



RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation
Journal of the Social Sciences

Severe Deprivation in America

VOLUME 1 • NUMBER 2 • NOVEMBER 2015



RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation
Journal of the Social Sciences

Severe Deprivation in America

VOLUME 1 • NUMBER 2 • NOVEMBER 2015



The Russell Sage Foundation

The Russell Sage Foundation, one of the oldest of America's general purpose foundations, was established in 1907 by Mrs. Margaret Olivia Sage for "the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States." The foundation seeks to fulfill this mandate by fostering the development and dissemination of knowledge about the country's political, social, and economic problems. While the foundation endeavors to assure the accuracy and objectivity of each book it publishes, the conclusions and interpretations in Russell Sage Foundation publications are those of the authors and not of the foundation, its trustees, or its staff. Publication by Russell Sage, therefore, does not imply foundation endorsement.

Board of Trustees

Sara S. McLanahan, *Chair*
 Larry M. Bartels
 Kenneth D. Brody
 Karen S. Cook
 W. Bowman Cutler III
 Sheldon H. Danziger
 Kathryn Edin
 Lawrence F. Katz

Nicholas Lemann
 Peter R. Orszag
 Claude M. Steele
 Shelley E. Taylor
 Richard H. Thaler
 Hirokazu Yoshikawa

Mission Statement

RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences is a peer-reviewed, open-access journal of original empirical research articles by both established and emerging scholars. It is designed to promote cross-disciplinary collaborations on timely issues of interest to academics, policymakers, and the public at large. Each issue is thematic in nature and focuses on a specific research question or area of interest. The introduction to each issue will include an accessible, broad, and synthetic overview of the research question under consideration and the current thinking from the various social sciences.

RSF Journal Editorial Board

Annette Bernhardt, University of California, Berkeley
 Marianne Bertrand, University of Chicago
 Karen S. Cook, Stanford University
 Sheldon H. Danziger, Russell Sage Foundation
 Nancy Folbre, University of Massachusetts
 Janet C. Gornick, The CUNY Graduate Center
 John A. Ferejohn, Stanford University

Larry V. Hedges, Northwestern University
 Jennifer Hochschild, Harvard University
 Rucker C. Johnson, University of California, Berkeley
 Douglas S. Massey, Princeton University
 James Sidanius, Harvard University
 Mary C. Waters, Harvard University
 Bruce Western, Harvard University

Copyright © 2015 by Russell Sage Foundation. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher. Reproduction by the United States Government in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose.

Opinions expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the editors, editorial board, trustees, or the Russell Sage Foundation.

We invite scholars to submit proposals for potential issues through the *RSF* application portal: <https://rsfjournal.onlineapplicationportal.com/>. Submissions should be addressed to Suzanne Nichols, Director of Publications.

Russell Sage Foundation

112 East 64th Street
 New York, NY 10065

ISSN (print): 2377-8253
ISSN (electronic): 2377-8261
ISBN: 978-0-87154-502-2

RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation
Journal of the Social Sciences

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2

NOVEMBER 2015

Severe Deprivation in America

ISSUE EDITOR

Matthew Desmond, Harvard University

CONTENTS

Severe Deprivation in America: An
Introduction **1**

Matthew Desmond

III. The Commonplace of Violence and Death

Lifetimes of Violence in a Sample of Released
Prisoners **14**

Bruce Western

Becoming Aggrieved: An Alternative
Framework of Care in Black Chicago **31**

Laurence Ralph

IV. The Prison as Poverty Institution

Homelessness and Housing Insecurity
Among Former Prisoners **44**

*Claire W. Herbert, Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and
David J. Harding*

Mass Incarceration, Parental Imprisonment,
and the Great Recession: Intergenerational
Sources of Severe Deprivation in America **80**

John Hagan and Holly Foster

Severe Deprivation and System Inclusion
Among Children of Incarcerated Parents
in the United States After the Great
Recession **108**

Bryan L. Sykes and Becky Pettit

Severe Deprivation in America: An Introduction



MATTHEW DESMOND

A LIFE

Crystal Mayberry was born prematurely on a spring day in 1990 shortly after her pregnant mother was stabbed eleven times in the back during a robbery.¹ The attack induced labor. Both mother and daughter survived. It was not the first time Crystal's mother had been stabbed. For as far back as she can remember, Crystal's father had beat her mother. He smoked crack cocaine, and so did her mother; so did her mother's mother.

Crystal's mother found a way to leave, and her father soon after began a lengthy prison sentence. Crystal and her mother moved in with another man and his parents. That man's father began molesting Crystal. She told her mother, and her mother called her a liar. Not long after Crystal began kindergarten, Child Protective Services stepped in. At five, Crystal was placed in foster care.

Crystal was bounced around between dozens of group homes and sets of foster parents. She lived with her aunt for five years. Then her aunt returned her. After that, the longest Crystal lived anywhere was eight months. When adolescence arrived, Crystal had to fight more with the other girls in the group homes. She picked up assault charges and a scar across

her right cheekbone. People and their houses, pets, furniture, dishes—these came and went. Food was more stable, and Crystal began taking refuge in it. She put on weight. Because of her weight, she developed sleep apnea.

When Crystal was sixteen, she stopped going to high school. When she turned eighteen, she aged out of foster care. By that time she had passed through more than twenty-five foster placements. She had been approved for Supplemental Security Income (SSI), mainly on account of bipolar disorder, and would receive \$754 a month, or a little over \$9,000 a year.

Crystal was barred from low-income housing for two years because of the assault charge she caught for fighting in the group home. Even if she had not been barred, she would still have found herself at the bottom of a waiting list that was six years long, which wasn't too bad considering that the wait in large cities like Washington, D.C., can extend to twenty years. Crystal secured her first apartment in the private market—a run-down two-bedroom unit in the inner city whose rent took 73 percent of her income. A few months later, Crystal experienced her first official eviction, which went on her record, making it likely that her appli-

Matthew Desmond is associate professor of sociology and social studies at Harvard University.

I thank Sheldon Danziger, Kathy Edin, Suzanne Nichols, Devah Pager, Robert Sampson, Mario Small, Bruce Western, the Russell Sage Foundation Trustees, and all who participated in the "Severe Deprivation in America" conference, hosted and sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation on October 30–31, 2014. Direct correspondence to: Matthew Desmond at mdesmond@fas.harvard.edu, Department of Sociology, Harvard University, William James Hall, 33 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

1. I met Crystal while conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Milwaukee with low-income tenants and their landlords (Desmond 2012, 2016). Crystal Mayberry is a pseudonym.

cation for housing assistance would be denied. After her eviction, Crystal met a woman named Vanetta at a homeless shelter and, with her, secured another apartment. Then Crystal put Vanetta's friend through a window, and the landlord told Crystal to leave.

Crystal spent nights in shelters, with friends, and with members of her church. She learned how to live on the streets, walking them at night and sleeping on the bus or in hospital waiting rooms during the day. She learned to survive by relying on strangers. She met a woman at a bus stop and ended up living with her for a month. People were attracted to Crystal. She was gregarious and funny, with an endearing habit of slapping her hands together and laughing at herself. She sang in public, gospel mostly.

Crystal had always believed that her Supplemental Security Income was secure. You couldn't get fired from SSI, and your hours couldn't get cut. "SSI always come," she said. Until one day it didn't. Crystal had been approved for SSI as a minor, but her adult re-evaluation found her ineligible. Now Crystal's only source of income was food stamps. She tried donating plasma, but her veins were too small. Disconnected, Crystal burned through the remaining ties she had from church and her foster families. When her SSI was not reinstated after several months, she descended into street homelessness and prostitution. Crystal had never been a morning person but soon learned that was the best time to turn tricks, catching men on their way to work.

A CHALLENGE

Many of us who are poverty scholars have met people like Crystal. We learn a great deal from them, and our own lives are influenced by them. And many of us feel, on returning to the library from the field, that the tools provided by mainstream social science are outdated and leave us ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of the lives of people like Crystal.

Should we say Crystal is "poor"? She certainly is that—but living in mere poverty would be a tremendous blessing for Crystal. Poverty is defined officially as an income cutoff, a threshold. But there are many depths below the pov-

erty line. Poverty is qualitatively different from "deep poverty" (half below the poverty line), which in turn is a world apart from "extreme poverty" (living on \$2 a day) (Aron, Jacobson, and Turner 2013; Shaefer and Edin 2013). There is poverty, and then there is *poverty*. Recent debates about poverty measurement have focused largely on its material attributes: for example, how to account for taxes, transfers, and benefits, or whether to adopt a relative or absolute definition (Brady 2003; Meyer and Sullivan 2012). These debates are necessary and productive, but a relatively small income is but one of many obstacles preventing Crystal from living a full, productive, and healthy life. Like many people from disadvantaged families, she experienced setbacks at a very young age (even before birth) and never fully recovered from them. Poverty is more than a material condition (Sen 1999).

Should we place Crystal in a larger "structural framework"? If so, which one? Many of our structural theories, and their corresponding policy prescriptions, trace social problems back to a singular source, some big word that sits at the mouth of the river. Deindustrialization. Neoliberalism. Racism. Welfare reform. What would that singular source be in Crystal's life? The joblessness of her father? Her mother's addiction? The sexual abuse or violence? The broken foster system or schools that allowed her to fall through the cracks? Poverty is *multidimensional*, yet the one-dimensional focus of many of our structural accounts facilitates intellectual fragmentation and prevents researchers from building a comprehensive and systematic theory of poverty that articulates how movements and countermovements in different spheres of life (political, economic, residential, familial) collude to deepen or lessen American inequality.

Should we make sense of Crystal's young life by referencing "culture?" Can we do that and fully appreciate how traumas imprinted themselves on her body and mind? At seventeen, Crystal was examined by a clinical psychologist, who diagnosed her with, among other things, bipolar disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, reactive attachment disorder, and borderline intellectual functioning. According to his report, Crystal "has limited ability to tolerate

much in the way of frustration or anxiety and a proneness to act out her tensions without much in the way of forethought or deliberation. . . . She is still seen as being fragilely integrated.” Did Crystal put that woman through a window because of the “culture of violence” pervading the inner city, or because she was a young person who had herself been brutalized and psychologically damaged—or both? The time is ripe to explore the relationship between culture, psychology, and inequality (Lamont and Small 2008; Patterson 2015). What is clear is that we cannot talk about agency without recognizing the deep imprint of past traumas, just as we cannot talk about “violent offenders” without recognizing that many of them were “violently offended” themselves as children, as Bruce Western’s article demonstrates.

How should we begin to study the conditions that Crystal’s young life embodies so tragically and completely? Should we design a randomized control trial or a quasi-experimental method to isolate the single most meaningful cause of Crystal’s hardship? That seems quite impossible, as the lives of the poor are characterized by correlated and compounding disadvantages. Should we conduct a survey or analyze big data in the form of administrative records? Our most vulnerable citizens often are left out of survey samples and infrequently show up in administrative databases. Should we conduct fieldwork? Ethnography comes with its own set of analytical and ethical challenges, especially when studying the poor. These questions have led several contributors to this issue to develop methodological innovations to capture the complexities of poverty, including the ethnographic approach of Megan Comfort and her coauthors, who fully integrate clinical social work.

Besides these methodological challenges, the very language of “poverty” can be fuzzy and imprecise. This problem is accentuated by the fact that our analytical concepts have never been innocent of politics and moralizing (Gans 1995; O’Connor 2009). Our current terminology groups all families below a certain income threshold into a single category: the poor. But

doing so can flatten crucial differences in how material scarcity and psychological turmoil are experienced. How can our concepts be refined or redefined? How can we capture with more precision variations or degrees of hardship and social suffering among low-income families? And what do we mean by “poverty” anyway?

SEVERE DEPRIVATION

These challenges motivated this journal issue on severe deprivation in America. By “severe deprivation,” we mean economic hardship that is (1) acute, (2) compounded, and (3) persistent. Let us unpack these three components.

Acute hardship: Life far below the poverty line, characterized by a scarcity of critical resources and material hardship. No rich democracy matches the United States in the depth and expanse of its poverty. As of 2015, almost 50 million Americans lived below the federal poverty line. If America’s poor founded a country, that country would have a bigger population than Spain. In 2010, 20.5 million people in the United States lived in deep poverty—that is, on incomes below half the federal poverty threshold—up by almost 8 million since 2000.² That same year one in every fifty Americans reported living in a household with an income consisting only of food stamps (DeParle 2010; Edelman 2012). Crystal lived on \$25 a day before expenses and far less after she paid her rent.

Compounded hardship: “Poverty plus,” or correlated and compounded adversity. This idea speaks to the clustering of different kinds of disadvantage across multiple dimensions (psychological, social, material) and institutions (work, family, prison). Although the literature on development economics has grappled with the problem of measuring multidimensional hardship (Alkire and Foster 2011; Sen 1976), students of poverty in America have only begun thinking through the conceptual and methodological challenges of this approach. The essence of poverty is not simply an economic condition but the *linked ecology* of social maladies and broken institutions. To this end, the articles in this issue develop new ways of combining—rather than isolating—dif-

2. In 2010 the number of Americans in deep poverty fell to 15 million after accounting for all public benefits. Most of those people were lifted into mere poverty (Edelman 2012, 82).

ferent forms of disadvantage, including Claire Herbert, Jeff Morenoff, and David Harding's analysis of the nexus between the prison and housing markets and Kristin Perkins and Robert Sampson's method of measuring "compounded disadvantage" that unites individual and ecological hardship (see also Sampson 2014). If, in the end, it comes down to *all of it*, then thinking that one institution or condition has supreme explanatory priority—that "the most important thing" is the family, the neighborhood, housing, employment, or education—may be the wrong direction for poverty research. This point applies to statistical methods that promote isolationist thinking as well as to qualitative approaches that tend to focus on a single dimension of a disadvantaged group instead of "studying the whole" (Desmond 2014; Halle 1984).

