscience. Twenty Nine hypotheses incorporated in three analytical frameworks correspond to the following research questions: (1) Do indicators of interdependency predict shame and do the same indicators of interdependency predict shame for both men and women? (2) Do indicators of stigmatization, disintegration, and child-parent attachment predict reintegration better than interdependency? (3) Do the basic theoretical constructs of reintegrative shaming explain projected criminality and projected shame in a sample of inmates? Findings indicate partial support for the general claims of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). First, results indicate that reported shame,

reintegration, and moral consciousness predict projected criminality and those effects are stronger for women than men. Second, inmates with stronger bonds to children are less likely to recidivate. Lastly, prior shame predicts projected criminality but not projected shame, and reintegration predicts projected shame but not projected criminality.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this research to my family whose support throughout graduate school has been so crucial to my success. First and foremost, I dedicate this research to my parents whose psychological and sociological knowledge has greatly influenced my journey becoming a sociologist. My success is a culmination of your love and support, and I consider our conversations over the years a privilege. Additionally, I would like to dedicate this research to my fiancé and thank her for all the patience, love, and support. Also, a special dedication to my animals, as your excitement at my appearance always brings a smile to my face.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

John Braithwaite (1989) should be commended for reminding criminologists' of the age-old dynamic at play when families attempt to informally control members, shame. According to Braithwaite (1989) family is the oldest and most enduring of all the social institutions that serve the function of controlling members. Therefore, it is astute to focus how on families function in this regard. Specifically, when families engage in an ongoing process of shame and forgiveness as a means to achieve conformity, they are the most successful (Braithwaite 1989).

As one of the first experiences humans have with family, children are taught the normative structure of their society as well as how the norms are tied to a groups sense of morality (Braithwaite 1989). Not only is this true for the rules and obligations of an individual's family, but also with respect to how that fits in with the broader culture. During this process of parent-child interaction, strong positive emotions are likely developed for doing what is expected and therefore "being good" because those actions are met with praise and affection (Braithwaite 1989).

When parents feel children need punishment because of bad behavior, Braithwaite (1989) presents us with two general "shaming" scenarios that likely follow. The first is reintegrative shaming. This is considered the most desirable because the bad behavior will be shamed in a way that preserves the positive emotions between parents and

children by focusing shaming on the *behavior* and not the *person*. If shaming is handled in this way, the child will make efforts to repair the relationship back to its most desirable state by making meaningful attempts at correcting future behavior. If these attempts are viewed as legitimate and followed by forgiveness and a restoration of the relationship, the overall process cumulatively bonds parent and child. The more a family incorporates these methods, the more receptive individuals are to this process, leading to conformity. This is reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite 1989).

The second scenario, disintegrative shaming, considered counterproductive because parents isolate and stigmatize a child to the point where a negative sense of self is internalized. The isolation and rejection blocks the emergence of any form of healing process. It is in this scenario where labels that demonize the person's *self* are especially relevant. Over time, this reaction to unacceptable behavior cumulatively severs ties between parent and child. The more a family incorporates these methods, the more receptive individuals are to find others whose "self" is as destroyed, leading to associations with other deviants. This is disintegrative shaming and stigmatization (Braithwaite 1989).

Braithwaite (1989) acknowledges that all families have experiences with both types of scenarios but implies that parents are inclined to choose the former over the latter because a parent's basic internal motivation is to forgive and accept. This process then transcends the family, establishing parameters for how to handle disputes in a variety of other social institutions. Whether it is the social disapproval in the form of frowns or gossip that one receives from co-workers for being late or a harsh public rebuke from the community for a more serious infraction the conclusion is that such

actions should be shaped in ways consistent with what *good families do* (Braithwaite 1989).

Present Study: Reintegrative Shaming In Prison

The purpose of the present study is to test Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) on a sample of inmates in the Mississippi Department of Corrections. The data collected by questionnaire allows for a robust test of how the underlying assumptions of Braithwaite's (1989) theory relate to a variety of crimes. The current study includes 726 respondents evenly divided between men and women, 545 respondents with children and 181 without children. Additionally, the data include measures theoretically salient to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Survey questions posed to inmates inquire about their emotional state pertaining to past and future crimes, family relationships, as well as a variety of questions designed to measure inmates support networks. Furthermore, the data includes inmate criminal history in terms of prior juvenile record(s), adult record(s), as well as participation in a variety of prison programs.

These specific measures and the corresponding data make this study stand out compared to previous tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Previous tests of the theory predominately focused on minor crimes (Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001) or deviant behavior (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994) and the theory (Braithwaite 1989) is yet to be tested on inmates. Therefore, in the current study, I test Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) on inmates to determine what, if any, explanatory value the theory has pertaining to society's most uncontrollable members.

Analytical Frameworks

The current study includes three analytical frameworks that reflect the primary assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Independent variables range from demographic characteristics that capture Braithwaite's (1989) interdependency to proxy measures of stigmatization and child-parent attachment. Dependent variables are shame-related emotions, reintegration, projected shame, and projected criminality.

The first analytical framework reflects a test of Braithwaite's original theoretical formulation. This framework includes five indicator variables of the construct interdependency. The variables are age, sex, marital status, employment status, and educational attainment. Interdependency variables assume dynamics similar to Social Bonds Theory (Hirschi 1969), where interdependency structures interactions with significant others who shame poor behavior. In terms of interdependency, being female, over the age of 25, married, employed, and in school means individuals are more likely to be surrounded by shamers. Furthermore, these shamers (i.e., spouses, employers, educators) are more likely to shame in a way that is reintegrative because they are invested in the relationships (Braithwaite 1989).

Although everyone might have shamers in their lives, Braithwaite (1989) argues that family, economy, and education are the social institutions that have the most important shamers. Therefore, the more embedded an individual is in these social institutions the more likely they are to feel strong shame associated with deviant behavior. Embedded individuals are blocked from deviant behavior because of the fear of shame from significant others. This is the causal dynamic of interdependency whereby

individuals with high interdependency (i.e., women, those over the age of 25, married, employed, educated) are controlled by the relationships pertaining to these social institutions.

In terms of gender, Braithwaite (1989) argues that women, by way of patriarchal culture, are more susceptible to shame. This is due to the fact that patriarchy creates stricter gender norms for women and those norms focus on conventionality and conformity for women and recklessness and experimentation for men. Additionally, crossing the invisible age threshold (25) creates a foreword thinking mindset such that stronger feelings of shame are experienced by individuals not considered adult by the norms of their society. Basically, Braithwaite (1989) argues most Western societies allow youth to have a period of time to explore, find themselves, and make mistakes, but as people become closer to 30 years in age, it should be evident they are joining the adult world by way of marriage and a career. If their behavior implies they are not joining the adult world, then culture dictates they should be ashamed of themselves and society shames them. Therefore, criminal and deviant behavior can be dismissed by society as a mistake or youthful indiscretion if it occurs under the age of 25, but if poor behavior continues much past that point then society deems those actions shameful.

Although this invisible age threshold is true in general, Braithwaite (1989) argues that society allows men to take a longer time making mistakes and finding their way. Therefore, a male and a female at age 25 are not similar regarding how susceptible each is to shame. For the male, there is a (undetermined) lag effect such that men are allowed a few more years of experimentation and recklessness before society expects them to enter adulthood. For a female, patriarchal societal norms deem she should be at least

beginning the transition to adulthood. Thusly, individuals who are over age 25, female, educated, employed, and married are considered to be highly interdependent, most likely to feel shame when thinking or committing deviant acts, and most likely to be deterred (Braithwaite 1989).

In the first analytical framework, indicators of interdependency are the independent variables and a scale measuring shame-related emotions of their prior criminal behavior is the dependent variable. The hypotheses pertaining to this framework are as follows:

Hypothesis 1- Women are more likely to report higher levels of shame than men.

Hypothesis 2- Inmates older than age 25 are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates younger than age 25.

Hypothesis 3- Inmates who were employed full-time before incarceration are likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were employed less than full-time.

Hypothesis 4- Inmates with more education are more likely to report higher levels of shame than less educated inmates.

Hypothesis 5- Inmates who were married before incarceration are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were not married.

The second Analytical Framework reflects a test of the “labeling dynamic” within Braithwaite’s (1989) theory. Theoretically, negative labels (in this study both prior records and an inmates current offense type-i.e., *violent vs. non-violent*) should be disintegrative and stigmatizing, thereby strengthening criminal identities and making future criminality more likely. Although each inmate is stigmatized and disintegrated by the fact they have been formally processed by the criminal justice system and received negative labels, not all labels are equally stigmatizing and disintegrative. According to the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), certain acts should elicit a harsher response from society, such as violence crimes, and should be

more shameful than non-violent crimes. In terms of the present study, it stands to reason that violent offenses should be more stigmatizing and disintegrative than non-violent offenses and longer criminal histories should be more stigmatizing and disintegrative than shorter criminal histories. I address the specifics of how well these proxy indicators of stigmatization and disintegration measure this construct in Chapter III.

Despite the disintegration and stigmatization associated with criminal behavior, the inmate is not at a total loss. Specifically, prison programming affords the inmate an opportunity to replace the label of convict and violent offender with rehabilitated. Additionally, some prison programs (i.e., transitional programs, domestic violence counseling, drug rehabilitation, anger management, life skills) feature reintegrative goals, and provide opportunities for the inmate to sever the negative labels associated with official charges. This is especially true for inmates who participate in a variety of different reintegrative programs because positive labels and identities can emerge around the general label of *recovering*. Theoretically, it is especially important that offenders can create a *new self* as a means of overcoming stigmatizing labels if shaming is to be reintegrative. As part of this study, I will examine if the negative labels pertaining to crime and the positive labels pertaining to prison programming increase the likelihood of reintegration.

Indicators of high stigmatization and disintegration are serious violent convictions and lengthy prior records coupled with *low to no* programming whereas indicators of low stigmatization and disintegration are less serious non-violent convictions, no prior records, coupled with high programming.

It should be noted at this time that stigmatization and disintegration are some of the most difficult aspects of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) to measure. This is because there is a debate (one addressed at length later in this study) as to whether stigmatization is different from disintegration as well as whether disintegration is a separate variable from reintegration or merely the lack of reintegration. Although this study does not claim to resolve these issues, the data affords the opportunity to operationalize these concepts and I would be remiss if analysis did not include a test of this aspect of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Prison programming is important because *face work* (using contact with family to convince family members that one is changing) requires *resources* and for the inmate, programming presents a multitude of tools to convince others of a changed self and ask for their continued support. In prison, contact with friends and family are the only means to convince others that continued support is valued and necessary. Therefore, it is important not only to examine different stigmatizing labels but to also examine who, if any, supporters exist in the inmates' life. Thusly, the second analytical framework will take into account how the *family dynamic* (thought the most influential of all shamers) might assist the inmate to reintegrate (Braithwaite 1989).

The *family dynamic* is central to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) because who visits (children, parents, friends) and how often matters. Furthermore, a unique contribution of this study is the fact that I contend the strength of the relationship inmates have with children will likely be an important aspect of reintegration. This is true for a variety of reasons. First, a child's support allows inmates to be future oriented in a unique way. Specifically inmates who have strong attachment

(Hirschi 1969) with their children before incarceration and plan to continue a relationship (post-incarceration) characterized by strong attachment are inmates who likely have more to look forward to compared to other inmates. The logic is that children are more likely to forgive as well as less likely to have full recognition of the wrongfulness of their parents' behavior. This could be due to the fact they were too young to remember what actions led to their parents' incarceration or too young to understand their parents crimes. In terms of the full spectrum of family members, inmates have the most opportunity to mend and heal relationships with children and the strength of that relationship prior to incarceration, during incarceration, and post incarceration matters in terms of an inmate's reintegration. Second, joys, sorrows, and accomplishments that children share with their incarcerated parents remind the inmate that they are unable to fully participate as a parent, triggering reintegrative shame. Third, children, especially young children, are the most likely members of the family to show love and forgiveness over harsh condemnation and rejection. Together, these dynamics provide both a healthy dose of shame alongside the opportunity to make amends (Braithwaite 1989).

This analytical framework treats the indicators of interdependency, indicators of stigmatization and disintegration, and child-parent attachment as independent variables. This framework uses those variables to predict reintegration, casting reintegration as the dependent variable. The indicators of reintegration are a combination (scale) of perceptual measures of family support along side behavioral measures including the frequency of communication with family and friends. The hypotheses associated with this framework are as follows:

Hypothesis 6- Inmates with a prior juvenile record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior juvenile record.

Hypothesis 7- Inmates with a prior adult record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior adult record.

Hypothesis 8- Inmates who committed violent crimes will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates who committed non-violent crimes.

Hypothesis 9- Inmates who do not participate in reintegrative programs will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates who do participate in reintegrative programs.

Hypothesis 10- Inmates who were the primary caregiver for their children prior to incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who were not the primary caregiver for their children.

Hypothesis 11- Inmates who were held a lot of influence over their children's daily activities will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who did not hold a lot of influence over their children's daily activities.

Hypothesis 12- Inmates who still have parental rights will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not have parental rights.

Hypothesis 13- Inmates who are satisfied with where their children live will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who are not satisfied with where their children live.

Hypothesis 14- Inmates who plan to live with their children post-incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not plan to live with their children post-incarceration.

The third analytical framework is a test of the basic assumptions in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). In this framework indicators of interdependency (5), shame (4), reintegration (2), and moral conscience (4) are treated as independent variables used to predict projected criminality and projected shame. This analytical framework represents a full test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Therefore the analytical process is first, to predict shame and reintegration separately as dependent variables using OLS regression followed by analysis of shame and

reintegration as independent variables that predict projected criminality and projected shame using logistic regression.

Should the test of these analytically frameworks generally conform to the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) then this study will have applied the most stringent test of Braithwaite's (1989) theory to date. The hypotheses associated with this framework are as follows:

Hypothesis 15-Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot about past criminal behavior are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 16-Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot during past criminal behavior are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates do not.

Hypothesis 17-Inmates who report that past criminal behavior threatens relationships with friends and family as a very important reason to not commit future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 18-Inmates who report it is very likely they can rely on friends and family are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 19-Inmates who report they are very likely to rely on friends and family are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis-20-Inmates who report friends and family support is very important in preventing future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis-21-Inmates report believe friends and family support is very important in preventing future crime are more likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 22- Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 23-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 24-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 25-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 26-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 27-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 28-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 29-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Analysis of Frameworks

In the first two analytical frameworks, I use ordinary least squares regression analysis and present the results in two different tables-one table for shame and one table for reintegration. In the final analytical framework, I use logistic regression analysis and present the results in two different stepwise nested tables-one table for projected shame and one table for projected criminality. For the full test presented in analytical framework three, confirmation of the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) is determined if each ensuing model in the nested table reduces the statistical significance of the former variables. First, the indicators of interdependency (i.e., Age, Gender, Employment, Ed, Marriage) should decline in

significance or become insignificant when indicators of shame and reintegration enter the nested regression model. Additionally, indicators of shame and reintegration should decline in significance or become insignificant when indicators of moral conscience enter the nested regression model. Assuming the newly introduced variables of shame, reintegration, and moral conscience are significant predictors of the dependent variables projected shame and projected criminality, the general premise of the theory (Braithwaite 1989) is supported.

At this time it should be noted that I add indicators of moral conscience as part of the last step in the nested models. This is because previous studies have largely ignored (besides Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) this important aspect of Braithwaite's (1989) theory. This aspect is important because Braithwaite (1989) contends that the process of reintegrative shaming is supposed to change a person (over time) so that one becomes more cognizant of how their behavior affects others and the harm they have inflicted. I will go into detail regarding this issue later in this study.

Contributions to the Literature

Applying Reintegrative Shaming Theory to inmates is a challenge for a variety of reasons. First, in many ways the American penitentiary system is the *ideal type* for exactly what Braithwaite (1989) claims we *should not do*. This is because life in the penitentiary system is full of stigmatization and disintegration. Additionally, the stigmatizing labels of convict, violent offender, and ex-con are powerful concepts in American culture (Braithwaite 1989).

Second, American society can arguably be deemed one of the most individualistic of all Western European cultures (Braithwaite 1989). Although there is

some dispute as to whether some of Braithwaite's cultural comparisons (specifically Japan) are rooted in real differences in culture, supported by recent trends in crime data, or merely spurious due to changes in judicial processing and reporting (Hamai and Ellis 2008), other industrialized countries are not comparable to United States prison population in a variety of demographically relevant ways (i.e., size and heterogeneity) (Hamai and Ellis 2008). Therefore, applying Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) to inmates presents significant challenges because Braithwaite (1989) argues that these features create a disintegrative culture (an argument dealt with in depth later in this study).

Despite these challenges, there is good reason to examine some of the basic causal mechanisms laid out in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) and apply those assumptions to the perceptions and experiences of inmates. Although the variety of stigmatizing labels embedded in offense types and prior records present significant challenges for a successful reintegrative process, there are aspects of an inmates experience in prison that might blunt this effect. In particular, the strength of an inmate's relationship with his/her children, contact with family and friends, and prison programming opportunities are all experiences that should be salient to the reintegrative process.

The data include a wide variety of measures pertaining to shame-related emotions, reintegration, and moral conscience. Additionally, the data include an array of measures pertaining to family composition, the strength of child-parent relationships, the frequency and composition of visitation, prison programming participation, inmate criminal

histories, family criminal histories, and measures of family support for male and female inmates who have committed both violent and non-violent offenses.

Ideally, confirmation that some of the micro-level attributes of reintegration are at play might include empirical support of a pattern between high visitation, satisfaction with visitation, strong family relationships, and the high frequency/diversity of programming with increased levels of shame and guilt, increased moral conscience, and decreased projected criminality. Should the theory be empirically confirmed for both males and females, even if the explained variance is marginal, that would frame reintegrative shaming theory in a positive light as to its general claims. Additionally, the potential to examine how the strength of family relationships impact the reintegrative process might give researchers insights as to *how supporters* are associated with higher levels of shame, well developed moral conscience, and decrease projected criminality.

Basically, what appears *to work* for inmates and how consistent these factors are with the assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) in addition to empirical support for said theory is the central concern of this research. It is important to examine Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) in light of inmates' lives and experiences for a variety of reasons.

First, although alternative sanctions such as drug courts, victim impact panels, and community services exist as consequences for criminal behavior, the penitentiary system, county jails, and official condemnation for offenders is the dominate sanction imposed for a variety of crimes. Therefore, we would be remiss to ignore this fact and test Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) on *largely* young respondents- using

experimental designs- on a small range of offense types (Hay 2001; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Losoncz and Tyson 2007).

Second, although incarcerated individuals present the least ideal test for the theory, an examination of how some of the causal mechanisms of reintegrative shaming are thought to operate allows for the identification of *what works* among a population that theoretically should be the most difficult to control via shame. Should some of the empirical findings lend themselves to a qualified support of the basic expectations of the theory then we can conclude that reintegrative shaming has a positive effect in the least ideal of environments, strengthening Braithwaite's (1989) arguments.

The following section is a literature review that should provide context regarding the current status of the theory. I go into detail about different measurement issues as well as how this study contributes to the current body of knowledge regarding Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Reintegrative Shaming Theory: Recent Developments

The most recent research developments include the use of quasi-experimental designs (Tyler, Sherman, Strang, Barnes, and Woods 2007), cross-cultural tests (Losoncz and Tyson 2007; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Hay 2001) to evaluate if Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) can make some general claims. In general, the current empirical status of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) has yet to branch away from tests that focus on minor offenses among youthful offenders (Losoncz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001). Most tests use

confirmatory factor analysis (Hay 2001), regression (Harris 2006; 2003), or structural equation modeling to analyze data (Losconcz and Tyson 2007).

Although the initial test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) attempted to use experimental controls to test for the effects of both reintegrative and disintegrative shaming experiences (Makki and Braithwaite 1994), disintegration and stigmatization have been hard concepts to nail down. This is because in Braithwaite's (1989) original work, he did not concretely define disintegration and stigmatization. In fact, both can be almost anything. Additionally, it is unclear whether disintegration and stigmatization are separate concepts. Braithwaite (1989) uses them interchangeably at times and treats them as separate at other times. Furthermore, it is unclear whether disintegration and reintegration are the same variable and each concept merely represent polar opposites of a scale or whether each is a separate variable that should be measured separately (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001).

For example, disintegration can be passive. It can be merely the lack of reintegration such as a family member ignoring another. This form of disintegration would cast the variable as a polar opposite of reintegration, a concept to be measured as one scale. Additionally, disintegration can be active such as a family member forcing another to leave the family. This form of disintegration would cast the variable as a separate measure, a concept to be measured using a completely different variable. Lastly, stigmatization can be passive such as gossip told behind someone's back or active such as the use of insults or labels directed at an offender. This fact creates doubt as to whether

stigmatization and disintegration are interchangeable or separate constructs (Braithwaite 1989).

For the most part studies largely ignore this complexity and focus on reintegration. However, it should be noted that a renewed effort along these lines is underway in the research in the form of the RISE experiments. RISE experiments provide researchers the opportunity to evaluate DUI offenders' divergent outcomes when either traditionally punished or referred to counseling (Tyler et al. 2007). The argument presented in the RISE experiments is that traditional punishment is stigmatizing and disintegrating but the alternative sanction (referral to counseling) is reintegrative.

In this study, Tyler et al. (2007) argue that individuals who are referred to counseling do not receive the negative labels associated with formal processing in the criminal justice system, therefore, these individuals are not being stigmatized compared to their counterparts who are formally processed. Additionally, this study measures the DUI offenders' perception of whether they feel they *were treated with respect and fairly* or if they perceive *the punishment to be legitimate* as a means of determining which form of correction, either traditional formal processing or referral to counseling, is disintegrative or reintegrative.

Findings (Tyler et al. 2007) generally comport with what Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) argues and most DUI offenders perceived counseling as more reintegrative compared than their counterparts who were formally processed in the criminal justice system. Additionally, the DUI offenders who were randomly selected from the pool of all DUI offenders and referred to counseling were less likely than their counterparts to reoffend. Thusly, Tyler et al. (2007) conclude analysis is general

supportive of the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). However researchers lament at the difficulty of quasi-experimental designs as each suffers from its own unique challenge when attempts are made to provide adequate controls. (Tyler et al. 2007; Makki and Braithwaite 1994). Although resolving these issues is beyond the scope of the current research, this literature review provides context as to some of the problems plaguing tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Another recent development in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) is a focus on one of the key aspects of the process, moral conscience (Harris 2006; 2003). Research in this area evaluates whether offenders who are reintegratively shamed also have more conventional moral beliefs compared to offenders who are disintegratively shamed. The theoretical argument spelled out in Braithwaite's (1989) theory is that an individual who is reintegratively shamed changes such that moral consciences beliefs become more conventional than before the reintegrative shaming stimulus. Harris (2006; 2003) examines one variable relating to moral conscience, specifically *acknowledging how an offense harms others*, but findings are generally supportive of the role moral conscience plays predicting delinquency. Those who acknowledge how their behavior affected and harmed others were less likely to be delinquent (Harris 2006; 2003).

One important contribution of the present study is that analysis includes four indicators of moral conscience. Assuming statistically significant findings, the results in this study would confirm an understudied aspect of Braithwaite's (1989) theory.

The next section of this study provides an overview of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989). The theory has both micro and macro level assumptions. Although this

study will only address the micro assumptions, I include a section on the macro level assumptions to provide further context as to the logic and complexity of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989).

Overview of Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Braithwaite's book *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration* (1989) is an attempt to integrate the core elements of criminological theory into a unified explanation of both crime causation and recidivism. This integration combines learning, control (self/bonds/containment), differential association, deterrence, and labeling theories to argue that a *family model* of delinquency provides important insights (Braithwaite 1989). Specifically, parents control children through acts of shame and forgiveness and in the process develop the juveniles' moral conscience. It is this moral conscience that acts as a deterrent when children are faced with choices between delinquent and non-delinquent behavior, leading children with well developed moral conscience to be less likely to become delinquent in their teen years or criminal as young adults. Central to the explanation is the notion that shame can either deter or encourage crime. Shaming that is followed by acts of forgiveness reintegrate a person, making desistance more likely. Reintegrative shaming conveys to the person that their *actions* were undesirable, not the person as a whole (behavior vs. self), reinforcing conformity.

The shaming and reintegration process develops moral conscience as the offender is forced to recognize the feelings of others, face the harm that has been committed, and make meaningful steps to seek forgiveness. In the end, the offender should have a greater respect for the rule of law, be more compassionate towards others, and consider the feelings of those who they have offended. Reintegrative shaming is conceptualized as

an important causal mechanism in the socialization of morality because offenders are forced to face and acknowledge how their actions harmed others through face to face interaction with significant others and victims alike (Braithwaite 1989).

Not all shame is good. Shame that is followed by social isolation and the withdrawal of social support is disintegrative and stigmatizing. This form of shame blocks the process of healing thought to spur the development of moral conscience by casting members out and labeling one's *self* as deviant. Disintegrative shame leads offenders to seek out delinquent peers, who also *reject the rejecters*, reinforcing delinquency. Disintegrative shame makes a deviant act the new *master status* (i.e.,- convict or violent offender), invoking resentment and anger among offenders. Finally, casting members out and evoking resentment does not encourage the offender to think about his or her actions and how they have affected individuals, communities, or society, thus hampering the development of morality.

The following section is a review of the micro level variables in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). In this section I provide in-depth explanation as to the causal narrative of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Additionally, in this section I provide explanation regarding the specific measures for the micro-level variables and concepts and definitions pertaining to those variables. Lastly, in this section I provide insights regarding how this discussion pertains to the current research.

Micro-Level Variables

Braithwaite (1989) argues that some personal attributes and characteristics (an *age under 15 or an age over 25, being female, married, employed, and holding high educational/occupational aspirations*) foster interdependent persons and that such

persons are more likely to experience the desistance and deterrent effects of the reintegrative process. These are described as *conditioning variables*, or cast as *life circumstances* under the concept interdependency. The theory assumes that having the above attributes makes a person more likely to be highly interdependent. They are *conditioning variables* in the sense that marriage, for example, structures interactions with shamers (spouse). They are *life circumstances* in the sense that employment, for example, could be severed thru no fault of an individual. However, once said employment no longer exists, interactions with shamers (employer and fellow employees), no longer influence the individual (Braithwaite 1989).

Interdependent persons are more likely to be surrounded by those with whom they have high regard, who will forgive and support them, fostering the development of moral conscience. If norm or legal violations are followed by shame that conveys understanding and forgiveness, this reintegrative process brings the offender back into the community as a whole member. This process includes rituals that decertify the individual of any association with prior deviance through actions of remorse (by the offender) met by forgiveness from the community (specifically those with whom the individual has great regard for such as family and friends) (Braithwaite 1989). This discussion is relevant to the present study because two dependent variables measuring shame, although the term used is embarrassment, *asks inmates specifically about how they would feel if "those they respect most" knew about criminal behavior*. Braithwaite (1989) argues the importance of the shamee knowing and respecting the shamer for maximum reintegrative impact.

On the other hand, Braithwaite's theory (1989) is also concerned with the concept low interdependency. Low interdependency, or being between age 15 and 25, male, unmarried, unemployed, and holding low educational and occupational aspirations are *life circumstances* and *conditioning variables* that negatively impact the likelihood that one would receive reintegrative shaming, and correspondingly increases the likelihood that one would receive stigmatizing and or disintegrative shaming (Braithwaite 1989).

Individuals who have a multitude of relational characteristics consistent with low interdependency (i.e., unmarried, unemployed, poorly educated) are vulnerable to disintegrative and stigmatizing shaming because they are less likely to have relationships with others who use reintegrative shaming. Braithwaite (1989) argues the most important reintegrative shamers such as a spouse, an employer, or an educator are likely absent. Additionally, for individuals with the demographic characteristics of low interdependency (i.e., age between 15 and 25, male), cultural norms make this situation worse because those norms dictate that youth and males are expected to *act out* or that *boys will be boys* which is a cultural form of stigmatization of ones' gender and age whereby the expectation is that males and youth are bad (Braithwaite 1989).

Similar to arguments in the lifecourse perspective, Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) is primarily concerned with the breakdown of informal social control in the transition *between families*. From this perspective, the shift from adolescence to adulthood is characterized by a transitional period from the *family of one's birth* to the *family they create*. Of particular concern during this transition are the conventional attachments and commitments that are severed. Adolescence and young adulthood is primarily a time where employment status is non-career oriented and educational goals

and aspirations are in flux. Additionally, youths' residential status is highly transient creating an *individualistic undercurrent* in modern youth culture. Therefore, because youth move frequently they are primarily concerned with how relationships can serve them and not the social obligations embedded in those relationships. As such, interactions in the workplace, family, or school between authority figures and subordinates that traditionally shame most individuals into conformity are less salient to youth because they do not view intimate relationships, degree plans, or jobs as necessarily permanent (Braithwaite 1989).

