

Amanda Dente

Professor Fronc

History 591

15 December 2015

Impact of Incarceration on Families

Mass incarceration has had a major impact on the dynamic of many families in the United States. Mass incarceration has taken parents from their children and issues stemming from the loss of a parent have adverse effects on their children. Children with incarcerated parents have behavioral and emotional problems and often feel abandoned by their parents. Innovations within the prison system are necessary to combat these issues and help children maintain a healthy relationship with their parents. While some advocates believe children will benefit from spending time with their incarcerated parents, this has proven to be ineffective in creating a healthy relationship because of the volatile environment of prisons. Mass incarceration has led to the breakdown of many families, but children should be kept out of this environment. Children should be able to maintain a relationship with their parents through other measures and must have limited exposure to incarceration. Reforms are necessary to provide families with resources that will compensate for the absence of an incarcerated parent and to improve relationships between incarcerated parents and their children to simulate a traditional family dynamic during their separation to ease the trauma felt by the family.

Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow* explores the impact that the War on Drugs has had on mass incarceration and the effect that widespread imprisonment has had on blacks in the United States. Alexander argues that the mass incarceration of blacks has strengthened racial inequality by depriving black men of the opportunity to participate in democracy and how they

continue to face incredible challenges after being released from prison.¹ Alexander explains that during the 1960s and 1970s, conservatives and liberals debated the causes of poverty and criminal behavior. Conservatives were supported by Daniel Patrick Moynihan's report on the black family and argued that culture was a more prominent cause of poverty than race or class. Liberals blamed preexisting social conditions for causing crime and advocated for social reforms, such as the War on Poverty and other civil rights legislation. Sociologist Katherine Beckett stated, "The (alleged) misbehaviors of the poor were transformed from adaptations to poverty that had the unfortunate effect of reproducing it into character failings that accounted for poverty in the first place." Beckett's point illustrates how crime and poverty were part of a cycle that requires reform to end.² Crimes were committed as a reaction to poverty, but criminal activity led to incarceration. Incarceration is a major cause of poverty because former offenders' reputation is tarnished and it is difficult for them to find employment.³

Heather Ann Thompson argues that mass incarceration has been destructive for families and inner-city communities in "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History." The Bureau of Justice Statistics stated that one in forty-five American children had one or both parents in state or federal prison in 2002 and 52% of state inmates and 63% of federal inmates reported having children in 2003. Thompson expands on how children with incarcerated parents are more likely to suffer from anxiety, attention disorders, and post-traumatic stress, which is an obstacle for the educational system in inner-cities. More females are being incarcerated so more more children in inner-cities are being raised by nonbiological caretakers or are raised in foster care. Many children whose parents were

¹ Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness (New York: The New Press, 2010), 142-146.

² Alexander, 45.

³ Alexander, 151-154.

incarcerated face challenges even after their release because these families can be deprived of welfare opportunities and employers are unlikely to hire someone that was formerly incarcerated. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 prevented ex-drug offenders from ever accessing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and food stamps.⁴

Alexander and Thompson's works both exhibit that mass incarceration has broken up families and children have suffered because of their parents' absence during their imprisonment. Alexander and Thompson both focus on how children are impacted while their parent is imprisoned, but also how a parent's incarceration influences their family after their release. Alexander and Thompson both suggest that imprisonment is part of a larger cycle and is related to poverty. Analysts claim that about 70 percent of children with incarcerated parents will one day be imprisoned themselves. Thompson's "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History" explains how the evolution of the American justice system during the 1960s has significantly weakened urban cities, and even more specifically, the black community.⁵ Alexander's study also works to show the negative impact of mass incarceration because it stifles the progress of the black community and prevents black men from participating in democracy, but also focuses on how mass incarceration has been detrimental for black families. Barack Obama's speech on Father's Day condemned black fathers for abandoning their children, but he did not mention that the majority of these fathers are incarcerated.⁶ These studies encourage more research to be done on the influence of mass incarceration on families to assess how children have been affected as part of an effort to end the cycle of imprisonment.

⁴ Heather Ann Thompson, "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History" *Journal of American History* 97 (2010): 713-715.

⁵ Thompson, 716.

⁶ Alexander, 180.