Persistent hardship: Enduring disadvantage often stubbornly impervious to change. This component of our definition focuses attention on three interrelated matters. The first involves the lasting effects of *early-life trauma*, including abuse, hunger, and violence experienced as a child or even as a fetus (Shonkoff et al. 2012). Many people below the poverty line speak of the traumas that set them on certain paths. Just ask Mrs. Lana of Eastwood, whose madness after her son's murder is captured by Laurence Ralph. The second matter is deprivation *experienced over long stretches*, even lifetimes. Here, questions regarding the coping strategies and effects of long-term social suffering come into play (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan 1997; Jencks 1992). The third element of persistent deprivation deals with *generational poverty* passed down from parents to children (Sharkey 2013). When we focus on generational deprivation, we not only recognize the resiliency of past wrongs on present-day problems but we may also find explanations for why some children born into poverty manage to climb out of it.

A critic might accuse the social scientists in this issue of "scraping the very bottom" and object to building a research agenda, let alone a public policy, this way. To this criticism we have three responses. First, thinking about severe deprivation is not just a matter of studying the poorest of the poor. Our collective proj-

ect is to develop a set of analytical commitments that go beyond narrow and tidy approaches to economic vulnerability. It is more about a perspective, a certain intellectual posture, than about a specific population.

That being said, it may be just as orienting to speak of the "severely deprived" as a population as it was when scholars spoke of "the underclass" (Myrdal 1963; Jencks 1992; Wilson 1987), before that term became saddled with so much cultural baggage that researchers and journalists eventually let it die. We know startlingly little about life at the bottom of society (Gans 2014), even if many social problems we care about—from crime and violence to homelessness and teenage pregnancy—largely involve not simply "the poor" but people whose lives are characterized by economic hardship that is acute, compounded, and persistent. In fact, researchers who focus exclusively on, say, educational inequality, housing instability, legal entanglements, or neighborhood disadvantage often are studying the *very same families* whose lives are marred by severe deprivation. Our second response speaks to the need to develop an approach that encourages researchers and policymakers to understand those families holistically instead of specializing in one vector of their lives.

Third, we note that not only does severe deprivation rest at the heart of many social problems, but that it may not be as rare as scholars often think. When Americans compare the poverty of their fellow citizens with the desperation that grips the slum dwellers of Lagos or Caracas, or with the swollen-bellied families in the villages of rural India or inland China, they sometimes conclude that American poverty would be considered downright abundance in other parts of the world, that ours is an unfortunate but ultimately lesser hardship. On some key measures, this is undeniably true. But this line of thinking can cause us to overlook just how desperate the situation is for those Americans living at the very bottom. Sometimes such comparisons lead to the presumption that nobody in the United States lives "that bad." "Four billion people in the world earn less than \$2 per day," write a group of scholars in the pages of a leading academic journal (Walsh, Kress, and Beyerchen 2005, 473). "No one in the U.S., Japan,

or Germany lives in such poverty.” No one? This is tragically far from true, at least as far as the United States is concerned. Luke Shaefer, Kathryn Edin, and Elizabeth Talbert find that the number of American children who experienced chronic extreme poverty, living on no more than \$2 a day for seven months or more, has increased by over 240 percent since 1996.

A NEW POVERTY AGENDA

Poverty researchers from across the social sciences have the opportunity to reach collectively toward a new paradigm—not just a new way of thinking but a whole different approach to the study of vulnerability, violence, and marginality, one that carries methodological, policy-relevant, and normative implications. Most research is rooted in theories now a few decades old. These theories have stood the test of time because they are incisive, sweeping, and validated. But they also were developed before the United States began incarcerating more of its citizens than any other nation; before urban rents soared and poor families began dedicating the majority of their income to housing; before welfare reform caused caseloads to plummet; and before the crack epidemic tore apart poor minority communities. In recent years, the very *nature* of poverty in America has changed, especially at the very bottom. A new poverty agenda is needed for a world that is itself quite new.

America’s social policies have changed. Some forms of public assistance, like housing assistance and cash welfare, have been scaled back, while others, like the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), have grown substantially. Large-scale changes in federal poverty policy have created new winners and losers. Households just above and below the poverty threshold receive significantly more help today than they did twenty years ago—but those far below the poverty line receive significantly less (Currie 2008; Moffitt 2015). The inequality debate focuses mainly on the growing divide between the rich and the middle class. But there is a growing divide *below* the poverty line as well, between the stable, typically working poor, who benefit significantly from today’s safety net, and the unstable, typically nonworking

poor, who receive fewer benefits or who are even disconnected, as was the case for the women with whom Kristen Seefeldt and Heather Sandstrom spoke.

The growing rift between the working and nonworking poor is driven almost entirely by public policy priorities, not rising security or wages in the workplace. The last three decades have been marked by impressive economic growth, but increases in productivity have not translated into broad social uplift. At the bottom of the labor market, compensation has stagnated in both the private and public sectors, while the economy has expanded. By one estimate, the federal minimum wage in 2013 would have been \$18.30 (not \$7.25) if it had increased at the rate of productivity (Cooper 2013). “When it comes to an economy that is working for working families,” write Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto (2005, 34), “growth in and of itself is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. The growth has to reach the people.” Roughly 30 percent of the American workforce labors for “poverty wages,” and most low-wage workers are not teenagers but adults, including many parents. One study estimated that one in five children in America has a parent who would receive a raise if the minimum wage were increased (Cooper 2013).

Labor market policies designed to shake loose regulation and facilitate market flexibility have weakened organized labor and replaced long-term employment with temporary jobs. Today most workers are not unionized, and half of all new jobs end within the first year (Farber 2010; Western and Rosenfeld 2011). As the service sector has eclipsed manufacturing, the United States has witnessed an increase in “bad jobs” offering low pay, no benefits, and little certainty (Kalleberg 2011). Although no sector of the economy is untouched by precarious work, bad jobs are disproportionately staffed by the working poor. Scholars now speak of the “age of layoffs” (Uchitelle 2006, 124) and have begun to study new forms of instability among workers, including schedule unpredictability designed to maximize productivity. A recent study by Susan Lambert, Peter Fugiel, and Julia Henly (2014) found that 41 percent of early career hourly employees (ages

twenty-six to thirty-two) learn about their work schedule one week or less in advance of the coming workweek. Those who are parents of young children report that their hours fluctuated in the previous month by an average of 40 percent, compared to normal hours.

The location of disadvantage also is shifting. Owing to rising housing costs in cities, an aging population, shifting patterns of immigration, changes in federal housing programs, and patterns of downward mobility, it is not far-fetched to imagine a future in which the poor do not live on the other side of the tracks but in entirely different municipalities and counties. Indeed, we need not imagine this: it already has become a reality as poverty has skyrocketed in American suburbs throughout the country (Kneebone and Berube 2013). Although disadvantage and violent crime are less severely concentrated in the suburbs than in many inner-city areas, these low-density neighborhoods are characterized by isolation and loneliness, especially among the elderly and nonworking poor. Access to key institutions—social services, grocery stores, hospitals and health clinics, schools—also is a key issue for poor suburban families, as is the growing distance to employment centers. Increasingly, the suburban poor are either living their lives on buses and trains or on foot, enduring long commutes, or enduring life alone in neighborhoods never designed for community (Murphy and Wallace 2010; Murphy, forthcoming).

The severely deprived today also pass through different institutions than they did in previous generations. The prison, for one, has become a major poverty institution, especially in the lives of poor black and Hispanic men (Pettit 2012; Western 2006). The violence and isolation of incarceration, as well as the mark of a criminal record, have steep consequences for mental health, employment, family life, and social mobility (Pager 2007; Travis, Western, and Redburn 2014). And many disadvantaged minority neighborhoods are today characterized by heightened surveillance and police presence, which has altered everyday life and the community fabric. A generation ago, poverty scholars would not have needed such a sharp focus on the nexus between punishment and poverty. The articles by John

Hagan and Holly Foster and by Bryan Sykes and Becky Pettit demonstrate that a comprehensive picture of inner-city poverty is incomplete without a serious consideration of the police and incarceration—and the millions of people released from prison each year.

The family has changed. The number of American children living in single-parent homes nearly doubled between 1960 and 2010. In 1970 only 12 percent of children lived with one parent. Today one-third of all American children are not being raised by two parents, and the majority of them live in single-mother households (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics 2013). Family complexity has increased, especially within low-income communities, and as a result, children are being raised by multiple parent figures and the family safety net is fraying (Cancian, Meyer, and Cook 2011; Cherlin and Seltzer 2014). During the first years of the War on Poverty, destitute families often relied on extended kin networks to get by. But the family may no longer serve as a reliable source of support (Desmond 2012; Stack 1974). Understanding why is crucial for understanding the texture of severe deprivation as well as for building effective policy.

A new poverty agenda also entails returning to problems long ago considered ameliorated: elderly poverty, for example. Large-scale programs have led to a significant decrease in poverty among the aged. And politicians long ago learned that their constituents hated the idea of senior housing a lot less than the idea of public housing intended for poor families. When public housing construction for low-income households ceased, it continued for the aged: high-rises originally built for the poor have been converted for elderly use (Schwartz 2014; Vale 2009). And yet, as Helen Levy's and LaShawnDa Pittman's articles show, the elderly may not be as shielded from deprivation as is largely presumed. Their vulnerability snaps into sharpest view after new hardship measures sensitive to the lived experience of poverty in old age are applied.

It is important to notice, too, what is not in this issue—that is, what we do not write about. We have not written about poor people's politics or social movements. A generation ago,

these issues were central to the study of poverty (Drake and Cayton 1945; Piven and Cloward 1993 [1971]). With some exceptions in the fields of sociology (Oliver 2008), history (Katz 2012), and political science (Burch 2013), the political sociology or political science of poverty remains severely underdeveloped, even as Robert Sampson's (2012) novel work on "collective efficacy" in disadvantaged communities has laid a solid foundation on which to build a new research agenda. Basic questions about inequality within the civil sphere, political nihilism and capability, and uneven resistance to marginality remain unanswered. The vast majority of poverty researchers take as their audience policymakers, not publics. Do we still believe, I wonder, in the political capabilities of low-income communities? Is a revised civil rights movement or refashioned labor movement possible? And if so, what should the roll of intellectuals be?

We also do not talk about exploitation—the fact that some people make a good living off the poor. Crystal's landlord, for example, owned thirty-six units squarely in the inner city, rented exclusively to tenants below the poverty line, and netted roughly \$10,000 a month, more than what Crystal took home in a year (Desmond 2016). Poverty research today pivots on the concept of a *lack*. Structural accounts emphasize the inner city's lack of jobs, lack of social services, or lack of organizations. Cultural accounts emphasize the inner city's lack of role models, lack of custodial fathers, or lack of middle-class values (Satter 2009). In fixating on what poor people lack, we have neglected to notice the powerful ways in which exploitation contributes to the reproduction of urban poverty. In several realms, public-private partnerships have been championed as an effective vehicle through which to address social problems. But this approach not only leaves the relationship between poverty and profit intact but also relies on the American taxpayer to shoulder the burden when employers refuse to provide workers with a living wage or when landlords drive up

rent to maximize their rate of return. Inequality and poverty march together in lockstep. Addressing one without paying attention to the other results in a watered-down, inefficient antipoverty policy at best. Our policies should view exploitation as a serious impediment to saving, social mobility, decent housing, and self-reliance. But what might a public policy that effectively addresses exploitation look like?

PUBLIC POLICY AND MORAL URGENCY

What does the severe deprivation perspective mean for public policy? By way of conclusion, let me offer three policy implications that correspond to the three components of severe deprivation.

Acute Hardship

The severe deprivation perspective calls attention to what might be called "policy skimming": simultaneously increasing aid for working families and withdrawing some forms of support for the very poor.³ In 2012 the federal government spent \$54 billion on the Earned Income Tax Credit and \$17 billion on Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) (Aron, Jacobson, and Turner 2013). Many analysts associated with the political left have pronounced that a broad retrenchment of aid to the needy has occurred since the 1980s. But the evidence tells quite a different story. Per capita spending on means-tested programs—even excluding Medicaid—almost doubled between 1986 and 2007. Spending on welfare programs for the poor has increased substantially, but the beneficiaries of this spending have been the working poor and families just above or just below the federal poverty line. Three decades ago, the poorest families in America received most (56 percent) of the transfers going to families with private incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold; in recent years, those families received less than one-third (32 percent) of the transfers (Moffitt 2015). Today the distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving"

3. When President Johnson set out to see American poverty, he visited coal miners—workers. Today, to see the neediest cases, a lawmaker seeking to launch a renewed war on poverty would visit families on welfare or SSI, or the disconnected.

poor carries with it a real cash value. Some parts of the safety net have been patched with cloth taken from other parts.

The question, then, becomes not, *how* do we solve poverty, but *whose* poverty are we solving? And why? This rephrasing helps us adjudicate between our need to emphasize how effective the safety net truly is (and has been) and the fact that so many people are falling through its holes (Bailey and Danziger 2013; Edelman 2012). As Liana Fox and her co-authors demonstrate in their article, in the absence of programs, things would be considerably worse. And yet, ours remains a country beset by severe deprivation.

Compounded Hardship

Our perspective is decidedly anti-silver-bullet. If severe deprivation is by definition the clustering of multiple disadvantages, then going singularly after one thing would be inefficient at best. We can give a working single mother a tax credit and see returns, but what about her abusive boyfriend? We can plant a charter school in a low-income neighborhood, but will the poorest children benefit when landlords respond by raising the rent? The desire to somehow outsmart poverty with a new innovation—to discover a cure—is strong both within and outside the academy. But the severe deprivation perspective gestures more toward an “all hands on deck” approach. This is easier said than done.