The transition period between youth and adulthood can occur for extended or relatively short periods, but the pattern of decreased conventional attachments and commitments is remarkable for a variety of reasons.

“There can be many years between severing relations with a school which is capable of shaming and settling into a steady job with its new possibilities for shaming- years of casual relationships in which shaming is a signal for breakup and starting afresh with someone else, years in transient rented dwellings indulging in wild parties which upset neighbors whom one does not know or care about” (Braithwaite, 1989: 91).

Characterized as the “*period of tenuous interdependency*” (91), women are believed to move swiftly between these stages compared to their male counterparts. Largely as a control mechanism embedded in patriarchal culture, extra emphasis is put on women being more susceptible to reintegrative shaming because traditional socialization focuses on strict gender roles that proscribe females as the caretaker of others (Braithwaite 1989). Therefore, females experience more attachment to their families (of birth) and quickly form new families, leaving females little time in the transitional period as well as higher sustained attachment levels relative to men. Whereas men experience youth as a *free agent stage* (92) characterized by sexual freedom and exploration,

Braithwaite (1989) argues that women seek *socially acceptable* mates that will replace one form of dependence for another. Additionally, not only are males more likely to experience weaker attachments and commitments during this stage, they are more likely to have supportive relationships with other men who reinforce certain deviant or criminal behaviors consistent with the cultural hyper-masculinity expectations of violence and risk-taking (Braithwaite 1989).

Although Braithwaite (1989) treats age as an individual level indicator of social integration (interdependency), age is one interdependency variable of particular influence as youth is the most likely stage at which the other indicators of social integration such as employment status, marital status, and educational and occupational aspirations are likely the weakest for most in society. However, age is merely an indicator. The casual mechanisms thought to shape the reintegrative process are the strength of shame prevalent in relationships such as husband and wife, employer and employee, parent and child, and mentor and student. This is because when one has strong bonds in these relationships, clear and ambitious goals in the subsequent institutional commitments, then the people who are believed to provide the most positive form of shaming are readily present in one's life and apt to shame and forgive. If those relationships are transient or weak and the goals are nebulous or unformed, then shaming experiences are largely dictated by strangers or mere acquaintances who are not invested in others' rehabilitation and are likely to reject out of convenience or for protection. Below is the conceptual framework for the micro-level variables of Reintegrative Shaming Theory according to Braithwaite's original formulation (1989).

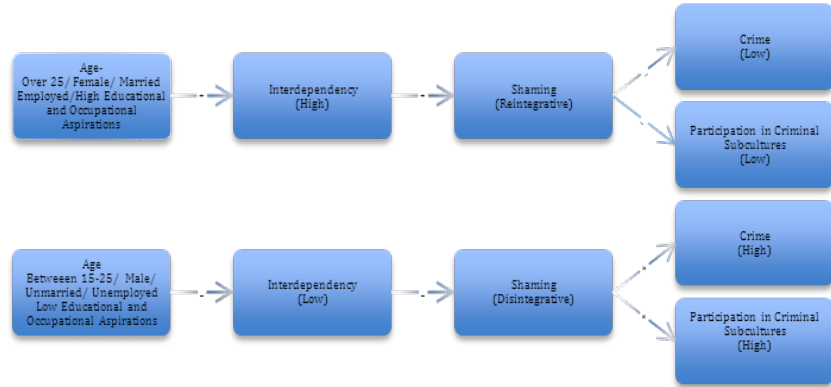


Figure 1 Micro-Level Framework

Braithwaite (1989: 99)

The following section provides the narrative for how Braithwaite (1989) conceptualizes the Macro-Level Variables of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Although a test of these variables are beyond the scope of this study, the causal narrative in Braithwaite’s discussion of society is important for providing context to one of his key Micro-Level Variables, interdependency. Braithwaite argues that interdependency structures interactions with shamers. Furthermore, Braithwaite argues that high interdependency is the expression of communitarianism on the micro level and vice versa. Additionally, Braithwaite argues that individualistic societies represent low interdependency on the Macro-Level. Therefore, the following narrative regarding the Macro-Level variables provide further context as to how Braithwaite conceptualizes interdependency’s role structuring interactions with shamers (Braithwaite 1989).

Macro-Level Variables

At the macro level, reintegrative shaming theory’s (Braithwaite 1989) central idea is the concept of communitarianism. Communitarianism is the general sense that individuals in society mostly think about what is best for the overall society as opposed to

what is best for themselves. Societies with high amounts of urbanization and residential mobility are deemed less communitarian and therefore produce fewer interdependent persons compared to societies with low amounts of urbanization and residential mobility. Therefore, interdependency is the expression of communitarianism on the micro level and vice versa. This is because interdependency structures an individuals' interactions so that said individual is surrounded by shamers and a communitarian society structures interactions with shamers in the same way.

Societies that are more communitarian foster cultural norms that convey what is good and evil with clarity so that the normative is tied to morality with more specificity and clarity. Braithwaite (1989) argues that societies must teach the norms as well as how those norms are tied to moral claims and that a communitarian society creates high interdependency among individuals at the micro level because the macro structures are more effective at keeping significant others close. Therefore, those thought most influential in the reintegrative shaming process are more likely to be more involved in other peoples' lives.

High urbanization and residential mobility are influential for two reasons as both create high population density yet more social distance between significant others-a characteristic of modern individualized societies. Correspondingly, low urbanization and residential mobility create more contact with significant others and reduce the chances that significant others are distant or transient-a characteristic of traditional communitarian societies (Braithwaite 1989).

Low urbanization and residential mobility are believed to have a couple desirable attributes. First, smaller, less dense populations, create a structure in which people know

more about each other and are more involved in each others' personal affairs. Therefore, when deviations occur *the village* admonishes bad behavior in public and private ways immediately. Second, populations that are not highly mobile take root in small geographic areas for generations such that *who* teaches norms and morals in the community is stable over time. Therefore, authority figures do not change very often, leading to a collective interpretation of norms and morals as well as the standard means for enforcement-creating stability over time. Together, both heavy personal involvement by the community in the individuals' life and stable authority structures create an environment that is conducive for individuals to live interdependent lives because contact with significant others is frequent- making the deterrent and corrective attributes of shame more influential (Braithwaite 1989).

This controls behavior as deviants are certain that people whom they hold in high regard will find out about unacceptable behaviors quickly and that they will have *face to face* interactions characterized by shame in short order. Additionally, because people are highly involved with each other and have shared histories through intermarriage and other forms of tight social networks they are invested in each others' success and know more about each other (Braithwaite 1989).

Braithwaite argues (1989), a town member who is not very bright and therefore thought the cause of different problems is also known as the son of someone most respect. Therefore, the individual is not primarily understood through stigmatizing labels but instead understood within the context of close personal relationships that take into account a depth of knowledge about the individual. This allows for a more measured and supportive form of rebuke whereby the offended population is invested in only shaming

an attribute of an individual and not the entire person. Additionally, stigmatizing labels are less functional as the simplistic categories of thief and drunk do not accurately take into account everything people know about each other. Finally, stigmatizing labels are not seen as productive, as those who care about the person being labeled will likely perceive them as insults. In sum, communitarian groups do not need broad labels to understand the acts of others because they know much more about their personal histories than less common groups (Braithwaite 1989).

Communitarian societies instead can engage in gossip in private that both share vital information and shame the individual, followed by ultimately confronting the individual with a more reasoned and tempered solution to the unacceptable behavior. Gossip serves to moralize behavior and deter others who participate in the gossip or over hear it as well as allow people to *blow off steam* before confronting the offender-leading to a more rational and reasoned approach. Braithwaite (1989) calls this unique dynamic, “the hypocritical equation” (89) in which gossip serves to moralize, by communicating to others what is wrong and right, and overt confrontation of the deviant corrects behavior. In the end, morality and conformity win out.

Communitarian societies create small villages with many legitimate opportunity structures and norms for achieving goals and institutional means that are stable. This societal structure (small villages) leads to the low formation of criminal sub-cultures for a couple reasons. First, if particular members are shamed for bad behavior but the group is still invested in the overall success of its members, the use of stigmatizing labels that function to block legitimate opportunities will be few thereby decreasing the need for out-casts to look elsewhere for support. Additionally, the fact that most are in agreement

as to what constitutes *correct behavior* makes most susceptible to the idea that certain behavior *should be shamed* and so potential offenders are more likely to conform so they do not become an out-cast. For the few who might be unable or unwilling to conform, there are relatively few different sub-cultural groups that might be willing to support behavior that the community has deemed unacceptable. Finally, the stage *in-between families*, although significant for explaining the deviations of youth, provides few alternative paths to adulthood and thus shortens the transition, as well as blunts the degree to which youth are severed from traditional social bonds. Braithwaite (1989) argues the aforementioned causal narrative is true of communitarian societies but not individualistic societies (Braithwaite 1989).

On the other end of the spectrum, individualistic societies create low interdependencies among individuals due to high urbanization and residential mobility. Dense populations increase the amount of contact people have with others they know little about and decreases contact with significant others. Family members, friends, religious leaders, and teachers are not *next door* neighbors but are spread out in a dense community. Most do not know or care about the people they live the closest to (Braithwaite 1989).

Therefore, the expectation that one might have to face shame due to deviant behaviors from family or friends on a daily basis is decreased and the informal social control of shame is diminished. Additionally, individualistic societies are an alien world full of strangers and strange interactions due to the complexity of differing norms and moral codes. According to Braithwaite's (1989) conceptualization of individualistic societies, most interactions will consist of people who have little knowledge of each

other, making stigmatizing labels functional ways to understanding the undesirable behavior of others. In such societies individuals do not have the time to *figure out how to understand the strange behavior of others* and thusly stigmatizing labels and disintegrative actions are efficient ways to *deal with and process the multitude of strange and discomforting actions of others*. Additionally, what functions to bond people together in communitarian societies (social bonds) is replaced with contractual relationships making *categorical understandings* of the role others play in individuals lives more salient than *contextual understandings*. This enables people to easily deem some others as *not useful* to them or the overall functioning of society as their behavior does not contribute to the complex and congested world people live in, but instead confuses and disrupts it (Braithwaite 1989).

Residential mobility separates significant others geographically, aggravating the social bonds in which shaming is most effective by reducing the frequency of interaction. People do not live in the same community for generations but instead move many times throughout the lifecourse. Therefore, teachers, religious leaders, and family members are transient over the lifecourse creating times in which members might or might not have high contact with significant others. Additionally authority figures responsible for the enforcement of norms and moral codes change quite frequently leading to instability in both the clarity of norms and morality as well as the standard means to reinforce order.

This creates an environment where people are predisposed to cast out members and use stigmatization as a means to separate themselves from undesirable people- blocking the use of legitimate opportunity structures for a significant amount of the youth population. The increased propensity to do this creates a mass of criminal sub-cultures

that support deviant roles and quickly absorb people who's *self* has been damaged via stigmatization. Figure 2 represents the conceptual framework of the macro-level variables according to Braithwaite's (1989) original formulation.

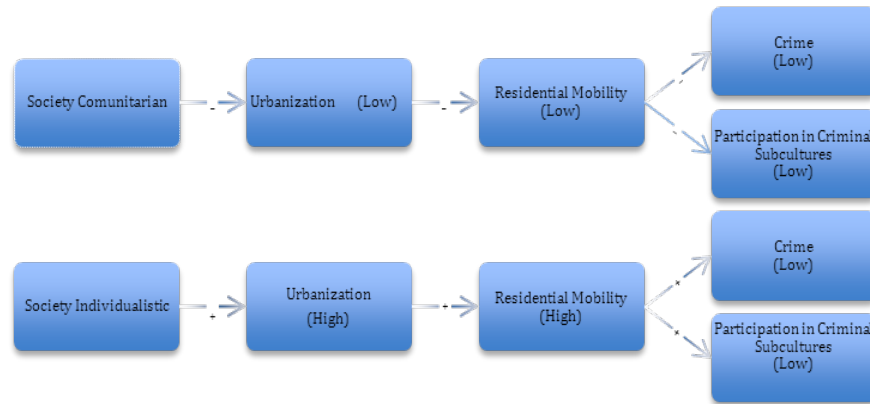


Figure 2 Macro-Level Framework
(Braithwaite 1989: 99)

The next chapter provides a detailed summary of recent research findings as well as some of the methodological and theoretical issues salient in the body of literature pertaining to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Additionally, chapter II moves through the relevant sparse literature in chronological order so as to provide context regarding how the theory has been refined and/or tested in different ways. Finally, I address the differing ways interdependency, shame, reintegration is measured as well as how those choices affect findings. The following review provides context regarding similar choices that are made in the present study regarding operationalization and analysis.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING THEORY

The following section provides an overview of the important theoretical developments in RST focusing on empirical tests of the micro level assumptions (Braithwaite 1989). This section provides important empirical findings and different *lines of development* as well as other topics germane to the present research regarding the measurement of key variables and conceptual distinctions.

First, many tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory use cross-sectional data to evaluate projected delinquency among juveniles (Losoncz and Tyson 2007; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Hay 2001). This study uses cross-sectional data to evaluate projected criminality and projected shame among adult offenders. Therefore, in one way the current study is in line with previous research yet contributes to the body of knowledge because to date the Braithwaite's (1989) theory has not been tested on inmates.

Although a few studies use samples of adults (Botchkovar and Tittle 2008; Botchkovar and Tittle 2005; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994), tests using adult samples tend to not confirm some of the basic casual mechanisms of Reintegrative Shaming Theory or at least struggle to do so (Botchkovar and Tittle 2008; Botchkovar and Tittle 2005) or lack adequate measures of shame (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994). Additionally, restorative justice programs are growing in the United States such that many states either

have restorative justice models or a balanced model that reflect some of the key aspects of restorative justice mixed with traditional correctional approaches (Pavelka 2008). The current study improves upon previous attempts because this research includes concrete measures of shame and shame-related emotions. Additionally, this study includes an analysis of prison programming and, in particular, programming that is designed in light of restorative justice aims such as drug abuse counseling, life skills, anger management, and transitional programs.

Findings regarding the how society views the legitimacy of restorative sanctions vary (Hardcastle, Bartholomew, Graffam 2011) as do implementation and results (Ray, Dollar, Thames 2011; Prichard 2002). For example, non-traditional courts where judges deal specifically with *mental health patients* are courts where judges are more likely to use the basic principles in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Specifically, these non-traditional courts show respect for offenders and allow the offender to ask forgiveness, make amends, while at the same time downplaying the disapproval thought disintegrating and stigmatizing. This creates a *restorative justice conference like* environment in these courts (Ray et al. 2011). However, research supports the idea that restorative justice practices fail when parents are publically shamed for a child's misbehavior as it might cause problems in parent-child attachment or lead to parents questioning their own parenting skills (Prichard 2002). Therefore, implementation is both important and problematic.

Reintegrative Shaming Theory and Restorative Justice Conferences can predict offenders' intent to reoffend, but only for certain types of crimes and only under certain conditions, specifically when restorative justice practices are used on violent and DUI

offenders (Tossouni and Ireland 2008). The most conclusive research indicates that Restorative Justice Conferences that incorporate some elements of procedural justice can build the perception of fairness and legitimacy and ultimately reduce the likelihood of future offending in DUI cases as is the case with the RISE experiments (Tyler et al. 2007). Researchers (Tyler et al. 2007) argue that the reason the treatment effect of the RISE experiments fail at times is due to the fact that *supporters of the offender* (friends and family) varied in their level of condemnation of offenders and the participating police officers varied as to their knowledge of the theory behind the goals of the Restorative Justice Conferences.

Findings indicate that offenders who were assigned to conferences were more likely two years afterward to view the law as more legitimate and more likely to view their treatment as fair. Both of those perceptions in turn reduced the likelihood of actual future offending (Tyler et al. 2007). This finding is an important one as a measure in this current study approximates the previous findings. Potentially, if the specific measure used in this study, *inmates either having or not having more respect for the law*, is a significant predictor of projected shame and criminality then results would confirm one of the key findings of Tyler et al. (2007). However, the conferences do not always work for all types of offenders (Miethe, Lu, and Reese 2000).

Miethe et al. (2000) argue that the type of offense matters in terms of the effectiveness of restorative justice conferences. Without a victim, it is hard to shame and reintegrative the offender or ask the offender to make amends to a victim. Therefore, conferences for drug offenders are not as effective and the risk of reoffending for participants in drug courts is actually higher than those processed in traditional courts

because it is harder to reintegratively shame an individual when there is no apparent victim (Miethe et al. 2000). This finding informs the present research because I examine what role, if any, an inmates' offense type and prior convictions play in the reintegrative process. Chapter III addresses this issue in more detail.

Measuring Stigma, Disintegration, Reintegration, and Shame

The development of measures to operationalize the basic assumptions of reintegrative shaming theory are wide open. Previous studies are all over the *research map* when it comes to the *best practices* to test this theory (Braithwaite 1989). The core variables of shame and reintegration are measured in a variety of different ways. The literature review that follows provide some context as to what has been tried previous to the current study. This study will use some of these previous strategies and practices and add strategies and practices not previously used. Major areas of improvement in the present study are applying the theory to an incarcerated adult sample, testing a variety of shame related measures, analysis that includes children as shamers and reintegrators of their parents, and testing a variety of indicators of moral conscience.

Braithwaite's (1989) original formulation stipulates that reintegration and disintegration and/or stigmatization could vary together with relative levels of shaming coupled with relative levels of reintegration and disintegration on the same continuum. For example, a family member might respond to another's deviant behavior with a lot of shame but no reintegration, such as a parent screaming at a child because of poor grades and at the same time not providing any assistance to help the child do better in the future. A family member might respond to another's deviant behavior with low shame and high disintegration, such as a parent ignoring the child after learning of the poor grades.

Therefore, Braithwaite (1989) argues the causal mechanisms at play regarding the relationship between re/dis/integration and shame is complex. Some aspects of this complex continuum reflect the positive attributes of shame (high shame and high reintegration) and others the negative (high shame and high disintegration).

On the negative end of the spectrum are four possibilities (from most to least stigmatizing)- high shame/high disintegration, low shame/high disintegration, high shame/low disintegration, and low shame/low disintegration. Theoretically, at one end of the stigmatizing spectrum a reaction to delinquency should be, high shame/disintegration (harsh criticism and casting out) and on the other end, low shame/disintegration (mild rebuke and subtle avoidance). High shame and high disintegration should be the worst possible response because it breeds resentment in the person who is being shamed and casts out. This reaction to deviant behavior should propel that behavior, increasing the frequency as the shamee reacts out of anger and resentment (Braithwaite 1989).

Although the former (high shame/high disintegration) is negative because it is thought to push one into delinquency, the latter (low shame/low disintegration) is negative because it does not stop delinquency or communicate wrongfulness. This is because a mild rebuke and a subtle avoidance (low shame/low disintegration) of either a *person* or an *issue* does not adequately convey that others find a behavior negative or convey that others find it immoral enough to react to. Essentially, this reaction to deviant behavior does not convey clear moral boundaries as well as clear expectations about the punishments if those boundaries are violated. Therefore, although such a response will not necessarily increase undesirable behavior, it will allow it to continue in its *natural rhythm* (Braithwaite 1989).

On the positive end of the spectrum, the continuum of the possibilities are (from best to worst) high shame/high reintegration, low shame/high reintegration, high shame/low reintegration, low shame/low reintegration. For example, a parent who shames a child for poor grades but immediately sits with that child to help with homework would represent the most positive end of this spectrum (high shame and high reintegration). Correspondingly, a parent who merely rolls their eyes at a child upon seeing poor grades followed by patting them on the back and telling them its “ok” would represent the less positive end of this spectrum (low shame and low reintegration). These ideas are consistent with what Braithwaite (1989) originally conceptualized the shaming and integration dynamics. Over time, a debate has emerged about whether this continuum is the best conceptualization for these casual dynamics (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005, Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001).

This debate is due to the fact that subsequent tests of Reintegrative Shame Theory (1989) led some to conclude that shaming, disintegration, and reintegration are likely separate constructs, better measured by themselves than as a singular construct with positive and negative ends of a spectrum. (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005, Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001). These distinctions are important because reintegration and disintegration as well as stigmatization are hard to operationalize and thus make supporting the theory empirically a challenge. This is a challenge this current study will struggle with, as some measures of the basic causal assumptions of the theory are more adequate than others. For example, the current study has stronger measures of shame and shame-related emotions than measures of disintegration and stigmatization. This occurrence, (having better measures of some concepts than of others) is a common

problem in previous studies (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005, Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

The following section will trace the theoretical development of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) from the first study conducted by Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) and along the way touch on some issues relevant to the current research.

The First Test

The first test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory, conducted by Makkai and Braithwaite (1994), examined the relationship between compliance with regulatory standards in nursing homes and reintegrative practices by compliance monitors. This test does not include measures of stigmatization because the practice (by compliance monitors) of harsh rebukes or casting members out does not happen unless proprietors and managers of nursing homes are fired and that action would basically remove them from the study and subsequent analysis. Thus, many of the assumptions in this first test assume that the lack of reintegrative practices means the presences of disintegrative practices. According to Makkai and Braithwaite (1994), reintegrative practices by compliance monitors of nursing homes are relatively common, and this fact results in a important research opportunity to look at the role of different reintegrative shaming strategies compliance monitors use to achieve higher compliance with regulations.

Although the measurement of variables and methods have changed since this first study, a couple of measurement issues and findings remain relevant. First, the interactive nature reflected in the operationalization of reintegration. Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) hypothesized that to capture reintegration, questionnaires must examine the manner in

which authority figures attempt to call attention to and change negative outcomes and behaviors. Thus, possible *strategies* for accomplishing regulatory goals include the following: use of praise when standards are met, balancing criticism with praise, avoiding humiliation, forgiveness, praising a change in outcomes and behavior, and continued attempts to restore damaged relationships. The degree to which compliance monitors use the previously referred to strategies (reintegrative or disintegrative) reflect their relative high to low reintegrative techniques (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

Second, compliance with regulations is measured in two waves, with an inspection visit by compliance monitors between waves as a means to assess the impact of inspection (proxy measure of the reintegration and disintegration stimulus) on results (increased or decreased compliance outcomes) (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

Third, compliance monitors are linked to specific nursing homes so as to assess the relationship between a specific compliance monitors' techniques and compliance outcomes at that nursing home. This study presents some problems that illuminate the difficulty testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

One problem is that compliance at *time one* (wave I) is not independent of compliance at *time two* (wave II). A causal order problem that plaques this research (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994), and is a challenge for the current research.

The reason research compliance at time one is not independent of compliance at time two in the Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) study is that monitors who have been using reintegrative strategies before the inception of the study likely have created a *cumulative positive reintegrative net effect*, one that is beyond the scope of measurement even with data collected in two waves. This is because managers, who use reintegrative

strategies, are by definition, more likely to intervene and more likely to employ reintegrative strategies. On the other hand, monitors who are not accustomed to reintegrative strategies might or might not have interactions with staff at all. In fact, if the assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) are correct, then it is more likely that no known stimulus will be involved when *disintegrative compliance monitors* are present during inspections because although researchers know that these compliance monitors do not do much reintegration, researchers do not know what they do, if anything (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

At one end of the spectrum (high reintegration), the research contends that there is a higher likelihood that staff will receive some type of *managerial stimulus* whereas at the other end of the spectrum (low reintegration) the likelihood is not as certain. While these are all assumptions consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), an unmeasured variable in the study is; what type (high or low reintegration) of stimulus was received by staff (if any at all) during the inspection between compliance measure one and two. This research assumes that inspections involved some staff contact with compliance monitors and that the nature of that interaction is consistent with compliance monitors reintegrative (High Vs. Low) strategies. However, this research does not have a direct measure of these ideas, but instead infers them, using the *compliance monitors practices* as proxy measures of reintegration and disintegration (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994). The current research has to do the same at times such as with using violent and non-violent offense types as a proxy measure of stigmatization or measures of criminal histories to infer disintegration. However, despite the previously

acknowledge problems due to the difficulty measuring the core concepts and determining casual ordering, findings do yield supportive insights to the theory (Braithwaite 1989).

For the purposes of this first test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory, Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) use regression modeling. According to the research design, to properly account for the change in compliance outcomes between time one and two in regression modeling, the time two compliance measure was set as the dependent variable so as to capture the net effect of the independent variables on the change between time one and two. This process is similar to the current researchers use of *shame 1* as first a dependent variable (predicted by indicators of interdependency) and then an independent indicator of the dependent variable projected shame.

Additional measures in Makkai and Braithwaite's study (1994) include a number of control variables used to evaluate the possible difference in staff composition, geographic location of the nursing homes, and inspection team (compliance monitors) process (proxy measures of interdependency). A scale reflecting disapproval (High Vs. Low) serves as a measure of shaming. The scale reflects the propensity of compliance monitors to either make disapproval known to staff or to hide disapproval. Together, disapproval and reintegration (compliance monitors managerial strategies) form an interaction term that serve to analyze the effect of reintegrative shaming on compliance outcomes (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

Findings reflect general support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). However, most control variables (proxy measures of interdependency) do not significantly explain compliance outcomes. The interaction term of disapproval and reintegration, or reintegrative shaming, improved compliance by 6.7 percent. Overall,

compliance monitors who communicate high disapproval and incorporate reintegrative managerial techniques yield the most positive outcomes (High Reintegration X High Disapproval), followed by low disapproval and high reintegration, and lastly high disapproval and low reintegration. Additionally, the effects of reintegrative shaming are magnified by one measure of interdependency (knowing the compliance monitor prior to inspection) such that the best outcome is between compliance monitors who knew proprietors/managers/staff prior to the inspection. In cases where compliance monitors were unknown, the effect of reintegrative shaming was non-existent (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

Together, these findings support the basic causal principles of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). First, the casual principle that a tactic of resolving disputes (in this case compliance monitors managerial strategies) using a “mixed bag” of *emotional* “carrots” and “sticks” yields the most desirable result is supported. Second, the casual principle that it is important for the “shamer” and the “shamee” to at least be acquainted with each other for these emotional dynamics to work properly is supported. Finally, this research (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994) argues that the next logical step is to examine the nature of integration (all relative levels of reintegration and disintegration) as well as examine the variety of interdependencies (parents, friends, coaches, religious leaders) individuals have that might condition the positive effects of reintegrative shaming (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

Makkai and Braithwaite’s (1994) study is important to the current research for a variety of reasons. First, findings support the notion that it is important for the *shamer* and *shamee* to know each other. This point pertains to the current study as one of the

dependent variables in this study, projected shame, contains two indicators whereby inmates are asked to rate their shame regarding future criminal behavior in light of *people they have the most respect for knowing about their crimes*. Second, this study highlights some of the difficulties measuring stigmatization and disintegration as well as the difficulties nailing down the causal order in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989). This point pertains to the current study as I use time based reference points in questions that indicate to the inmate to respond to each question in light of *past, present, or projected* time dimensions. Whereas Makkai and Braithwaite's (1994) study suffered from time ordering problems because the research design could not actually nail down whether a reintegrative or disintegrative stimulus was actually administered and received by respondents, the current study grapples with the weakness inherent in using the aforementioned time based reference points in questions to denote time dimensions.

However, there are some useful findings in this study (Makkai and Braithwaite 1994). First, one important measure of interdependency is a statistically significant variable predicting reintegrative shaming. Second, shame and reintegration were statistically significant variables predicting compliance outcomes. In light of these findings, the present research conducts analysis of shame and reintegration variables as predictors of projected shame and criminality.

Family As Important Shamers

Hay (2001) examined the role parents' play as shamers. This research uses two measures of shaming practices and one measure of stigmatization. They include convincing the child that their actions are immoral (shame), making children feel shame or guilt (shame), and whether or not parental disciplining is disrespectful (stigmatization).

All children in the sample are asked to assess parents' use of these shaming tactics via likert scales. Similarly, children are asked to assess a parents' use of reintegration. The reintegration variables measure whether or not parental disciplining maintains the child identity as basically good (plus one reverse coded-"tell child they are bad"), and allowing children to make up for what they had done wrong, and parental disciplining that ends with forgiveness.