Allowing children to stay with their mothers in prison can be problematic if children can be used as a form of punishment against their mothers. This can be seen in California's correctional program called Visions that is explored in the article "Motherhood as Punishment: The Case of Parenting in Prison." Women are often jailed for drug offenses and property crimes and prison workers are often looking to reform them. California implements different reform systems that can work to maintain the relationship between mothers and their children, such as by allowing primary caregivers to be detained in their homes to continue raising their children, by making efforts to release caregivers from prison early if they are not high risk, and sending women to Female Rehabilitative Community Correction Centers.⁷ However, the prison system has been a site of enforcing gender and cultural norms for these lower class women. In this system, some mothers' parenting style as examples, while demonizing others. Women are also deprived of alone time with their children, which emphasizes how the prison system did not view these mothers as capable of parenting and stripped them of their traditional responsibilities. Prison workers criticize these mothers, which leads to them completely losing their sense of authority as parents. This system also undermines the role of these women as individuals, as their needs are constantly put below the needs of their children.⁸ This system can be harmful for the children, but the negative impact on mothers is also important. The parenting styles of these mothers is already being belittled while their own individual freedom is being compromised by their incarceration. While mothers are interested in maintaining a close bond with their children during their incarceration, these feelings of dissatisfaction with their own parenting skills

⁷ Lynne Haney, "Motherhood as Punishment: The Case of Parenting in Prison." *Signs* 39 (2014): 105-106.

⁸ Haney, 107.

stemming from the way they are treated by prison workers proves that this environment may be more hostile.

Children in facilities that allow them to stay with their mothers while they are incarcerated are meant to end the punishment through separation model, in which mothers are punished by being separated from their families. While this does unite children with their mothers, it is still a problematic system.⁹ These children are still able to go to traditional schools, but are robbed of the opportunity to have freedom outside of the facility.¹⁰ In this system, children are being incarcerated alongside their parents and are facing similar punishments without participating in the crime. This could lead to children having an antagonistic view of the justice system and further distrust of the system. The system emplaced at Visions had mothers parenting their children in rooms shared with three other families without any sense of privacy.¹¹ This is an obvious fault of this system and further prevents mothers from having control over how they raise their children. There is also a tremendous financial cost to be in this program, which places a wedge between mothers with higher income and mothers without the means to buy a spot for their child in the program. Many of women in Visions faced financial debt after their imprisonment because most of these women needed to pay for their children's room and board. The staff at Visions told these women that they were indebted to the staff because they were being given the opportunity to raise their children.¹² This is furthering the impact of prison life on women and compromises their freedom. Innovations at Visions are important in recognizing the changing dynamics of prisons and new solutions to lessen the impact of a

⁹ Haney, 112.

¹⁰ Haney, 113.

¹¹ Haney, 116.

¹² Haney, 118.

parent's imprisonment on a child, but the negative aspects of this program prove that more reforms are necessary and that prison is not the proper environment which to raise children in.

The program at Visions embodies the latest trend in correctional facilities allowing inmates to parent while in prison¹³. Prison nurseries have been popular, but the program at Visions advertised itself as a much different program and portrayed its living arrangements much different. The rooms shown in the advertising videos were much different and mothers were unaware of how much space they would be sharing with other families.¹⁴ Maria, a woman that participated in Visions' program, asked "How could this be a mother prison when I never see my baby?"¹⁵ Maria's question demonstrates how this particular prison structure can be problematic and does not given women as much access to their children as they expected or hoped for. The detriments of Visions prove that parenting in prison can be ineffective and other reforms could be better. This could also intensify behavioral problems that children with imprisoned parents already face.

Children with parents in prison suffer from emotional and behavioral problems stemming from separation from their parents and the embarrassment associated with having a parent in prison. Adolescent boys suffer the most severely from the consequences of having incarcerated parents, and these problems often manifest into aggressive or antisocial behavior.¹⁶ A study conducted by two sociologists in the 1970s found that sixteen out of twenty-two children with an incarcerated parent exhibit signs of depression and overall anxiety. The same number of children

¹³ Haney, 111.

¹⁴ Haney, 113.

¹⁵ Haney, 114.