For one thing, budgetary allocations encourage policymakers, especially at the federal level, to emphasize the importance of their pet issue rather than the necessity of cross-system collaboration. Changes in resource allocation that slacken competition between offices and incentivize interdepartmental policy design are fundamental to building a more holistic antipoverty policy. Second, the complexity of poverty is extremely difficult to communicate. Findings from a randomized control trial that evaluate a program intervention on a particular outcome—such as a study showing that a jobs program decreases youth violence (Heller 2014)—are beautiful and powerful in their simplicity, and the policy implication seems clear. But when the focus moves to the gnarled prob-

lems of poverty, the sell to policymakers and the public requires a new kind of language and framing.

A third challenge is one of scale. Interventions that adopt a multidimensional approach to deprivation tend to pour an enormous amount of resources into bounded neighborhoods. For example, President Barack Obama’s Promise Zone initiative promotes job creation, economic growth, educational opportunity, and safety in twenty neighborhoods around the country. Can such an approach reach beyond those twenty neighborhoods? Can we—should we—imagine a multidimensional poverty agenda that is not rooted in poverty places? Whatever the challenges, considering the compounded nature of severe deprivation allows us to see the problem and its solutions in a new light and to rethink the ends for which our nation should strive.

Persistent Hardship

“Persistent” is another way of saying “generational,” which is another way of saying “historical,” which trains our attention on past wrongs: from systemic racism and the bleeding of black wealth to the rise of “tough on crime” policies (see, for example, Oliver and Shapiro 1997; Western 2006). Any hard look at past wrongs and their lingering effects reveals that addressing poverty is not only a matter of effective policy design and expanded economic opportunities but also a matter of justice and fairness. In policy circles, however, emphasis on what *can* be done supersedes what *should* be done. A spirit of pragmatism prevails. Researchers in a previous era used their skills to build a case for visionary change encapsulated in landmark rulings (for example, *Brown v. Board of Education*) or major pieces of legislation (the Great Society). Today many seem satisfied to advocate for “nudges” and incremental change. Fundamental reforms, from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Act, were advanced by normative arguments about what was right, not by cost-benefit analyses. As the sociologist David Grusky (2014) recently said, “If we’re serious about winning a second War on Poverty . . . we need to shake off the shackles of the seemingly realistic.” Somewhere along the way, being a hard-nosed, rigor-

ous, data-driven researcher became linked with being disinterested and “realistic.” The normative impulse of social science was scrubbed out. But as a National Academies report on mass incarceration recently recognized (Travis, Western, and Redburn 2014, 320), some of our most pressing policy questions “cannot be resolved by reference to evidence” or “by weighing narrowly quantifiable costs against benefits.”

The severe deprivation approach engages in an empirically driven values conversation about poverty in America, one that is transparent about the moral principles undergirding research and policy, that specifies and reimagines desirable ends, and that rigorously assesses whether we are living up to our professed values. Bearing witness to severe deprivation in one of the richest countries on the planet and chronicling the lives of the poor in their full complexity and humanity requires both intellectual and normative commitments.⁴ The articles in this volume demonstrate that we can hold ourselves to the highest scientific standards and still inflect our work with a spirit of moral urgency.

This volume is a collective attempt to model a different way of doing poverty research, one that embraces the full complexity of poverty (realizing that the noise sometimes is the signal), advances a research agenda that subscribes fully to both the scientific and the normative project, and looks squarely at the trauma of poverty, its sadness, without reducing people to their hardships alone.

One day when homeless, Crystal and Vanetta were eating lunch at a McDonald’s and a boy walked in. He was maybe nine or ten, in dirty clothes and with unkempt hair. One side of his face was swollen. The boy didn’t approach the counter. Instead, he wandered slowly through the tables, looking for scraps.

Crystal and Vanetta noticed him at the same time. “What you got?” Crystal asked, riffling through her pockets. The women pooled what they had to buy the boy dinner. Staring up at the

menu, Crystal wrapped her arm around the boy like she was his auntie or big sister. She made sure he was okay, handed him the food, and sent him on his way with a hug.

“Reminds me of when we was kids,” Vanetta said, shaken.

Crystal watched the boy dash across the street. “I wish I had me a house. I would take him in.”

REFERENCES

- Alkire, Sabina, and James Foster. 2011. “Counting and Multidimensional Poverty Measurement.” *Journal of Public Economics* 95: 476–87.
- Aron, Laudan, Wendy Jacobson, and Margery Austin Turner. 2013. *Addressing Deep and Persistent Poverty: A Framework for Philanthropic Planning and Investment*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute.
- Bailey, Martha, and Sheldon Danziger, eds. 2013. *Legacies of the War on Poverty*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Brady, David. 2003. “Rethinking the Sociological Measurement of Poverty.” *Social Forces* 81: 715–51.
- Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne, and Greg Duncan. 1997. “The Effects of Poverty on Children.” *The Future of Children* 7: 55–71.
- Burch, Traci. 2013. *Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Political Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cancian, Maria, Daniel Meyer, and Steven Cook. 2011. “The Evolution of Family Complexity from the Perspective of Nonmarital Children.” *Demography* 48: 957–82.
- Cherlin, Andrew, and Judith Seltzer. 2014. “Family Complexity, the Family Safety Net, and Public Policy.” *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 654: 231–39.
- Cooper, David. 2013. “Raising the Federal Minimum Wage to \$10.10 Would Lift Wages for Millions and Provide a Modest Economic Boost.” Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.
- Currie, Janet. 2008. *The Invisible Safety Net: Protecting the Nation’s Poor Children and Families*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

4. The same is true for the most ostensibly disinterested, scientific study barren of empathy. Normative commitments invade. We might as well be transparent and intellectually serious about them.

- DeParle, Jason. 2010. "Living on Nothing but Food Stamps." *New York Times*, January 2.
- Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Disposable Ties and the Urban Poor." *American Journal of Sociology* 117: 1295–1335.
- . 2014. "Relational Ethnography." *Theory and Society* 43: 547–79.
- . 2016. *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. New York: Crown.
- Drake, St. Clair, and Horace Cayton. 1945. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.
- Edelman, Peter. 2012. *So Rich, So Poor: Why It's So Hard to End Poverty in America*. New York: New Press.
- Farber, Henry. 2010. "Job Loss and the Decline in Job Security in the United States." In *Labor in the New Economy*, edited by Katharine G. Abraham, James R. Spletzer, and Michael Harper. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. 2013. *America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2013*. Washington: Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics.
- Gans, Herbert. 1995. *The War Against the Poor: The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy*. New York: Basic Books.
- . 2014. "Studying the Bottom of American Society." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11: 195–204.
- Grusky, David. 2014. "Four Myths About Poverty." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 24, B11–14.
- Halle, David. 1984. *America's Working Man: Work, Home, and Politics Among Blue-Collar Property Owners*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heller, Sara. 2014. "Summer Jobs Reduce Violence Among Disadvantaged Youth." *Science* 346: 1219–23.
- Jencks, Christopher. 1992. *Rethinking Social Policy: Race, Poverty, and the Underclass*. New York: HarperPerennial.
- Kalleberg, Arne. 2011. *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Katz, Michael. 2012. *Why Don't American Cities Burn?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kneebone, Elizabeth, and Alan Berube. 2013. *Confronting Suburban Poverty in America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lambert, Susan J., Peter J. Fugiel, and Julia R. Henly. 2014. "Precarious Work Schedules Among Early-Career Employees in the U.S.: A National Snapshot." Research brief. Chicago: University of Chicago, Employment Instability, Family Well-Being, and Social Policy Network (EINet).
- Lamont, Michel, and Mario Luis Small. 2008. "How Culture Matters: Enriching Our Understanding of Poverty." In *The Colors of Poverty: Why Racial and Ethnic Disparities Persist*, edited by David Harris and Ann Lin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Meyer, Bruce, and James Sullivan. 2012. "Identifying the Disadvantaged: Official Poverty, Consumption Poverty, and the New Supplemental Poverty Measure." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 26: 111–35.
- Mishel, Lawrence, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto. 2005. *The State of Working America, 2004–2005*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press.
- Moffitt, Robert. 2015. "The Deserving Poor, the Family, and the U.S. Welfare System." *Demography* 52(3): 729–49.
- Murphy, Alexandra. Forthcoming. *When the Sidewalks End: Poverty in an American Suburb*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Murphy, Alexandra, and Danielle Wallace. 2010. "Opportunities for Making Ends Meet and Upward Mobility: Differences in Organizational Deprivation Across Urban and Suburban Poor Neighborhoods." *Social Science Quarterly* 91: 1164–86.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1963. *Challenge to Affluence*. New York: Pantheon.
- O'Connor, Alice. 2009. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Oliver, Melvin, and Thomas Shapiro. 1997. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Oliver, Pamela. 2008. "Repression and Crime Control: Why Social Movement Scholars Should Pay Attention to Mass Incarceration as a Form of Repression." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 13: 1–24.
- Pager, Devah. 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Patterson, Orlando, ed. 2015. *The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Pettit, Becky. 2012. *Invisible Men: Mass Incarceration*

- and the Myth of Black Progress. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1993 [1971]. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, 2nd ed. New York: Vintage.
- Sampson, Robert. 2012. *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2014. "Criminal Justice Processing and the Social Matrix of Adversity." *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651: 296–301.
- Satter, Beryl. 2009. *Family Properties: How the Struggle over Race and Real Estate Transformed Chicago and Urban America*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Schwartz, Alex. 2014. *Housing Policy in the United States*, 3rd ed. London: Routledge.
- Sen, Amartya. 1976. "Poverty: An Ordinal Approach to Measurement." *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society* 44(2): 219–31.
- . 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Shaefer, H. Luke, and Kathryn Edin. 2013. "Rising Extreme Poverty in the United States and the Response of Federal Means-Tested Transfer Programs." *Social Service Review* 87: 250–68.
- Sharkey, Patrick. 2013. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shonkoff, Jack, et al. 2012. "The Lifelong Effects of Early Childhood Adversity and Toxic Stress." *Pediatrics* 129: e232–46.
- Stack, Carol. 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Basic Books.
- Travis, Jeremy, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn. 2014. *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Uchitelle, Louis. 2006. *The Displaced American: Layoffs and Their Consequences*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Vale, Lawrence. 2009. *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Walsh, James, Jeremy Kress, and Kurt Beyerchen. 2005. "Book Review Essay: Promises and Perils at the Bottom of the Pyramid." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50(3): 473–82.
- Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Western, Bruce, and Jake Rosenfeld. 2011. "Unions, Norms, and the Rise in U.S. Wage Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 76: 513–37.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

PART III
The
Commonplace
of Violence and
Death

Lifetimes of Violence in a Sample of Released Prisoners



BRUCE WESTERN

Men and women who go to prison are poor and involved in violence. This article explores the connection between poverty and violence for a sample of former prisoners who left incarceration and settled in the Boston area. Analysis of life history data indicates that violence arises in poor contexts across the life course because they are often chaotic and lack informal sources of social control; under these conditions, violence often comes to be positively valued. This situational perspective on violence diverges from the criminal justice perspective, in which offenders and victims represent distinct classes of people and punishment involves the assessment of individual culpability.

Keywords: incarceration, poverty, violence, life course, crime, victimization

Poverty and violence collide in the lives of people involved in the criminal justice system. Most of those who are arrested and incarcerated are poorly educated, are black or Latino, and come from low-income neighborhoods in America's inner cities (Travis, Western, and Redburn 2014, chs. 2 and 9). About half of state prisoners are serving time for violent crimes. Others convicted of drug or property crimes have also been involved in serious violence (Blumstein 1995).

Poverty is fertile ground for violence. Poverty can strain the bonds of family and community that help create social order (Sampson and Wilson 1995). Poor neighborhoods may be suffused with a culture that normalizes sharp conflict in

social interaction (Anderson 2000). Rather than working through individual motivations, empirical research often emphasizes the collective effect of poverty on patterns of social organization and shared norms. Disadvantaged and disorganized communities, where violence is normalized or helpful for meeting daily challenges, are dangerous places.

This article explores the connection between poverty and violence by studying the life histories of a sample of state prisoners who left incarceration for neighborhoods in Boston. Rich interview data collected over several years allow us to take an expansive view of violence. Instead of focusing just on offending in a sample positively selected for its involve-

Bruce Western is Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Professor of Criminal Justice Policy and director of the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

This research was supported by the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, grants from the Russell Sage Foundation, and grants 5R21HD073761-02 from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and SES-1259013 and SES-1424089 from the National Science Foundation. I gratefully acknowledge Boston Reentry Study participants, the significant assistance of the Massachusetts Department of Correction, and the excellent research assistance of Jennifer Arzu, Kathleen Culhane, Jaclyn Davis, Wynne Graham, LeShae Henderson, Rosa Otieno, and Caroline Walters. The data for this article are from the Boston Reentry Study, a research project conducted by Bruce Western, Anthony Braga, and Rhiana Kohl. Cathy Sirois, Matt Desmond, and the Justice and Inequality Reading Group provided helpful comments on earlier drafts. Direct correspondence to: Bruce Western at western@wjh.harvard.edu, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

ment in crime, I examine the myriad forms of violence, from accidents to homicides, with the aim of describing the conditions of poverty in which violence arises.

In the perspective of this article, the social contexts of poverty display a high level of violence, but violence emerges in a range of different ways. The life history data show that conditions of poverty often create chaotic, unpredictable settings conducive to victimization. These places are also missing the steady influence of parents and neighbors who control antisocial and disorderly behavior. In places that are unpredictable and weakly supervised, violence is positively valued as a source of identity or a useful way of getting things done. Where poor contexts give rise to violence, roles in violence are not neatly divided between different groups. Instead, at different times and in different venues, people come to play the roles of victim, offender, participant, or witness.