In this study, Hay (2001) attempts to examine the dynamic of reintegrative shaming on a continuum similar to Makkai and Braithwaite (1994), but Hay (2001) examines an interdependency (parent child attachment) thought more controlling than the interdependency of compliance monitor and staff. This is because Hay (2001) hypothesizes that the bonds between parent and child will be stronger than between compliance monitor and staff. Following data collection, each child's responses are used to categorize parenting styles (referred to in the study as parental attributes) regarding both reintegration (High Vs. Low) and shaming (High Vs. Low) and these parental attributes are examined in light of how their respective children respond to measures of projected delinquency (Hay 2001).

Although Hay (2001) examines the relationship between a child's attachment to their parents and uses the strength of that relationship to argue bonding as a control mechanism, the current research reverses the causal order. In the present research, indicators of a parent's attachment to their child are used to predict the reintegration of the incarcerated parent. Hay (2001) informs the current research in this way.

Additionally, Hay's (2001) construction of the dependent variable is similar to the dependent variable, *projected criminality*, in the present research. Hay's (2001)

dependent variable is a measure of projected delinquency regarding nine violent (minor compared to the violent offenses in the current study, examples are pushing and punching) and property offenses. This variable is measured on a 0-10 point scale where 0 means that *one would absolutely not deviate if given the chance in the future* and 10 means *absolutely would*. This scale (Hay 2001) is virtually identical to the scale used in this present research where projected criminality is measured on a 0-10 point scale with 0 meaning *not likely at all* and 10 meaning *very likely*. The independent variables considered significant in this study (Hay 2001) include measures of parent child attachment, communication, (together are used to represent interdependency in this study) and *interaction variables* (parental attributes) that categorize parents on the low or high end of reintegration and shaming (Hay 2001). Analysis presents models that examine the effect of reintegration and shame separately as well as the interaction term reintegration x shame.

The findings of this study (Hay 2001) are noteworthy for three reasons. First, they imply support for the causal order assumed in Reintegrative Shaming Theory, that parent-child interdependency (attachment and communication) shape reintegration which in turn lowers delinquency. Second, interdependency has a strong effect on both shaming and reintegration. Therefore, this is an issue that I will examine in the present research. Third, findings in this study (Hay 2001) indicate that shaming has a direct and independent effect on delinquency despite differences in levels of reintegration, a challenge to one of the main assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Hay 2001). Therefore, I will use nested stepwise models to examine if this pattern (shame 1 affecting the two dependent variables in the present study-*projected criminality and projected*

shame) is evident in the present research. Additionally, I will examine if reintegration has a direct effect on *projected criminality and projected shame*. These findings (Hay 2001) are an important step in the overall theoretical development because the results support the central dynamic of Reintegrative Shaming Theory thought most controlling (family).

Research in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) has also taken a particular focus on how individuals respond to shame by conceptualizing that shame management skills are important components of the shaming process (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005). Specifically, an instrument designed to capture this process, the Management of Shame State-Shame Acknowledgement and Shame Displacement scale (MOSS-SASD), is created such that two constructs (acknowledgement and displacement) are hypothesized to play a mediating role between shaming and delinquency. First, shame acknowledgement results when individuals report feelings of shame associated with certain acts (similar to this research in which I use two emotional indicators of the construct shame 1), as well as the shaming reactions from others (similar to this research in which I use two cognitive indicators of the construct shame 1), whereas shame displacement results from individuals who report anger and resentment towards the shamers. This scale (MOSS-SASD) (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005) is relevant to the current study because the indicators used in the present study for the shame 1 scale are similar to Ahmed and Braithwaite's (2005) conceptualization of shame acknowledgement. In the present study, inmates are asked about *guilt and sorrow* experienced when committing crime. Essentially, inmates who report feeling *guilty and sorry* while committing crime are acknowledging shame. Additionally, this

acknowledgement should be predictive of the two dependent variables in the present study *projected criminality* and *projected shame*.

Believed to be an individual characteristic that acts as a coping mechanism for shame, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) argue that shame management (acknowledging Vs. displacing) should mediate the effects of parental attributes (Control tactics- stigmatizing or non-stigmatizing/supportive/unsupportive), attitudes towards school (liking or disliking), and child personality attributes (empathy/impulsivity). This last concept informs the present study. What Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) are referring to as child personality attributes, especially empathy, is very similar to some measures I examine that are conceptualized as *moral conscience* in the present study.

In the present study an indicator of *moral conscience* is an inmate who reports that a reason not to commit future crimes is *that they have more concern for others feelings*. This indicates that they are basically more empathic than they were before they entered prison and before they committed their last crime. Essentially what Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) are arguing is that a parent who uses reintegrative shaming with a child who is more empathic than another child will see better results as the reintegrative shaming effect will be stronger on an empathic child.

In the Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) study, shame acknowledgement and displacement measures ask students how they would feel if they were involved in a hypothetical projected bullying scenario that is seen by a teacher. For example, a variety of scenarios examine bullying behaviors such as tripping another, stealing from another, or physical/verbal abuse witnessed by a teacher. These questions focus on whether the juvenile would both feel shame, as well as who they would blame. If they report both

feelings of shame and blaming themselves, they are assessed as acknowledging the shame and not displacing it (High Shame Acknowledgement). Shame Acknowledgement should be the ideal response (for decreasing future bullying) and reflects high shame management as protecting the child from delinquency-specifically bullying.

Whereas, if the child reports that they were unlikely to feel shame and blamed or felt anger toward others, they are assessed as not acknowledging feelings of shame and displacing shame (High Shame Displacement). This is the least ideal response and indicates low shame management as a potential trigger for a child that increases future delinquency (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004).

The anger and resentment directed towards shamers would alienate relationships, decreasing interdependency, and push them toward forming groups with delinquent others. Additionally, Reintegrative Shaming Theory cast the differential association (DA) component of the theory as an outcome of poor internal reintegrative shaming processes (stigmatizing and cast another out and displacing shame). Therefore, according to Ahmed and Braithwaite's interpretation (2004) differential associations do not cause crime, although Reintegrative Shaming Theory acknowledges DA reinforces and might strengthen the frequency and severity of behavior, differential associations are the last refuge for the stigmatized *self*. This is an important point that affects all studies of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), the current study included, because the lines between Reintegrative Shaming Theory and other theories are blurred (Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001). This fact will be a matter of discussion in the conclusion and relates to the difficulty of operationalizing

some of the key concepts in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), especially stigmatization and disintegration.

For the purposes of the Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) study, students are asked to report acts of bullying within recent history where they initiated the bullying by themselves (so as not to conflate results with bullying where peer pressure is involved-possible issue with causal ordering in terms of DA). Theoretically, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) initially contended that how a child manages shame (Acknowledgement or Displacement) serves as either a “protective” or “trigger” factor. However, findings (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) indicate that shame management partially mediated the effects of school (Liking/Disliking-indicator of interdependency) and child personality attribute (Empathy/Impulsivity) variables-but not parental attributes (Reintegrative Vs. Disintegrative Parenting Tactics). Basically, whether or not a child acknowledges shame is important, but not as important as whether or not the parent is stigmatizing and disintegrating the child or reintegrating the child (conceptualized as parental attributes).

This study (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) is important because the previously mentioned findings provide context as to the complexity of testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) as well as the nuanced nature of the casual dynamics involved in this social-psychological process. The present study does not have measures of what is described above as parental attributes, therefore, the interpretation of the data will acknowledge this fact as a weakness and be limited in this way. However, this study does include measures of support as well as the frequency of contact the inmate has with family and friends and those variables are similar to Ahmed and Braithwaite’s (2004)

parental attributes. Lastly, this study (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) provides insights as to the conclusions that can be drawn in the present study as well as how those conclusions are limited.

Findings (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) are generally supportive of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) and reflect a complex process at work such that shame management affects bullying outcomes. Generally speaking, bullies are more likely to be impulsive, lack empathy, and displace shame. However, parental attributes (Disintegration and stigmatization) have a direct effect on bullying (consistent with Deng and Jou 2000 as cited in Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005) which indicates that shame management does not play a role when parents use a variety of counterproductive tactics, basically stigmatization.

Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) hypothesize that parents that are prone to use stigmatization might breed resentment in their children, consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989)-however Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) also concede that the results (bullying) might indicate social learning such that functional and dysfunctional families teach their children tactics to use at school, consistent with DA. Specifically, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) argue that parents who stigmatize might also use physical punishments and thereby teach their children that bullying is an effective tactic to achieve a desired goal-essentially parents as important factors according to the specified Differential Association components of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) (but in the wrong causal order) as opposed to the specified reintegrative and stigmatizing interactive components. Additionally, name-calling is a primary feature of stigmatization, the active form, and a specific measure used in Ahmed

and Braithwaite (2004) and also a primary feature of bullying behavior. This is especially true if bullying behavior begins at a low level, such as name calling, and then proceeds because of some *natural evolution* to more severe forms such as physical threats and physical punishments.

This is important because a family's role (as well as other interdependencies) as either *differential associates* or *reintegrative shamers* is somewhat nebulous. Whereas one family might effectively reintegratively shame, they might be rewarding anti-social behavior and shaming pro-social behavior as a means to teach youth *how to be a man* or *how to work the system to get what one wants* and another family might merely model anti-social behavior, leading the youths to similar outcomes in terms of delinquency. Future research (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005) develops this area by examining the concept *family disharmony* for possible modeling effects and/or attachment effects but does not concretely distinguish between the two, focusing instead on the role forgiveness plays in concluding the reintegrative shaming process. Once again, this is important because Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) is essentially a very large theory that branches out into a number of other common assumptions found in mainstream criminological theories. Thusly, the current status of theoretical development is searching for where the parameters of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) are and are not. The present study forwards this mission by using similar constructs and measure as part of the test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) but does so on a unique sample-inmates.

According to Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005), three facets of restorative justice that relate to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) are perceptions of

shaming, perceptions of forgiveness, and shame management. This follow up study (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005), adds new measures compared to their previous study (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) that include forgiveness. Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) use sex, grade, liking school, academic hassles, family disharmony, and peer hassles as control variables (i.e., as indicators of Interdependency). Liking school, academic hassles, family disharmony, and peer hassles are first presented as scaled variables. Liking school is scaled, dichotomized and transformed into an interaction term with forgiveness, reintegration, and stigmatization. Individuals are categorized as either liking or not liking school and placed in one of four categories relating to (1) liking/not liking school and (2) low/high reintegration, (3) low/high stigmatization, and (4) low/high forgiveness (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005).

This method of transforming data is similar to the current study in which I begin with likert scales and then transform data into dichotomized states of shame or no shame (4 indicators), high reintegration or low reintegration (2 indicators), high moral conscience or low moral conscience (4 indicators) and subsequently use those variables as indicators to predict the two dependent variables in this study *projected criminality and projected shaming*.

Once again, the control variables thought related to bullying are *gender, liking school, peer hassles, and family disharmony* (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005). The latter three seem to be a recasting of some of the main components of interdependency (Braithwaite 1989), whereas *liking school* and *peer hassles* are akin to educational and occupational aspirations/outcomes (assuming that liking school and finding it a comfortable environment is correlated with both success in educational institutions and

later occupational institutions or the commitment assumption in social bond theory (Hirschi 1969)) and family disharmony is related to either attachment or differential association or both (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005). This informs the current study as I made similar decisions as to which indicators I use as measures of the construct interdependency. The indicators used in the current study as measures of interdependency are *sex, employment status (prior to incarceration), marital status (prior to incarceration), age, and years of education*. This study must make those determinations and the basic rule of thumb is that indicators of interdependency must be *conditioning variables* or *life circumstances* that give the researcher insights as to whether participants in the sample are surrounded by reintegrative shamers or not. In the present study, the previously stated measures of interdependency should serve as decent proxy measures that can be assumed to structure interactions with shamers as Reintegrative Shaming Theory assumes (Braithwaite 1989)

The main variable in the Ahmed and Braithwaite's follow up study (2005), forgiveness, is constructed in light of the dominate way main reintegrative variables in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) have traditionally been constructed, largely through hypothetical scenarios that ask respondents to relate how they might feel or how others might react in a given scenario. Therefore, respondents are given five bullying scenarios and rate how primary caregivers might respond, either by forgiveness and a chance to make amends (indicator of reintegration) or by not forgiving and not healing (indicator of disintegration). Findings reveal a significant effect of forgiveness on bullying such that respondents *who feel they will likely be forgiven for bad behavior* report 22.4 percent less bullying (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005). Reintegrative shaming

and forgiveness together explain 14 percent of the variance of bullying whereas shame management adds an additional 4 percent.

Liking school (indicator of interdependency) is an important variable as students who report *liking school overall* also reported lower levels of bullying. This finding is supported unless their parents are unforgiving (indicator of disintegration) in which case *liking school overall* does not decrease bullying. Additionally, reintegrative shaming and liking school are reciprocal protective factors such that in the absence of reintegrative shaming (but not the presents of unforgiving parents-ie not response from parents either positive or negative), liking for school assisted in controlling levels of bullying and vice versa. According to findings (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005), stigmatization has no direct effect on bullying and is only significant when respondents also report *not liking school*. This aspect of the study (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005) is relevant to the current study because it provides contexts as to how previous studies have measured disintegration and which findings are significant.

Whereas the results of Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) focus mainly on the role shame management plays in the reintegrative process, finding no interaction with parental attributes, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) develop upon that weakness and find support for forgiveness as a significant construct in the reintegrative process. The findings surrounding the robust role forgiveness plays in the reintegrative process are significant because they are partially consistent with previous findings relating to parental attributes, specifically that the parental attribute of stigmatization leads to bullying (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004) whereas the parental attribute of forgiveness decreases bullying (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Zang and Zang 2004). These ideas and findings are

important because, although I do not have a direct measure of whether the children of inmates are *more forgiving*, I am inferring that it stands to good reason and is consistent with the logic of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) that children of inmates would be the *most forgiving* of all family contacts and therefore child-parent attachment will be associated with strong deterrent effects related to the dependent variables in this study *projected shame* and *projected criminality*. I examine this issue in more depth in chapter III.

Furthermore, findings in Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) indicate that either a social learning effect might be at play or that stigmatization decreases attachment, and the authors argue more theoretical development of this interactive process is needed.

Together, these findings imply that a parent who stigmatizes might also be a parent who either breeds resentment or a parent who uses physical punishments. In an effort to address this, forgiveness is incorporated to draw out the distinctions between parental attributes that model poor behavior and/or breed resentment (stigmatization-being unforgiving) and parental attributes that are protective in nature such as being forgiving. Specifically, a parent who shames and then forgives should be a parent who is shaping shaming interactions in a way that is reintegrative and moralizes behavior (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005).

Overall, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) conclude that shaming followed by forgiveness interacts to produce low amounts of bullying, mediated by the effect of *liking school*. Additionally, findings present shame management (Acknowledgement Vs. Displacement) as secondary to both *liking school* and *forgiveness* and treat shaming via reintegration or stigmatization as separate constructs by using separate variables to

measure each. However, subsequent research challenges the notion that stigmatization and reintegration are actually separate constructs (Losconcz and Tyson 2007). This issue is relevant to the current study because I have multiple indicators of stigmatization and disintegration, some are measured separate from reintegration and some are measured as a polar opposite end of a reintegration scale. Analysis and interpretation in the present study might inform and lend support to either side of this theoretical debate.

According to Losconcz and Tyson (2007), findings support the idea that reintegration and stigmatization might, at least partially, be a singular construct. This conclusion results from factor analysis that did not find shaming to be independent of reintegration and stigmatization, a conceptualization consistent with Braithwaite's original formulation of the constructs (1989) but dissimilar to later findings and subsequent revisions (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Braithwaite and Braithwaite 2001; Harris 2001; Hay 2001).

Losconcz and Tyson (2007) highlight the internal tension embedded in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) as attributes of the process are so nuanced that certain facets will act in unpredictable ways. Specifically, all factors of shame loaded on either reintegration or stigmatization. Additionally, all aspects of stigmatization that are identified as components of *labeling a person* (stigmatization), as opposed to *a behavior* (reintegration), loaded on either disintegration or reintegration. This suggests the shaming is not independent of the experience of reintegration or stigmatization. Finally, more than half of all items measuring stigmatization and reintegration result in negative loadings on the other half. This finding also suggests that stigmatization and reintegration are not independent of each other. For example, in an

item measuring stigmatization by addressing incidents where a parent both *negatively judges and labels* adolescents, the measure negatively loads on reintegration. On the opposite end of this dynamic, an item measuring *parental caring* negatively loads on stigmatization such that *parental caring* indicates reintegration whereas its absence indicates stigmatization. Correspondingly, items measuring forgiveness vary in similar ways (Losconcz and Tyson 2007).

Although factor analysis is beyond the scope of the analysis presented in the current research. The results of the above study (Losconcz and Tyson 2007) are important to keep in mind regarding the conclusions that can be drawn from the variety of measures used in the current study that treat stigmatization and disintegration as separate constructs or the same construct as reintegration. The present study has both separate measures of stigmatization and disintegration as well as measures where disintegration and reintegration are polar opposites of the same variable.

All in all, Losconcz and Tyson (2007) argue that not all aspects of the main causal constructs are discrete concepts. Overall, the findings confirm the major ideas of Reintegrative Shaming Theory as the main constructs in the Structural Equations Model explain 52 percent of projected delinquency.

A number of additional findings in this research are worthy of mention. First, the role of peers and parents seem to be the most robust explanatory construct relating to delinquency (Losconcz and Tyson 2007- similar to Zang and Zang 2000) where peer disapproval (disapproval of bullying, a proxy measure of shame) decreases delinquency (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005). These findings are similar to findings from Zang and Zang (2004) that show no effect of peer reintegrative shaming or parental reintegrative

shaming on delinquency (between Wave I and Wave II) but instead find that peer disapproval (shame alone) and parental forgiveness (indicator of reintegration) decreases delinquency where as peer forgiveness (indicator of reintegration) encourages delinquency. Together, it seems as though parental forgiveness has a different and corrective effect on delinquency compared to peer forgiveness (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Zang and Zang (2004). These findings (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Zang and Zang (2004) are relevant to the current research because it indicates support for one of the main aspects of the current study, specifically, the idea that the children of inmates might play a special role in the reintegrative process, a role different from other supporters.

Furthermore, Zang and Zang's (2004) findings imply that peer disapproval is more corrective than parental disapproval. Although not ignored by Braithwaite (1989) the differential association aspect of the theory is treated as secondary because Braithwaite (1989) argues that stigmatizing shame pushes people into delinquent groups as opposed to involvement in delinquent groups eliciting stigmatizing shame from others. Due to the cross-sectional nature of Losconcz and Tyson's (2007) research, the casual order cannot be conclusively resolved, however, the findings do indicate that delinquent peers mediated the relationship between interdependency and delinquency- a finding also supported in the longitudinal analysis regarding the effect of delinquent peers on delinquency (Wave I) as well as the predictive effects (Wave II) (Zang and Zang 2004).

According to Losconcz and Tyson (2007), sex (indicator of interdependency) seems to play a particularly interesting role, as the mediating effect of delinquent peers on delinquency is stronger for female students than males. Females are unique in another important way. Although girls reported less propensity for delinquency compared to

boys, the positive effects of reintegration are more pronounced for girls (similar to findings in Svensson 2004 where shame is higher for girls who are delinquent because of stronger attachments to conventional parents). Therefore, the hypothesized relationship between sex and shame and reintegration on delinquency as originally formulated by Braithwaite (1989) are supported by these findings. This finding is relevant to the current study because data analysis will include nested models that explore gender differences regarding interdependency as a predictor of shame (variable shame1 in the current study).

In sum, the literature clearly shows the current development of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) is a theory searching for its methodological boundaries and theoretical identity. Additionally, the literature review also shows the social psychological aspects of the theory are difficult to place in casual order even when longitudinal methods are used. Finally, the literature review clearly shows the varying ways concepts have been classified and measured as well as the corresponding empirical support. All in all, tests of basic assumptions of reintegrative shaming yield moderate support (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Zang and Zang 2004; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

The next chapter provides some context regarding some of the ways the current study measures the salient theoretical variables of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Chapter III addresses how issues such as offense type, criminal histories, prison programming, and contact with family and friends might be useful factors to include in a test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) as applied to a sample of inmates.

CHAPTER III

REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING THEORY AND INMATES

The following literature provides the theoretical rationale for the necessary modifications of reintegrative shaming theory to be applied to the lives and experiences of inmates. According to Braithwaite (1989), people are more conducive for reintegrative shaming when they are highly committed and attached. Theoretically, commitment (Hirshi 1969) is one of the key aspects of the concept *interdependency*, specifically, the more committed one is to conventional social institutions the more attachments they develop over time which in turn increases the amount of shamers they are surrounded by. Therefore, incarceration is one of those drastic changes in the lifecourse that can negatively impact this line of commitment with family, employment, and education. Braithwaite's (1989) original measure of commitment is high educational and occupational aspirations. Although the application of high educational and occupational aspirations is conducive for Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) when applied to many different groups is adequate, measures of educational and occupational aspirations alone are likely inadequate for inmates because incarceration and prior criminal records break those lines of commitment to family, employment, and education.

Why Include Offense Types, Criminal Histories, And Prison Programs?

Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) argues that relationships cultivated during the course of establishing conventional *commitments*, essentially Hirschi's (1969) concept *attachment*, leads to an interdependent person which is a condition necessary for successful shaming (Braithwaite 1989). For the inmate, the offense type, prior sanctions, and current programming should affect both *commitments* and *attachments*. On one end of the spectrum, violent crimes can isolate offenders from family and friends because association with violent criminals is a potential threat to family and friends respectability.

It is logical that some family and friends might sever ties with inmates because the crimes are so unthinkable and because those family and friends fear how the broader society might view their association with violent criminals. However, it is also logical that the inmate can do some things in prison to prove to family and friends they are working on changing possible violent tendencies, drug addictions, and other problematic behavioral patterns. This fact can bring family and friends back into the fold as the inmates' efforts in prison programming legitimize a continued relationship. Should those efforts be spent in a large variety of prison programs designed to reintegrate the offender such as transitional programs, life skills programs, anger management, drug abuse, and domestic violence programs then an inmate can use said participation as a form of human capital as well as evidence that the offender is changing. Therefore, it makes sense to look at both inmates' crime, prior record(s), and participation in prison programming as part of an evaluation of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Additionally, prison programs involve establishing networks with program leaders and program peers that provide support and a new sense of identity. Therefore, each inmate will have a complex mixture of attributes that should theoretically block and foster conventional *commitments* and *attachments* to varying degrees. These new relationships are just the type of relationship Braithwaite (1989) argues provide reintegrative shaming. Prison program leaders and fellow program participants are part of a support network designed to help the inmate succeed, reward him or her for doing so, but also shame the inmate when they slip. So, an inmates' prior criminal history and crime are factors that disintegrate and stigmatize, however, participation in programming is a factor that might provide a *protective effect* that diminishes the negative effects of the disintegration and stigmatization associated with their crime(s) and record(s).

The concepts relating to offense types, records, and prison programming are salient for a variety of reasons. First, each offense type should elicit different reactions from the family and friends and although family and friends are generally expected to support an inmate no matter what, some might be unwilling. This is because some crimes might be too severe, making significant others suspicious of inmates' efforts at change. Additionally, inmates who are not participating in programs might not have the support of family and friends because family and friends do not view the inmate as serious about change. Therefore, it is possible that the stigma associated with an inmates' crime, especially violent crimes, might have a direct effect on family and friends support such that support is withdrawn but this negative effect might not be as impactful for inmates who are program participants.

Empirical Support: Offense Types and Criminal Histories As Proxy Measures of Stigmatization and Disintegration

It is logical to assume that a particular offense type (violent vs. non-violent) could motivate an inmate to *make amends* in different ways. An individual convicted of violent offenses will likely *need to do different things* compared to individuals convicted of non-violent crimes such as drug crimes. For example, previous research findings (Miethe et al. 2000) indicated that drug offenders were less likely to experience the reintegrative effect of alternative sanctions, specifically drug courts, such that the impact of the reintegration was non-existent. It was hypothesized that this was the case because the drug offense did not include a victim and therefore there was no one present to make amends to. It stands to reason that *depending upon the nature of the crime*, and *depending on the presence of a victim to make amends to*, inmates might need to do different things to show family and friends real efforts at change.

Conversely, the stigma associated with the criminal act could directly influence the reintegrative shaming process by decreasing the frequency of contact with family and friends by virtue of the nature of the crime. This is because people fear association with criminals, especially violent ones, as society views the violent criminal solely responsible for their crimes and judges violent criminals and anyone who associates with them more harshly than other highly stigmatized groups (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Edwards 2000; Skorjanc 1991; Albrecht, Walker, and Levy 1982; Erickson 1977; Becker 1963). Additionally, some violent actions, *in and of themselves*, should elicit more shame simply by virtue of what they are (murder) whereas other less serious offenses might not (petty theft). Therefore, an inmates' reintegration, as well as the inmates' perception of

projected criminality, might be directly or indirectly linked to the initial act(s) of their crime.

An inmate's offense type and prior record(s) should affect *commitment* and *attachments*. This is because an offender with a longer record might have *burned bridges* with family and friends but also with conventional institutions such as employment and education. Longer records might diminish family and friends' *willingness to support* compared to inmates with shorter records. Finally, significantly long records might reduce the likelihood of admission in educational institutions or success finding employment on the *outside*, creating a sense of hopelessness and apathy regarding prison programming.

Conversely, longer records might also have the opposite effect by motivating family and friends to support in ways not thought necessary before. Along the same lines, longer records might motivate the offender to change more than they would have in the past reflecting a point in which the convict has *had enough*. This notion is suggested in research concluding visitation exerted a greater influence on inmates with longer records whereby they were less likely to recidivate compared to inmates with shorter records (Bales and Mears 2008).

Ultimately, analysis might reveal a relationship where each end of the spectrum (shorter/less severe-longer/more severe) is associated with significant reductions in recidivism. Therefore, it seems logical to examine whether an inmates' criminal history directly influences family and friends willingness to communicate and ultimately engage in the reintegrative process. This is a key aspect of the theory because Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) is different from most other criminological theories

in that Braithwaite's theory (1989) *requires the willingness of family and friends* to support the inmate in order to achieve successful outcomes. Without family and friends involvement, Braithwaite (1989) argues shaming will likely fail.

Braithwaite (1989) is clear that reintegrative shaming requires more than just *meaningful apologies* by the offender and must include *actions that show real efforts at change*. For people convicted of crimes and in prison, those efforts must be significant. Therefore, an inmates' participation in a large variety of different prison programming substantiate efforts towards meaningful change. Additionally, some programs such as drug rehabilitation, life skills, domestic violence counseling, or anger management counseling specifically focus on changing the inmate. These programs are essentially reintegrative in nature. Furthermore, the offender who is *doing the work* of changing likely *earns* the support of family and friends. Therefore, the degree to which an inmate participates in prison programming partially reflects a willingness to create and/or maintain higher levels of *commitments* and *attachments*.

This study contends that inmates with long records of criminal involvement and violent crimes will be less successful reintegrating and securing support from family and friends because of the stigmatizing and disintegrative nature of having a long criminal history and being involved in violent crimes. Ultimately, because support and forgiveness are so central to successful reintegration, their crimes present significant barriers.

First, inmates' crimes and criminal histories come with varying stigma and therefore the potential damage to relationships and commitments varies as well. Second, this damage is not just because inmates internalize a *deviant self* and withdraw but also

because society fears and judges those who associate with deviants, especially those with *criminal labels*. For example, according to Winnick (2008), people are sensitive to how society *perceives* different criminal offenses, and the family and friends of offenders are aware of society's fear and judgment. Additionally, family members are keenly aware that societal rejection is *certain* should associations with deviants be discovered (Winnick 2008).

Generally, research shows that people desire more social distance from those with deviant and criminal labels (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Edwards 2000; Skorjanc 1991; Albrecht et al. 1982; Erickson 1977; Becker 1963). Correspondingly, the more abhorrent the act the more social distance is desired. (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Skorjanc 1991; Albrecht et al. 1982). Furthermore, there is consensus between offenders and non-offenders regarding which acts are worse than others (Edwards 2000). In light of the previous discussion, it is reasonable to assume that the family and friends of inmates deal with significant societal pressure to reject certain *types of deviants* even though they are family members. However, stigmatization is more nuanced than merely determining that a certain group is highly stigmatized and then inferring that family and friends will reject them (Albrecht et al. 1982). Whether or not the pressure to reject is intense or not rest on the perception of whether deviants are responsible for their deviant labels.

As Albrecht et al. (1982) explain, society judges and fears people the most when society generally considers that person solely responsible for their deviant labels. Although people avoid interactions with the physically and mentally disabled, the reason for this is not punitive and does coincide with harsh condemnation from society when people associate with individuals with disabilities. Therefore, although highly

stigmatized as a group, and highly disintegrated as well, family and friends are not pressured to sever ties.