¹⁶ William H. Sack and Jack Seidler, "Should Children Visit Their Parents in Prison?" *Law and Human Behavior* 2 (1978): 261-262.

also felt isolated from their peers.¹⁷ This study proves that children are greatly affected by the incarceration of a parent, but suggests that visiting parents in prison may not be the correct solution to combatting this issue. Possible detriments of parental visits, according to the study's authors, included children being used to smuggle drugs and alcohol into prisons and claims that parents and visitors sometimes openly engage in sexual activity in front of their children. The article also claims that children engage in disruptive behavior during their visits with other children, as their visiting parent and incarcerated parent will ignore their children and the visits are not properly monitored.¹⁸ Like *Motherhood as Punishment*, this article claims that changes are necessary to improve the relationship between incarcerated parents and their children, but children spending time at prisons may be more detrimental, which supports those advocating for other ways for children to interact with parents in prison, such as Gillian Ferris's *Keeping Kids Connected With Their Jailed Parents* that promotes the use of Skype to allow these children to communicate with their parents without visiting the prison.¹⁹ These articles suggest that another solution is necessary to help incarcerated parents maintain healthy relationships through contact with their children, but exposing children to prison life may not be sufficient.

Behavioral Reactions of Children to Prenatal Absence Due to Imprisonment focuses on the different behaviors children exhibit depending on which of their parents is incarcerated. The absence of a father causes much different effects in children than the absence of a mother, as the absence of a father causes more outward emotional problems. Half of the children in this study with imprisoned fathers faced emotional issues that manifested into aggressive behavior. The

¹⁷ Sack and Seidler, 263.

¹⁸ Sack and Seidler, 265.

¹⁹ Gillian Ferris, *Keeping Kids Connected With Their Incarcerated Parents*, *New England Public Radio*, July 18, 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/18/156931321/keeping-kids-connected-with-their-jailed-parents>

study found that children with absent fathers act out more frequently and are more likely to be delinquents than their peers. Truancy and running away are more common behaviors among children with incarcerated fathers. Having an imprisoned father leads children to engage in disruptive behaviors, such as abusing drugs and alcohol and disciplinary problems. Children with incarcerated mothers are less likely to act out on their emotional distress and combat their issues more internally. Children with imprisoned mothers more often experience problems that are referred to as “withdrawal.” These behaviors include problems more centered around inner conflict, such as isolation from peers, immature behavior, poor performance in school, and daydreaming.²⁰

This study also shows that children have less difficulties coping with the loss of a parent to incarceration if they are unaware of their parent’s whereabouts. If children are unaware of where their parent is, they are able to escape the stigma associated with incarceration while they are still dealing with the stress of losing a parent. However, the relationship between imprisoned parents and their children prior to their imprisonment is another major factor in how children react to the loss of a parent. While there is a correlation between acting-in and acting-out behavior between the gender of the incarcerated parent and how the child reacts, there is not a major relationship between how children’s behaviors are affected by knowing where their parent is. While acting-in and acting-out behaviors are still associated with the absence of a mother and father, children are affected differently depending on where they believe their absent parent is. Children that believe their imprisoned parents are absent for a socially acceptable reason, like to work, go to school, or staying with other relatives, do not face the same emotional distresses. This article proves that because of stereotypes associated with incarceration, children who know

²⁰ Travis A. Fritsch and John D. Burkhead, “Behavioral Reaction of Children to Parental Absence Due to Imprisonment” *Family Relations* 30 (1981): 85.

that their parents are incarcerated are negatively affected, the study concludes. This study works to show that children visiting their parents in prison is not an adequate way to help children cope with the loss of their incarcerated parents.

In the *Ever-Increasing Levels of Parental Implications: Recent Trends and Implications for Child Welfare*, the behavioral problems of children with incarcerated parents is explored, but it focuses on the problems stemming from the behaviors of these parents before they were incarcerated. This study focuses on the individual factors of a parent's incarceration that affect children. This article discusses how incarceration may have solved problems within some families, as incarcerated parents are often volatile before their imprisonment. This study agrees that children with incarcerated parents often experience negative behavioral outcomes. Children with imprisoned parents are more often associated with aggressive behavior and withdrawal, depression, and criminal involvement than their peers. Along with these behavioral problems, children with incarcerated parents also have difficulties in school and many of them experience hyperactivity; these children are also more likely to suffer from sleep and eating disorders.²¹

The separation of parents from their children is a traumatic experience, but preexisting circumstances within the family may continue to affect children after their parent's incarceration. Many of these parents were weak role models before their imprisonment and these children are more likely to have witnessed domestic violence and substance abuse. In this way, incarceration of a hostile parent may prove beneficial for a child, such as by removing an abusive parent from a child's life. Many of these children grew up in low income families, but their financial conditions could also worsen after a parent's incarceration. Children could suffer as family