If we think of violence as emerging in poor social contexts, people's roles in violence are as much a product of their situations as their individual dispositions. Empirically, we see that former prisoners have been surrounded by serious violence since early childhood and that their roles in violence have shifted unevenly from victim to offender. The social facts of violence challenge the usual criminal justice jurisprudence of individualized culpability, which is largely stripped of social context and biography. Some implications are discussed in the conclusion.

POVERTY AND VIOLENCE

Social scientists have widely observed high rates of violence in poor places. For many researchers, poverty has a contextual effect. Instead of poor individuals being motivated to violence, poor contexts structure social interaction in a way that makes violence more likely. Students of human development observe that poor households are often chaotic, and children are consequently at high risk of victimization. Sociologists find that poor neighborhoods are often disorganized, lacking the informal social controls that curb crime and delinquency. Anthropologists find that poor communities can provide the material conditions for cultures of violence.

Focusing on child maltreatment and abuse, research on human development links violence and poverty by pointing to the chaotic character of poor homes. Chaos describes settings with a high level of ambient stimulation because of noise or overcrowding, a low level of structure and routine in daily life, and unpredictability in everyday activity (Wachs and Evans 2010). Gary Evans, John Eckenrode, and Lyscha A. Marcynyszyn (2010) observe the close association between poverty and chaos reflected in statistics on crowding (home and school), residential and school relocation, and maternal partner change. Beyond these widely measured indicators, poor homes and communities tend to be noisier and to have less regular mealtimes and bedtimes for children. Thus, chaos is part of the "environment of child poverty" (Evans 2004). Chaos not only is a source of stress for parents and children but also undermines the consistent supervision of children. Under conditions of stress and unpredictability, chaos interferes with warm interactions between parents and children and among siblings; harsh and impatient family relationships are more likely. The stress of chaotic homes, neighborhoods, and schools has been widely found to be associated with child maltreatment and sexual and physical abuse (Drake and Pandey 1996; Emery and Laumann-Billings 1998; Gabarino and Sherman 1980; Panel on Research on Child Abuse and Neglect 1993, 126–36; Paille 2013).

Whereas research on chaos and child development has focused on the home, urban sociologists have concentrated on the problem of neighborhood violence. In Robert Sampson and William Julius Wilson's (1995) classic paper, the collapse of urban labor markets for poorly educated African American men sidelined them as breadwinners, increasing the number of single-mother families. With fathers in poor neighborhoods only loosely tied to their children's households, families were unable to play a strong role in supervising adolescent boys. Consistent with the theory, researchers found a close relationship between rates of single-parenthood and juvenile rates of murder and robbery (Sampson 1987). In African American communities where poverty was spatially concentrated, the social networks and organizational ties that help regularize and monitor urban life were also weakened, adding to the level

of inner-city violence. Out of the structural conditions of poverty, Sampson and Wilson (1995, 51) also argued, a culture emerged in which “youngsters are more likely to see violence as a way of life in inner-city ghetto neighborhoods.” Contiguous clumps of poor and high-crime urban neighborhoods where black residents lived were at additional risk not just because of their own internal dynamics but because of violence in adjacent communities (Peterson and Krivo 2010). Much of the sociological research argues that the spatial concentration of unemployment, family disruption, and other social problems in poor urban areas fueled violence in American cities (Kubrin and Weitzer 2003; Lee 2000; Sampson 1987).

Anthropological field studies also link poverty to violence, often in vivid portrayals of chronic danger in contexts of extreme material deprivation. Documenting the everyday harshness of poverty in rural Brazil, Nancy Schepher-Hughes (1992) shows, for example, how food is withheld from children and persistent hunger is reinterpreted as illness, which transforms it into a problem for either magic or modern medicine. Philippe Bourgois and Jeffrey Schonberg (2009, 19) describe an encampment of Bay Area heroin addicts shrouded in a “gray zone,” “an ethical wasteland” in which “survival imperatives overcome human decency.” Writing about the poor urban residents of Buenos Aires, Javier Auyero, Agustín Burbano de Lara, and María Fernanda Berti (2014) observe that violence has an instrumental quality, whether it is used to discipline children or to defend oneself and one’s property. In all these field settings, conditions of poverty make violence culturally available, readily contemplated, and easily acted upon. Although these researchers emphasize that cultures of violence have grown out of material conditions of poverty, an openness to brutality in human interaction gains a life of its own—with fierce consequences for the social lives of the poor.

Three ideas run through the diverse disciplinary approaches to studying the relationship between violence and poverty. First, poor contexts are chaotic: poverty brings together a number of combustible social conditions, undermining the routine and predictability of social life. Children may divide their time between

several residences or move frequently. In the absence of steady work, daily life for adults unfolds more by accident than by design. Poverty also brings financial insecurity as well as untreated addiction and mental illness, each of which is a potent source of stress and emergency. Even more important, chaos ensues from the high turnover of people in poor contexts. Population turnover in disorganized neighborhoods has been observed at least since Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1942) studied juvenile delinquency in Chicago neighborhoods in the 1930s and 1940s. Today housing insecurity, multiple partner fertility, and high incarceration rates all contribute to the circulation of adults and children through poor homes. Chaos produces violence by inviting victimization. Agents of violence—stressed, impaired, or unrelated adults—are abundant in chaotic homes and neighborhoods. The weakest and the most vulnerable—often women and children—face great uncertainty and thus cannot plan for their safety or easily hide from trouble.

The second common theme is that poor contexts lack informal supervision. A large research literature describes how poor families—often through some combination of single-parenthood and maternal employment—struggle to provide the structure and oversight that curbs truancy and delinquency in adolescent boys (for example, Sampson 1986; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Warner and Rountree 1997). Poor neighborhoods lack the street-level web of social networks and organizational life that can head off violent conflict or quickly provide assistance when it occurs. The informal sources of social order in stable families and neighborhoods regulate violence in a nonviolent way, nudging everyday social interaction in the direction of productive participation in prosocial roles. Without informal supervision, institutional efforts at social control play a larger role. Schools, police, and prisons, relying on the instruments of punishment, arrest, and incarceration, are called on to control violence in poor communities. Without informal supervision, the formal social control agencies kick into gear, bringing their own kind of violence to the effort to maintain order.

Third, under these material conditions of chaos and weak informal controls, violence it-

self becomes positively valued. The positive valuation of violence has come to mean different things in different settings. Proficiency with violence may signal status in the pecking order of a street gang, masculinity among adolescent boys, or, more instrumentally, just a competence in handling the exigencies of daily life. There is no single culture of violence that operates across poor contexts, but under conditions of extreme material deprivation, violence becomes recognized as a valuable way of getting things done.

Several empirical implications follow from this account of poverty as a social context for violence. In this approach, varieties of violence, from street crime to child abuse, can be traced to broadly similar conditions of material disadvantage. Instead of focusing just on the statistics of murder and robbery, for example, research connecting poverty to violence should observe different forms of violence over the life cycle and across institutional domains. In this view, poverty is fundamentally contextual in that it creates situations in which violence is likely to occur. Poverty produces myriad forms of violence not chiefly through its influence on individual action but in how it structures social interaction. If poverty is a violent context, poor people will see a great deal of violence in their lives but come to play a range of roles—as victim, offender, or witness. Instead of focusing just on offending, a research design should observe the variety of different roles taken in a violent situation.

Poverty produces violence in specific venues. The research reviewed here emphasizes the local neighborhood and the family home as the main sites of violence in the lives of poor people. The empirical evidence presented here also points to the importance of the institutional settings of the school for children and the prison for adults. Again, a research design for investigating the link between poverty and violence must be flexible enough to observe these different venues.

LIFE HISTORY DATA ON VIOLENCE

This analysis is based on data from the Boston Reentry Study (BRS), a longitudinal survey of men and women who were released from state prison in Massachusetts and entered the Bos-

ton area (Western et al. 2014). Sample respondents became eligible for the study by reporting a release address in the Boston area. The BRS sample is similar to the Boston-area prison population in terms of demography and criminal history. Respondents were recruited to the study with the help of the Massachusetts Department of Correction. They were interviewed five times over a year, the first time in prison just prior to release. Supplementary interviews were conducted with family members, and the survey data were linked to criminal records. Survey interviews covered a variety of topics, including the respondents' involvement in crime and the criminal justice system in childhood, in adulthood before their current incarceration, and in the period since their prison release. The BRS research design aimed to produce a high rate of study retention over a one-year follow-up period. The study maintained a response rate of over 90 percent over the follow-up period, ensuring that the most socioeconomically vulnerable were retained in the data collection.

Life histories were constructed from all the data collected over the one-year follow-up period for 40 of the 122 men and women in the sample. To construct the life histories, researchers reviewed all five surveys, interview field notes, phone notes, a supplementary survey of family members, audiotape of the interviews (six to eight hours of recorded interviews), and any other records on the respondent. The empirical material was used to form a life history record that contained a report of key life events, the respondent's age at the time, and transcribed accounts of these events. The life histories themselves were coded to flag about seventy different search terms. The search terms indicated the respondent's involvement in crime and with the authorities, their family and social life, health and well-being, and a variety of other topics.

The forty respondents chosen for the life history subsample were roughly representative of prison releasees to the Boston area. The life history sample was chosen to include respondents for whom a supplementary interview was conducted and a full set of audio records were available. Women and African Americans were slightly overrepresented, but otherwise, the demographic characteristics and criminal

histories of the subsample were similar to those of the sample as a whole.

The socioeconomic characteristics and life histories of the BRS sample are reported in table 1. The BRS sample was mostly black or Hispanic, and more than half the respondents were in their thirties or older. Most respondents were high school dropouts and reported irregular work history over their lives. Two months after prison release, 70 percent were receiving food stamps. Besides their low socioeconomic status, the data provide clear evidence of unstable and dangerous childhood homes. Over half the respondents grew up with someone with drug or alcohol problems, and about half the respondents were victims of violence at the hands of their parents. Over 40 percent of the sample had witnessed a killing in childhood. Eighty percent had been suspended or expelled from school, and nearly all had got into fights as children.

PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE

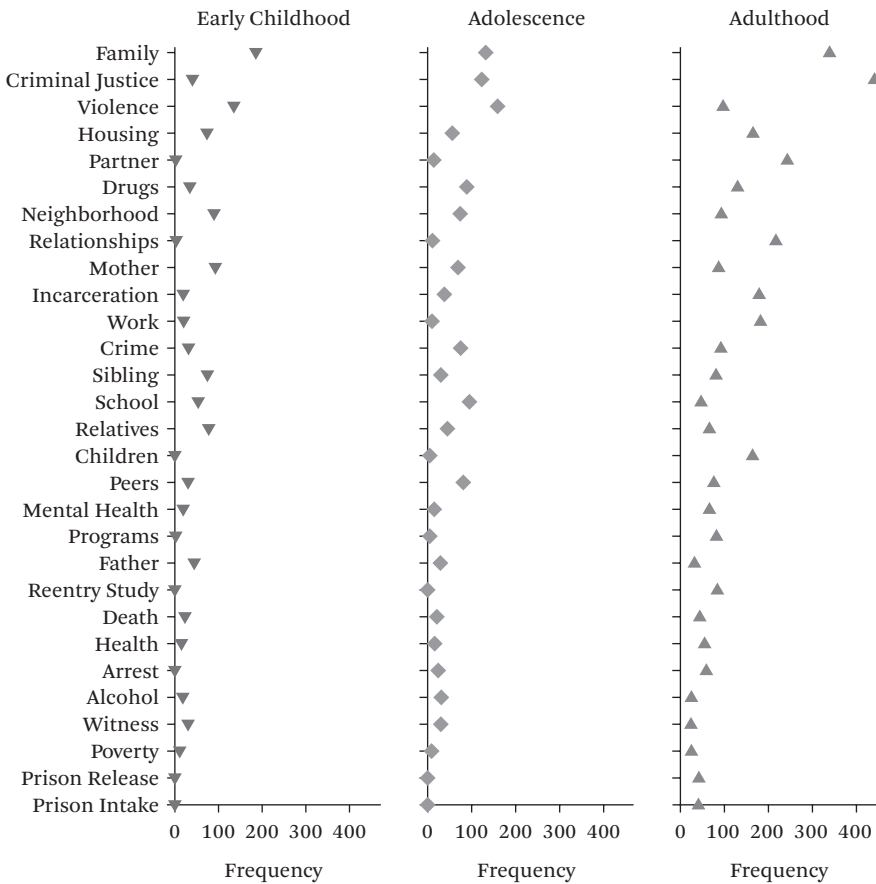
Violence was a common theme in the survey interviews, trailing only the topics of family and the criminal justice system in the tagged life history data. In the six interviews with the forty respondents, including the supplementary interview with each proxy, we coded 325 violent situations. Figure 1 compares the frequency of reports of violence to other life events in childhood (zero to twelve years), adolescence (thirteen to eighteen years), and adulthood (over eighteen years). The tagged terms are listed from top to bottom in order of their overall frequency. Across all forty respondents, family was the most common topic and prison intake was the least common. When describing early childhood, before age thirteen, respondents often talked about family relationships and violence. They spoke at length about their home life as children and the supportive adults in their lives. Talking about adolescence, from ages thirteen

Table 1. The Social and Economic Characteristics of a Sample of Released Prisoners

| | Full Sample | Life History Subsample |
|---|-------------|------------------------|
| Demographic characteristics | | |
| Median age (years) | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Female | 12.3% | 17.5% |
| White | 30.3 | 25.0 |
| Black | 50.8 | 57.5 |
| Hispanic | 18.9 | 17.5 |
| Socioeconomic status | | |
| Dropped out of high school | 59.8 | 60.0 |
| Employed before arrest | 59.0 | 70.0 |
| Employed two months after prison release | 43.4 | 46.2 |
| Receiving food stamps two months after prison release | 70.5 | 75.0 |
| Adversity in childhood | | |
| Both parents in home at age fourteen | 34.4 | 27.5 |
| Domestic violence while growing up | 32.7 | 27.5 |
| Witnessed someone get killed | 42.1 | 47.5 |
| Grew up with someone with drug or alcohol problem | 57.3 | 45.0 |
| Hit by parents (not including spanking) | 46.8 | 45.0 |
| Suspended or expelled from school | 80.6 | 80.0 |
| Got into fights | 91.7 | 95.0 |
| Got in trouble with police | 85.2 | 85.0 |
| <i>N</i> | 122 | 40 |

Source: Boston Reentry Study.

Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of Coded Life Events in a Sample of Forty Formerly Incarcerated Men and Women in Boston, by Life Stage



Source: Boston Reentry Study.

to eighteen, family relationships remained a prominent theme, but violence and criminal justice involvement were increasingly important topics. Reflecting the respondents' growing independence, descriptions of adolescence also included frequent mention of drugs and alcohol and time spent with peers. Describing adulthood, after age eighteen, family life was again a dominant topic. At this life stage, family life extended to relationships with partners and children. The respondents' accounts of adulthood were also dominated by descriptions of arrest and incarceration, a new topic that also reflected their aging.

The frequency of different topics at different stages of life was partly shaped by the survey interviews. For example, the surveys asked about the respondents' youthful experience of

family life and exposure to trauma. These are common topics in the life history data in childhood and adolescence. Still the interviews ranged widely, asking about topics like residential mobility, housing, employment, government programs, and so on, and these topics are less prominent in the life histories. Thus, the discussion topics likely signal the salient events and experiences in the lives of the respondents at each of the three stages of the life course.

Because the survey asked about specific time periods (childhood, immediately before incarceration, during incarceration, and the year after release), the data do not provide a systematic inventory of violence over the entire life course. However, when respondents talked about violence outside of the structure of the

interview, as they often did, interviewers would follow up qualitatively. Because respondents talked with interviewers in some detail about violence, we are able to qualitatively describe a wide variety of violent events and situations, the people involved, and the social context in which violence happened.

In this article, “violence” refers to aggressive physical force. A violent event inflicts bodily injury. In this definition, violence need not be intentional or unlawful. A person may be seriously injured in an accident in the absence of any deliberate harm. Although accidents are an important category, violence in the BRS interviews usually had a social quality in that it described how people interacted with each other. We coded seven types of violence: suicides, accidents, sexual abuse, domestic violence, murders, assaults, and fighting. In this classification, robberies were grouped with assaults because we sometimes lacked the information to draw a clear distinction. We also separated assaults from fighting. An assault is defined as a predatory type of violence perpetrated by an offender on a weak or unprepared victim. A fight, often growing out of an escalating conflict, is a mutual exchange among participants who are prepared for conflict.

People can be connected to violence in a variety of ways. Researchers usually focus on offenders and, less commonly, on victims. However, these roles are not always clear-cut; in cases of retaliation or fighting it is more descriptively accurate to identify “participants” in violence. In addition to active involvement, one can be a witness to violence, a role sometimes marked by fear and psychological trauma. For each violent situation described by our respondents, we coded their role as offender, victim, participant, or witness.

Figure 2 shows the characteristics of each of the 325 violent situations described by our forty respondents. Describing violent situations in early childhood, before age thirteen, respondents were most often victims or witnesses to violence. These roles are closely related to very high rates of family violence in the childhoods of formerly incarcerated men and women. (Twenty-two out of forty respondents reported at least one incident of family violence.) Respondents also talked about fighting in early

childhood, so they commonly took the participant role from an early age. Because family violence and fighting were so common, nearly 80 percent of all the violence they reported happened in the neighborhood or in the home.

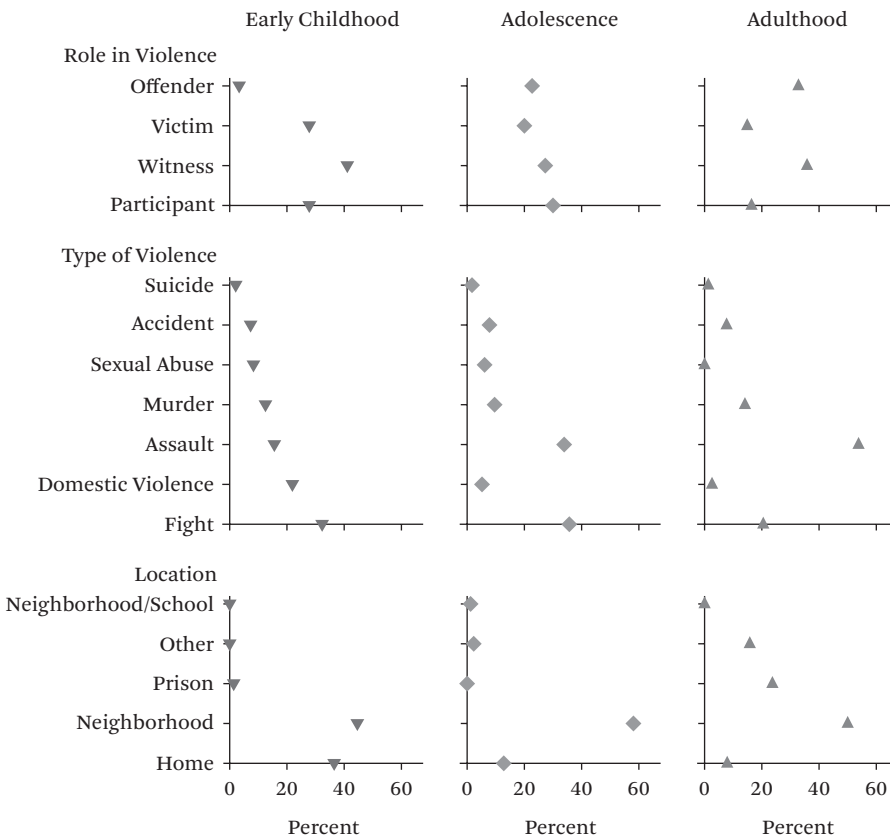
The relationship of respondents to violence changed in adolescence. They were increasingly involved as participants and offenders and became less likely to report being victims or witnesses. This change reflects the emergence of assaults and fighting as the most common forms of violence reported in adolescence. With the predominance of these two types of violence, the school and the neighborhood became the modal sites of adolescent violence.

The pattern of violence reported in adulthood was qualitatively different from that reported in childhood and adolescence. Accounts of adult violence involved the respondents as offenders about 40 percent of the time, a significantly higher rate than in earlier life stages. About 25 percent of all violent situations in adulthood were witnessed. Over half of all violence reported for adulthood involved an assault, and fighting had become significantly less common. Strikingly, 16 percent of all reported incidents in adulthood were murders. Sites of violence also changed in adulthood. Neighborhood violence remained commonly reported, but reports of assaults in prison and in other locations (mostly in neighboring states and cities) also became more prevalent.

The quantitative patterns show how types of violence, the respondents’ roles in violence, and the venues of violence varied over the life course. Family violence in the childhood home and adolescent fighting in the neighborhood were ultimately eclipsed in adulthood by assaults, often in prison.

Despite variation over the life course, the respondents remained close to serious violence throughout their lives. The data on violent death provide one indication of the seriousness of the violence they experienced. Over half of the life history respondents (twenty-four out of forty) reported the violent death of a close friend or family member at some point in their lives. The respondents also sustained many serious injuries. One respondent told us that he fell from a tier in prison. Another was unable to

Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of Characteristics of Violent Events in the Life History Data from a Sample of Forty Formerly Incarcerated Men and Women in Boston, by Life Stage



Source: Boston Reentry Study.

complete the study because a shooting had left him comatose in the hospital. Altogether, ten out of the forty reported to us that they had been shot or stabbed.

How is poverty linked to the child abuse, fighting, assaults, and murders reported by the respondents? The qualitative life histories suggest how chaos at home and in the local neighborhood, deficits of informal social control, and the cultural context all make poor social contexts likely settings for violence.

Chaos

Patrick was born in 1981 and lived the first years of his life in the Old Colony Housing Projects, one of a cluster of public housing complexes in South Boston. Southie of the early 1980s, a stronghold of Boston’s Irish American working class, remained one of the few neighborhoods of concentrated white poverty in urban Amer-

ica. Patrick’s mother was a heroin addict and gave up custody of her son to her parents when he was five. She died of AIDS when Patrick was seventeen. Patrick’s father had left his mother when his son was two, but twenty years later he would reenter his son’s life when he helped him find a union job in the construction industry.

Patrick’s grandparents were reluctant guardians. His grandmother had raised a family of eight children in the small wood house on J Street a few blocks from Old Colony that was to become his childhood home. His grandfather had a seventh-grade education and for many years struggled to find steady work because of his own criminal history (though he later got a city job after his record was sealed).

Thirteen people lived in the house when Patrick was growing up. Much of the energy at home was provided by his uncles, a brawling

pair of young men who used drugs and alcohol heavily.

“My uncles and my mother were all heroin addicts,” he said. The house was the venue for violence, sexual abuse, addiction, and a sprawling kind of family life that Patrick described as “emotionally cold” and “insane” and yet, he added, “it was normal to me.” Reflecting on the childhood home, Patrick’s aunt recalled, “It was just a crazy house, between my brothers coming in either beat up or having some horrible car accident . . . or someone falling asleep with a cigarette and a mattress going up on fire. It was a very traumatic house to live in.”

Patrick’s mother was not allowed in the house on J Street. Still, she stayed in contact with her son, as we learned through his descriptions of his beatings at the hands of her boyfriends from age five through his teenage years.

Things were also chaotic on the street. When he was six, a man tried to grab Patrick, and one of his uncles stabbed the offender in retaliation. At age eight, Patrick saw a neighborhood kid get shot in the head in the housing projects. At age ten, he and his uncle stole a car from the neighboring town of Brookline and drove it triumphantly around the Southie streets. The following year, he started drinking and smoking marijuana, and at age thirteen he and his friends invaded and robbed the home of a local drug dealer, a neighborhood boy of fifteen. Patrick was sixteen when he used heroin for the first time, encouraged by a girl in the neighborhood. With a spate of suicides in the South Boston schools that year, he tried to hang himself but was cut down by a woman who discovered the attempt. He dropped out of school shortly afterward. In his aunt’s account, Patrick was expelled as a result of the suicide attempt because the school wanted to avoid the expense of mandatory counseling.

Patrick’s early life illustrates much of the chaos associated with extreme deprivation. Extreme deprivation spawns a confluence of multiple disadvantages—in this case, untreated drug addiction, housing insecurity, and derelict parenting. Under these conditions, life is regularly disrupted by catastrophes small and

large and hums with the chronic disturbance of noise and overcrowding.

In general, home life for nearly all respondents as children and adolescents was unstable and often chaotic, regardless of whether childhood violence was reported. Two threads ran through the more violent accounts of domestic chaos: the presence of unrelated men in the childhood home, and drug and alcohol use by the adults.

Out of the forty respondents, only eleven reported that both parents were present in their family home at age fourteen. Adult males, where present, included stepfathers, mother’s boyfriends, uncles, and older brothers. Unrelated adult males were often sources of violence in the childhood home, and domestic violence was roughly twice as common in homes where the two biological parents were not living together (62 percent versus 36 percent reporting domestic violence when parents were together).

A Puerto Rican man we interviewed, Hector, grew up with his mother and his siblings in many different houses shared with at least several of his mother’s boyfriends. His partner described Hector’s unstable home life and how family violence emerged:¹

So like, all right, he has four siblings, three siblings through his mom and three siblings through his dad. His brother Jorge [and] him have the same mom and dad, and then there is Pedro and Sofia on his mother’s side and Omar and Isabella on his father’s side. . . . Like if there is one word I can describe his mom is unstable. I’ve been with Hector for ten years, and she’s lived in like twenty apartments from the time I’ve been with him.

. . . [Hector’s mother] is not a provider, she’s dependent on [her boyfriends], so that was a lot. During that time, when he was fourteen years old, she may have been ending her relationship with his [Hector’s] sister’s father, and she got involved with this guy from the Dominican Republic, and at one point [*sighs*], when [Hector’s mother] was with Sofia’s father, he had control over what, what was, where the boys were, what they were involved

1. Direct quotes were transcribed from audiotaped interviews and slightly edited for grammar and verbal tics.

in and so forth. And I know him and Hector bumped heads a lot, a lot, and she had given him power to hit, like discipline them, and that was the beating and stuff.

Hector provided his own account of his abuse: "Basically what I felt was a grown man picking a fight with an eleven-, ten-year-old kid, you know what I mean. A ten-year-old boy and hitting him like a grown man, hitting that boy like a grown man, you know."

For some respondents, the circulation of men through the house created an ongoing climate of instability and violence. Manny, a Cape Verdean man in his forties, grew up with several different men in his house.

INTERVIEWER: When you were growing up was anyone in your household ever a victim of a crime?

MANNY: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Who was that?

MANNY: My mother.

INTERVIEWER: Was that just one time or more than one time?

MANNY: She used to get beat up by her boyfriends.

INTERVIEWER: How old were you when that was going on?

MANNY: Between twelve and fourteen, I believe. Could have been earlier, but I probably don't remember earlier ages.

INTERVIEWER: So, what would happen after one of the boyfriends would beat her up?

MANNY: Well, while it was going on, I would run in there with my Louisville slugger bat that I used to sleep with.

INTERVIEWER: And did you ever get involved?

MANNY: Oh, yeah. Definitely. Every single time.

INTERVIEWER: And then what would happen?

MANNY: Well, the very last time when I hit one of her boyfriends, they fell down the stairs, with the bat, and then . . . my mother basically hit me and said why did I do that. So I just left the house and went to live with my grandmother for a few years . . . I was about fourteen, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: And was it multiple boyfriends, or just . . . ?