Instead, Albrecht et al. (1982) argue that people feel uncomfortable interacting with the disabled because they struggle for the correct things to say and do. But for the criminal, people feel uncomfortable because society fears criminals and is hostile toward individuals that associate with criminals. Thus, when it comes to the dynamics involved in stigmatization, crime is one of those stigma's where people fear associations with criminals because society believes criminals are responsible for their own behavior. Therefore, for the individual who associates with a criminal, society judges that persons' judgment as if to say "*doesn't that person realize the other person is a bad person*". This is different from individuals who are disabled. Although people might stigmatize disabled individuals and fear interactions with disabled, the fear is about not *knowing the proper things to say and do* not *how society might judge their association with the disabled*. Whereas the disabled person might be highly stigmatized and the criminal might be highly stigmatized, the disabled person is not deemed responsible for their disability. The criminal on the other hand, is. But, will people view violent criminals as responsible for their crimes as non-violent criminals and will they fear condemnation for society if others find out they are associated with either violent or non-violent criminals? This research proposes a test of this nuanced aspect of stigmatization. Should findings support the premise that *violent criminals* and/or *inmates with long criminal histories* are less reintegrated, then the previous discussion might inform just why that is the case. The following research findings provide some more insights regarding these complex issues.

Two labels, that of *drug addicts* and *ex-cons* lead the public to desire the most distance. Respondents attribute more responsibility for the stigmatizing labels of ex-convict (44.2 percent *individual* and 55.8 percent *other factors-such as joblessness or circumstance*) and alcoholic (41.9 percent *individual* and 58.1 percent *other factors*) than for other deviant groups by a wide margin. The closest comparison is people with heart disease (13.9 percent *individual* and 86.1 percent *other factors*), as respondents felt that poor diet and exercise were partially responsible for the health problem. The reasons for rejecting the physically disabled were largely *ambiguity of interaction* where as the reason for rejecting the *socially disabled* (ex-cons or alcoholics) was largely either threat to social or physical wellbeing (Albrecht et al. 1982).

These findings are consistent with research on social rejection and mental health status where the perception of danger associated with different types of diagnosis determines how much social distance society desires (Link, Cullen, and Wozniak 1987). Thus, research supports the conclusion that social distance and the certainty of rejecting deviants are founded in strong concerns for social and physical safety. Taken together, the previous findings (Link et al. 1987; Albrecht et al. 1982) provides some indication that people are more apt to reject the violent criminal over the non-violent criminal as the fear of *social and physical threats* is an aspect of the decision to reject.

This body of research (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Edwards 2000; Skorjanc 1991; Link et al. 1987; Albrecht et al. 1982; Erickson 1977; Becker 1963) is important as it informs this research as to the ways the magnitude of rejection might vary when it comes to violent and non-violent inmates as well as some of the reasons for that rejection. This body of research (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Edwards 2000; Skorjanc 1991; Link et al. 1987;

Albrecht et al. 1982; Erickson 1977; Becker 1963) also provides insights as to why family and friends might reject and disintegrate heavily stigmatized love ones. It also stands to reason that people will likely view the violent criminal as *more responsible for their criminal behavior* compared to non-violent criminals as well as desire more distance from the violent criminal due to the fear of physical harm. Taken together (Kunz and Kunz 2001; Edwards 2000; Skorjanc 1991; Link et al. 1987; Albrecht et al. 1982; Erickson 1977; Becker 1963), it appears likely that the violent criminal has much more to overcome than the non-violent when convincing family and friends to continue to provide support.

Furthermore, the inmate is well aware of the potential for rejection. As Erickson (1977) asserts, the ex-con largely accepts the condemnation of potential employers, lowers occupational aspirations, and focuses attention on convincing family and friends of a changed self. Ex-convicts understand how to do *face work* (similar to the concept emotional labor in feminist theory) by acquiescing to searches by police or hassles and excessive monitoring from employers. Ex-cons navigate these interactions by accepting harsh condemnation and focusing their efforts elsewhere, specifically family and friends. According to Erickson (1977), ex-cons know that *proving a changed self* to family and friends is where their time is best spent and that employers and police will never trust them no matter what they do. Therefore, the ex-con allows the criminal label to shape their attempts at successful re-entry and largely hide and disguise most things about themselves as a coping strategy. Link et al. (1987), contend the phenomena exist in the coping strategies employed by mental patients to manage the stigma associated with their

particular diagnosis, and the findings provide some interesting insights in light of reintegrative shaming and the role stigmatization might play.

According to Link et al. (1987), the general public and patient are aware of the likelihood that a certain diagnosis will both lead to social rejection and magnitude of that rejection. The aforementioned authors argue that this is a function of uniform cultural socialization that creates similar perceptions of stigmatization regarding mental illness for most members of the population. Therefore, the patient was aware before they were diagnosed of the stigmatizing effects of the labels surrounding the mentally ill.

It stands to reason that the inmate is well aware of the stigmatizing effects of the labels that surround their criminal histories and crimes such that variables measuring these records and offenses might be valuable indicators of stigmatization for the purposes of the current study. Additionally, the inmate might actively disintegrate themselves as a means to cope with stigma. The following research provides some support for this dynamic.

According to Link et al. (1987), ultimately patients choose to hide their condition as a means to cope with stigmatization, but this seclusion lowers self-esteem and negatively affects support networks. However, patients who rely on family and friends blunt the negative effects of stigma. Additionally, although a patient's perspective as to how others might devalue or discriminate against them is correlated with their fear of rejection, a *replacement effect* merges whereby patients replace the support networks of family and friends with other patients. This replacement effect represents a patient's coping mechanism to the perception that *outsiders*, such as new friends or potential employers would likely reject them. In an effort to avoid the negative effects of

seclusion, patients would replace *outsiders* with other mental health patients, expanding their network of support outside primary networks (link et al 1987).

This nuanced discussion is germane to the current research because it provides context as to what possible options emerge for the inmate as the *replacement effect* is likely counterproductive. Although a mental patient might be able to rely on a support system of other mental patients as a means to expand their support networks beyond primary relationships, an inmate who attempts this method will likely be in a support network that encourages future criminality because engaging in a *replacement effect* would mean seeking out other criminals. However, on the other hand, an inmate who is heavily involved in programming might be able to employ this *replacement effect* with others who are also attempting to change. This is germane to the current research because the data includes measures of program participation. Once again, evidence presents itself that although the stigmatization and disintegration involved with long criminal histories and violent crimes is damaging, the use of programming provides some opportunities for *an out* for the inmate.

Similarly, the inmate, his or her family, and the broader community is also aware, before incarceration, of the stigmatizing effects of both the specific crime as well as being incarcerated. Therefore, it is logical to expect that those involved (inmate and their family and friends) are aware of how they shape the reintegrative process and will actively attempt to do so in both positive and negative ways. In addition, it is logical to expect that the *severity of the offense* will shape the *perception of the threat*, leading to increased certainty of rejection from others. Although stigmatizing labels can make an

individual more reliant on primary relationships it can also make people withdraw as a coping mechanism, a type of *self-disintegration* (as discussed previously).

Thus from a Reintegrative Shaming Theoretical (1989) perspective, both the offense type and the prior history of official sanctions should shape the inmates perception of social rejection and determination that others will devalue and discriminate. Longer records and more severe offenses should heighten the perception of threats and shape the frequency and communication. For some inmates, withdrawal might be the outcome of highly stigmatized criminal histories. Therefore, inmates will vary in their attempts to use contact with family and friends to do, or not do, *the presentation of a changed self*, fostering reintegration or disintegration. The hypotheses in the current study associated with this review of theory and literature are as follows:

Hypothesis 6-Inmates with a prior juvenile record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior juvenile record.

Hypothesis 7-Inmates with a prior adult record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior adult record.

Hypothesis 8-Inmates who committed violent crimes will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates who committed non-violent crimes

Empirical Support: Prison Programming As Proxy Measure Of Reintegration

The offender is not left completely helpless coping with stigmatization and disintegration and as mentioned prior, there are things inmates can do to prove to family and friends they are taking responsibility and trying to change. Primarily, prison programs aimed at either addressing the underlying issue of a deviant act or providing a coping mechanism can be efforts that communicate to others real change. If the offender's primary efforts are convincing family and friends that the bad act is merely a poor choice and not representative of *who* they really are (Erickson 1977), completion of

programs and the insights that emerge are helpful toward those ends. Finally, there is reason to believe that prison programs serve reintegrative ends.

According to Phelps (2011), although the academic scholarship has lamented the *nothing works* approach and increased punitive measures in corrections, the reality *on the ground* is that a variety of programs designed to foster successful reintegration are actually increasing. Evidence for this increase in reintegrative prison programming is the fact that the ratio of professional and vocational staff, the number and variety of programs, as well as inmates' participation in re-entry programs have steadily increased over the past 20 years. Arguing that "rehabilitation is back on the table" (23), the *new frame* has moved away from educational programs to more practical interventions such as parenting, job hunting, addiction counseling, and life skills development. Although some programs are specifically designed to employ this new strategy, the new models principles are pervasive in all programs (Phelps 2011).

This is relevant to the current research because scales of programming are constructed around programs that serve reintegrative ends. Specifically, a scale is constructed that represents *reintegrative programming participation* which is the sum of programs an inmate participates in that are reintegrative in nature. Programs included are programs that aim to address what is wrong with the offenders *self* such as life-skills programs, drug addiction counseling, domestic violence counseling, transitional, and anger management programs. How and why these new programs work and whether they work for both men and women is an important factor regarding the current research, recent research provides some insights (Collica 2010; Calhoun, Messian, Cartier, and Torres 2010; Baradon, Fonagy, Bland, Lenard, and Slead 2008).

This *new frame*, Phelps (2011) states, includes programs that attempt to deal with the underlying issues surrounding recidivism such as the role that hyper-masculinity plays in male violence and isolation in prison. This is significant because prison, itself, disintegrates. Karp (2010) argues that incarceration disintegrates men because they are forced to put on a mask of hyper-masculinity as a means to cover emotions and the need for support, encompassed in the concept of *doing one's own time*. To do this, the inmate must break conventional relationships and not allow others to provide support, lest they be deemed weak and a target. Thus, to an extent prison blocks commitment and attachment because the norm of *doing one's own time* deems conventional commitments and attachments a sign of weakness. Despite the fact that incarceration itself is disintegrating, the *new model of rehabilitation* that is arguably on the rise in American corrections could possibly blunt the disintegrative effect of incarceration.

Findings suggest that the programs addressing the disintegrative nature of hyper-masculinity involve *deep emotional work* fostering better mental health and anger management because men identify the triggers of dysfunctional behavior, separating the *behavior* from the *self*. Additionally, these programs counteract the norm of *being hard* and *doing one's own time* which foster an alienated individual. Ultimately, a successful participant of this type of program emerges with an increased self-awareness and willingness to express emotions verbally and seek out others for support before the suppression of negative emotions boils over into violence (Karp 2010). Furthermore, it seems that gender might be a significant factor determining which types of programs are better suited for individual inmates. An example of this difference is that programming for women, while numerous, takes into account the different offenses typically

committed by women (i.e. drug addiction) that underly incarceration rates (Collica 2010; Calhoun, Messian, Cartier, and Torres 2010; Baradon, Fonagy, Bland, Lenard, and Slead 2008). While for men, hyper-masculinity is the underlying issue relating to violence, for women it is argued that relational ties are more significant. Specifically, damaged relationships with children or other loved ones are thought to be one of the major underlying problems relating to drug addiction and relapse. Calhoun et al. (2010) argue that women tend to conceptualize their self-worth in the relationships they establish with others and drug relapses are tied to relationship conflict and damage. Hence, programs under the *new rehabilitation model* are designed to both foster pro-social relational outcomes as well as educate women on how relational stressors lead to relapse (Calhoun et al. 2010).

Under the *new rehabilitation model*, which Phelps (2011) contends is increasing nationally, many programs integrate both humanistic modification and cognitive-behavioral interventions (Dahlen and Johnson 2010). First, programs treat the individual as unique in the sense of applying measured goals for personal success (correcting *the self* via empowerment and personal responsibility). Second, programs seek to educate offenders as to what social environments are problematic. Finally, programs provide general cognitive and behavioral tools to manage *crime triggers* embedded in patterns of *thinking and reacting* that lead to dysfunctional behavior. Whereas, one attempts to control the self and ultimately the agents “choice” to involve themselves in certain situations and environments, the other attempts to provide the coping skills which buffer against the negative effects of those environments should the environment *choose them*.

Finally, it seems as if most in the correction system are generally supportive of this shift. These new programs are thought of as helpful by inmates and staff alike in the areas of drug rehabilitation (Raney, Magaletta, and Hubbert 2005; Calhoun et al. 2010), parent child relations (Hoffman, Bryd, and Kightlinger 2010; Baradon et al. 2008), self-esteem and life skills (Dahlen and Johnson 2010; Collica 2010; Karp 2010), and jobs/education (Esperian 2010; Sedgely, Scott, Williams, and Derrick 2010).

How an inmate decides to spend their time in jail matters. Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) contends that offenders must make amends and engage in meaningful efforts towards change for reintegration to be successful. The current research's inclusion of offense type and criminal histories as predictive of disintegration as well as prison programming as predictive of reintegration is a necessary modification when testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) on a sample of inmates. An inmate who has a substantial amount of communication with family and friends as well as high participation in a multitude of programs should be *most prepared* to convince family and friends that the future will be different. Additionally, the inmate with substantial contact with family and friends as well as high prison program participation should be the *most prepared* to take control of their future post-incarceration.

This study will examine these variables to determine if patterns emerge that are consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). The hypothesis associated with this discussion of theory and literature is listed below:

Hypothesis 9-Inmates who do not participate in reintegrative programs will report lower levels of reintegration compared to inmates who do participate in reintegrative programs.

Social Ties

For the inmate, contact with family and friends will be the events fostering the disintegrative or reintegrative process. Braithwaite (1989) argues that shaming from family and friends is one of the key aspects of reintegrative shaming theory that links shaming to the *family model* of social control. Furthermore, for the inmate it is likely that most of the shaming will be communicated by family and friends (Schafer 1994). According to Eckland-Olson, Supanic, Campbell, and Lenihan (1983), the family is unique in that it is the most likely party to accept offenders despite the risk association and support might bring as society judges those associations.

A growing body of literature focusing on visitation examines the relationship between inmates, family relationships, and recidivism (Berg and Huebner 2010; Bales and Mears 2008; Ryan and Yang 2005; Casey-Acevedo, Bakken, Karle 2004; Bayse, Allgood, and Van Wyk 1991; Holt and Miller 1971). Generally, studies find that visitation conveys family support that in turn reduces infractions, encourages programming, and mitigates the inevitable burdens of the re-entry process. However, previous tests of reintegration measures almost always rely solely on the offender's perception that they have been forgiven and are supported. Additionally, traditionally Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) has focused on the power of mere perception, implying the perception of support is paramount to the variety of actions that convey support. Although it is important for a person to perceive support, it is also important for actions and perception to match; and that harmony likely heightens an inmates' perception of support.

This study uses both perceptual and behavioral measures of support. Specifically, measures such as the frequency of contact with family and friends represent those behavioral measures. Additionally, measures of the *perception of support* refer to whether it is *very likely* family and friends can be counted on as a support network for the inmate post-incarceration and whether that network is considered *very important* in preventing future crimes.

The frequency of contact between the inmate and family and friends tells researchers little about how attachment might affect reintegration. *The diversity of relationships in the inmates' life*, matters. Specifically, inmates with children might fare better reintegrating and it is the strength of those relationships that might have the most profound effect compared to other relationships the inmate might have. A couple of studies inform this position. According to prior studies (Ellis, Grasmick, and Gilman 1974; Holt and Miller 1972; Lembo 1969) it appears that incarcerated men's relationship with their wives is potentially problematic where as other research (Casey-Acevedo et al. 2004) indicates that for women their relationship with their children might be problematic.

Schafer (1994) reports that for male inmates, wives were more consistent visitors than parents but that the relationship was full of unique stressors, leading to a reduction or an end to visitation. Therefore, although the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of these relationships are typically high and normally Reintegrative Shaming Theory would contend those relationships as ideal, the outcome did not fulfill reintegrative goals. In light of the complex factors surrounding "*who visits*" and the range of possible disintegrative and reintegrative outcomes, exploring these relationships

from the Reintegrative Shaming Theory perspective seems fruitful. In an effort to modify RST for the inmate population, this study will examine an inmates relationship with their children is a significant predictor of reintegration.

In general, contact with family provides an opportunity for mending and maintaining family relationships as well as increasing the inmates' perception that families will provide support after incarceration. According to Bayse et al. (1991) inmates who could mend and maintain family relationships were less likely to offend *on the outside*, and inmates with strong social ties were less likely to be influenced by hardened criminals *on the inside*. The explanation according to Mallot and Fromader (2010) is that an inmates' perception of material and emotion support likely creates a positive environment that is conducive for success.

The modern correctional system recognizes the benefits of inmate contact with family and friends and acknowledges that the facility can merely provide the opportunity for reintegration and that it is up to family and friends to the rest. In light of this fact, many facilities are encouraging visitation as central to the inmates' success as well as changing policies that improve the visitation environment (Schafer 1994). In general, the benefits of contact are the preservation of family bonds, increased inmate self-esteem (LeClair 1978), and the opportunity to mend broken relationships face to face (Maruna and Toch 2005). Furthermore, increases in family contacts are associated with a reduction in recidivism in juvenile (Ryan and Yang 2005) and adult offenders (Bales and Mears 2008). If these findings are replicated in the present study then age should reduce or decrease in significance as measures of reintegration are entered into the nested regression models. The hypotheses relating to these ideas are as follows:

Hypothesis 10-Inmates who were the primary caregiver for their children prior to incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who were not the primary caregiver for their children.

Hypothesis 11-Inmates who held a lot of influence over their children's daily activities will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who did not hold a lot of influence over their children's daily activities.

Hypothesis 12-Inmates who still have parental rights will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not have parental rights.

Hypothesis 13-Inmates who are satisfied with where their children live will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who are not satisfied with where their children live.

Hypothesis 14-Inmates who plan to live with their children post-incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not plan to live with their children post-incarceration.

Hypothesis 17-Inmates who report that past criminal behavior threatens relationships with friends and family as a very important reason to not commit future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 18-Inmates who report it is very likely they can rely on friends and family are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 19-Inmates who report they are very likely to rely on friends and family are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, And Moral Conscience

Describing how the micro level variables operate in Reintegrative Shaming Theory, Braithwaite (1989) argues that morality plays an important role. Specifically, reintegrative shaming should change the individual. The process of shaming, apology, and forgiveness should foster a moral conscience that enables the individual to connect their actions with harm to the community/family and friends, consideration for victims, and a stronger belief in the law. In this respect, Braithwaite's theory (1989) goes beyond

deterrence and operant condition principles that ordinarily treat shame as a punishment to be avoided and praise a reward and instead conceptualize the shaming process as part of learning morality. According to this line of thinking, most people reject criminal behavior because most criminal acts are unthinkable. Most individuals develop this morality during early socialization where shame and reintegration by family and friends teaches youth how their actions unwittingly harm others. Thus, for most when formal controls are not present, conscience takes over (Braithwaite 1989).

Shame related emotions are complex and research has not yet clearly identified whether some are generally stronger than others, such as guilt compared to shame. The current research addresses this issue by evaluating how an inmate felt when committing past crimes (guilt, sorrow) with their emotional response if they recidivate in the future (shame, embarrassment) and compare those responses to an inmates' moral conscience (concern for harm to family/friends/victim/peoples' feelings and loss of others peoples respect/self-respect)

According to Harris (2003), *shame related emotions* such as feelings that *one has done wrong, hurt loved ones, and lost respect* are aspects of moral conscience that when coupled with feelings of shame and guilt reduce the likelihood of re-offending. His research (Harris 2003) concludes that *shame related emotions* significantly reduced the likelihood that DUI offenders would drink and drive in the future. Although offenders did not distinguish between shame and guilt, feeling both at the same time was stronger than separately. Additionally, if the offender felt both shame and guilt they were less likely to re-offend. Therefore, Harris (2003) argues that a *shame-guilt factor* is the

central shame related emotion most influential in fostering morality and ultimately desistence.

Harris (2003) conceptualizes the *shame-guilt factor* as the recognition that *one's actions are wrong, guilt for causing others pain, feelings of shame and anger, and the loss of honor among family and friends*. These findings are significant in that they link shame and guilt to both morality and desistence, supporting Braithwaite's (1989) claims that teaching morality necessarily involves shame. However, there is reason to believe that shame, embarrassment, guilt, and sorrow influence the development of morality in dramatically different ways and that some emotions might be counterproductive.

Shame and embarrassment may be distinct emotional stimulus and differ in magnitude. According to Harris (2006) shame likely differs from embarrassment as shame reflects deeper internal dynamics involving a negative *evaluation of self*, while embarrassment is the *loss of face* in a social context. One might be forced into feeling embarrassed when others' critique creates feelings of vulnerability and exposure but not feel ashamed of their behavior, just upset or angry towards others. Shame, on the other hand, springs from within the individual as a genuine insecurity or distaste for a part of the *self*. When confronted by others, shame magnifies, focusing attention inward (Harris 2003).

The key issue might rest in the source of both forms of negative emotionality- either primarily external or internal. If resentment and anger towards others is more likely with embarrassment because it conjures negative emotions due to the critiques of others, then it might be largely disintegrative. On the other hand, if shame reflects a pre-existing critique of the self that is noticed by others and admonished, it might clarify what

one finds *wrong about the self*. Subsequently, Harris (2006; 2003) argues it is likely that shame is an emotional response strongly linked to ones perception of wrongdoing whereas embarrassment is problematic because it increases the likelihood of resentment, rejection, and isolation. Findings indicate that embarrassment is a more problematic emotion as Harris's (2006) construct *embarrassment exposure* is closely related to both *stigmatization* and the *shame-guilt factor*. Therefore, in terms of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989), embarrassment is closely associated with both disintegration and reintegration whereas the *shame-guilt factor* is strongly associated with only reintegration. Additionally, the *shame-guilt factor* strongly predicted *embarrassment exposure*, meaning that at times embarrassment results from stigmatization and is also genuinely attached to shame.

Studies generally support these basic claims regarding the distinctions and what these differences mean for Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989). Specifically, research supports the conclusion that embarrassment is a more public event, more likely to occur among acquaintances/strangers and more likely to be a fleeting, light-hearted emotion, with fewer moral implications than both shame and guilt. Research contends that embarrassment is a *distant neighbor* to both shame and guilt leaving respondents disinterested in making amends for their behavior (Tangney et al. 1996). Therefore, inmates who feel embarrassment, but not shame or guilt should have less developed moral conscience compared to inmates who feel shame and guilt. Whether both guilt and shame are equally beneficial for the development morality or if the experience of one is more beneficial than the other is the not conclusive.

Although Harris (2003) concludes the distinction between shame and guilt is insignificant and prefers to focus on the emotions as a singular, other research (Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, and Gramzow, 1996; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, Gramzow 1992; and Tangney 1991) makes claims these emotions are distinct. These prior studies by Tangney et al. (1996; 1992; Tangney 1991) examine the differences between shame proneness and guilt proneness, similar constructs as presented by Braithwaite (1989) and consistent with subsequent test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Harris 2006; 2003; Hay 2001; Losoncz and Tyson 2007). Findings reveal that guilt-proneness is associated with constructive responses to anger, whereas shame-proneness is associated with maladaptive responses (Tangney et al. 1996; Tangney et al. 1992; and Tangney 1991).

Tangney (1991) concludes that guilt-proneness was correlated with empathetic responsiveness, a construct similar to Braithwaite's (1989) moral conscience. However, Tangney, et al. (1992) concludes that although shame-proneness was maladaptive it was not necessarily a strong predictor of delinquency as individuals focus hostility and aggression towards themselves. Taking these findings in light of Harris (2003) who argues that the *shame-guilt factor* is a strong predictor of increased empathy and decreased anger/hostility, the outcome of different emotional responses within the reintegrative or disintegrative process looks dynamic.

In terms of the present study, I examine measures similar to Harris's *shame-guilt factor*. Specifically I use, as indicators of the construct *Shame I*, measures that evaluate an inmates' emotional experience during the commission of the crime that led to their present (at the time of data collection) incarceration. In these measures, inmates are

asked if they felt *sorry* and *guilty* during the commission of their crime. Additionally, two more indicators of *Shame 1* measure the inmates' concern regarding how crime might impact the level of respect they receive from family and friends. Therefore, Harris's research (2003) informs the current study as the current research construct of *Shame 1* approximates Harris's (2003) *shame-guilt factor*. Should the current findings replicate Harris's (2003) findings regarding *shame-guilt factor* that would lend support to the body of literature regarding the nuanced aspects of shame related emotions. In the present study, analytical framework 1 uses interdependency variables to predict the dependent variable shame 1 (whereby measures of *sorry* and *guilty* are two of four indicators in the scale) followed by the treatment of those isolated shame 1 indicators as independent variables that predict dependent variables projected criminality and projected shame.

The hypotheses that relate to this section are listed below:

For Shame-Related Emotions:

Hypothesis 1- Women are more likely to report higher levels of shame than men.

Hypothesis 2- Inmates older than age 25 are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates younger than age 25.

Hypothesis 3- Inmates who were employed full-time before incarceration are likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were employed less than full-time.

Hypothesis 4- Inmates with more education are more likely to report higher levels of shame than less educated inmates.

Hypothesis 5- Inmates who were married before incarceration are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were not married.

Hypothesis 15- Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot about past criminal behavior are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 16-Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot during past crime are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 17-Inmates who report that past criminal behavior threatens relationships with friends and family as a very important reason to not commit future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

For Moral Conscience:

Hypothesis 22-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 23-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 24-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 25-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 26-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 27-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 28-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 29-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

CHAPTER IV

METHDOLOGY

The data for this study were collected in a large state correctional center in the southeast. Inmate responses were collected by self-administered questionnaire. The sample includes 726 male (363) and female (363) inmates.

Questionnaires were gathered in December of 2001 and January of 2002. Prison officials advertised the study one day prior to the research team's arrival at the facility and provided adequate assurances that the study was not used as a reward or punishment as well as assurances that knowledge of the study was not restricted to certain inmates. Correctional staff were present during the administration of the survey for security reasons but were positioned in the corners of large cafeteria halls so as to be unobtrusive. Furthermore, research team members were available to answer inmates' questions and oversee that no communication between DOC staff and participants occurred (Wood Unpublished).

Male and female inmates took the self-administered questionnaire in separate areas of the facility. Males gathered in groups of 50-100 at a time whereas females gathered in groups of 20-30 at a time. After brief instructions regarding the survey, inmates were given the opportunity to leave. Those who choose to stay were provided more instructions as well as consent form and research team contact information (Wood Unpublished).

This research was conducted under the assumption that inmates are the authority on their own criminal behavior. Although the constraints of collecting data on institutionalized adults present challenges such as social desirability bias, the representativeness of the sample, and the accurate calculation of a response rate-the research team feels the depth of data outweighs those concerns. Additionally, numerous measures were taken to ensure the confidentiality of subjects (Wood Unpublished).

Demographic Characteristics

Most respondents are African American (60%) and approximately 545 of the 726 inmates have children in a sample evenly split between men (363) and women (363). The average age of respondents is approximately 30 years and 35 % of inmates had a partner (either married or living with someone) prior to incarceration, 35 % are single and never married, and roughly 30 % are single. In terms of prior criminal history, 56 % had previously served time in an adult correctional facility and prior criminal history is especially relevant for male respondents between the ages 30-40 of whom 20 percent had previously served time in a juvenile facility.

In terms of employment and education, 64% were working either full-time (365) or part-time (97) and the majority of the sample had less than a high school education. The sample consists of mostly younger inmates with a mean age for women of 28 and a mean age for men of 29. Additionally, 70 % of women are under the age of 37 and 70 % of men are under the age of 34.

In terms of previous incarceration, among males 51.3 % had been incarcerated as adults prior to the current incarceration and 60.6 % of women had been incarcerated as adults prior to the current incarceration. Additionally, approximately 18 % of males had

been incarcerated as a juvenile and approximately 23 % of females had been incarcerated as a juvenile. Regarding the nature of the crime for which inmates are serving time, 13 % of the crimes committed by men are violent crimes whereas 23 % of the crimes committed by women are violent crimes. These crimes include murder, rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, and robbery.