²¹ Rucker C. Johnson, "Ever-increasing Levels of Parental Incarceration and the Consequences for Children." in *Do Prisons Make Us Safer?: The Benefits and Costs of the Prison Boom*, edited by Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll, 177–206. Russell Sage Foundation. (2009), 179.

income would diminish and the supplementary caregivers of a child may not be as effective or nurturing as their parent. This study also claims that children of incarcerated parents can be predisposed to inherited traits, such as that of temperament and parental criminality.²²

This study largely focuses on the relationship between sons and their imprisoned fathers. This work says there is a significant relationship between how boys react to having imprisoned fathers, as they are more likely to engage in deviant behavior and criminal activity between the ages of thirteen and nineteen. Boys with imprisoned fathers have lower expectations for success and the impact of having an incarcerated parent is more significant for boys because more incarcerated parents are fathers and boys identify more with their fathers than mothers. Boys are also more affected by parental separation than girls, so this furthers the impact of a father's incarceration on their sons and leads to more disruptive behavior. This study draws from Fritsch and Burkhead's studies exhibiting that children with incarcerated parents misbehave and lash out, while children with incarcerated mothers face more personal and emotional challenges. However, this study claims that not all children react the same to the absence of a parent because of imprisonment. This study asserts that some children may not face long-term implications after the imprisonment of a parent and attempts to dismiss these generalizations. This study provides that some of these children may react differently, especially depending on the family dynamic before a parent was imprisoned. This study also states that less than half of imprisoned parents are visited by their children and these visits are infrequent.²³ This could be suggesting that the guardian of the child is not comfortable allowing their children to visit prisons, or that the relationship between the incarcerated parent and child was not close prior to the parent's imprisonment.

²² Johnson, 179.

²³ Johnson, 179-181.

The Moynihan Report, which is discussed in Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow*, proposed that actions were necessary to stabilize black families in the United States. The Moynihan Report was released in 1965 to prove that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not effective in helping blacks gain equality and stated that the typical structure of black families was significantly preventing blacks from succeeding in American society. This report places a high importance on how stability within the family may affect children and states, "The role of the family in shaping character and ability is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked. The family is the basic social unit of American life; it is the basic socializing unit. By and large, adult conduct in society is learned as a child." While this report focuses on black family structure, it shows that the breakdown of families can significantly damage children and can be used to see how the separation of incarcerated parents and their children can stifle the children's development.²⁴

The Moynihan Report largely focuses on the impact that the absence of fathers has had on black families in the United States. This report was written in 1965, but its revelations are still significant today, especially in the context of discussing how families are affected by a parent's imprisonment. According to the Moynihan Report, children from broken homes performed worse in school than their peers and had lower enrollment. The report also draws from the work of Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, who predicted juvenile crime based on five factors stemming from the unique relationships between mothers and fathers with their children and the cohesiveness of the family as a whole.²⁵ Overall, the information in the Moynihan Report shows

²⁴ "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor (March 1965), <http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/webid-meynihan.htm>

²⁵ "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor.

the incredible impact the absence of a parent has on a child. This evidence supports the claim that children should be able to maintain a relationship with parents during a parent's incarceration as an effort to preserve stability within the family. This study was released in 1965, but its findings are still relevant and having a parent absent while they are imprisoned is still stifling the success of many children. This problem still persists today and shows that reform is necessary to support children and foster stability in families with absent parents.

The Huffington Post published "1 in 14 Children Had a Parent in Prison," that discusses how children with incarcerated parents feel a combination of shame, trauma, and stigma. This article focuses on a report by the research organization, Child Trends, that estimates 5 million children in the United States have a parent in prison. This means that one in every fourteen children has a parent in prison, but one in nine black children has a parent in prison. This article talks about programs available for children with incarcerated parents to help them cope with the absence of their parent, such as a program run by New Hope Oklahoma that provides 500 children in Oklahoma with an incarcerated parent the opportunity to attend after-school programs, summer camps, and weekend retreat every year. This program is a meaningful outlet for children with incarcerated parents and helps provide support for these children while a parent is absent. Child Trends suggests that more programs like this are necessary for children to combat this challenge and lower their susceptibility toward behavioral problems, academic issues, and substance abuse.²⁶

Children with incarcerated parents often have poor self-esteem, and programs like New Hope would be beneficial for children to gain support from others with a common problem.