MANNY: She had a few. She had a few. She had a few.

Drug abuse stoked violence both directly, with a rage that only alcoholism seems able to produce, and indirectly, as parental indifference flourished with the narcissism of addiction. Half of the forty respondents reported growing up in a home where there were problems with drugs or alcohol, and twelve out of these twenty reported incidents of family violence before the age of eighteen. Alcoholism and cocaine and heroin use were the most commonly reported. Whereas heroin and cocaine were often associated with parental neglect, alcohol seemed to uncork anger that sobriety had bottled up.

Several respondents described a fretful climate that settled on families with alcoholic fathers and stepfathers. Jemarcus, an African American man, never met his father and grew up with his mother, stepfather, and older brother. His stepfather was an alcoholic "who passed away because he drank so much." Life at home, he said, was "stressful, stressful. It was hard. It was uncomfortable. Stressful. I was on edge. Scared. Nervous. My mother would always fight because my stepfather would always come home drunk. . . . When he sober he was the greatest person in the world. And when he drank he just didn't get on with her, and he took it out on us."

Brian, from the Irish working-class neighborhood of Charlestown, described a similarly tense uncertainty surrounding his father's alcoholic moods:

BRIAN: He would come home from work . . . he just come home between five-thirty and six every night, he'll be feeling pretty good, then he would continue to drink, and we were never quite sure what type of mood he would be in, whether angry drunk, happy drunk, you know.

INTERVIEWER: And what was he like as an angry drunk?

BRIAN: He would be disrespectful towards my mother and same way toward us, but with physical consequences. That's why I hated Boston College. He had a Boston College ring, and I used to get it whacked off the head, so I hated Boston College, his college ring.

INTERVIEWER: And what was he like as a happy drunk?

BRIAN: I mean, he was great and like all happy drunks, you know laughing and jovial.

INTERVIEWER: Was this going throughout your entire childhood?

BRIAN: I would say yes, as long as I can remember, yeah. Probably mostly from, as I can remember, from nine on. . . . There was like a regular routine.

INTERVIEWER: Was this every night?

BRIAN: During the week, when he worked, it was typical, probably three or four nights out of the five, but then he would always drink at home. He was better if he started drinking when he got home from work.

Home life, as it was revealed in the interviews, was frequently chaotic, and that chaos was often mentioned in respondents' accounts of childhood. Family violence at the hands of men, often unrelated and often under the influence of drugs or alcohol, created a climate of fear and uncertainty. The respondents connected poverty, chaos, and violence to the childhood home, but many of the men we interviewed circulated as adults through the homes of other children, bringing their own histories of addiction and antisocial behavior with them. In all our interviews, we never heard much about violence against women or children perpetrated by the respondents themselves. Still, it seems possible that, with their childhood histories of chaos and violence and the severe poverty of their adulthood, family violence had been sustained over their own life course, even if they overlooked it in the interviews.

Deficits of Social Control

Luis was a Puerto Rican respondent who grew up "very poor" in a housing project in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York. He and his four brothers and sisters were raised by his mother, though he sometimes lived with his cousins as well. His mother suffered from depression and was unemployed and on public assistance for much of his childhood. She was a strict disciplinarian who sometimes beat her sons with wire cables to try to keep them in line. Luis's stepfather, Carlos, also lived with them. He was a regular heroin user who used at home, nod-

ding off on the sofa in those early years in Brooklyn. Luis first became aware of Carlos's heroin addiction around the age of thirteen, when the police and an ambulance were called in response to an overdose. There were several such medical emergencies in Luis's childhood, but that was the first that he remembered.

Bedford-Stuyvesant in the 1980s when Luis was growing up was a poor, high-crime neighborhood. Violence was often close at hand on the streets and in the corridors of the housing project. Luis told us that stabbings and shootings were common and that he witnessed the killings of several people during that time, the first time when he was ten. His family was robbed several times, and in his early teenage years Luis himself started getting into fights with neighborhood kids.

When Luis was fourteen, the family moved to Boston to separate from Carlos and his heroin habit. (Carlos later got clean and followed them up to Boston, where he started a second life as a devout churchgoer.) Soon after moving to Boston, Luis got arrested and served time with the Department of Youth Services (DYS) for assaulting a police officer. He was expelled from high school for this arrest. Throughout his teenage years in Boston, from fourteen to eighteen, Luis served "two or three years" in DYS custody before dropping out of school in the eleventh grade. From ages eighteen to thirty-three, he spent about half his life incarcerated for assaults and drug dealing. He had three children during this period, and at the time of our last interview he was maintaining contact with each of his three sons and their three mothers.

We recruited Luis to the reentry study during his last stay in state prison. By this time, in his early thirties, he had been diagnosed with depression, anxiety, hypertension, and hepatitis C. At the baseline interview just before release, Luis told us that during his current prison term he had witnessed six to ten assaults among prison inmates and another three to five assaults involving prison staff. His neighborhood, he said, was safer than prison. By the time of our final follow-up interview, Luis had been out a year, his longest period in free society since childhood.

Closely related to the chaos of severe deprivation are the deficits of informal social control—the supervising adults whose presence in households and neighborhoods helps maintain social order. Luis grew up in a two-parent family, but his stepfather was immobilized by addiction and his mother had to manage this, her own depression, and her four other children. The Bedford-Stuyvesant housing project was a paradigm of ghetto violence, playing host to concentrated poverty and high rates of single-parenthood and unemployment. Authority in Luis's life was provided mostly by the formal institutions of the school, police, juvenile incarceration, and state prison. These institutional settings themselves were rich in the possibility of violence, and order was maintained through the threat of further punishment.

A common theme among the men in our sample when they discussed the prevalence of violence in their neighborhoods was how weak the informal social controls were. About half of them named the neighborhood as the site of violent situations in their lives, and it was the modal place of violence across the life course. Respondents mostly grew up and lived in the poor and working-class neighborhoods of Boston. For black and Latino respondents, these neighborhoods were in the areas of Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan, all contiguous neighborhoods in the southern part of the city. A handful also grew up in public housing projects in the South End. White respondents spent most of their time in East Cambridge, Charlestown, East Boston, and South Boston, white working-class communities in the northern part of the city. Both regions were racially segregated—though passing through significant demographic changes in the lifetimes of the older respondents—and dotted with areas of concentrated poverty. Violence in these areas took the form of robberies and assaults, street fighting, and serious accidents. Although respondents often reported getting involved in street fights or committing assaults, they reported witnessing serious violence more often than they reported directly participating in it. Respondents witnessed accidents, assaults, fights, murders, and one suicide. Often this violence involved groups of people, whether violent manifestations of

gang rivalries or, in the 1970s and 1980s, racial violence between blacks and whites in the period of school desegregation.

One respondent from Charlestown, a center of racial violence during the introduction of school busing, vividly described an incident from 1974:

I saw five black kids from Philadelphia get beaten with golf clubs and a bat, during busing, and I was thirteen years old, it was the first year of busing in Charlestown, and unfortunately, that group of kids from Philadelphia, on a tour, went to the Bunker Hill Monument, and they got misdirected and they went down towards the projects to wait for the bus to go back towards Boston, and I can remember the car driving by, there were four kids. . . . Two out of four them were [later] killed and, um, they get out, went to the trunk and opened the trunk up, and three of them had golf clubs and one of them had a bat and started beating them pretty bad.

As respondents moved into adulthood, their accounts of violent situations shifted to prison. When asked about violence in prison during their current incarceration (a period of twenty-six months at the median), thirty-two out of the forty respondents reported having witnessed violence that involved inmates, and eleven out of forty reported witnessing violence involving a correctional officer. A few respondents also reported on their own involvement in violence, resulting in long spells in solitary confinement. Two respondents talked about violent deaths in prison, one involving a friend who was murdered and another involving an uncle's suicide, an account that was widely disbelieved within the respondent's family.

Respondents spoke of prison as a stressful place in which the climate of violence promoted extreme vigilance. When asked one week after his release from prison about the adjustment of returning to the community, one respondent said:

RESPONDENT: Big adjustment? Just trying to [pause] . . . just trying to like ease back into society, like trying to leave the mentality prison thing alone. Leave it in there . . .

INTERVIEWER: What is that mentality?

RESPONDENT: I don't take shit from nobody or, uh, I just like, I'm real like edgy, like one little thing, like you bump into me, you don't say excuse me, I wanna freakin' flip out, you know? I wanna punch your head in. Don't disrespect me. Stuff like that, you know, like the way people talk to me, you know. . . . Give me respect, I'll give you respect, you know. Just things, you know, like I like to learn how to just walk away. . . . That's what I gotta do. I know what I'm capable of and he has no idea . . . and he's more like, I guess, innocent, and if I get the best of him, he's gonna rat me out, and then I'm gonna be doing time, and that's it, I'm done, you know what I mean? So it's like I gotta stop that [and] just walk away. It's not worth it anymore pretty much. . . . It got worse being in prison most of the time and growing up on the street always fighting. . . . I even did a lot of hole time over the years, you know, my mind ain't right from that. . . . I'm always on my toes.

Researchers often describe violent contexts in terms of their capacity for formal and informal social control (Kornhauser 1978, 69–82; Sampson 1986). For our respondents, the four main venues of violence—the home, the school, the neighborhood, and the prison—varied in their organized social control, but informal controls were weak everywhere. Schools and prisons are organized around formal authority structures and authoritative means of discipline, and respondents reported that informal constraints on violence were weak. At home and on neighborhood streets, where organized checks on violence were largely absent, children often lacked the supervision of adults, adults themselves were often in violent conflict, and violence, at least in the respondents' accounts, seemed unexceptional.

Cultures of Violence

In chaotic contexts where few authoritative adults are present, violence can become positively valued. Some respondents talked about violence becoming a way of getting things done. In disputes between male youth, where police were widely discredited, resolution was often found through violence. Thus, nearly all re-

spondents were involved in fighting in adolescence. As one respondent remarked, "I thought it was normal. . . . Everybody was fighting. It was considered a problem if you didn't fight."

Adolescent fighting was ubiquitous among the respondents, and several spoke about the larger meaning of fighting in daily life. For some, fighting marked their status in the adolescent pecking order. One reported that he got in three or four fights a month, "cause you always had to prove yourself to your peers on how tough you are." While children were often punished for fighting, some adults saw fighting as a life skill. One male respondent described how he came to be repeatedly suspended for fighting:

See, that's the thing, that's what's weird, because my mother seen me lose a fight, right? So she told my uncle I was a punk. So when she told my uncle I was a punk, he took me to boxing school. So now, I know how to fight, you know what I'm sayin', now I'm, you know, just abusing what I know.

A similar sentiment was sounded in another interview, although in this case the respondent had been only in the first grade:

I got in a fight. . . . My mother said, "Did he put his hands on you?" I said, "Yeah." She said, "You whipped that ass?" I said, "Yeah." She said, "All right. I'll go up to the school tomorrow." . . . That's one thing my mother said, she wasn't gonna raise, she wasn't gonna raise no wussies. In fact, she actually said, "If I was supposed to have bitches, I would have had two girls." She said, "I ain't a punk, and my kids ain't gonna be punks," and that was just, she taught us right from wrong, [not] just be going around being a bully but if somebody put their hands on, you defend yourself. She said if you started it then that's your ass. [*laughs*]

Another respondent connected the culture of violence to preparation for prison life:

RESPONDENT: Sometimes the older people encourage you to do that. They'll encourage you to fight.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Why was that?

RESPONDENT: Nobody wants their nephew or their son, or their cousin, to be a punk, so it's like you wanna go out there and fight. Go on out there, and if you wanna fight, you go out there and fight.

INTERVIEWER: Did you have that happen? You know other cousins or uncles that . . .

RESPONDENT: You see, that can be looked at good and bad, 'cause it kinda helped me later on in life. When I was in jail, there's no guns, there's none of that. There's knives and stuff, but mostly everybody fights, so if . . . it kinda like gives you a little bit of, you know, [pause] gives you a little leeway. [pause] Most kids my age, when they were twenty-two, twenty-one, they wasn't fighting you know, they was shooting guns and stuff, so when you know how to fight when you go to jail, it's like a different world.

For these respondents, a readiness to use violence—as both preparation for life and a source of masculinity—is viewed as a reality in settings that are chaotic, weakly supervised by adults in authority, and marked by a reluctance to call on police or other authorities to resolve disputes. Adults sometimes play a role in socializing children into the value of violence even as others reprimand and discipline their children for fighting. Though we see evidence of violence as valued, this value emerges in concrete material circumstances where violence can solve problems and other markers of mastery over the world may be in short supply. In short, violence was often easily contemplated in the poor neighborhoods and institutional settings in which our respondents regularly found themselves.

DISCUSSION

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this review of the encounters with violence described in our interviews with a sample of released prisoners and their families. First is the great salience and high level of violence disclosed through the interviews. While respondents spoke about their own violent offending, they were frequently witnesses and victims of violence too. The chronic violence unfolding around them during their years of childhood

and adolescence was largely beyond the agency of the respondents as they became both victims and witnesses to domestic abuse and street crime. Serious violence flowed through intimate networks as friends and family—for twenty-four out of forty—died violently through accident, suicide, or murder.

Second, respondents played many different roles in the violence that had surrounded them for their entire lifetimes. Their offending was clearly revealed in interviews and criminal records. They had committed robberies, assaults, and one self-reported murder. In addition, all forty respondents described their own victimization by violence, often in childhood, and often at the hands of adult guardians in the form of domestic violence or sexual abuse. As victims, the respondents had been shot, stabbed, beaten, raped, and molested. But even beyond the familiar roles of victim and offender, nearly all respondents reported witnessing serious violence, and all reported fighting in which the roles of victim and offender were difficult to distinguish.