Regarding family related variables, approximately 21 % of males were married prior to incarceration and approximately 20 % of females were married prior to incarceration. For both males and females, roughly one in three were never married. Lastly, approximately 80 % of males have children and 64 % of females have children. Males tend to speak with family members at least once a week at a slightly higher frequency such that approximately 40 percent of men reported doing so whereas roughly 28 % of women reported a similar level of communication. (See Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

Missing Values

Missing values for each of the variables in table 1 are under 10% in most cases and drastically smaller in many cases. Furthermore, the missing data appear to be missing completely at random, therefore no imputation or deletion procedures are performed.

Analytical Framework 1

The first analytical framework reflects a test of Braithwaite's original theoretical formulation. This framework includes five indicator variables of the construct interdependency. The variables are age, sex, marital status, employment status, and

educational attainment. Interdependency variables assume dynamics similar to social bonds theory (Hirschi 1969) where interdependency structures interactions with significant others who shame poor behavior. In terms of interdependency, being female, over age 25, married, employed, and in school means individuals are more likely to be surrounded by shamers. Furthermore, these shamers (spouses, employers, educators) are more likely to shame in a way that is reintegrative (Braithwaite 1989).

The dependent variable represents the shame experienced by inmates during the commission of the crime that led to their incarceration. This variable is Shame 1. Analytical Framework 1 represents a test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory's (1989) most basic assumptions, specifically that the indicators of interdependency predict shame.

Analytical Framework 1- Hypotheses

The hypotheses pertaining to Analytical Framework 1 are as follows:

Hypothesis 1- Women are more likely to report higher levels of shame than men.

Hypothesis 2- Inmates older than age 25 are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates younger than age 25.

Hypothesis 3- Inmates who were employed full-time before incarceration are likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were employed less than full-time.

Hypothesis 4- Inmates with more education are more likely to report higher levels of shame than less educated inmates.

Hypothesis 5- Inmates who were married before incarceration are more likely to report higher levels of shame than inmates who were not married.

Analytical Framework 1

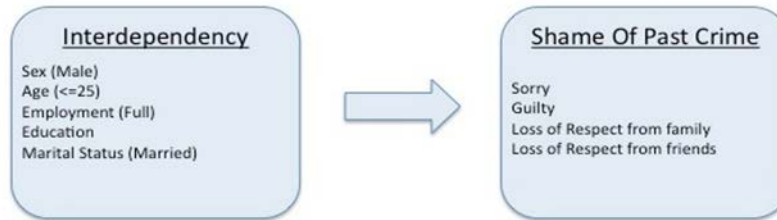


Figure 3 Conceptual Model For Analytical Framework 1

Analytical Framework 1- Independent Variables

The following section provides the coding for the independent variables in Analytical Framework 1.

Interdependency

The treatment of the interdependency in this study is very similar to Braithwaite's (1989) original formulation. Sex is a dichotomous variable coded '1' for *male*. Age (*at incarceration*) is also dichotomous, with *under 25* coded '1' and *over age 25* coded '0'. Employment is coded '1' for *full-time employment* and '0' for *less than full-time employment* which includes *part-time, not working but looking for work, not working and not looking for work, working inside the home, and retired*. Education is a continuous variable measuring years of schooling; it ranges from 3 to 18 years, with a median of 12 years (equivalent to a high school diploma). Marital status prior to incarceration is a dichotomous variable coded '1' for *married* and '0' for *not married* which includes *separated, widow/widower, never married, divorced, and living with someone but not married*. The justification for coding age as a dichotomous variable is that Braithwaite (1989) conceptualizes the distinction of those above 25 and those under 25 as the most

important difference in age. Each year of age is not very important but how ones life changes after they turn 25 is what really matters. According to his logic, 25 years of age is an important benchmark because individuals are likely either working professional jobs or recognizing that it is time to be serious about job advancement, marriage, as well as a host of other issues that will put them in an environment with reintegrative shamers, which constitutes increasing interdependency. For those under the age 25, life, relationships, jobs, as well as many other involvements and commitments are temporary and the relationships fleeting.

The same can be said for marriage as Braithwaite (1989) argues that it is not relationships, but highly committed family relationships that create an environment where one is surrounded by reintegrative shamers and subsequently highly interdependent. For similar reasons, employment is also coded as a dichotomous variable because one who is employed full-time is likely to have both co-workers and supervisors who are invested in their success and more likely to reintegratively shame. Education was not dichotomized because education is thought to impart sensitivity to reintegrative shame because of institutional process's and norms. Therefore, the more time one has spent in school matters. Although, the relationship of teacher to student and student to student are the means by which participants learn to be sensitive to shame and open to reintegration, those relationships shift as individuals move up each grade. What is constant is the institutional norms and process's that shape these interactions. Therefore, unlike the other variables of interdependency, a dichotomous variable is not suitable. There is no clear *benchmark* whereby a certain graduation yields high interdependency, thusly, it is the relative level (measured in years) that is a more desirable measure of high

interdependency. Together, these codes capture one of the core distinctions necessary according to Braithwaite (1989), the distinction between high and low interdependency.

Analytical Framework 1- Dependent Variable Shame 1

Analytical Framework 1 has one dependent variable, a shame scale, called *Shame 1* which represents how inmates' *felt* as well as *concerns* experienced during the crime for which they are now incarcerated (at the time of the study). Four indicators capture a combination of emotional and cognitive shame-related constructs pertaining to inmates' previous criminal behavior.

Shame 1

The Shame 1 scale is constructed via four indicators that examine inmates' emotions and concerns. Two indicators (i.e., *sorry* and *guilty*) come from one question: *How often did you experience the following feelings when you were committing your crime?* Inmates are asked to respond to a series of emotions of which *sorry* and *guilty* are two of nineteen emotions. Possible response categories range from 1 (almost always) to 4 (never). Shame 1 Sorry indicator is reverse coded '1' *never*, '2' *rarely*, '3' *sometimes*, and '4' *almost always*. Shame 1 Guilty indicator is reverse coded '1' *never*, '2' *rarely*, '3' *sometimes*, and '4' *almost always*. The reverse codes mean higher values denote higher shame.

Two more indicators (i.e., *loss of respect from family* and *loss of respect from friends*) came from the following question: *How much did you think about the following before committing your crime?* Possible response categories range from 1 (A lot) to 4 (Not at all). Inmates are asked to respond to a series of thoughts of which *My friends*

losing respect for me and *My family losing respect for me* are two of ten thoughts presented to respondents. Possible response categories range from 1 (a lot) to 4 (not at all). Shame 1 Loss of Respect-Friends indicator is reverse coded '1' *not at all*, '2' *once or twice*, '3' *a few times*, and '4' *a lot*. Shame 1 Loss of Respect-Family indicator is reverse coded '1' *not at all*, '2' *once or twice*, '3' *a few times*, and '4' *a lot*.

The rationale for combining these two types of indicators is that all four are ideal facets of Braithwaite's (1989) conceptualization of shame. Together, these specific indicators capture the two dimension of shame, the emotional and the cognitive. Braithwaite (1989) argues that shame is both a negative feeling as well as a concern and that this combination is what is so effective about shame as a deterrent. Inmates who report high shame experience both the negative emotional stimulus as well as the worry about the loss of respect associated with crime.

Although the response categories between the emotional and cognitive are marginally different, each response category basically captures the same construct. For the cognitive, the lowest score reflects someone who is *not at all concerned* with the opinions of friends and family whereas in the emotional component, the lowest score reflects someone who *never felt sorry or guilty* during commission of their crimes. The same is true for the highest values for each of these measures as well as the middle two values which are similarly vague and nuanced. For the sake of distinguishing between high and low shame as well as capturing the core of the conceptualization of shame as outline by Braithwaite (1989) the decision to combine these two dimensions is essential to a test of reintegrative shaming. Additionally, because shame is the dependent variable in this model, the present research needs to capture the full range of shame experiences as

opposed to merely capture a dichotomized version of High Shame vs. Low Shame, a dichotomy dominate in research literature but more appropriate when shame is an independent variable and not a dependent variable.

These two types of shame variables (i.e., emotional and cognitive) are summed together creating a Shame 1 (dependent) scale with a range of 3-16 and a median of 10. Scale scores were generated for each case as long as three of four responses were present (non-missing) for each indicator of Shame 1 (*sorry, guilty, loss of respect from friends, and loss of respect from family*). This computation reduced missing values. A scale score for variable Shame 1 was generated for 659 of 726 cases, reducing missing values from approximately 20% to 9.2%. In addition to creating a Shame 1 scale, an added benefit of these transformations is that the end result is a normally distributed variable appropriate for regression analysis using ordinary least squares (Kurtosis $-.803$). See histogram below:

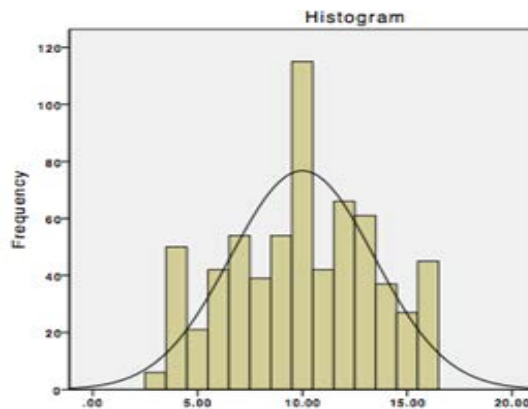


Figure 4 Shame 1 Dependent Variable

Analytical Framework 2

The second analytical framework reflects a test of the “labeling dynamic” within Braithwaite’s (1989) theory. Theoretically, negative labels should be disintegrative and stigmatizing, thereby strengthening criminal identities and making future criminality more likely. In the current study both prior records and an inmates’ offense type (*violent vs. non-violent*) are measures of stigmatization and disintegration. Although each inmate is stigmatized and disintegrated by the fact they have been formally process by the criminal justice system and received negative labels, not all labels are equally stigmatizing and disintegrative. According to the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), certain acts should elicit a harsher response from society and be acts that are more shameful. In terms of the present study, it stands to reason that violent offenses should be more stigmatizing and disintegrative than non-violent offenses and longer criminal histories should be more stigmatizing and disintegrative than shorter criminal histories. However, despite the disintegration and stigmatization associated with criminal behavior, the inmate is not at a total loss. Specifically, prison programming affords the inmate an opportunity to replace the label of convict and violent offender with the label of rehabilitated. Additionally, some prison programs (i.e., transitional programs, domestic violence counseling, drug rehabilitation, anger management, life skills) feature reintegrative goals and provide opportunities for the inmate to sever the negative labels associated with official charges.

For the purposes of the present study, indicators of high stigmatization and disintegration are serious violent convictions and lengthy prior records coupled with *low*

to no programming whereas indicators of low stigmatization and disintegration are less serious non-violent convictions, no prior records, coupled with high programming.

It should be noted at this time that stigmatization and disintegration are some of the most difficult aspects of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) to measure. This is because there is a debate (one addressed at length later) as to whether stigmatization is different from disintegration, as well as whether disintegration is a separate variable from reintegration or merely the lack of reintegration. Although this study does not claim to resolve these issues, the data affords the opportunity to operationalize these concepts and this researcher would be remiss if analysis did not include a test of this aspect of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Prison programming is important because *face work* (i.e., using contact with family to convince family members that one is changing) requires *resources* and for the inmate, programming presents a multitude of tools to convince others of a changed self and ask for their continued support. In prison, contact with friends and family is the only means to convince others that continued support is valued and necessary. Therefore, it is important not only to examine different stigmatizing labels but to also examine who, if any, supporters exist in the inmates' life. Thusly, the second analytical framework will take into account how the *family dynamic* (thought the most influential of all shamers) might assist the inmate reintegrate (Braithwaite 1989).

The *family dynamic* is central to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) because who visits (i.e., children, parents, friends) and how often others visit, matters. Furthermore, a unique contribution of the current study is the fact that I contend the strength of the relationship inmates have with children will likely be an important

aspect of reintegration. This is true for a variety of reasons. First, a child's support allows inmates to be future oriented in a unique way. Specifically inmates who have strong attachment with their children before incarceration and plan to continue a relationship (post-incarceration) characterized by strong attachment are inmates who likely have more to look forward to compared to other inmates.

In terms of the full spectrum of family members, inmates have the most opportunity to mend and heal relationships with children and the strength of that relationship prior to incarceration, during incarceration, and post incarceration matter in terms of an inmates' reintegration. Additionally, joys, sorrows, and accomplishments that children share with their incarcerated parents remind the inmate that they are unable to fully participate as a parent, triggering shame. Finally, children, especially young children, are the most likely member of the family to show love and forgiveness over harsh condemnation and rejection. Together, these dynamics provide both a healthy dose of shame alongside the opportunity to make amends (Braithwaite 1989).

Analytical Framework 2 treats the indicators of interdependency, indicators of stigmatization and disintegration, and child-parent attachment as independent variables. I examine the independent variables as predictors of reintegration. The indicators of reintegration are a combination (scale) of perceptual measures of family support alongside behavioral measures including the frequency of communication with family and friends.

Analytical Framework 2- Hypotheses

The hypotheses associated with this framework are as follows:

Hypothesis 6- Inmates with a prior juvenile record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior juvenile record.

Hypothesis 7- Inmates with a prior adult record will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates without a prior adult record.

Hypothesis 8- Inmates who committed violent crimes will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates who committed non-violent crimes.

Hypothesis 9- Inmates who do not participate in reintegrative programs will report lower levels of reintegration than inmates who do participate in reintegrative programs.

Hypothesis 10- Inmates who were the primary caregiver for their children prior to incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who were not the primary caregiver for their children.

Hypothesis 11- Inmates who held a lot of influence over their children's daily activities will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who did not hold a lot of influence over their children's daily activities.

Hypothesis 12- Inmates who still have parental rights will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not have parental rights.

Hypothesis 13- Inmates who are satisfied with where their children live will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who are not satisfied with where their children live.

Hypothesis 14- Inmates who plan to live with their children post-incarceration will report higher levels of reintegration than inmates who do not plan to live with their children post-incarceration.

Analytical Framework 2

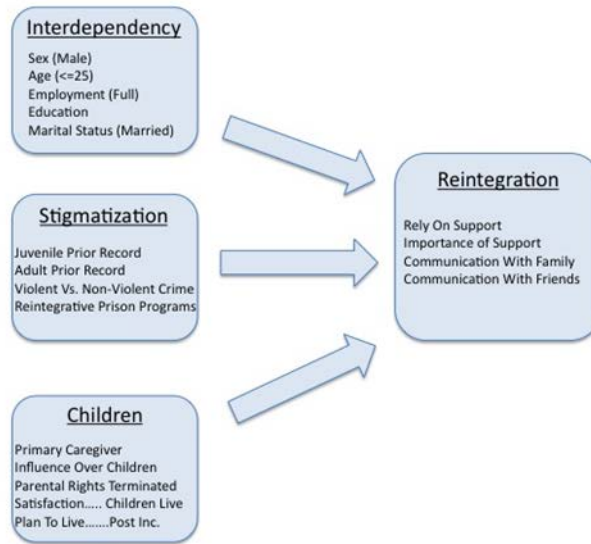


Figure 5 Conceptual Model For Analytical Framework 2

Analytical Framework 2-Independent Variables

The following section provides the coding for the independent variables in Analytical Framework 2.

Interdependency

The interdependency variables used in Analytical Framework 1 are included in Analytical Framework 2. The previous coding is retained.

Disintegration and Stigmatization

The first two variables measure disintegration and the third variable measures stigmatization. Prior Record-Juvenile is a dichotomous variable coded '1' if *the juvenile ever spent time in a juvenile correctional facility or detention center* and '0' otherwise.

Prior Record-Adult is a dichotomous variable coded '1' if *the inmate ever spent time in an adult correctional facility, work center, or jail* and '0' otherwise.

The third variable measures the relative stigmatization associated with each inmates "present" conviction (i.e., violent vs. non-violent). Originally, this variable was a string variable in which inmates described the criminal act that landed them in prison (at the time of the data collection). The decision was made by this researcher that any description of violence would be coded '1' *violent* and '0' *non-violent*. Crimes included as violent are murder (i.e., capital/manslaughter/etc), rape, aggravated assault, robbery, and simple assault. Crimes included as non-violent include burglary, petty theft, forgery, and drug crimes

Prison Reintegrative Programming Scale

The Prison Reintegrative Programming scale is based on inmates' participation in the following six programs; substance abuse, mental health, domestic violence, parenting program, transitional program, and life skills program. Responses were coded '0' if the *inmate did not participate* in the program and '1' if *he/she did*. These responses were summed to create a scale ranging from 0-6, however, the variables actual range is from 0-5 because no one in the sample participated in all 6 programs.

Reintegrative programs are programs such as drug addiction or life skills programs. The program fits the criteria for inclusion program addresses the inmates "self". One exception to this rule is made. That exception pertains to the inclusion of the *transitional program* as this program does not address the *self* but explicitly addresses reintegration.

Child-Parent Attachment

Child-Parent Attachment has three components. First, two variables measure the nature of the relationship prior to incarceration. Second, two variables measure the nature of the relationship at the time the questionnaire was administered. Third, one variable measures the “projected” nature of the child-parent attachment relationship post-incarceration. Each variable is dichotomized where ‘1’ represents *high attachment* and ‘0’ represents respondents who do not. These recodes approximate a high vs low dichotomy that dominates the literature review.

Pre-Incarcerated Child-Parent Attachment

The following two variables represent “pre-incarcerated” child-parent attachment. The first variable measuring pre-incarcerated child-parent attachment asks, “*Before you were incarcerated, were you the primary care giver, or main person to provide care for your child or children?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘2’ *no*. The variable is recoded ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘0’ *no*. The second variable measuring pre-incarcerated child-parent attachment asks, “*Before you were incarcerated, how much influence did you have in making major decisions for your child or children about such things as education, religion, and healthcare?*”. Possible responses are ‘1’ *great deal of influence*, ‘2’ *some influence*, and ‘3’ *no influence*. The variable is recoded ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘0’ including *some influence* and *no influence*. This recode differentiates between respondents who report high child-parent attachment and those who do not, an important distinction for the purposes of this research. It is important to mention that this recode, as well as a host of forthcoming recodes of similar nature as each is used to simulate the high vs. low

dichotomy that dominates the research literature in reintegrative shaming as outline in the literature review.

It seems that the general pattern is that relational and emotional measures of shame and reintegration tend to be measured first in four point Likert or Likert type scale and then dichotomized into response categories that reflect low vs high *conditions*. The present research will basically emulate this process. This is because Braithwaite (1989) argues that people experience either low or high shame and either low or high reintegration and that although the theory paints a more nuanced picture than these rough distinctions, the dichotomy is the most suitable for empirical testing.

Although the dichotomy in this research can not typically capture the high vs low dynamic because of the nature of some of the response categories (i.e., -some categories refer to a *low* condition whereas others indicate *no* condition), the best approximation of these categories is to capture the *high vs less than high* distinction. This is because when dealing with the relational and emotional indicators of shame and relational and perceptual indicators of reintegration it is more important to distinguish between *high vs. less than high* as it is the combination of high shame and high reintegration that should theoretically predict low recidivism, the dependent variable in the present research. Additionally, it is also the high shame and high reintegration that should predict high projected shame, the other dependent variable in this study.

Braithwaite (1989) assumes that if you are lacking certain *conditions* or *life circumstances* such as marriage, employment, education, then you are more likely to experience disintegrative shaming. The present research assumes the same of inmates. If inmates are not reporting both high shame and high reintegration (via the proxy

indicators of both constructs) then I assume these inmates are more likely experiencing some form of disintegrative shame. This disintegrative shame could be either strong or weak, but either way these inmates are not experiencing the corrective effects of reintegrative shaming-the effects of most concern to the present research. This is a common rationale also found in empirical tests of the theory, specifically Braithwaite (1994). As the method section develops, the coding will contain variations on this distinction (high vs. less than high) as a means to capture the most salient aspects of Reintegrative Shaming Theory-high shame and high reintegration.

Current Child-Parent Attachment

The following two variables represent “current” child-parent attachment. They tap into issues such as satisfaction with where children are currently living while the parent is incarcerated and whether parental rights have been terminated. The first variable asks, “*Are you satisfied with where your children are living now?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘2’ *no*. The variable is recoded ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘0’ *no*. The second variable asks, “*Have your parental rights been terminated?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *yes*, ‘2’ *no*, and ‘3’ *don’t know*. The variable is recoded ‘1’ *yes*, and ‘0’ includes *no* and *don’t know*. This recode differentiates between respondents who report high parent child attachment and those who do not, a similar distinction to high vs low but instead is high vs less than high. This distinction is relevant for all the aforementioned variables besides the *termination of parental rights* variable which is basically an indicator of blocked bond (*yes-terminated*) or unblocked bond (*no* and *don’t know*). Although this variable does not tap into the intensity of the relationship, it is still a crucial variable as it reflects whether a continuing attachment can legally exist.

Projected Attachment

One variable represents “projected” child-parent attachment. The variable asks, “Do you plan to live with you children when you are released?” Possible responses are ‘1’ *yes, right away*, ‘2’ *yes, but not right away*, ‘3’ *No*. The variable is recoded ‘1’ *yes* and ‘0’ includes *yes, but not right away* and *no*. This recode differentiates between respondents who report high parent child attachment and those who do not.

Analytical Framework 2- Dependent Variable Reintegration

The Reintegration scale is constructed via four indicators: two variables measure inmates’ perception of family and friends’ support and two variables measure the frequency of communication, with family and friends. All four indicators are dichotomized to differentiate between reintegration and disintegration and then summed to create a scale ranging from 0-4 where a higher value is reintegration and a lower value is disintegration. The reintegration scale has a mean of 2, and missing values of 5.5%.

Perception of Support

The first variable measuring perception of support asks, “How important is a support system of family and friends in keeping someone like yourself from committing a crime again?” Possible responses are ‘1’ *very important*, ‘2’ *somewhat important*, ‘3’ *not very important*, ‘4’ and *not important at all*. The variable is recoded so that *very important* is coded ‘1’ and *all other responses* are coded ‘0’. This recode differentiates reintegration ‘1’ *very important* and disintegration ‘0’ *somewhat important, not very important, and not important at all*.

The second variable measuring perception of support asks, “*Thinking about your own situation. How likely is it that you will be able to rely on your support system of family and friends when you are released?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *very important*, ‘2’ *somewhat important*, ‘3’ *not very important*, ‘4’ *and not important at all*. The variable is recoded so that *very important* is coded ‘1’ and *all other responses* are coded ‘0’. This recode differentiates reintegration ‘1’ *very important* and disintegration ‘0’ *somewhat important, not very important, and not important at all*. This recode differentiates between respondents who report high reintegration ‘1’ *very important* and respondents who do not ‘0’ *somewhat important, not very important, and not important at all*.

Behavioral Support

The third and fourth variables used to construct the reintegration scale are measures of contact with family and friends. The third variable asks, “*How often do you usually communicate with family members who are not incarcerated?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *never*, ‘2’ *Daily*, ‘3’ *2-4 times per week*, ‘4’ *Once per week*, ‘5’ *twice per month*, ‘6’ *Once per month*, ‘7’ *4-6 times per year*, ‘8’ *Once per year*. The fourth variable asks, “*How often do you usually communicate with friends who are not incarcerated?*” Possible responses are “‘1’ *never*, ‘2’ *Daily*, ‘3’ *2-4 times per week*, ‘4’ *Once per week*, ‘5’ *twice per month*, ‘6’ *Once per month*, ‘7’ *4-6 times per year*, ‘8’ *Once per year*. Each variable is recoded ‘1’ *daily and 2-4 times a week* and *all other responses are coded 0*. This recode differentiates between respondents who report high reintegration ‘1’ *daily and 2-4 times a week* and respondents who do not ‘0’ *Once per week, twice per month, Once per month, 4-6 times per year, Once per year, and never*. After all transformations, each variable is dichotomized high reintegration vs less than

high reintegration and all four indicators are summed. The end result is a dependent variable representing reintegration with a range of 0-4, median of 2, and missing values of 5.5%.

In addition to creating a dependent reintegration scale, an added benefit of these transformations is that the end result is a normally distributed variable appropriate for regression analysis using ordinary least squares (Kurtosis $-.021$). See histogram below:

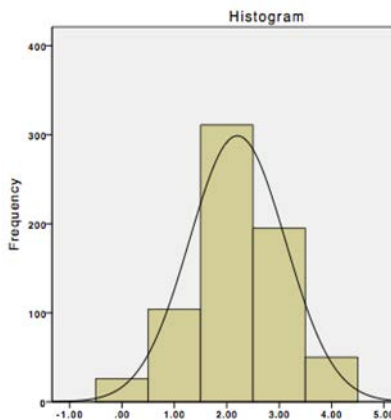


Figure 6 Reintegration Dependent Variable

The rationale for the aforementioned series of recodes is identical to the rationale presented for the dependent variable Shame 1 in Analytical Framework 1. This variable captures the full variety of necessary components of the construct reintegration as conceptualized by Braithwaite (1989) and is an improvement on previous studies because those studies (see literature review) typically fail to attempt a prediction of reintegration and always include perceptual measures of reintegration but never attempt to measure behavioral measures of reintegration. This variable is an improvement in the sense that the variable does take into account behavioral measures of reintegration.

Analytical Framework 3

The third analytical framework is a test of the basic assumptions in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). In this framework indicators of interdependency (5), shame (4), reintegration (2), and moral conscience (4) are treated as independent variables used to predict projected criminality and projected shame. This analytical framework represents a full test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Therefore the analytical process is first, to predict shame and reintegration separately as dependent variables using OLS Regression and then use shame and reintegration as independent variables to predict projected criminality and projected shame using Logistic Regression.

Should the test of these analytical frameworks generally conform to the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) then this study will have applied the most stringent test of Braithwaite's (1989) theory to date.

Analytical Framework 3- Hypotheses

The hypotheses associated with analytical framework 3 are as follows:

Hypothesis 15-Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot about past criminal behavior are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 16-Inmates who report feeling Sorry and Guilty a lot during past crime are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 17-Inmates who report that past criminal behavior threatens relationships with friends and family as a very important reason to not commit future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 18-Inmates who report it is very likely they can rely on friends and family are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 19-Inmates who report they are very likely to rely on friends and family are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis-20-Inmates who report friends and family support is very important in preventing future crime are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis-21-Inmates who report friends and family support is very important in preventing future crime are more likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 22-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 23-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is immoral and wrong are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 24-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 25-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because it is a threat to self-respect are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 26-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 27-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of a strong belief in law are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 28-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are more likely to report high projected shame than inmates who do not.

Hypothesis 29-Inmates who report that a very important reason to avoid future criminality is because of concern for others are less likely to report projected criminality than inmates who do not.

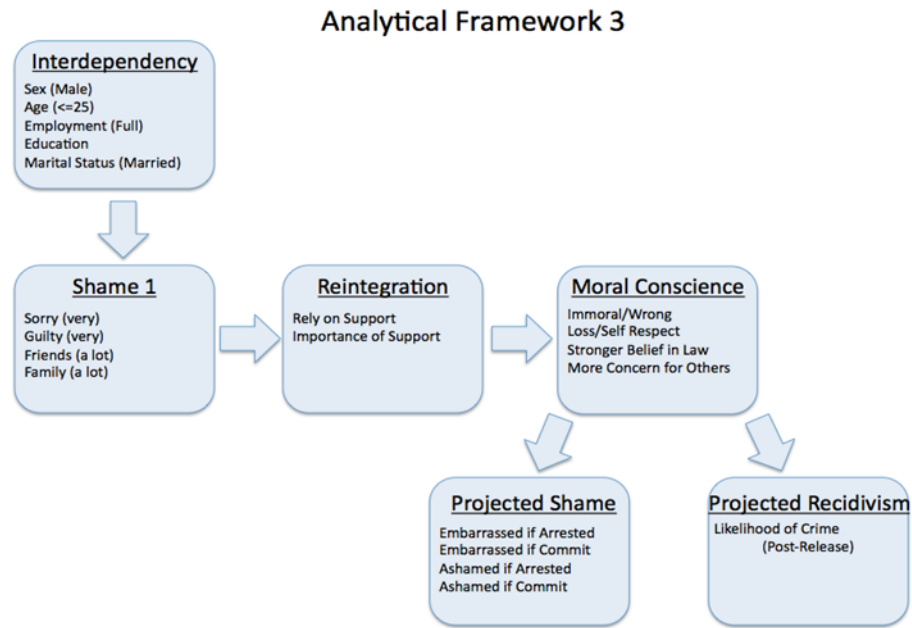


Figure 7 Conceptual Model For Analytical Framework 3

Analytical Framework 3- Independent Variables

The following section provides the coding for the independent variables in analytical framework 3.