²⁶ "1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison," Huffington Post, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/1-in-14-us-children-has-had-a-parent-in-prison_562f85e7e4b00aa54a4b21df

Child trends suggests that communities, schools, and prison systems should intervene in the lives of these children such as making prison visits less stressful for children, increasing communication between children and their incarcerated parents, and giving teachers the proper resources to be more qualified to help children cope with the stresses of having an incarcerated parent and help children deal with the stigma associated with imprisonment.²⁷ However, this does prove that there is a severe lack of visits between children and their imprisoned parents which could be resolved by allowing other forms of communication or making the prison environment more suitable for young visitors. These innovations would be beneficial for children with incarcerated parents and could help reduce the emotional pain and reduce the impact of being separated from a parent.

Child Trends says these reforms are moving slowly, but maintains they will be effective once enforced. Washington has been making progress in improving the relationships between imprisoned parents and their children by creating child-friendly areas within prisons so children can visit their parents in a more comfortable environment. Michigan has also been making progress in improving relationships between children and their incarcerated parents by allowing children to visit their parents for two hours in a friendly environment. The case manager at New Hope describes how children feel uncomfortable telling their peers about their parents and how this program enables children to talk about their parents in a comfortable environment.²⁸

While New Hope creates a comfortable environment for children with incarcerated parents outside of the prison, another organization called Oakland Livingston Human Service Agency works to make visiting prisons more comfortable for children. This program facilitates visits between imprisoned fathers and their children in a playful and fun environment to alleviate

²⁷ “1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison,” Huffington Post.

²⁸ “1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison,” Huffington Post.

the stress of going to prisons. These visiting areas are decorated and toys are provided for the children. This is a major difference from prisons where no contact visits are the only visits permitted, as children are allowed to play with their fathers freely. Linda VanderWaal, the associate director for family re-entry at Oakland Livingston promoted the program and said, “We move the chairs back so there’s room to throw a ball. It’s fine if a dad wants to toss his kid in the air or wrestle on the floor. It’s a true play date.”²⁹ This program is much different than that of Visions, although both programs strive to improve the relationship between children and incarcerated parents. New Hope allows children to visit prisons, but the friendly environment helps to diminish the harmful effects seeing a prison can have on a child. Children at Visions are essentially serving their mother’s sentence with them and are not given the same freedoms as other children. Children are not able to see their parents as much in the New Hope program when compared to being able to live with their mothers at Visions, but they are allowed to interact with their parent while carrying on a more normal life.

This program has also proven to be effective in helping incarcerated fathers return back to their family after being released from prison. This program has lasted for twelve years and has proven to be valuable for these fathers and helps to lessen the divide felt by children and their parents during their imprisonment. It is difficult to determine how children will react to visiting their parents in prison, as many children are fearful of prisons but are eager to see the parents they are separated from. Oakland Livingston’s program helps to relieve this anxiety and provides a more intimate experience for children and parents than talking on the phone with parents through a glass barrier. Jody Becker-Green, a deputy-secretary of Washington’s corrections department’s child-friendly environment promotes the program because it depletes the emotional

²⁹ “1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison,” Huffington Post.

impact children with incarcerated parents feel. These programs provide examples of ways in which parents can maintain a healthy relationship with their children during their incarceration and works to remove the harshness of prison and make for a more natural visit with their parents.³⁰

In a church in Oakland, California, teenagers with incarcerated parents meet to and discuss their feelings through Project WHAT!. These teens are able to relate to each other and not be embarrassed by the actions of their parents. Nell Bernstein is a youth advocate in the area and coordinator of a coalition in San Francisco that advocates for children with parents in the criminal justice system and they created a Bill of Rights, which included the right of a child with an incarcerated parent to touch their parents, the right to not be blamed for their parents' incarceration, and the right to be involved in decisions about their parents. Zoe Wilmott was a participant in Project WHAT! as a teen and coordinates the project now and described visiting her mother in prison as scarring, although she appreciated maintaining a relationship with her during her incarceration. Wilmott described the stresses associated with visiting prison and Bernstein referred to children with incarcerated parents as "invisible victims of the criminal justice system." During Project WHAT! meetings, Wilmott shows movies to get the group inspired enough to discuss their own stories. Project WHAT! helps support families while they are dealing with the absence of a parent, but California's prison realignment program supports these families after the imprisoned parent is released.³¹

Gillian Ferris's article about the importance of helping children maintain relationships with their imprisoned parents because it helps them feel less disconnected during their parent's

³⁰ "1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison," Huffington Post.