Third, the main sites of violence—in the home, the school, the neighborhood, and the prison—reveal the influence of poverty. The home lives of respondents were usually unstable, with adult males unrelated to them often living in the house. We heard many reports of drug or alcohol dependence among the adults in the childhood home. Even in the most stable settings, mothers worked long hours, leaving children unsupervised after school and in the evenings. The interviews revealed less about their school environments, but they did report that fighting was common at school, along with the disciplinary measures of suspension and expulsion. Some respondents changed schools frequently, and more than half dropped out before graduation. School counselors appeared to be in short supply; they were mentioned in just a couple of interviews. Few special measures—except for suspension or juvenile justice detention—were taken for children with behavioral or learning problems. Their neighborhoods, typically in the poorer high-crime areas of Boston, were also violent places in which informal protections against street crime and gang rivalries were weak. Street violence appeared to stretch across the life course, not only among

youth but in children's exposure to violent conflict among adults. History was also imprinted on neighborhood violence: older respondents reported on racial confrontations, particularly in the white working-class neighborhoods in the 1970s and early 1980s, when Boston schools were first desegregated. As respondents spoke about the recent past, they more often mentioned prisons as sites of violence. We heard many reports of fighting among prisoners, though correctional officers were also sometimes involved.

What is the role of poverty in violence? Sometimes the line is quite direct, as when mothers must work to support the household, leaving children unsupervised after school. More commonly the path from poverty to violence is indirect: children live in neighborhoods with weak informal controls or in chaotic homes where addiction or mental illness goes untreated. In these settings, violence is not just a failure of social control to prevent impulsively aggressive behavior. Violence is valued. A child learns that it is something you do to establish your reputation. Sometimes violence is a skill that helps you on the streets or in jail in later life. Unstable families, poor schools, high-crime neighborhoods, and state prisons are the environments in which violence flourishes and is sustained over a lifetime.

In these contexts, violence is not simply a rare episode of disorder or a random shock that upsets a well-ordered life. Violence is a type of deprivation that systematically engulfs poor contexts and the people who populate them. As a type of deprivation, violence undermines human welfare. Victimization is accompanied by physical injuries and psychological trauma. Witnessing violence, especially in early childhood, not just intermittently but in a sustained way, affects neural development and causes lasting psychological harm. Violent offending and fighting produce stress and hyperarousal. More fundamentally, one role in violence is not easily divorced from another. In poor families, poor schools, poor neighborhoods, and locked facilities, people do not specialize as victims, offenders, or witnesses. Instead, it seems, they will inhabit all these roles in due course.

This perspective on violence departs from the view of criminal justice authorities. In the criminal justice system, there are just two main

parties to violence: a victim and an offender. Offenders, through their intentions and actions, are culpable. The job of the criminal justice process is to identify offenders and render punishment. Social context is introduced in a limited way through defenses to criminal charges or mitigation in sentencing, but even here the legal process neglects much of the defendant's biography and social context. The deep social fact that violence attends to contexts of poverty and that roles in violence circulate freely in those contexts is hard to reconcile with a system of individualized judgment in sentencing. The individualized justice of the criminal trial might be rightly decided in every single case. Still, the collective effect is to heap punishment on the poor, who are owed this individualized justice by virtue of their own victimization.

There have been several significant efforts to admit the social context of violence and other crime into criminal processing. Michael Tonry (1995) describes a "social adversity mitigation" where judges might be allowed to consider socioeconomic disadvantage (see also Morse 2000). Such a sentencing principle, writes Tonry (2014, 152), is motivated by "empathy for the complex circumstances of the lives of deeply disadvantaged people." Social adversity mitigation would not affect verdicts but would be introduced in sentencing to reduce punishment to reflect diminished culpability. In the federal system, judges receive presentence reports (independently prepared by federal probation officers) describing criminal history and the fact situation to guide in the sentencing decision. Presentence investigations could be expanded to provide a detailed account of the defendant's material life conditions that judges could further consider in prescribing punishment.

From the sociological perspective developed here, the implications for criminal justice are even more fundamental. Justice is not achieved through the punishment of the offender but through the abatement of violent contexts. In violent contexts, victims and offenders are not distinct classes of people, but roles produced by the social conditions of poverty. From this point of view, social policy agencies for, say, housing, employment, and public health may be as closely involved in seeking justice as the courts and prisons. The pursuit of just social

contexts also asks something different of police, prosecutors, and prison staff. The interests of victims are not chiefly addressed through retribution, but through the development of social contexts that can foster order, predictability, and safety in everyday life. When criminal justice leaders step out of their usual roles to promote treatment programs, community organizations, and family reconciliation, they are working toward this alternative goal of just social contexts, rather than simply punishing individual offenders.

Skeptics may object that the sociological perspective that identifies violent contexts rather than violent people seems to deny moral agency to criminal offenders. But none of this denies the agency of criminal offenders. Instead, it acknowledges that the offender's role is often temporary, that violence has been present since early childhood, and that serious victimization is also common in the offender's history. This is the social context in which justice must be found.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Elijah. 2000. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Auyero, Javier, Agustín Burbano de Lara, and María Fernanda Berti. 2014. "Uses and Forms of Violence Among the Urban Poor." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 46: 443–69.
- Blumstein, Alfred. 1995. "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 86: 10–36.
- Bourgois, Philippe, and Jeffrey Schonberg. 2009. *Righteous Dopefiend*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Drake, Brett, and Shanta Pandey. 1996. "Understanding the Relationship Between Neighborhood Poverty and Specific Types of Child Maltreatment." *Child Abuse and Neglect* 20: 1003–18.
- Emery, Robert E., and Lisa Laumann-Billings. 1998. "An Overview of the Nature, Causes, and Consequences of Abusive Family Relationships: Towards Differential Maltreatment and Violence." *American Psychologist* 53: 121–35.
- Evans, Gary W. 2004. "The Environment of Childhood Poverty." *American Psychologist* 59: 77–92.
- Evans, Gary W., John Eckenrode, and Lyscha A. Marcynyszyn. 2010. "Chaos and the Macrosetting: The Role of Poverty and Socioeconomic Status." In *Chaos and Its Influence on Children's Development: An Ecological Perspective*, edited by Gary W. Evans and Theodore D. Wachs. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Gabarino, James, and Deborah Sherman. 1980. "High-Risk Neighborhoods and High-Risk Families: The Human Ecology of Child Maltreatment." *Child Development* 51: 188–98.
- Kornhauser, Ruth. 1978. *Social Sources of Delinquency: An Appraisal of Analytic Models*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kubrin, Charis E., and Ronald Weitzer. 2003. "Retaliatory Homicide: Concentrated Disadvantage and Neighborhood Culture." *Social Problems* 50: 157–80.
- Lee, Matthew R. 2000. "Concentrated Poverty, Race, and Homicide." *Sociological Quarterly* 41: 189–206.
- Morse, Stephen J. 2000. "Deprivation and Desert." In *From Social Justice to Criminal Justice: Poverty and the Administration of Criminal Law*, edited by William C. Heffernan and John Kleinig. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Panel on Research on Child Abuse and Neglect. 1993. *Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Paulle, Bowen. 2013. *Toxic Schools: High-Poverty Education in New York and Amsterdam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Peterson, Ruth D., and Lauren J. Krivo. 2010. *Divergent Social Worlds: Neighborhood Crime and the Racial-Spatial Divide*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Sampson, Robert J. 1986. "Crime in Cities: The Effects of Formal and Informal Social Control." *Crime and Justice* 8: 271–311.
- . 1987. "Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption." *American Journal of Sociology* 93: 348–82.
- Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science* 277: 918–24.
- Sampson, Robert J., and William Julius Wilson. 1995. "Toward a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality." In *Crime and Inequality*, edited by John Hagan and Ruth D. Peterson. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1992. *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shaw, Clifford R., and Henry D. McKay. 1942. *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tonry, Michael. 1995. *Malign Neglect: Race, Crime,*

- and Punishment in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2014. "Can Deserts Be Just in an Unjust World?" In *Liberal Criminal Theory: Essays for Andreas von Hirsch*, edited by A. P. Simester, Ulfrid Neumann, and Antje d. Bois-Pedain. Oxford: Hart.
- Travis, Jeremy, Bruce Western, and Stephens Redburn, eds. 2014. *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Wachs, Theodore D., and Gary W. Evans. 2010. "Chaos in Context." In *Chaos and Its Influence on Children's Development: An Ecological Perspective*, edited by Gary W. Evans and Theodore D. Wachs. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Warner, Barbara D., and Pamela W. Rountree. 1997. "Local Social Ties in a Community and Crime Model: Questioning the Systemic Nature of Informal Social Control." *Social Problems* 44: 520–36.
- Western, Bruce, Anthony A. Braga, Jaclyn Davis, and Catherine Sirois. 2015. "Stress and Hardship After Prison." *American Journal of Sociology* 120: 1512–47.

Becoming Aggrieved: An Alternative Framework of Care in Black Chicago



LAURENCE RALPH

Centering on “Eastwood,” a low-income, African American community on the West Side of Chicago in which I have conducted ethnographic research since 2007, I examine the coping mechanisms developed by residents after Mrs. Lana suffers what her doctors view as a psychotic break. I build upon Judith Butler’s conception of grief to reconceptualize madness as a sometimes productive force that allows scholars to see how certain populations are systematically dehumanized. After divulging a brief history of Mrs. Lana’s community, wherein I discuss how it came to inhabit the socioeconomic markers of poverty it is known for today, I explore in further detail the circumstances surrounding Mrs. Lana’s mental illness. Ultimately, I argue that the story of her “madness” is productive because it gives us valuable insight into the ways in which blacks, especially those living in low-income communities that face a dearth of institutional resources, invert popular expectations of mourning, thereby developing a concept of “becoming aggrieved” that does not merely lament death, but also affirms life.

Keywords: poverty, mental illness, grief, race

“Every other block in Chicago has a crazy lady,” a friend, Justin, once told me upon hearing the piercing screams of our neighbor, Mrs. Lana. According to Justin, Mrs. Lana had been addicted to drugs. He used that to explain why she followed people down the street or yelled at them from her porch. But when I met Mrs. Lana’s daughter, a young woman named Marla, she complicated Justin’s characterization. Marla never knew her mother as an addict but did confirm that heroin was once her main vice. Still, she offered another explanation for her mother’s behavior: “She’s just mad.”

“Mad,” in Marla’s usage, referred to an aspect of mental illness that had as much to do with anger as apparitions. According to Marla, her mother could see people walking down the street, minding their own business, and before they knew it an invisible but deadly bullet was lodged in their dome. If she could just get your

attention, if she could just warn you, then maybe you had a chance to survive. If not, you were done for.

Jo Jo Thomas didn’t get the warning. One afternoon he was eating in a restaurant with Marla while waiting for their mother to give them a ride home. Mrs. Lana called Jo Jo on his cell phone to say that she was outside in her car, and Marla, still stuffing her face, asked her brother to venture out to the car and return with an umbrella—it was raining and she didn’t want to get wet. Ever chivalric, Jo Jo agreed. When he stepped outside, gunfire rang out, and Jo Jo was in the midst of it. From the driver’s seat, Mrs. Lana screamed so loud and long that Marla swears she heard it from inside the restaurant. Jo Jo might’ve heard it too, Marla says, because he turned around and took two steps toward his mother’s car before collapsing. Mrs. Lana bolted from the car, dove

Laurence Ralph is John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University.

Direct correspondence to: Laurence Ralph at lralph@fas.harvard.edu, Department of African and African American Studies, Harvard University, 12 Quincy St., Barker Center 241, Cambridge, MA 02138.

onto the ground, and cradled the back of her son's head. Blood and brain matter spilled out, mixing with rainwater and then funneling into the gutter.

When it comes to the relationship between race and mental illness, social scientists have been much more concerned with explaining questions surrounding the lack of access to medical resources in poor, urban communities than with exploring the indigenous strategies that under-resourced communities develop to cope with mental illness. Black Chicago is no exception. There, one common way of understanding the relationship between mourning and mental illness is a contemporary version of a very old psychological theory. It was, of course, Sigmund Freud who famously distinguished between "mourning and melancholia" in his 1917 essay of the same name. For Freud, the loss in mourning relates to literal death. Accordingly, expressions of sadness in the mourner are viewed as appropriate and healthy, maybe even cathartic. Still, an expectation persists that someone will overcome her grief over time. Melancholia, on the other hand, is indistinguishable from mourning when the sadness begins; the difference is that the aggrieved person never overcomes her loss. In fact, she may refuse to concede that the object of her affection has been lost in the first instance. She subsequently retreats within herself, disregarding the norms and expectations of the outside world. If in mourning her son a mother is keenly aware of her loss, in melancholia she may be likewise aware, but remains unsettled about what this loss means in a larger existential sense.

In Eastwood, Chicago, the way doctors treat Mrs. Lana is based on this Freudian distinction. Even though mourning is considered nor-

mal, what makes Mrs. Lana "mad" (or mentally ill) is a specific interpretation of her actions in relation to her loss—particularly the fact that she is deeply disturbed by Jo Jo's death. However, what I want to make clear is that, in contrast to doctors, Eastwoodians, Mrs. Lana's neighbors, have come to view this woman's madness (in all its glorious aggression) as normal. They shun the societal expectation that her madness should diminish after some time, and they seek to pin down the political (rather than existential) meaning of Mrs. Lana's screams.