Interdependency

The interdependency variables used in Analytical Framework 1 are included in Analytical Framework 3. The previous coding is retained.

Shame 1

The four indicators of shame1 previously used in ordinary least squares regression analysis are recoded into dichotomous variables for analysis in logistic regression.

Whereas the construct shame 1 is a dependent variable in analytical framework 1, the four indicators are independent variables in analytical framework 3.

Two indicators (sorry/guilty) come from one question. The question asks, “*How often did you experience the following feelings when you were committing your crime?*” Inmates are asked to respond to a series of emotions of which *sorry* and *guilty* are two of nineteen. Possible responses are ‘1’ *almost always*, ‘2’ *sometimes*, ‘3’ *rarely*, and ‘4’ *never*. Shame 1 Sorry indicator is coded ‘1’ *almost always* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Shame 1 Guilty indicator is coded ‘1’ *almost always* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*.

Two additional indicators (loss of respect from friends/family) come from one question. The question asks, “*How much did you think about the following before committing your crime?*” Inmates are asked to respond to a series of thoughts of which *my friends losing respect for me* and *my family losing respect for me* are two of ten thoughts. Possible responses are ‘1’ *a lot*, ‘2’ *a few times*, ‘3’ *once or twice*, ‘4’ *not at all*. Shame 1 Friends indicator is coded ‘1’ *a lot* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Shame 1 Family indicator is coded ‘1’ *a lot* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*.

Each variable represents a facet of the shame pertaining to the crime for which inmates are now incarcerated. Two are basically emotional and two relational. Each dichotomous variable represents the construct shame such that ‘1’ high shame, and ‘0’ less than high shame.

Reintegration

Two indicators of reintegration previously used in ordinary least squares regression analysis are recoded into dichotomous variables for analysis in logistic regression. Whereas the construct reintegration is a dependent variable in Analytical Framework 2, the two indicators are independent variables in Analytical Framework 3.

One indicator comes from the question, “*Thinking about your own situation. How likely is it that you will be able to rely on your support system of family and friends when you are released?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *very likely*, ‘2’ *somewhat likely*, ‘3’ *not very likely*, ‘4’ *not likely at all*. Reintegration *Rely* indicator is coded ‘1’ *very likely* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*.

An additional indicator comes from the question, “*How important is a support system of family and friends in keeping someone like yourself from committing a crime again?*” Possible responses are ‘1’ *very important*, ‘2’ *somewhat important*, ‘3’ *not very important*, ‘4’ *not important at all*. Reintegration *Deterrent* indicator is coded ‘1’ *very importance* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Each variable represents a facet reintegration. The first indicator measures perception of support as something inmates can *rely on* and the second indicator measures perception of support as an *important deterrent* to future criminal behavior. Only perceptual measures of reintegration were included in this model because the primary goal of this model is to replicate a test of Braithwaite’s (1989) theory using variables as consistent as possible with previous empirical test. This enables the present research to evaluate and ascertain how the empirical status of the theory performs on a unique sample-inmates. This method of theory testing allows this research to be evaluated in light of the general claims Braithwaite (1989) makes regarding the causal mechanism of reintegrative shaming theory as well as how robust the current measures in contemporary studies are when those measures are deployed on a more suitable sample-inmates. For this reason, analytical model 3, which represents a full test of reintegrative shaming theory does not include the behavioral measures of reintegration.

Moral Conscience

Four indicators of moral conscience (i.e., immoral/lose self-respect/belief in law/concern for others) are derived from the following question, “*Thinking about yourself, how important are the following reasons for you to not commit another crime?*”

Inmates are asked to respond to a series of reasons to not commit another crime in the future. The reasons are, *It would be immoral/wrong, I would lose my self-respect, I have a stronger belief in the law now, and I have more concern for other people’s feelings.*

Possible response categories are ‘1’ *very important*, ‘2’ *somewhat important*, ‘3’ *not very important*, ‘4’ *not important at all*.

Moral Conscience Immoral indicator is coded ‘1’ *very important* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Moral Conscience Self-Respect indicator is coded ‘1’ *very important* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Moral Conscience Belief in Law indicator is coded ‘1’ *very important* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Moral Conscience Concern For Others indicator is coded ‘1’ *very important* and ‘0’ *for the remaining categories*. Each indicator represents a facet moral conscience and replicates the high vs less than high distinction.

Analytical Framework 3- Dependent Variables

In analytical model 3 there are two dependent variables, projected criminality and projected shame. The following section provides the coding for both dependent variables.

Projected Criminality

Projected criminality is recoded such that responses 1-10 are coded '1'. These responses (1-10) indicate that an inmate is less than certain regarding future criminal behavior. The original response '0' *not likely at all* remains '0'. After this recode approximately 50% responses are 1's and 0's. Therefore, for the variable projected criminality, '1' is recidivism and '0' is desistence. This distinction was determined because those who did not report that future crime was *not likely at all* are less than certain about future criminal behavior. Thus, such respondents do not qualify as inmates who are likely to desist.

Projected Shame (Shame 2)

Projected shame is created by recoding the following four variables into dichotomous variables, summing the responses, and dichotomizing the summed scale. The following section provides a review of the four questions and response categories. The first question, "*How ashamed of yourself would you be if within 3 years after being released from prison you committed another crime?*" and the second question, "*How ashamed of yourself would you be if within 3 years of being released from prison you were arrested for committing a crime like the one for which you are now in prison?*" have the same response categories. Those response categories are, *1 very ashamed, 2 Somewhat ashamed, 3 A little ashamed, and 4 Not at all ashamed.*

The third question, "*How embarrassed would you be if those whose opinions you value the most knew you had committed another crime within 3 years after being released from prison?*" and the fourth question, "*How embarrassed of yourself would you be if those whose opinions you value the most knew you had been arrested for committing a*

crime within 3 years of being released from prison?” have the same response categories. Those categories are ‘1’ *very embarrassed*, ‘2’ *somewhat embarrassed*, ‘3’ *a little embarrassed*, ‘4’ *not at all embarrassed*.

The recode for each indicator is ‘1’ very ashamed and very embarrassed and the remaining categories ‘0’. The summed indicators create a dependent projected shame scale with a range of 0-4 with higher scores meaning higher projected shame. This scale is further recoded so that values of ‘4’ (very ashamed if arrested, very ashamed if commit, very embarrassed if arrested, and very embarrassed if commit) are coded ‘1’ (high shame) and all remaining values ‘0’ (less than high shame). This transformation allows for analysis in logistic regression. A value of ‘1’ for the dependent variable projected shame means that a respondent answered (very embarrassed, very ashamed) to all four indicators of projected shame. In this way, analysis will capture responses that indicate high projected shame and separate those responses from less than high projected shame. Any other combination of responses, less than indicating the highest level of shame and embarrassment for each indicator are values of ‘0’.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for all independent and dependent variables. The frequencies and percentage are presented for nominal data, means and standard deviations for ordinal data. Missing data is presented for all variables.

Approximately one third of inmates are between the ages of 15-25, 80 % have high school or lesser education, and 20% were married before their incarceration. Although a majority (56.1 %) have an adult record, only 20.5 % have prior records as juveniles. An overwhelming majority are currently (at the time of the study) incarcerated

for non-violent crimes (75.5 %) and most inmates in the sample are not participating in any type of reintegrative programming (59.9 %). Of those who do participate in reintegrative programming, it is likely that inmates' only participant in one program as 24.7 % report participation in one program and only 15.2% report participating in 2 or more programs.

The sample consists of mostly younger inmates with a mean age for women of 28 and a mean age for men of 29. Additionally, 70 % of women are under the age of 37 and 70 % of men are under the age of 34.

For men, approximately 60 % of inmates are African American and 40 percent are White. Additionally, half of male inmates earned a high school diploma and approximately 35 % have less than high school education.

For women, approximately 62 % are African American and 35 % are White. Additionally, 44.5 % of female inmates earned a high school diploma and approximately 39 % have less than high school education.

A majority of males and females had adult records and approximately 1 in 5 had juvenile records. Women (23%) were slightly more likely than men (13%) to be violent offenders.

In terms of demographic variables relating to family, approximately 21 % of males were married prior to incarceration and approximately 20 % of females were married prior to incarceration. For both males and females, roughly one in three were never married. Lastly, approximately 80 % of males have children and 64 % of females have children. Males tend to speak with family members at least once a week at a

slightly higher frequency such that approximately 40 percent of men reported doing so whereas roughly 28 % of women reported a similar level of communication.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of the Sample Respondents

Variables	Frequency (%)	Missing Cases (N)
Independent Variables		
<i>Gender</i>		0
Male	363 (50)	
Female	363 (50)	
<i>Age</i>		43
Between 15-25	243 (33.5)	
Over 25	440 (60.6)	
<i>Education</i>		5
High School	262 (80.2)	
<i>Marital Status</i>		2
Married (Prior)	148 (20.4)	
Not Married (Prior)	576 (79.3)	
<i>Employment</i>		0
Full Employment (Prior)	365 (50.3)	
Not Full Employment (Prior)	353 (48.6)	
<i>Juvenile Record</i>		0
Yes	148 (20.4)	
No	579 (79.3)	
<i>Adult Record</i>		1
Yes	407 (56.1)	
No	318 (43.8)	
<i>Offense type</i>		49
Violent	131 (18)	
Non-Violent	546 (75.2)	
<i>Reintegrative Program Participation</i>		2
0	435 (59.9)	
1	179 (24.7)	
2	82 (11.3)	
3	20 (2.8)	
4	7 (1)	
5	1 (.1)	
<i>Shame 1 Indicators</i>		
<i>Sorry</i>		65
Yes	331 (45.6)	
No	330 (45.5)	
<i>Guilty</i>		66
Yes	296 (40.8)	
No	364 (50.1)	
<i>Shame 1 Indicators</i>		
<i>Friends Lose Respect?</i>		58
Yes	104 (14.3)	

Table 1 (continued)

No	564 (77.7)	
<i>Family Lose Respect?</i>		54
Yes	256 (35.5)	
No	415 (57.3)	
<u><i>Reintegration Indicators</i></u>		
<i>Rely on Support?</i>		15
Yes	573 (78.9)	
No	138 (19)	
<i>Importance of Support?</i>		15
Yes	640 (88.2)	
No	71 (9.8)	
<u><i>Moral Conscience Indicators</i></u>		
<i>More Concern For Others Feelings?</i>		13
Yes	543 (74.8)	
No	179 (23.4)	
<i>Crime Immoral/Wrong?</i>		29
Yes	544 (74.9)	
No	153 (21.1)	
<i>Crime Worry Lose Self-Respect?</i>		17
Yes	537 (74)	
No	172 (23.7)	
<i>Stronger Belief In Law?</i>		21
Yes	490 (67.5)	
No	215 (29.6)	
Dependent Variables OLS		
<i>Shame 1</i>	Range 3-16 Mean=10 SD=3.42	67
<i>Reintegration</i>	Range 0-4 Mean=2.2 SD=2.2	40
Dependent Variables Logistic		
<i>Projected Shame</i>		23
High Shame	537 (74)	
Low Shame	166 (22.9)	
<i>Projected Criminality</i>		10
Yes	361 (49.7)	
No	355 (48.9)	

Table 1 (continued)

Inmates With Children (N=545)	Frequency (%)	Missing Cases (N)
Independent Variables		
Parental Rights Terminated?		9
Yes	59 (11.2)	
No	64.6 (88)	
Satisfied Where Children Live?		4
Yes	439 (82)	
No	94 (17.6)	
Plan to Live With Child Post-Inc?		0
Yes	336 (68.2)	
No	171 (31.8)	
Primary Caregiver Pre-Inc?		0
Yes	354 (65.9)	
No	183 (34.1)	
Influence Over Child?		0
Yes	330 (61.5)	
No	207 (38.5)	
(N=726)		

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The following multivariate analyses test the hypotheses presented in chapter three. The analyses section of the study is broken down into three Analytical Frameworks. In the first Analytical Framework, I examine the relationship between indicators of interdependency and shame. Specifically, ordinary least squares regression analysis tests the effects of gender, age, employment, education, and marital status on inmates' shame. The shame construct in Analytical Framework 1, shame 1, pertains to the shame experienced by inmates during the commission of a past crime. Table 2 is a regression model containing standardized beta coefficients for both men and women in model 1, men only in model 2, and women only in model 3. Models 2 and 3 allow for a comparison between genders.

The advantage of testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) in stepwise models is comparison between models. In Analytical Framework 1, the comparison between model 1 and model 2 reveals whether interdependency indicators that predict men's shame also predict both gender's shame. The comparison between model 1 and model 3 reveals whether interdependency indicators that predict women's shame also predict both gender's shame. The comparison between model 2 and model 3 reveals whether interdependency indicators that predict men's shame also predict women's shame.

In the second Analytical Framework, I examine the relationship between indicators interdependency (5), stigmatization (1), disintegration (3), and child-parent attachment (4) on reintegration. Ordinary least squares regression analysis is presented in a table containing four models. In model 1 analysis, I test the effect of gender, age, employment, education, and marital status on inmates' reintegration. In model 2, I test the effect of offense type (violent vs. non-violent), prior juvenile record, prior adult record, and current participation in reintegrative programming on reintegration. In model 3, I test the effect of "pre"- "present"-and "post" incarcerated child-parent attachment on reintegration.

The advantage of testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) in Analytical Framework 2 is comparison of which, if any, theoretical constructs predict reintegration. Together, Frameworks 1 and 2 conduct analysis that isolate the particular theoretical assumptions (interdependency) believed to predict shame (Framework 1) as well as the particular theoretical assumptions believed to predict reintegration (Framework 2) as part of an overall effort to evaluate how well this theory *performs* when applied to inmates. The subsequent framework (3) combines the analysis in Frameworks 1 and 2 in addition to other theoretically salient variables to conduct a full test of the Braithwaite's (1989) theory.

In the third Analytical Framework, I examine all theoretical assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Two stepwise nested tables are presented with the same independent variables in each table, however, table 4 regresses projected shame and table 5 projected criminality. In the third Analytical Framework, logistic regression analysis tests the effect of interdependency, shame (the individual

indicators used in Analytical Framework 1 to construct the dependent variable shame 1), reintegration, and moral conscience on projected criminality and projected shame.

Model 1 presents the effects of interdependency on projected shame (table 4) and projected criminality (table 5). Model 2 presents the effects of past shame (shame 1) on projected shame (table 4) and projected criminality (table 5). Whereas in the first Analytical Framework, shame 1 is a scaled dependent variable consisting of four indicators, in Analytical Framework 3, the same four indicators are treated as independent variables. For the purposes of analysis in logistic regression one change is made. Instead of a scale, four indicators of shame are dichotomized and entered into logistic regression as four separate independent indicators of the construct shame.

The same procedure is replicated in model 3 where previously used indicators of dependent variable reintegration (Framework 2) are indicators of independent variable reintegration. In Model 3, I evaluate the effects of reintegration on projected shame (table 4) and projected criminality (table 5). In model 4, I present the effects of four indicators of moral conscience on projected shame (4) and projected criminality (5).

The advantage of testing Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) in stepwise nested models is that analysis allows comparison of significance between each of the main theoretical constructs interdependency, shame 1, reintegration, and moral conscience. Should indicators of interdependency become less significant as the shame 1, reintegration, and moral conscience enter the preceding models, assuming indicators are significant, then the general premise of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) is supported. Additionally, analysis will allow for the identification of which indicators in

each construct are significant predictors of projected shame (table 4) and projected criminality (table 5)

Analytical Framework 1

The central research question encapsulated in the hypotheses of Analytical Framework 1 is: *Do indicators of interdependency predict shame and do the same indicators of interdependency predict shame for both men and women?* This central research question is of particular interest due to the fact that previous tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) have focused analysis on non-incarcerated populations, minor crimes, and deviant behavior (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

The analysis represents a partial test of reintegrative shaming theory's micro level assumptions. The analysis is restricted to test interdependency on shame. The advantage of this test is results allow for interpretation of one of the causal mechanisms in the theory, Braithwaite's (1989) contention that the indicators of interdependency (age, sex, employment, education, and marital status) predict shame. Should all indicators of interdependency be significant then the explanation according to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) that age, sex, employment, education, and marital status are *conditioning variables* or *life circumstances* variables that structure interactions with shamers and cause individuals to feel ashamed by criminal behavior is supported. Additionally, if the same indicators of interdependency predict shame for both men and women, then results challenge the main premises of Braithwaite's (1989) theory-that men and women differ regarding interdependency

Analytical Framework 2

The central research question encapsulated in the hypotheses of analytical model 2 is: *Do indicators of stigmatization, disintegration, and child-parent attachment predict reintegration better than indicators of interdependency?* This central research question is of particular interest due to the fact that previous tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) fail to provide strong indicators of stigmatization and disintegration as well as ignore how strong bonds between parent and child could reintegrate parents (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

The analysis represents a partial test of reintegrative shaming theory's micro level assumptions. First, the analysis is restricted to test of interdependency on reintegration followed by subsequent models that introduce the competing indicators of stigmatization, disintegration, and child-parent attachment. The advantage of this test is results allow for interpretation of one of the causal mechanisms in the theory, Braithwaite's (1989) contention that the indicators of interdependency (age, sex, employment, education, and marital status) predict reintegration.

Furthermore, results allow for the comparison of the performance of indicators of stigmatization, disintegration relative to both child-parent attachment and interdependency for those inmates who have children (N=545). Should all indicators of interdependency be significant then the explanation according to Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) that age, sex, employment, education, and marital status are *conditioning variables* or *life circumstances* variables that structure interactions with shamers, but also shamers who are apt to reintegrate. Additionally, if the competing indicators of

stigmatization, disintegration, and child-parent attachment explain more of the variance of reintegration than interdependency then results show that reintegration is more nuanced for inmates than for samples of low-level offenders.

Analytical Framework 3

The central research question encapsulated in the hypotheses of Analytical Framework 3 is: *Do the basic theoretical constructs of reintegrative shaming explain projected criminality and projected shame in a sample of inmates?* This central research question is of particular interest due to the fact that previous tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) have never been applied to a wide variety of inmates or serious crimes. This is especially relevant considering Braithwaite's applied perspective, restorative justice, portends to correct flaws in the criminal justice system in light of the basic causal processes outlined in reintegrative shaming theory (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994).

The analysis represents a partial test of reintegrative shaming theory's micro level assumptions. First, the analysis is restricted to a test of each step in the casual process from interdependency, to shame and reintegration, and lastly moral conscience on projected shame and projected criminality. The advantage of isolating the effects of each step in this process is that it allows analysis of how the basic constructs compare to each other as well as their relative effect on dependent variables projected shame and projected criminality.

Furthermore, should significant indicators of interdependency weaken as indicators of shame and reintegration followed by moral conscience become more

significant then the basic premise of Braithwaite's theory (1989) is supported.

Additionally, using specific indicators of the constructs shame, reintegration, and moral conscience allows for the identification of which indicators are significant and which are not when predicting projected shame and projected criminality.

Analysis- Framework 1 Shame of Past Crime

Ordinary least squares regression results for the effects of sex, age, employment status, and marital status are presented in Table 2. I report standardized regression coefficients for three models. In model 1, analysis includes both men and women. In model 2, analysis includes only men. In model 3, analysis includes only women. The advantage of analysis presented below is that it allows for possible comparison between males and females regarding the impact of *interdependency* on the *shame of past crime*-Variable Shame 1.

Table 2 OLS Regression Of Shame 1 On Interdependency

Standardized Coefficients and Fit for Ordinary Least Squares Regression of Shame Of Past Crime on Interdependency			
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Sex	Both	Men	Women
INTERDEPENDENCY			
Male	-.104*	-	-
Under age 25	-.156***	-.133*	-.201**
Full-time employment	.037	.022	.089
Years of education	-.069	-.146*	-.001
Married	-.069	-.014	-.017
R	.035	.017	.032
	N=619	N=313	N=306

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .000

Model 1 is statistically significant with an *F* value of 5.443 $p < 0.001$. The independent variables explain 3.5% of the variance in shame. Additionally, model 1

indicates that sex and age are statistically significant predictors of shame. The standardized beta coefficient Male is $-.104$ $p < 0.050$ and the standardized beta coefficient Age (≤ 25) is $-.156$ $p < 0.001$. The negative values indicate support the basic premise of Braithwaite's theory (1989). Specifically, Women report higher levels of shame than their counterparts. Furthermore, older inmates (over the age of 25) report higher levels of shame relating to the crime that led to their incarceration compared to their younger counterparts. Employment status, education, and marital status are not statistically significant predictors of shame.

Model 2 (men only) is not statistically significant with an F value of 2.375 $p = 0.052$. The independent variables explain 1.7% of the variance in shame. Although the model is not statistically significant, one point is worth mentioning. Specifically, education is a statistically significant for men. The standardized beta coefficient of $-.146$ indicates that inmates with more education report lower levels of shame.

Model 3 (women only) is statistically significant with an F value of 3.508 $p < 0.010$. The independent variables explain 3.2% of the variance in shame. One indicator of interdependency, the variable Age (≤ 25), is a statistically significant predictor of shame with a standardized beta coefficient of $-.203$ $p < 0.010$. The negative value indicates that older women report significant higher levels of shame compared to their younger counterparts. Specifically, older women report higher levels of shame associated with the crime that led to their current incarceration. Employment status, education, and marital status are not statistically significant predictors of shame.

Taken together, results provide partial support for the basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Braithwaite (1989) argues that all of the indicators of

interdependency should be predictors of shame. Consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2, this analysis concludes that gender and age stand out as significant predictors. Specifically, women and older inmates report higher levels of shame than their counterparts. Contrary to Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, however, the results do not provide confirmation that employment status, education, and marital status are statistically significant predictors of shame.

Analysis- Framework 2 Reintegration

Ordinary least squares regression results for the effects of interdependency, stigmatization, and child-parent attachment are presented in Table 3. I report standardized regression coefficients for two nested models, 1 and 2, in addition to a comparison model 3. In model 1, analysis includes the effect of interdependency on reintegration. In model 2, analysis includes the effect of interdependency, stigmatization and disintegration on reintegration. In model 3, analysis includes the effect of interdependency, stigmatization, disintegration, and child-parent attachment on reintegration. The first two models have a sample size of 726, the last model only includes inmates with children (N=545). This analysis allows for the comparison of the effect interdependency variables have on reintegration relative to how those variables perform when regression analysis takes into account measures of stigmatization and disintegration. This is the comparison between models 1 and 2 with a sample size of (726) representing the entire sample. Additionally, analysis in Analytical Framework 2 reveals how those variables perform with a restricted sample, inmates with children (N=545). This analysis is presented in model 3. Furthermore, model 3 includes indicators regarding the strength of inmates' relationship with their children and therefore

allows for a test of how those variables perform in light of Braithwaite's (1989) theoretical expectations. Although, inferences can not be drawn between models 1 and 3 or 2 and 3 (due to large differences in sample size) as to how well variables perform, inferences can be made about how variables *child-parent attachment* performs compared to *stigmatization* and *interdependency on reintegration* in model 3. I present them in the same table due to the fact that the dependent variable, *reintegration*, is the essence of Framework 2.

Table 3 OLS Regression Of Reintegration On Interdependency, Stigmatization, And Child-Parent Attachment

Standardized Coefficients and Fit for Ordinary Least Squares Regression of Reintegration on Interdependency, Stigmatization, and Child-Parent Attachment			
Independent Variables	Model 1 Interdependency	Model 2 Stigmatization	Model 3 Relationship with Children
Male	-.090*	-.083*	-.098*
Under age 25	.059	.042	-.002
Full-time employment	.071	.071	.052
Years of education	.080*	.066	.128**
Married	.098*	.098*	.047
Juvenile record		-.019	-.011
Adult record		-.077	-.029
Violent offenders		-.036	-.040
Reintegrative programming		-.010	-.034
Primary caregiver			.014
Influence over children			.098
Parental rights terminated			-.028
Satisfied where children live			.133**
Plan to live with children post-inc.			.140**
Reintegration	R .020 N=642	.021 N=642	.088 N=458

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .000

Model 1 (interdependency) is statistically significant with an F value of 3.603 $p < 0.010$. The independent variables explain 2% of the variance in reintegration. Additionally, model 2 indicates that sex, education, and marital status are statistically significant predictors of reintegration. The standardized beta coefficient for Male is -.090

$p < 0.050$, the standardized beta coefficient education is $.080$ $p < 0.050$, and the standardized beta coefficient marital status is $.098$ $p < 0.050$.

The negative value for sex indicates that women's reported reintegration is significantly different than men's. Specifically, women are more likely to report high reintegration compared to their counterparts.

The positive value for education and marital status indicate that inmates with more years education and inmates who were married prior to incarceration report statistically significant levels of reintegration. Specifically, inmates with more years of education and inmates married prior to incarceration report high reintegration compared to their counterparts. Results support the conclusion that inmates married prior to incarceration and inmates with more years of education are significantly more likely to speak with friends and family every week or more compared to their counterparts. Additionally, results support the conclusions that inmates married prior to incarceration and inmates with more years of education are significantly more likely to report they can definitely rely on a support network of family and friends and that said support is important for preventing future crimes. Age and employment status are not statistically significant predictors of reintegration.

Model 2 (Stigmatization) is statistically significant with an F value of 2.517 $p < 0.010$. The independent variables explain 2.1% of the variance in reintegration. Although none of the indicators of stigmatization are significant, one point is worth mentioning. Specifically, education is no longer statistically significant. This is likely because one indicator, adult prior record comes close to significance with a standardized beta coefficient of $-.077$ and $p = 0.060$.

Model 3 (Child-Parent Attachment) is statistically significant with an F value of 4.130 $p < 0.001$. The independent variables explain 8.8% of the variance in reintegration. Two variables in particular, *satisfaction with where children are currently living* as well as *plans to live with children post incarceration* are both statistically significant. The standardized beta coefficient's for these variables are .133 $p < .010$ and .140 $p < 0.010$ respectively. Thus, inmates who report being very satisfied with where their children are living as well as inmates who report definite plans to live with children post-incarceration are significantly more likely to report high reintegration compared to their counterparts. The results presented in Table 3 are consistent Hypotheses 13 and 14 that an inmates' satisfaction with children current living arrangement and definite plans to join them post-incarceration are significant predictors of reintegration.

Contrary to hypotheses 6, 7, 8, and 9 results do not provide confirmation that the type of crime, inmate criminal history, or participation in reintegrative programming are statistically significant predictors of high reintegration. Additionally, contrary to hypotheses 10, 11, and 12 results do not provide confirmation that indicators of the variable *child-parent attachment* parental rights, primary caregiver, influence over children are statistically significant predictors of reintegration. Taken together, it appears that any influence children might have over their incarcerated parents is found in the "present" and "post-incarcerated" aspects of the child-parent attachment (satisfaction with current living arrangement/future plans to live with) as opposed to the "pre-incarcerated" aspects of the child-parent attachment.

Analysis- Analytical Framework 3 Projected Shame

Logistic regression results for projected shame regressed on the main theoretical constructs in Reintegrative Shaming Theory are presented in table 4. I report the odds ratio values for four nested models. In model 1, analysis includes the effect of interdependency on projected shame. In Model 2, analysis includes the effect of past shame on projected shame. In Model 3, analysis includes the effect of reintegration on projected shame. In Model 4, analysis includes the effect of moral conscience on projected shame.

Table 4 Logistic Regression Of Projected Shame On Interdependency, Shame, Reintegration, And Moral Conscience

Independent Variables	Model 1 <i>B</i>	Model 2 <i>B</i>	Model 3 <i>B</i>	Model 4 <i>B</i>
Interdependency				
Under age 25	.531**	.633*	.638	.696
Male	.460***	.563**	.603*	.821
Full-time employment	.989	1.007	1.002	1.002
Married	2.039*	1.930*	1.759	1.878
Years of education	.996	1.930	1.047	1.068
Shame 1				
Sorry		1.464	1.490	1.085
Guilt		1.345	1.260	1.218
Loss-respect friends		1.224	1.142	1.028
Loss-respect family		1.168	1.104	.790
Reintegration				
Rely on support network			2.378**	1.798*
Network prevents crime			2.160*	1.754
Moral Conscience				
Immoral and wrong				2.052*
Loss of self-respect				1.776
Stronger belief in law				1.756*
More concern for others				1.715
² R	.10	.103	.159	.255
	N=658	N=546	N=538	N=522
-2 log likelihood	663.980	551.308	519.096	460.013

*p <.05

**p <.01

***p <.000

In Model 1, I present the effects of measures of interdependency on projected shame. Two indicators, sex and marital status are significant predictors of projected

shame. Results show that males are 54% less likely to report high projected shame compared to females. This statistically significant finding is consistent with the basic argument Braithwaite (1989) makes regarding the relationship between sex and shame and provides support for one of the core aspects of the construct interdependency.