³¹ Kyung Jin Leem , Kids of Incarcerated Parents Speak Out, *KAWL*, July 17, 2014, <http://kalw.org/post/kids-incarcerated-parents-speak-out#stream/0>

absence. Ferris's article draws from the experience of A.J. Minor, whose mother was incarcerated when he was seven years old. Minor expresses his feelings of depression throughout his childhood and talks about how his involvement in a task force in his county in Arizona that works to help stabilize the relationship between a child and their imprisoned parent. In Coconino County, Arizona, the County Sheriff's Office is working to install a video visitation system for children and imprisoned parents. Lieutenant Matt Figueroa advocates for this system and says it will allow children to maintain a relationship with their parent without needing to visit prison. This will stabilize their relationship without exposing children to the hostility of prison. This would also allow children to have more frequent visits with their parents. Minor encourages the children of incarcerated parents to remain positive and to remember they will see their parents again.³² Video visits will help children cope with their parent's absence, while allowing them to escape the volatile prison environment. Increasing the interaction between parents and children would be positive and help relieve the feelings of separation. Minor's description of his feelings during his mother's absence are representative of children with imprisoned parents that so often feel alone.

Reforms are necessary to help children cope with the absence of a parent and maintain a healthy relationship with them during their imprisonment. This could help to alleviate the stresses and lessen the emotional trauma associated with having an absent parent. While children should not be exposed to the harsh prison environment, they should be able to communicate with their parents through technological innovations, such as Skype visits. Children could also benefit from visiting incarcerated parents in more child-friendly environments to ensure they maintain communication, but without the anxiety associated with visiting prison. If children feel more

³² Gillian Ferris, Keeping Kids Connected With Their Incarcerated Parents, *New England Public Radio*.

connected with their parents, they may be able to escape the emotional damage faced by children that feel abandoned by their absent parent and may be more successful. This could work to end the cycle of imprisonment and ensure that children with incarcerated parents are not more likely to end up in prison themselves.

Works Cited

- “1 in 14 U.S. Children Has Had a Parent in Prison,” *huffingtonpost.com*, last modified October 27, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/1-in-14-us-children-has-had-a-parent-in-prison_562f85e7e4b00aa54a4b21df.
- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2012. Print.
- Ferris, Gillian. “Keeping Kids Connected with their Jailed Parents,” *npr.org*, last modified July 18, 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/18/156931321/keeping-kids-connected-with-their-jailed-parents>.
- Fritsch, Travis A., and John D. Burkhead. 1981. “Behavioral Reactions of Children to Parental Absence Due to Imprisonment”. *Family Relations* 30 (1). National Council on Family Relations: 83–88. doi:10.2307/584240.
- Haney, Lynne. 2013. “Motherhood as Punishment: The Case of Parenting in Prison”. *Signs* 39 (1). The University Chicago Press: 105-130. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/670815>
- Johnson, Elizabeth I., and Jane Walfdogel. 2002. “Parental Incarceration: Recent Trends and Implications for Child Welfare”. *Social Service Review* 76 (3). The University Chicago Press: 460-479. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/341184>
- Jin Lee, Kyung. “Kids of Incarcerated Parents Speak Out,” *kawl.org*, last modified July 17, 2014, <http://kalw.org/post/kids-incarcerated-parents-speak-out#stream/0>.
- Raphael, Steven, and Michael A. Stoll, eds.. 2009. *Do Prisons Make Us Safer?: The Benefits and Costs of the Prison Boom*. Edited by Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll. Russell Sage
- Sack, William H., and Jack Seidler. 1978. “Should Children Visit Their Parents in Prison?”. *Law and Human Behavior* 2 (3). Springer: 261–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1393627>.

Thompson, Heather Ann. 2010. "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History." *Journal of American History* 97: 703-34.

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/rrzi9v7rfjlo9dl/Thompson.Why%20Mass%20Incarceration%20Matters.pdf>

United States Department of Labor. "The Negro Family: The Case For National Action."

dol.gov. <http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/webid-meynihan.htm> (accessed December 8, 2015).