Model 1 also supports another tenant of reintegrative shaming theory. Results show that individuals married prior to incarceration are twice as likely to report projected shame compared to those not married. Additionally, younger individuals report less projected shame. Specifically, the odds of projected shame decrease by 37% for those under the age of 25. Model 1 explains 10% of the variance of projected shame with a chi-square value of 44.885.

Model 2 contains values for the individual measures of shame, however, no specific indicators are statistically significant. These findings fail to support one of the core arguments in Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Contrary to hypotheses 15 and 17, prior shame-related emotions and the concern that one might lose the respect of friends and family are not statistically significant predictors of projected shame.

Model 3 incorporates indicators of reintegration. The first indicator of reintegration relates to whether or not inmates perceive it is *very likely* they can rely on a support network of friends and family post incarceration. The second indicator of reintegration relates to whether or not inmates perceive that support network is *very important* in preventing future crime. Both indicators have a statistically significant and positive relationship with projected shaming. The variable pertaining to whether an inmate can rely on a support network has an odds ratio value of 2.378, and the perception that support network prevents crime has an odds ratio value of 2.160. Other previously

significant variables, age and marital status are no longer significant. This model explains 15.9 percent of the variance in projected shame, an increase over model 1 of 5 percent. Consistent with hypotheses 18 and 20, inmates who can rely on a support network and believe it is very important preventing future crime are more likely to report high shame compared to inmates who do not.

Model 4 incorporates indicators of moral conscience. Two indicators of moral conscience have a statistically significant and positive relationship with projected shaming. The variable pertaining to whether or not an inmate reports *it would be immoral and wrong* as a *very important* reason to not commit another crime has an odds ratio value of 2.052. The positive direction of the relationship confirms the assumptions of Braithwaite's (1989) theory. Specifically, those who hold conventional moral beliefs are more likely to report high shame. The variable pertaining to whether or not an inmate reports *i have a stronger belief in the law now* as a *very important* reason to not commit another crime has an odds ratio value of 2.160. The positive direction of the relationship confirms the assumptions of Braithwaite's (1989) theory. Consistent with hypotheses 22 and 26, inmates who report *it would be immoral and wrong* and *i have a stronger belief in the law now* as *very important* reasons not to commit another crime are more likely to report high projected shame compared to inmates who do not. Contrary to hypotheses 24 and 28, an inmates' concern for others feelings as well as the perception that criminality is a threat to self-respect are not significant predictors of high shame.

Compared to models 1 and 3, all previously significant indicators interdependency (model 1) are no longer significant and one previously significant indicator of reintegration, *support prevents crime*, is no longer significant (model 3).

Model 4 explains 25.5 percent of the variance in projected shame, an increase over the preceding model of 10 percent. In general, Table 4 provides qualified support for the basic premise of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Analysis- Analytical Framework 3 Projected Criminality

Logistic regression results for projected criminality regressed on the main theoretical constructs in Reintegrative Shaming Theory are presented in table 5. I report the odds ratio values of four nested models. In model 1, analysis includes the effect of interdependency on projected criminality. In model 2, analysis includes the effect of shame on projected criminality. In model 3, analysis includes the effect of reintegration on projected criminality. In model 4, analysis includes the effect of moral conscience on projected criminality.

Table 5 Logistic Regression Of Projected Criminality On Interdependency, Shame, Reintegration, And Moral Conscience

Independent Variables	Model 1 <i>B</i>	Model 2 <i>B</i>	Model 3 <i>B</i>	Model 4 <i>B</i>
Interdependency				
Under age 25	.831	.818	.845	.808
Male	1.500*	1.263*	1.238	1.057
Full-time employment	.986	.977	.978	.980
Married	.466***	.425***	.434***	.425***
Years of education	1.005	1.001	1.008	.999
Shame 1				
Sorry		.574*	.567*	.621*
Guilt		.897	.920	.981
Loss respect-friends		1.012	1.488	1.445
Loss respect-family		1.334	.962	1.193
Reintegration				
Rely on support network			.707	.874
Network prevents crime			.906	1.052
Moral Conscience				
Immoral and wrong				.581*
Loss of Self-Respect				.610
Stronger belief in law				1.105
More concern for others				.670
² R	.044	.077	.088	.131
	N=668	N=547	N=539	N=523
-2 log likelihood	903.779	725.869	710.578	670.939

**p* < .05

***p* < .01

****p* < .000

Model 1 presents the effects of measures of interdependency on projected criminality. Two indicators, sex and marital status are significant predictors of projected criminality. Results show that males are 1.5% times more likely to report projected criminality compared to females. This statistically significant finding is consistent with the basic argument Braithwaite (1989) makes regarding the relationship between sex and criminality and provides support for one of the core aspects of the construct interdependency.

Model 1 also supports another tenant of interdependency. Results show that being married prior to incarceration decreases the odds of “post-release” criminality by

54 percent. Model 1 explains 4.4 percent of the variance in projected criminality with a chi-square value of 22.242.

Model 2 incorporates four indicators of shame, two emotional components and two relational. One shame-related emotion, sorrow, is a statistically significant predictor of future criminality with an odds ratio of .574. Therefore, the odds of projected criminality are 63 percent less likely for inmates who report experiencing *a lot* of sorrow during past crimes. Additionally, the two variables in model 1, sex and marital status have significant but diminishing effects on the projected. This is the pattern that Braithwaite (1989) argues lends support for his theory. The chi-square value for the model is 32.432 and the three statistically significant variables explain 7.7 percent of the variance in projected criminality. Partially consistent with hypothesis 16, indicator of past shame (shame 1) *sorry* is a statistically significant predictor of projected criminality but indicator *guilt* is not.

Model 3 incorporates indicators reintegration. Both relate to perceptions of the importance of family support. The first indicator reintegration, relates to whether inmates can rely on family support and the second indicator relates to perceptions of whether that support will deter future criminal behavior. Neither variables are statistically significant. The model explains 8.8% of the variance with a chi-square value of 36.633. Contrary to hypotheses 19 and 21 model 3 does not support reintegration as a significant variable explaining projected criminality.

Model 4 incorporates four new indicators that are measures of the theoretical construct *moral conscience*. One indicator, *immoral and wrong* is statistically significant with an odds ratio value of .581. The direction of the odds ratio (decrease of 42%) is

consistent with the assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989). The independent variables in model 4 explain 13% of the variance in projected criminality. Consistent with hypothesis 23, inmates who report *it would be immoral and wrong* as a *very important* reason not to commit another crime are more likely to report projected criminality compared to inmates who do not. Contrary to hypotheses 25, 27, and 29, other indicators of moral conscience are not significant predictors of projected criminality.

Taken together, the previous two logistic regression tables (4) (5) presents results that provide partial support for basic assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Although the nested regression models present findings of statistically significant relationship between some of the indicators of interdependency, shame, reintegration, and moral conscience with projected shame and project criminality, many of the indicators are not significant. Additionally, neither table presents results where shame and reintegration are both statistically significant predictors of the dependent variables in the same or sequential models (a necessary pattern thought to support the causal assumptions of the theory via cross-sectional analysis). Therefore, although analysis yields some support for Braithwaite's (1989) theory, overall, findings are only partially supportive of the overall theory.

Analysis- Analytical Framework 3 Gender Differences And Projected Shame

Logistic regression results for male and female inmates' projected shame regressed on the main theoretical constructs in Reintegrative Shaming Theory are presented in table 6. I report the odds ratio values for four nested models. In model 1, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' interdependency on projected

shame. In model 2, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' *past shame* on projected shame. In model 3, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' reintegration on projected shame. In model 4, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' moral conscience on projected shame.

Table 6 Logistic Regression Of Projected Shame On Interdependency, Shame, Reintegration, And Moral Conscience

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>
Interdependency								
Under age 25	.574*	.454*	.835	.432*	.777	.438*	.816	.615
Full-time employment	.998	.973	1.007	1.569	1.002	1.796	1.000	1.373
Married	1.918	2.329	1.774	1.815	1.567	1.751	1.793	1.660
Years of education	.956	1.134	.994	1.083	1.002	1.081	1.002	1.237*
Shame 1								
Sorry			.967	2.158	1.087	2.063	.773	1.680
Guilt			1.888	1.056	1.665	1.007	1.611	.805
Loss respect-friends			2.547	.505	1.969	.595	1.230	.504
Loss respect-family			.867	1.984	.833	1.686	.757	1.751
Reintegration								
Rely on support network					2.760**	1.688	2.226*	1.257
Network prevents crime					1.816	3.009*	1.280	2.639
Moral Conscience								
Immoral and wrong							1.426	4.545*
Loss of self-respect							1.459	3.046*
Stronger belief in law							1.861	.971
More concern for others							2.512*	1.866
R²	.048	.092	.068	.133	.141	.159	.263	.268
	N=327	N=331	N=271	N=275	N=266	N=272	N=259	N=263
-2 log likelihood	391.464	266.490	317.195	222.642	295.759	214.166	257.316	189.009

**p* < .05

***p* < .01

****p* < .000

In model 1, I present the effects of measures of interdependency on projected shame for both men and women. One variable, age, is a statistically significant predictor of projected shame. Men who are under age 25 are approximately 43% less likely to report high projected shame compared to female inmates who are under the age 25 and 55% less likely to report high projected shame. Model 1 explains 4.8% of the variance of projected shame of men with a chi-square value of 391.464 and 9.2% of the variance of

projected shame of women with a chi-square value of 266.490. These results are generally supportive of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) regarding the theoretical differences between men and women because age is explaining more of the variance in projected shame for women compared to men. However, other measures of interdependency are not statistically significant and the overall explain variance is relatively low. Although Braithwaite (1989) argues that age and sex should be stronger indicators of interdependency, the fact that age is the only statistically significant variable presents a challenge to the idea that interdependency is a robust predictor of shame.

Model 2 contains values for the individual measures of *past shame* for both men and women, however, no specific indicators of statistically significant. These findings are consistent with previous tables 4 and 5 regarding the relationship between *past shame* and projected shame. Although *past shame* is measured by asking respondents about guilt, sorrow, and the loss of respect of friends and family and projected shame is measured using the words embarrassment and shame it seems logical that *past shame* should predict projected shame. Although *past shame* is not a predictor of projected shame, some interesting findings in model 2 are that age is no longer significant for men but is significant for women. Additionally, for both men and women, the explained variance is marginally increased from 4.8% to 6.8% for men and 9.2% to 13.3% for women.

Model 3 contains indicators of reintegration for both men and women. The first indicator of reintegration relates to whether or not inmates perceive it is *very likely* that one can rely on a support network of friends and family post incarceration. The second indicator of reintegration relates to whether or not inmates perceive that a support

network is *very important* in preventing future crime. Both indicators are statistically significant predictors of projected shame. However, for men, the perception that one can rely on support is significant and for women the perception that such a support network prevents future crime is significant. Both variables are positive, confirming the basic idea of the role reintegration plays in the reintegrative shaming process. For men, the perception that one can rely on a support network has an odds ratio value of 2.760. For women, the perception that such a support network is important in preventing future crime has an odds ratio of 3.009. For men, the explained variance of projected shame is 14.1% with a chi-square value of 295.759. For women, the explained variance of projected shame is 15.9% with a chi-square value of 214.166.

Although both reintegration variables are statistically significant predictors of projected shame, for men it is the perception that one can rely on a support network of friends and family whereas for women it is the perception that such a support network prevents future crime. Despite the fact that these results are essentially mixed, they basically confirm what Braithwaite (1989) argues about how gender differences should influence the reintegrative process. According to the theory, women are more likely to have pro-social associations and those pro-social associations are more likely to be reintegrative shamers. Therefore, it is logical that women who perceive that a support network of family and friends is *very important* in preventing future crime are approximately 3 times more likely to report high projected shame compared to women who do not perceive this support network as *very important*.

However, for men the findings are a little less clear. Results support the notion that men who perceive they can rely (*very likely*) on a support network are approximately

2.7 times more likely to report high projected shame compared to men who do not (reporting less than *very likely*) but those men's perception that support networks prevent future crime is not a significant predictor of high projected shame. It could be that men's associations, which Braithwaite (1989) argues are more likely to be disintegrative shamers, predict high projected shame, but not the type of shame that should deter future criminal acts but the type of shame that should exacerbate future criminal acts. Additionally, it is somewhat problematic that men and women have very similar pseudo R squared values in model 3.

Theoretically, as with models 1 and 2, the overall explained variance in projected shame should be larger for women than for men. However, it appears that the reintegration variables have an *equalizing effect* on the explained variance of projected shame despite the fact that different indicators of reintegration are significant for men than women. This is a change from the previous two models. In model 1, although age was significant for both men and women, the explained variance of projected shame for women was basically double. Additionally, in model 2, although the shaming variables were not significant, age is still a significant variable (for women only) predicting projected shame and the explained variance is still basically double for women compared to men.

Model 4 incorporates indicators of moral conscience for men and women. Overall, three indicators of moral conscience predict projected shame. However, for men, only one indicator predicts projected shame. Specifically, men who report *more concern for others* as an important reason not to commit future crime are 2.5 times more likely to report high projected shame. For women, two different indicators of moral

conscience are predictors of projected shame. Women who report that crime is *immoral and wrong* as well as crime includes a threat to *self respect* as important reasons to avoid future criminal acts are more likely to report high projected shame. The odds ratio value for indicator *immoral and wrong* is 4.545 and the odds ratio for indicator *loss of self-respect* is 3.046. The pseudo R squared values is virtually identical for both men and women, approximately 26%.

Analysis-Analytical Framework 3 Gender Differences and Projected Criminality

Logistic regression results for male and female inmates' projected criminality regressed on the main theoretical constructs in Reintegrative Shaming Theory are presented in table 6. I report the odds ratio values for four nested models. In model 1, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' interdependency on projected criminality. In model 2, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' *past shame* on projected criminality. In model 3, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' reintegration on projected criminality. In model 4, analysis includes the effect of male and female inmates' moral conscience on projected criminality.

Table 7 Logistic Regression Of Projected Criminality On Interdependency, Shame, Reintegration, and Moral Conscience

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>	Women <i>B</i>
Interdependency								
Under age 25	.687	.902	.614	.981	.691	.947	.664	.980
Full-time employment	.979	.999	.980	.678	.981	.660	.982	.651
Married	.391**	.542*	.341**	.537	.349**	.648	.340**	.520
Years of education	.916	.991	.903	1.040	.918	1.038	.906	1.008
Shame 1								
Sorry			.521	.542*	.512	.524*	.584	.559
Guilt			1.157	.670	1.211	.692	1.194	.797
Loss respect-friends			.827	1.295	.820	1.199	1.061	1.375
Loss respect-family			1.530	1.180	1.735	1.298	1.671	1.330
Reintegration								
Rely on support network					.624	.807	.777	.991
Network prevents crime					.967	.767	1.139	.818
Moral Conscience								
Immoral and wrong							.583	.740
Loss of self-respect							.936	1.736
Stronger belief in law							.805	.444*
More concern for others							.701	.437*
R	.063	.020	.089	.094	.100	.100	.139	.166
	N=336	N=332	N=275	N=272	N=270	N=269	N=263	N=260
-2 log likelihood	446.644	452.883	360.630	355.446	351.502	350.032	334.866	324.178

*p <.05

**p <.01

***p <.000

In model 1, I present the effects of interdependency on projected criminality for both men and women. One variable, marital status, is a statistically significant predictor of projected criminality. Men who are married are approximately 61% less likely to report projected criminality compared to female inmates who are married and are 46% less likely to report projected criminality. Model 1 explains 6.3% of the variance of projected criminality of men with a chi-square value of 446.644 and 2% of the variance of projected criminality of women with a chi-square value of 266.490. These results are generally supportive of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) regarding the theoretical differences between men and women because a male who is married is more likely to receive reintegrative shaming from his wife (because spouses are more likely to

be reintegrative shamers) where as a female who is married is more likely to receive disintegrative shaming from her husband (because spouses are more likely to be reintegrative shamers). However, other measures of interdependency are not statistically significant and the overall explained variance is relatively low. Although Braithwaite (1989) argues that age and sex should be stronger indicators of interdependency, the fact that marital status is the only statistically significant variable presents a challenge to the idea that interdependency is a robust predictor of projected criminality.

Model 2 contains values for the individual measures of *past shame* for both men and women, however, only one specific indicator of *past shame* is statistically significant and that predictor is only significant for women. Specifically, women who report *almost always experiencing sorrow during their past crimes* are 46% less likely to report projected criminality compared to women who do not. The explained variance in projected criminality is 9.4% with a chi-square value of 355.446. One interesting result in model 2 is that marital status is no longer significant for women. Thus, when the emotional experience of *past crimes* are taken into account, marital status is no longer a significant predictor of projected criminality yet the explained variance increases by 7% compared with model 1. Although, no indicators of *past shame* are significant for men, it should be noted the inclusion of the four measures of *past shame* do increase the explained variance in projected criminality by 2%.

Model 3 contains indicators of reintegration for both men and women. Neither indicator of reintegration predicts projected criminality for either men or women. Additionally, the previous significant *past shame* indicator (sorrow) is still significant for women and the previous significant interdependency indicator (marital status) is still

significant for men. The overall explained variance in model 3 is identical for both men and women (10%).

Model 4 incorporates indicators of moral conscience for men and women. None of these indicators predict projected criminality for men. Two indicators of moral conscience predict women's projected criminality. Specifically, women who report *more concern for others* as an important reason not to commit future crime are 57% less likely to report projected criminality. Additionally, women who report *stronger belief in law* as an important reason not to commit future crime are 56% less likely to report projected criminality. Additionally, the *past shame* indicator (sorrow) is no longer significant for women. The overall explained variance of projected criminality is 16.6% for women and 13.9% for men. Despite the fact that none of the reintegrative shaming variables were significant for men (outside of one indicator of interdependency), the inclusion of those variables doubled the explained variance from model 1 (6.3%) to model 4 (13.9%). Across all models, marital status was the only statistically significant variable predicting projected criminality for men.

Taken together, the results provide mixed support for Braithwaite's (1989) basic arguments. The results confirm the notion that reintegrative shaming is different for men and women because different variables are statistically significant predictors of the two dependent variables in the present research. Some of the reintegrative shaming variables predict projected shame and criminality for men and others for women. Additionally, some of those differences make logical sense because of the ways in which Braithwaite (1989) conceptualizes the causal mechanisms in his theory.

However, other differences do not have any apparent rhyme or reason. Thus, the conclusions that can be drawn from these findings are somewhat tenuous. For example, the findings cannot resolve why indicators of *past shame* do not predict indicators of *projected shame* but do predict *projected criminality*? It makes logical sense that an inmate who felt guilty or sorry about past crimes would feel shame and embarrassment about those same crimes should they recidivate, however the findings do not confirm this logic. Braithwaite's (1989) theory provides no insights regarding this inconsistency. The only probable explanation is that the use of different words in the measures of *past shame* and *projected shame* are tapping into different aspects of shame-related emotions and that those differences are meaningful. Additionally, the findings cannot resolve why indicators of reintegration such as *perception of support* and *importance of support* predict *projected shame* but not *projected criminality*. Once again, this finding is not consistent with the causal process as outlined in the theory.

CHAPTER VI
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Sample

The present study is a secondary analysis of data collected on inmates in a major correctional facility in the southeast United States. The sample consists of 726 inmates, 363 male and 363 female. The questionnaire was administered in December 2001 and January 2002. The sample consists of mostly younger inmates with a mean age for women of 28 and a mean age for men of 29. Additionally, 70 % of women are under the age of 37 and 70 % of men are under the age of 34.

For men, approximately 60 % of inmates are African American and 40 percent are White. Additionally, half of male inmates earned a high school diploma and approximately 35 % have less than high school education.

For women, approximately 62 % are African American and 35 % are White. Additionally, 44.5 % of female inmates earned a high school diploma and approximately 39 % have less than high school education.

In terms of previous incarceration, among males 51.3 % had been incarcerated as adults prior to the current incarceration and 60.6 % of women had been incarcerated as adults prior to the current incarceration. Additionally, approximately 18 % of males had been incarcerated as a juvenile and approximately 23 % of females had been incarcerated as a juvenile. In terms of the nature of the crime for which inmates are serving time,

13 % of the crimes committed by men are violent crimes whereas 23 % of the crimes committed by women are violent crimes. These crimes include murder, rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, and robbery.

In terms of demographic variables relating to family, approximately 21 % of males were married prior to incarceration and approximately 20 % of females were married prior to incarceration. For both males and females, roughly one in three were never married. Lastly, approximately 80 % of males have children and 64 % of females have children. Males tend to speak with family members at least once a week at a slightly higher frequency such that approximately 40 percent of men reported doing so whereas roughly 28 % of women reported a similar level of communication. These basic demographic characteristics of the sample lend themselves to a comparison of how men and women differ regarding shame as well as how Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) might explain outcomes post-incarceration. I began the current study with this central question in mind.

Summary of Goals and Points of Interests

The central research question in the current research is “*Can research apply the assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory to a sample of inmates and will the theory provide any explanation of what might happen to those inmates post-incarceration?*” Specifically, will the basic causal assumptions of Braithwaite’s (1989) theory, that shame and reintegration increase ones sensitivity to shame and therefore decrease the likelihood of future crime, provide any explanation of projected shame and projected criminality? This is a formidable challenge because Braithwaite (1989) argues that the American criminal justice system involves the exact type of stigmatizing shame and disintegration

that decreases one's sensitivity to shame by breeding resentment and make future criminality more likely, not less likely. Therefore, I expect a test of reintegrative shaming theory to be more likely to yield insignificant results than significant results.

However, this is exactly the reason a test of the Braithwaite's theory (1989) should be conducted. I began this research as part of an overarching effort to provide the most rigorous test of the reintegrative shaming to date. Additionally, the questionnaire was designed in such a way that I was able to approximate previously used measures of the core aspects of the theory (Braithwaite 1989) in addition to searching for other measures that might be relevant in light of the core concepts stigmatization, disintegration, shame, and reintegration.

Additionally, current research has the added benefit that data contains information on inmates' relationship with their children. This is especially important because previous studies traditionally look at the strength of the relationship between parent and child as a control mechanism for the child, however, the present study looks at whether the strength of that relationship might possibly control an incarcerated parent via high reintegration as a result of those strong family bonds. Additionally, the data include an equal amount of responses from both men and women, making in-depth analysis of the relationship between reported shame and gender possible.

Furthermore, Braithwaite (1989) makes much of the connection between youth and gender, arguing that for men being in their late teens and early twenties is an especially problematic time, whereas for women, this time period is less problematic. However, no previous test really evaluates this point. Theoretically, if this is accurate and young men are disadvantaged in this way, then the other indicators of

interdependency employment, education, and marriage should be statistically significant predictors of reported shame for women but not men.

Additionally, the causal direction should be in line with theoretical expectations for women but contrary to theoretical expectations for men. Thusly, young men who are married, employed, and with many years education should not report high shame whereas women with similar characteristics should. Analysis of gender as a control variable to support this point is not enough as analysis can not determine which, if any, other indicators of interdependency are significant predictors of shame for men and women as well as whether some indicators predict shame for men but not women and vice versa. Without providing a split sample approach which regresses shame on employment, education, age, and marriage for men and women separately so as to compare the direction and significance of indicators, one makes claims regarding this purported gender difference on tenuous grounds.

This point is especially relevant as previous studies do not typically include analysis of the type in the current study. Furthermore, this sample includes a number of male respondents in their late teens and early twenties as well as a number of female respondents in their late teens and early twenties. This fact is especially advantageous because Reintegrative Shaming theory (Braithwaite 1989) assumes as one of its core dynamics that young men are not equally sensitive to the shaming inducing interdependencies and young women.

Therefore, although a young male and female might both be employed, married, and educated, women are more likely to fear the shame of employers, spouses, and teachers whereas men are less likely to fear shame. Braithwaite (1989) argues this is the

case because society gives men more space to explore and make mistakes and that deviant behavior such as showing up hung over for work or school and staying out all night partying with friends instead of caring for family members are largely excused activities for men but not for women. Braithwaite (1989) further elaborates upon this point by arguing not only are men allowed more leniency but men will also take their *sweet time* during youth engaging in these activities while women might do so for a short period of time but, because of shame, quickly move out of this phase. Considering the nuanced and in-depth explanation forwarded regarding the importance of gender, a more rigorous analysis is warranted.

Finally, the main thrust of what Braithwaite (1989) is trying to communicate about the dysfunction of the criminal justice system is that the traditional processing of offenders is truly stigmatizing and horrifically disintegrating. Despite such claims, previous tests focus on relatively minor forms of stigmatization and disintegration. These studies measure parental stigmatization and disintegration largely in the form of *name calling* and *failing to provide support*, and although damaging to child's development, not comparable to the stigmatization and disintegration of murder, aggravated assault, rape, ex-convict, juvenile offender, adult offender, and drug offender. These are the crimes and criminal histories of respondents in this current research and the stigmatization and disintegration that crime brings about should logically be the worst forms experienced by members of society. As such, tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) needs to grow beyond minor crimes and deviant behavior in order to provide informed critique of ways traditional justice systems should be reformed.

Although one restorative justice study (Tyler et al 2007) examines one type of crime that is arguably highly stigmatizing, DUI offenders, this study is unable to include the most stigmatized of those offenders in their analysis-those who physically hurt others or damage property during DUI. This is because police, courts, and prisons understandably refuse to issue alternative sanctions for crimes that are extremely harmful, meaning that any future research study will more than likely be limited in this way. This approach seems odd considering the central role of stigmatization and disintegration in Braithwaite's theory (1989) as well as his claims that the basic causal process outlined in reintegrative shaming theory should be used to inform restorative justice. In light of these compelling issues, the current study argues that a test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) reported in this research study is an important contribution to the literature.

Summary of Findings

Ultimately, the overall results indicate partial support for Braithwaite's (1989) theory. The first Analytical Framework's primary goal is to evaluate which, if any, indicators of interdependency explain reported shame. Although all the indicators did not perform well in this analysis and the overall explained variance in reported shame is marginal, one aspect of the test stands out from the rest. Specifically, model 2 results of a sub-sample including only men is not a statistically significant model despite the fact that two indicators, age and years of education, are significant. This is probably the most relevant aspect of the first analytical framework, interdependency is not a significant predictor of shame for men.

Additionally, model 2 results show that while the negative coefficient for age is in the theoretically assumed direction the coefficient for years of education is not.

Specifically, model 2 results indicate that men with more years of education report lower shame, a result inconsistent with what Braithwaite's theory (1989) would predict overall, but consistent with what Braithwaite's theory (1989) would predict in a sample of men.

Furthermore, a comparison of model 2 (men only) and model 3 (women only) reveals that when regressing shame on the indicators of interdependency for women (model 3) one indicator, age, is statistically significant. Additionally, age is in the theoretically assumed direction indicating that women who are over 25 report higher shame. Lastly, although interdependency's overall ability to predict shame is marginal, most of that variance is explained by the statistically significant result for women. Taken together, however, this analysis can only conclude marginal support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989). Despite the fact that this is a difficult test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989), one might expect interdependency to explain more of the variance in shame than 3.5 %, even in a sample of inmates-a sample assumed difficult to shame.

Indicators of interdependency perform better in the second Analytical Framework as the first model results show that three of the five indicators of interdependency sex, years of education, and marital status are significant indicators of high reintegration. Additionally, all of the indicators are in the theoretically expected direction such that women, those with more years of education, and those who are married are more likely to report high reintegration. Although the overall explained variance is marginal (2%), analysis of results in model 3 increase the explained variance by 6.7%.

Specifically, two indicators in model 3 account for this increase in explained variance of high reintegration. Those indicators represent the strength of an inmates' relationship with their children. Inmates who are satisfied with where their children currently live and inmates who plan to live with their child after incarceration are more likely to report high reintegration. These results basically confirm what Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) would argue about an inmates' relationship with their children. Entered into the model as additional indicators of interdependency, a strong relationship between parent and child means that a parent is more likely to have interactions with their child that communicate continued support. Results confirm that an inmate with a strong relationship with their child is an inmate who is more likely to be surrounded by family support compared to an inmate with a weak relationship with their child.

According to the basic premise of Braithwaite's theory (1989), it is likely that the inmate with future plans to live with their child is one who receives more support from their children because of those plans. Additionally, it is also likely that an inmate who is satisfied with a child's current living arrangements is also an inmate who is more likely to communicate with that child on a regular basis, and by means of communication receive much needed support.

One surprising finding is found in model 2 of Analytical Framework 2. The finding is the underperformance of indicators of stigmatization and disintegration. Although one indicator, *adult record*, comes close to significance, none are statistically significant predictors of high reintegration and variable *years of education* is no longer significant, a change compared to findings in model 1. Furthermore, the explained

variance of reintegration is not substantially increased. It appears that the stigmatization and disintegration experienced by those with prior records, those who do not participate in reintegrative programs, and those who have convictions for violent crimes does not explain the variance in reintegration.

This finding does not support one of the core aspects of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989), specifically, that stigmatization and disintegration are extremely negative attributes which cause others to withhold support. Therefore, either being a violent offender, having a prior criminal history, and not participating in reintegrative programming is not as stigmatizing and disintegrating as one might assume or Braithwaite's (1989) emphasis on stigmatization and disintegration is misplaced. At the very least, the effect of stigmatization and disintegration on reintegration is debatable.

Analytical Framework 3 presents a full test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). Although there are some useful comparisons between the indicators inside each model presented in table 4 and table 5, the most useful comparison is between table 4 and table 5. This is because in each table, one of the core constructs, either shame or reintegration is not a significant predictor of the dependent variable. Basically, findings indicate that in each table the significance of these core constructs *skips a step* in the causal theoretical explanation outlined by Braithwaite (1989). Additionally this skip is counterintuitive. According to Braithwaite (1989), full support for his theory would exist if high shame predicted high projected shame and a low likelihood of projected criminality followed by high reintegration predicting the same. If findings had revealed support for this premise, then findings would conform to the *basic causal steps in the order* the theory predicts.

In table 4, with dependent variable projected shame, we might expect that an inmates' reported *shame of past crime* is a significant predictor of projected shame, however, this is not the case. Instead, analysis presented in model 3 of table 4 shows that both indicators of high reintegration are statistically significant predictors of projected shame. Correspondingly in table 5, with dependent variable projected criminality, one indicator of high shame is a statistically significant predictor of projected criminality while neither indicator of high reintegration significant predicts projected criminality. These findings are interesting for a variety of reasons.

First, the nested regression models confirm the overall pattern of what one would expect should Braithwaite's theory (1989) be confirmed despite this *skip in causal step*. This is evidenced by the fact that as more core theoretically salient variables enter the proceeding models, indicators of interdependency become less significant and explained variance increases. This overall pattern is true for all models in both tables 4 and 5, however a more pronounced effect is evident in table 4 with dependent variable projected shame compared to table 5 with dependent variable projected criminality.

Second, in both tables, some indicators of moral conscience predict the dependent variables, but only one indicator, *immoral and wrong*, is a significant predictor of the dependent variable in both tables (4) (5). Furthermore, the directional effect is consistent with what Braithwaite's (1989) theory would argue. Specifically, inmates who report *it would be immoral and wrong* as a *very important* reason not to commit future crimes are more likely to report projected shame and less likely to report projected criminality. Furthermore, this is consistent with previous studies which have just begun to measure moral conscience, but informs the field as no study to date includes dependent variable

projected shame. The advantage of two independent variables projected shame and projected criminality lays in the ability of analysis to capture which, if any, mutual indicators are significant indicators of both and whether the directional relationships are consistent with the assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989).

Comparing tables 4 and tables 5, mutual indicators of the dependent variable exist for indicators gender, marital status, and one indicator of moral conscience *immoral and wrong*. All mutual indicators are in the theoretically assumed direction. Gender and marital status are significant predictors of both dependent variables in both models 1 and 2 in both tables 4 (projected shame) and 5 (projected criminality). Therefore, despite entering indicators of *shame of past crime* (Shame 1) in model 2 for both tables (4) (5), gender and marital status are still significant. Additionally, in table 5, with dependent variable projected criminality, *shame of past crime* (Shame 1) indicator Sorry is a significant predictor of projected criminality. Therefore, although findings reveal that inmates who report experiencing *a lot* of sorrow while committing crime decreases the likelihood of projected criminality, gender and marital status are still significant but decline marginally in relative magnitude. A slightly different pattern is true in model 3 of table 4, with dependent variable projected shame. In model 3, two indicators of high reintegration enter the model and the effect is that the entrance of those two indicators of high reintegrative wipes out the significance of marital status but not gender. Whereas, in table 5 (projected criminality), model 3, Shame 1 indicator Sorry is significant and the effect is that the entrance of two indicators of high reintegrative wipes out the significance of gender but not marital status.

Lastly, a comparison of model 4 in tables 4 (projected shame) and 5 (projected criminality) reveal that all indicators of interdependency are no longer significant in table 4 (projected shame) but in table 5 (projected criminality) one enduring indicator of interdependency, marital status, is still significant. In fact, despite the entrance of the core theoretical constructs across models 2, 3, and, 4 in table 5 (projected criminality), marital status only marginality decreased in magnitude and remains significant throughout. Additionally, in each table, the explained variance of the dependent variable increases every time a new construct enters the model. Analysis of the full model (4) in both tables (4) (5) reveals that all independent variables explain 13.1 % of the variance in projected criminality whereas all dependent variables explain 25.5 % of the variance in projected shame.

In summary, the pattern across both tables (4) (5) where the previously significant of indicators of interdependency decline as more salient theoretical constructs enter the proceeding model provides partial support for the main premise of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989). However, neither table contains a single model where both shame and reintegration are both significant predictors of either projected shame or projected criminality, a striking blow to the core aspects of the theory (Braithwaite 1989).

Limitations

Conducting a cross-section test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) such as the one in the current study is difficult for a variety of reasons. First, the social psychological causal process's outlined in Braithwaite's (1989) theory is best tested via longitudinal analysis. Second, this theory is difficult to examine regarding the social

psychological causal process's even when longitudinal designs are used (Tyler et al. 2007; Makkai and Braithwaite 1994), and some longitudinal findings are contradictory to the expectations of the theory (Zang and Zang 2004). The current study is no different in this regard and the main challenge has been to use reference points in the wording of the questions that denotes time ordering such that past, present, and future phenomena can be captured. Of course, this is a weakness of the present study as memories are subject to reinterpretation and it is unknown whether an inmates' projected shame and projected criminality are actualities or hopeful *presentations of self*. Additionally, this last point is especially relevant considering where the data collection occurred, in prison. More so for projected criminality than projected shame it appears logical that some responses are subject to social desirability bias or down right fear by inmates that their responses are not actually confidential.

Furthermore, using secondary analysis to test Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) is a challenge as measures in the current study can only approximate previously used measures (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001). Although the measures used the present study are good approximations, some limitations are noteworthy. This study uses indicators of the emotion shame, a strength in one sense, but a limitation considering the prime objective is to best replicate previous test of reintegrative shaming. Typically, studies (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003) use measures that identify who is shaming and how they are shaming but do not ask about shame, but infer that if one is being shamed then

they feel shame. Once again, this is a limitation of the current study because of the way questions on the questionnaire are worded.

An additional limitation relating to question wording is that construct *Shame 1* (*shame of past crime*) uses questions that reference guilt, sorrow, loss of respect from friends, and loss of respect from family. Furthermore, projected shame uses questions that reference words ashamed and embarrassed. Therefore, although previous studies show that these words are basically similar (Harris 2006; Harris 2003; Hay 2001), other studies indicate the difference between these concepts (shame, embarrassment, guilt, sorrow) might be more pronounced (Tangney et al. 1996). Findings in the present study indicate that the latter might be true as no indicator of shame 1 was a statistically significant predictor of projected shame.

Contributions

The main contributions of the present study are introducing children as a possible control mechanism for incarcerated parents, exploring the gender differences between men and women's reported shame, and conducting the most rigorous test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) to date.

This study's contribution regarding inmates' family ties to children is important for a variety of reasons. First, previous studies (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001) view the relationship between shame and reintegration as a *top down intentional* phenomena. In Braithwaite's (1989) original articulation, shame is an intentional act where *good parents* shame and reintegrate children and this process is the most desirable for preventing deviant behavior and crime as well as stopping children from repeated

problematic behavior. However, an acknowledged problematic aspect of this conceptualization is that, if shaming is not done the *right way*, it is likely a counterproductive process that actually aggravates poor behavior. This is because individuals are sensitive to scorn and shame and might likely respond in-kind with resentment and hostility, or what Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) call shame displacement.

However, no other study (Losconcz and Tyson 2007; Harris 2006; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2005; Ahmed and Braithwaite 2004; Harris 2003; Hay 2001) has examined whether some other type of family relationship might mitigate the problematic dynamics at play, simply by virtue of the nature of that relationship. Specifically, I propose that shame and reintegration from *non-authority family members* might actually be more corrective than shame and reintegration from *authority family members* and that this sample, in particular, provides an opportunity for a preliminary test. Correspondingly, there is considerable reason to think this is the case.

First, a *non-authority family member* who delivers the message that behavior is harmful and unacceptable is less likely to do so in a disintegrative and stigmatizing way compared to an *authority family member*. This is because *non-authority family members* lack significant power to formally punish relative to their authority figures but are still persuasive because of strong bonds-assuming bonds exist.

Correspondingly, *non-authority family members* are more likely to deliver the *shame message* without making the shamed feel threatened compared to *authority family members*. Both of these differences are likely issues that pertain to Ahmed and

Braithwaite's (2005) shame displacement because the key feature of displacement is anger and resentment.

In this sample, children provide a test of these ideas. The significant findings in the present study pertaining to the strength of the parent child relationship as a predictor of high reintegration legitimize more exploration as to whether *non-authority figures* might deliver shame and reintegration in a way more consistent with what Braithwaite's original theory (1989) intended. This is especially relevant if *non-authority figures* are persuasive because of strong relational bonds between the shamer and the shamed. Additionally, although only two indicators of child-parent attachment were significant in the current study, these predictors performed better than Braithwaite's (1989) foundational concept interdependency by a wide margin.

A second contribution to the literature is analysis of split samples between men and women regarding reported shame. Findings indicate that Braithwaite's (1989) original ideas about how gender differences relate to shame appear to be confirmed. However, future research should use this strategy to address whether this is always the case. It is reasonable to assume that in some studies of reintegrative shaming, men and women's reported shame might be similar or different for a variety of reasons. In particular, the offense type might create or eliminate these differences. For example, if the dependent variable in a future study measures bullying in a stereotypically masculine way such as physical force then it is logical to test whether the associated *shame* is different between males and females. Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Braithwaite 1989) would argue women would feel more shame. However, should that study also take into account relational aggression as an indicator of bullying in stereotypically feminine ways such as

gossip and attempts to destroy relationships then it is logical to assume that findings might differ. Future studies should take into account the complexities around how and why different offenses are either gender normative or not and if those acts are associated with differences in shame between males and females.

First, the dependent variable might be one aspect of a study that affects this issue. For some crimes or deviant behaviors, it is possible that men and women might report similar shame, or that men's reported shame is higher than women's. This is especially relevant for crimes or deviant behaviors in which said behavior is a strong violation of masculinity. It is likely that one of the reasons women report higher levels of shame is because part of Braithwaite's (1989) conceptualization regarding this difference is because society sets different standards for men and women, whereby many criminal and deviant behaviors are strong violations of femininity and therefore induce shame. However, if shame is gendered in this way, then it is logical to assume the same is true for men, where behaviors or crimes not consistent with traditional male gender norms induce strong shame in men but because they are consistent with femininity, do not for women.

Finally, another notable contribution is this study represents the most rigorous test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) in the sense that the crimes for which respondents are asked to report their shame are highly stigmatizing crimes and their incarceration at the time of data collection indicates that the sample is highly disintegrated. Therefore, among this sample, researchers should not expect any of the theoretically salient constructs in Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989) to be relevant, yet some were. Although this study could only find partial support for the theory, that

support speaks well of the general claims reintegrative shaming theory make regarding those whom society is so desperate to control.

Future Research

Future research studies can address some of the limitations of the current study in significant ways. First, a longitudinal design would enable findings to better capture the ongoing social psychological process outlined in the theoretical assumptions. Furthermore, a study that begins by administering a questionnaire to an inmate two months after being released from prison and following up with that particular inmate three years later might be better suited for Braithwaite's theory (1989). Second, replacing projected measures with actual measures of both shame and criminality would add to the veracity of the conclusions drawn from tests of Reintegrative Shaming Theory (1989).

It seems logical that future research also need address the possibility that inmates answer questions in a socially desirable way. Therefore, the challenge is how can research capture the richness of the data in the present study while address some weaknesses? Just as the prior research team was able to secure the opportunity to work with correctional staff to administer the present survey, it seems logical that a future research team could also secure the opportunity to survey offenders post-release by networking with staff at halfway houses and via probation officers.

This allows the research to address, in some meaningful ways, the weaknesses while retaining a sample of offenders of serious crimes. Additionally, a future research study of this type would be able to measure the actual shame related and reintegration related issues that prior offenders might experience post-release. A study such as this

would also be able to measure the different ways offenders are stigmatized and disintegrated and who is doing the stigmatization and disintegration such as family, friends, spouses, and employers.

Lastly, assuming the ability to follow up with prior offenders post-release as well as collect data from probationary officers, one might be able to better quantify the concept of recidivism and criminality. For example, in terms of recidivism, probationary officers as well as halfway house staff would have a wealth of information about the ex-offenders adjustment to freedom, the payment of post-release fines as well as compliance with post-release restrictions, in addition to being knowledgeable regarding any arrests. Additionally, the ex-offender would be able, and might feel more comfortable, to tell researchers about actual criminality as well as provide some insights as to why the offender believes those actions occurred. This type of study would address some of the causal ordering weaknesses of the current study, replace projected measures with actual measures of shame and criminality, as well as collect information on the variety of ways ex-offenders experience reintegration, stigmatization, and disintegration during the re-entry process.

Because Reintegrative Shaming Theory is the assumed causal process behind the effectiveness of the restorative justice movement, a movement arguably picking up steam, future tests must focus on samples of serious offenders if these future research findings are to provide meaningful insights as to how to reform the criminal justice system. Without this, reforms proposed by the restorative justice movement are potentially ill-informed or marginal in effectiveness.

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APPENDIX A

CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI CORRECTIONAL FACILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I:

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY ASKING YOU SEVERAL BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE OR FILL IN THE BEST RESPONSE TO EACH QUESTION. PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH UNLESS INSTRUCTED OTHERWISE.

1. What year were you born? 19 _____

2. How do you describe yourself?
 - a. Black/African-American
 - b. White
 - c. American Indian
 - d. Asian
 - e. Hispanic
 - f. Other (specify: _____)

3. What was your marital status just before being incarcerated?
 - a. never married
 - b. married
 - c. separated
 - d. widow/widower
 - e. divorced
 - f. living with someone but not married
 - g. Other (specify: _____)

4. What is your marital status now?
 - a. never married
 - b. married
 - c. separated
 - d. widow/widower
 - e. divorced
 - f. living with someone but not married
 - g. Other (specify: _____)

5. When you were growing up, what kind of place did you live most of your life?
 - a. large city (more than 250,000 people)
 - b. suburb of a large city
 - c. medium city (50,000 to 250,000 people)
 - d. a small city (10,000 to 50,000)
 - e. a town (under 10,000 people)
 - f. a rural area

6. About how far is this prison from the place you consider home?
_____ miles [OR _____ hours]

7. Which of the following best describes your employment status just before this incarceration?
 - a. working full-time
 - b. working part-time
 - c. stayed home and cared for children
 - d. not working due to disability
 - e. not working but looking for work
 - f. not working and not looking for work
 - g. retired

8. About how much money did you make from all sources during the year just before you were incarcerated this time?
\$ _____ per year

9. Circle the highest level or grade of education that you ever completed in school?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

12 = completed high school/GED

20 = completed Ph.D., law degree, medical degree

16 = completed college

21 = post high school training such as trade school,

18 = completed Master's degree

secretarial school, etc., but NO college

10. On average, what kind of grades did you make while you were in school?

- a. mostly A's
- b. mostly B's
- c. mostly C's
- d. mostly D's
- e. mostly F's
- f. I never attended school

11. About how much education did your father have before you left home?

- a. 8th grade or less
- b. some high school
- c. 12th grade (diploma or GED)
- d. some college
- e. completed college
- f. graduate or professional degree
- g. other (_____)
- h. don't know

12. About how much education did your mother have before you left home?

- a. 8th grade or less
- b. some high school
- c. 12th grade (diploma or GED)
- d. some college
- e. completed college
- f. graduate or professional degree
- g. other (_____)
- h. don't know

13. Did your mother have a paying job when you were growing up ?

- a. yes, all or nearly all of the time
- b. yes, most of the time
- c. yes, some of the time
- d. no
- e. don't know

14. What was your family's social class when you were growing up ?

- a. upper class
- b. upper-middle class
- c. middle class
- d. lower-middle class
- e. lower class

15. How many of the following people lived in the same household with you when you were growing up?

[CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

- a. father
- b. mother
- c. stepfather
- d. stepmother
- e. brother/s
- f. sister/s
- g. grandfather/s
- h. grandmother/s
- i. uncle/s
- j. aunt/s
- k. stepbrother/s
- l. stepsister/s
- m. cousin/s
- n. non-relatives
- o. other (_____)

SECTION 2: NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES IN CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES. PLEASE CIRCLE OR FILL IN THE BEST RESPONSE TO EACH QUESTION.

16. Which of the following family members have been incarcerated? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]
- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| a. none | f. spouse | k. uncle/s |
| b. mother | g. daughter/s | l. aunt/s |
| c. father | h. son/s | m. cousin/s |
| d. sister/s | i. grandfather | n. other (_____) |
| e. brother/s | j. grandmother | o. don't know |
17. Have you ever spent time in a juvenile correctional facility or detention center?
- a. Yes b. No
18. Before now, had you ever spent time in an adult correctional facility, work center, or jail?
- a. Yes b. No
19. How much total time did you spend in adult correctional centers or jails before this incarceration?
- _____ years _____ months
20. How long is your current sentence? _____ years _____ months
21. How much of your current sentence have you served so far? _____ years _____ months
22. What was the longest stretch of time you have ever served in prison at one time?
- _____ years _____ months
23. For what crime or crimes are you now incarcerated?
-
24. From your point of view, which of the following is the major goal of prison?
[PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE]
- | | |
|--|--|
| a. to deter others from committing crime | c. to train, educate, and counsel offenders |
| b. to separate offenders from society | d. to give offenders the punishment they deserve |
25. Why would people commit fewer crimes as they get older? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]
- a. people have more responsibilities when older
- b. people mature when older
- c. there is more peer pressure when younger
- d. people get tired of doing time
- e. people are not as angry when they get older
- f. I do not think this is so
- g. other reason [_____]

26. Imagine someone like yourself will be released next week. Using the number line below, please circle the likelihood that within three years that person will commit another crime.

[0=Not at all likely] [10=Very likely]

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

27. Imagine you are speaking to someone who was thinking about committing a crime. How important are the following reasons for that person to NOT commit a crime? Use the scale below and circle the number for each statement.

1 = Very Important 3 = Not Very Important
2 = Somewhat Important 4 = Not At All Important

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Very Important</u>	<u>Not at All Important</u>
Prison is a terrible place.	1	2	3	4
You would be separated from your spouse/mate.	1	2	3	4
You are likely to get caught.	1	2	3	4
You will disappoint your family.	1	2	3	4
You will be separated from your friends.	1	2	3	4
Your spouse/mate might leave you for someone else.	1	2	3	4
You will disappoint your friends.	1	2	3	4
You would be separated from your children.	1	2	3	4
You should consider the victim.	1	2	3	4
You will ruin your future job opportunities.	1	2	3	4
Your spouse/mate could take your children and leave.	1	2	3	4
You would be separated from your mother and/or father.	1	2	3	4

28. Thinking about yourself, how important are the following reasons for you to NOT commit another crime? Use the scale below and circle the number for each statement.

1 = Very Important
2 = Somewhat Important

3 = Not Very Important
4 = Not At All Important

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Very Important</u>	<u>Not at All Important</u>
It would be the third offense so I would become an habitual offender.	1	2	3	4
It would be immoral/wrong.	1	2	3	4
I could lose custody of my children.	1	2	3	4
I would be separated from my friends and family.	1	2	3	4
I would lose my self respect.	1	2	3	4
I have a stronger belief in the law now.	1	2	3	4
Committing the crime would be physically dangerous now and might injure or kill me.	1	2	3	4
I learned job skills in prison that will keep me from committing crime again.	1	2	3	4
Other people would lose respect for me.	1	2	3	4
I have more concern for other people's feelings now.	1	2	3	4
If I were to get caught, I would be put back in prison for a longer period of time.	1	2	3	4
I have more education now.	1	2	3	4
I have strong religious beliefs now.	1	2	3	4

29. Which of the following alternative sanctions have you ever participated in?
[CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. electronic monitoring | i. day supervision/reporting |
| b. house arrest | j. halfway house |
| c. county jail | k. Intensive Supervision Probation |
| d. boot camp | l. regular probation |
| e. work release | m. community service |
| f. pre-release center | n. intermittent incarceration |
| g. day fine | o. restitution center |
| h. parole | p. early release supervision |

30. What programs in prison have you ever participated in? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]
- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. education program | g. parenting program |
| b. substance abuse program | h. transition program |
| c. mental health program | i. aftercare program |
| d. domestic abuse program | j. HIV/AIDS program |
| e. job training | k. life skills programs |
| f. in-prison industry | l. other (_____) |
31. How often do you usually communicate with family members who are not incarcerated?
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. never | e. twice per month |
| b. daily | f. once per month |
| c. 2 to 4 times per week | g. 4-6 times per year |
| d. once per week | h. once per year |
32. How often do you usually communicate with friends who are not incarcerated?
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. never | e. twice per month |
| b. daily | f. once per month |
| c. 2 to 4 times per week | g. 4-6 times per year |
| d. once per week | h. once per year |
33. What might be some reasons for why you do not get more visits from family members and/or friends?
[CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]
- | |
|---|
| a. I don't want to see them more often |
| b. my family/friends do not want to see me more often |
| c. they have no car or transportation |
| d. it is too far to come more often |
| e. it is too expensive to make more visits |
| f. they don't have enough time for more visits |
| g. I am satisfied with the amount of visits I have |
| h. other reasons [_____] |
34. How important is a support system of family and friends in keeping someone like yourself from committing a crime again?
- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| a. very important | c. not very important |
| b. somewhat important | d. not important at all |
35. Think about your own situation. How likely is it that you will be able to rely on your support system of family and friends when you are released?
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| a. very likely | c. not very likely |
| b. somewhat likely | d. not at all likely |

36. How much did you think about the following before committing your crime? Use the scale below and circle the number for each statement.

1 = I thought about it a lot 3 = I thought about it once or twice
2 = I thought about it a few times 4 = I never thought about it

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>A Few Times</u>	<u>Once or Twice</u>	<u>Not at All</u>
Being separated from my children.	1	2	3	4
Being separated from my parents.	1	2	3	4
Being separated from my spouse/mate.	1	2	3	4
Being caught and arrested.	1	2	3	4
My friends respecting me more.	1	2	3	4
My family respecting me more.	1	2	3	4
My friends losing respect for me.	1	2	3	4
My family losing respect for me.	1	2	3	4
The money I will have after the crime.	1	2	3	4
Crime is dangerous and I could be hurt or killed.	1	2	3	4

37. How ashamed of yourself would you be if within 3 years after being released from prison you committed [another] crime?

a. very ashamed c. a little ashamed
b. somewhat ashamed d. not at all ashamed

38. How ashamed of yourself would you be if within 3 years of being released from prison you were arrested for committing a crime like the one for which you are now in prison?

a. very ashamed c. a little ashamed
b. somewhat ashamed d. not at all ashamed

39. How embarrassed would you be if those whose opinions you value the most knew you had committed [another] crime within 3 years after being released from prison?

a. very embarrassed c. a little embarrassed
b. somewhat embarrassed d. not at all embarrassed

40. How embarrassed would you be if those whose opinions you value the most knew you had been arrested for committing a crime within 3 years of being released from prison?

a. very embarrassed c. a little embarrassed
b. somewhat embarrassed d. not at all embarrassed

41. Suppose you are released from prison and are arrested again for committing a crime like the one that put you here in prison. How much time do you think you will be given? _____ years
42. If you commit another crime after you are released, what is the likelihood that you will be arrested for committing that crime?
- [0=Not at all likely] [10=Very likely]
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
43. About how many times in the past month did you attend religious services? _____ times per month
44. Now I would like to ask your views about religion/spirituality. Please circle the response that best fits your opinion about each statement.

1 = Strongly Agree 3 = Disagree
2 = Agree 4 = Strongly Disagree

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
Religion/spirituality is a very important part of my life.	1	2	3	4
I would describe myself as religious/spiritual.	1	2	3	4
After I do something wrong, I fear God's punishment.	1	2	3	4
Religion/spirituality should influence how I live my life.	1	2	3	4
Following God's commandments is important to me.	1	2	3	4
God knows everything a person does wrong.	1	2	3	4
In the end, God punishes those who sin.	1	2	3	4
In times of personal trouble, I turn to religion/spirituality for guidance.	1	2	3	4
When I have decisions to make in everyday life, I usually try to find out what God wants me to do.	1	2	3	4

45. How important were the following reasons for committing your crime?

1 = Very Important
2 = Somewhat Important

3 = Not Very Important
4 = Not At All Important

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Very Important</u>	<u>Not at all Important</u>
I had an easy opportunity to commit the crime.	1	2	3	4
For satisfaction.	1	2	3	4
For the thrill or excitement.	1	2	3	4
To satisfy a sudden impulse or whim.	1	2	3	4
For the challenge.	1	2	3	4
Out of anger, frustration, or rage.	1	2	3	4
For power or control.	1	2	3	4
For revenge, hatred or payback.	1	2	3	4
I needed money for food, rent, or bills.	1	2	3	4
I thought other people would look up to me.	1	2	3	4
Peer pressure or group behavior.	1	2	3	4
To relieve boredom.	1	2	3	4
To buy (steal) drugs and/or alcohol.	1	2	3	4

46. How often did you experience the following feelings when you were committing your crime?

1 = Almost Always 3 = Rarely
2 = Sometimes 4 = Never

	<u>Almost Always</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Never</u>
Happy and excited	1	2	3	4
Feeling of living on the edge	1	2	3	4
Pride	1	2	3	4
Stressed	1	2	3	4
Depressed	1	2	3	4
Tired/drained	1	2	3	4
Sorry	1	2	3	4
On a 'high' or rush	1	2	3	4
On top of the world	1	2	3	4
Out of control	1	2	3	4
Powerful	1	2	3	4
Guilty	1	2	3	4
Tense	1	2	3	4
Intensely alive	1	2	3	4
Pumped up	1	2	3	4
Afraid	1	2	3	4
Worried	1	2	3	4
Able to do anything I want	1	2	3	4
A sense of accomplishment	1	2	3	4

54. **Where do your children live now? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]**
- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|----|---|
| a. | with their father | g. | in a foster home |
| b. | with their mother | h. | they were adopted |
| c. | with their step-parent | i. | my children are grown and live on their own |
| d. | with their grandparent/s | j. | I don't know |
| e. | with other relatives | k. | other arrangements (<i>explain below</i>) |
| f. | with friends | | |
55. **Are you satisfied with where your children are living now?**
- | | | | |
|----|-----|----|----|
| a. | yes | b. | no |
|----|-----|----|----|
56. **Do you plan to live with your children when you are released?**
- | | |
|----|-------------------------|
| a. | yes, right away |
| b. | yes, but not right away |
| c. | no |
57. **Have your parental rights been terminated?**
- | | |
|----|------------|
| a. | yes |
| b. | no |
| c. | don't know |
58. **How often do you communicate with your children? [PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE]**
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|--------------------|
| a. | never | e. | twice per month |
| b. | daily | f. | once per month |
| c. | 2 to 4 times per week | g. | 4-6 times per year |
| d. | once per week | h. | once per year |
59. **How do you communicate with your children most of the time? [PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE]**
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | through the mail [with letters, packages, etc.] |
| b. | with telephone calls |
| c. | through visits at the facility |
| d. | I do not communicate with them |

**THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING
IN THE STUDY !!**