My argument is that Eastwoodians add a layer of depth to the common medicalized interpretation of mental illness because, in this community, a mother's madness is not merely her own. It signifies the grief that all residents may express for a number of devalued black lives that have also been prematurely extinguished. Thus, in this essay, "grief" is a superordinate category that contains both a temporary sadness that can be overcome (mourning) and a perpetual condition that cannot (madness). I show that a collective framework of care is constituted in the reaffirmation of humanity on behalf of the dead. Through and by attending to her needs, residents grieve their own losses alongside Mrs. Lana's. Therefore, in occasioning people to reflect on the countless young black people who have perished too soon, Mrs. Lana enlists members of a community to *become* aggrieved.¹

A CITY OF SCARS: THE DEHUMANIZATION OF BLACK LIVES

Before we can fully grasp how an Eastwoodian understanding of the human condition undermines the distinction between mourning and madness, we must first examine how black life becomes devalued and thus dehumanized in

1. Here I am referencing the "anthropology of becoming" that is rooted in Gilles Deleuze's philosophical theories. João Biehl and Peter Locke (2010, 335) argue that "Deleuze's ideas . . . uphold the rights of microanalysis, [while] bringing into view the immanent fields that people, in all their ambiguity, invent and live by." They continue: "Such fields of action and significance—leaking out on all sides—are mediated by power and knowledge, but they are also animated by claims to basic rights and desires." Biehl and Locke's idea of "becoming" is meant to challenge accepted theories of social domination and popular modes of medical and political intervention. Drawing from this intervention, I seek to demonstrate the ways in which large structural and institutional processes are made visible through an ethnographic engagement with "neglected human potentials," such as an exchange of dialogue between, and a search for insight from, someone like Mrs. Lana who is considered mentally unstable.

the American city. This dehumanization, we will see, has implications for how grief is understood and expressed.

In *Precarious Life* (2004), Judith Butler turns grief into a political resource by demonstrating that the failure to understand the capacity to mourn amounts to a failure to understand the value of life itself. Drawing from Butler's thesis, we can examine Mrs. Lana's screams in light of how the medical establishment continuously pushes the diagnostic reach of illness outward to capture more and more of the population. Anthropologists like Arthur Frank (1995) and Arthur Kleinman (2013) have regarded this capture as a form of censorship that silences certain people's voices underneath the heavy weight of a medicalized understanding of life. But at the same time that it silences all that contradicts the medical perspective, the exclusion of the dissenting voice also establishes the boundaries of the public itself. This is how "normal" people understand themselves as those who do not yell and scream irately, even in the face of violence they experience on an everyday basis. And this is why communities that face a disproportionate amount of violence must mask their grief. Just as their lives and communities are devalued, their grief is likewise illegitimated.

In 2007, when I first moved there, I learned that back in the 1970s Eastwood had been known by another name: "Sacred City." In those Black Power days, this place became sacred in the same way that "black" became proud and "nigger" a term of endearment. To date, local gangs still insist on the sacredness of this place. But in Eastwood, other people outside of the gang believe that all the talk of sacrosanctity is nothing more than a pretense masking the profane. The

statistics seem to bolster this point. Eastwood is a community in which, of the nearly 42,000 residents, nearly half (42 percent) lived below the poverty line in 2007 and, as crime is heavily implicated in this climate of poverty, 57 percent of all Eastwoodians were in some way involved in the criminal justice system—in jail, on parole, on house arrest.² Months after moving into Eastwood, boxes not yet unpacked, I observed an unfunny joke (at least, from the perspective of community residents) that points to how black lives are dehumanized in Chicago.

I was attending a community-policing meeting, taking field notes, as police officer Thompson said: "We're doing our best to stop the violence. We feel terrible that you all have to live here. They call it Sacred City," he said, alluding to the omnipresent specter of gangs. "You know what we call it?" The officer wrote out the term—Sacred—in chalk and then, using his palm to wipe away a few letters, said, "We just call it *Scarred*."

A few of the officers chuckled, including the precinct captain. Meanwhile, the residents gave them blank stares. In an effort to diffuse the tension (which had become palpable at this point), another cop, whose name I later found out was Officer Kearns, stood up and told everyone in the room his family's story. Generations ago, his great-grandparents moved from Poland and settled in Eastwood. "This neighborhood has a special place in my heart," Kearns said. "I could show you old pictures we have at home. You wouldn't believe how beautiful it was."

Ironically, immigrant families like Officer Kearns's are implicated in Eastwood's inglorious history. The community's wounds first began to fester in the 1970s, after the tractor company closed. Then the department store moved

2. "Eastwood" is a pseudonym for the West Side Chicago neighborhood where I lived and conducted research from 2007 to 2010. My wider research centered on the figure of the disabled gang member in the Divine Knights gang. Building outward from the disabled gang member, I examined how residents in a low-income community live through their injuries. As I was dealing with young people who had a range of experiences with—and perspectives on—gang activity, some of my collaborators did not feel comfortable with me disclosing the name of the gang. I eventually decided that I could not reveal the name of the gang, and by extension people and organizations in the community, without betraying the trust of others in Eastwood. What is authentic about this article—what has not been altered or rendered anonymous—are the events that I describe and the voices of my collaborators. Their voices paint a portrait of the production of madness in urban Chicago.

its headquarters, causing 80 percent of the manufacturing jobs to vanish. Other companies shuttered, taking with them 44 percent of area retail jobs. This process of deindustrialization was in full swing even before the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. sparked uprisings in Eastwood. After the fires had been extinguished, many store owners left the neighborhood because insurance companies canceled their policies or prohibitively increased premiums, making it difficult to rebuild businesses in their previous locations. Disinvestment peaked after King's murder but had been steadily increasing since the 1950s. These economic woes plagued all of Eastwood's retailers. By 1970, 75 percent of the businesses that had buoyed the community just two decades earlier were boarded up and abandoned. There has not been a significant migration of jobs, or people, into Eastwood since World War II.

Although Officer Kearns did not mention these factors to explain why, eventually, immigrants from places like Poland, Ireland, Russia, and Germany packed their things and moved out of Eastwood, the lack of business opportunities was certainly a factor—not to mention the unbridled racism that led many of them to fear living alongside blacks. Ever since the early 1940s, when African Americans began migrating to Chicago in droves, the city has been deeply segregated, and this segregation has implications for how black lives are devalued today. Twenty-two of Chicago's seventy community areas claim 82 percent of the city's homicides. Indeed, statistics like these are what motivated Eastwoodians to attend community-policing meetings in the first place. Citing homicide rates and contextualizing them through a history of deindustrialization is perhaps a circuitous way of saying that the misfire of the police officer's joke—the reason why it fell flat for the Eastwoodians in the room—was that they did not need an expert to tell them that their community was plagued with problems.

They were fully aware of their scars. Yet, they asserted their humanity nevertheless.

Mrs. Lana is a case in point. The fact that she is a mother who has been driven mad after witnessing the shooting death of her son exemplifies the reaffirmation of life in a context of

death. I do not mean to suggest that this contention is not controversial. On many occasions, I have shared her story with police officers and doctors in Chicago as a way to talk about the relationship between race, mental illness, and grinding poverty. When I have done so, my discussion of Jo Jo's death (and Mrs. Lana's reaction to it) has often been met with the following questions: *How was Jo Jo raised? What did Jo Jo do? Was he a gang member?* I can only assume that, by way of these inquiries, these experts are attempting to assess the amount of empathy they should have for this family.

In the past I have replied that Jo Jo was in fact gang-affiliated. But not in the way they might think. In Eastwood even a teenager, like Jo Jo, who opts not to join a gang will be cognizant of who belongs with which group, as well as the jurisdictional boundaries of each group. These boundaries are mapped onto neighborhoods, such that if a person is confronted by a member of a rival gang and asked where he or she lives, the street name this person offers as a response will signal gang affiliation (member or not) and could result in injury. (For this reason, many teenagers join gangs for protection *after* suffering injuries from rival gangs.) In Jo Jo's case, it is not clear whether he was mistaken for someone else, or whether the people who shot him were operating under the logic that anyone who lived in proximity to the rival gang held an allegiance to them and therefore deserved to die. Regardless of whether Jo Jo "officially" belonged to the gang, what is more important, for our purposes, is how the logic of rivalry within this organization mirrors attitudes toward black Americans in greater society.

The social movement #BlackLivesMatter demonstrates this point. #BlackLivesMatter began as a provocation on Twitter in 2013 after the self-appointed neighborhood watchman in Samford, Florida, George Zimmerman, shot and killed an unarmed teenager, Trayvon Martin. The movement grew even more popular in 2014 following the civil unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, sparked by the shooting of Michael Brown and the killing of Eric Garner, another unarmed African American who was choked to death by a New York

City police officer. There are currently twenty-three #BlackLivesMatter chapters in the United States, Canada, and Ghana. As I write this essay, these chapters have organized at least 672 demonstrations.

Contemporary movements like #BlackLivesMatter take as a point of departure the premise that certain people's lives—in this case “black lives”—are devalued in American society. Because of this, the group is geared toward an effort to make black lives count as “normal” human beings. Their protests speak against the notion that someone can be legitimately killed because his or her body is deemed threatening (regardless of whether he or she committed the alleged act of violence). The logic of a “justifiable homicide,” they say, operates to produce and maintain an exclusionary idea of who is fully human and who is not. The public is to believe that the black person (in the form of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, or Jo Jo Thomas) deserved to die because of his criminal associations. This premise suggests that the alleged black criminal is less human than the upright citizen, and therefore his killing is legitimate.

Likewise, Mrs. Lana didn't agree that her son deserved such a fate. In fact, in her early days of grief she was riddled with survivor's guilt, believing she herself to be more worthy of death than her son. Before Jo Jo's shooting, Mrs. Lana maintained a relatively well-paying job as a postal worker. She was a devout Christian who, in having once battled drug addiction, had found religion as a way to transform her life. As her neighbors tell it, the only things she enjoyed talking about more than her spiritual transformation were the activities of her three children: Jo Jo, Marla, and Travis. In the eyes of many Eastwoodians, Mrs. Lana's psychotic break marked her transition from a well-respected community member to an outcast, albeit an outcast for whom people eventually harbored great admiration. What concerns us most is why Eastwoodians were drawn to her: they did not merely appreciate what she had experienced; more specifically, they saw her screams as an attempt to create a public sphere in which oppositional voices are not feared, degraded, or dismissed, but valued for the productive reflections they inspire.

A MOTHER'S SCREAMS: THE POTENTIAL HIDDEN IN MADNESS

Drawing from black urban life, only from a different historical moment, Jonathan Metzl attaches the same crucial importance to the political potentiality embedded in mental illness as I do in this essay. In *The Protest Psychosis* (2006, 187), he shows that, in the 1960s and 1970s, the diagnosis of schizophrenia underwent a striking shift in the United States. Although the disease was originally associated with white middle-class women (who may have been so bold as to commit the public offense of chastising their husbands in public), over time, this particular brand of madness became linked to black males and to the hostility, anger, and aggression that seemed to characterize their lives during the civil rights movement. Metzl argues that treatments for mental illnesses are intrinsically political. For him, pointing to the political is not a means to dismiss schizophrenia by undermining its biological roots. Rather, these roots are given fertile soil in the social climate of the day.

The large body of literature which suggests that experiences of racism and poverty seem to increase a person's risk for mental illness is bolstered by Metzl's account, in which illness is interpreted, understood, and enacted. Given the hindsight of history, it may seem strange that “aggressive protests” can be diagnosed as a form of madness. But Metzl's work attunes us to the fact that, although there are many institutional mechanisms for determining what illness looks like, it is much harder to say what should *not* be counted as part of the prognosis. My work fills this void by describing locally salient ways of understanding death in which mourning (a loss that a person eventually overcomes) is not privileged over madness (a refusal to overcome loss, which consumes one's existence). In this regard, each of the ethnographic scenes I describe contains hidden potentialities embedded within symbolic representations of grief—of which dice games, footwear, uncovered heads, and, most importantly, Mrs. Lana's screams, are the most striking examples.

I learned about the local significance of symbols of grief while conducting fieldwork in

Eastwood, where I often began structured interviews with the same three words: “Describe your neighborhood.”

Young or old, most stated that Eastwood could be desolate for hours on end and then, just as suddenly, bubble over with block parties, laughter, and life. But on those “unfortunate nights,” as one resident called them, the block could also erupt with screaming and stampedes away from the unmistakable sound that too often rang out: a dreadful alarm. The threat of that untimely alarm—otherwise known as a gun blast—made one of my collaborators, Justin, insist on a prerequisite for helping me with my research: I couldn’t stand on the “drug” corner. I could, however, stand on the less dangerous “lunch money” corner, where the teenagers shot dice.

The “lunch money” corner was a recreational space more than anything else—a recess carved from concrete where girls jumped rope and boys rode bikes. Surrounded by low-stakes games and laughter, this corner was a perch where, on ordinary days, young people practiced a modern-day jitterbug called footworkin’. They would bring iPods with portable speakers to mask the sound of the hollow roll of dice. Everyone’s eyes would grow big with anticipation of the dots that would either win or lose them some pocket change. When those dots revealed themselves in front of us on the pavement, the winners would slap their knees and point their fingers at the others, now frowning, before snatching up wrinkled dollar bills and swearing that they’d mastered a special technique for tossing plastic cubes against concrete and brick.

On this corner, it wasn’t merely about the money. (Most days the winners bought everyone a large bag of chips and soda, or even a stuffed deep-dish slice from the nearby restaurant, Big Al’s.) It was about something far graver. The dice roll came to represent the fragility of life—the fact that, even at so tender an age, you could never know when your number was up.³

It would be easy for a passerby to see young people posted on the corner and not notice how

the symbols of mourning could possess a person’s body. On a winter day in 2008, for example, I watched as the dice rolled past the feet of one of the teenagers, Danny. I then noticed that Danny had on boots that had belonged to Cook—his best friend, who had been murdered weeks before. Then I realized something even more significant: Danny had not taken off those boots since his best friend passed away.

Comparing Danny’s inherited boots to Mrs. Lana’s screams reveals crucial differences. The former symbol might reference grief (if we know that Danny’s boots belonged to his departed friend), but it does not necessarily reference mental illness. Another notable distinction is that, were a teenage black male to adopt Mrs. Lana’s method of grievance (following people down the street while screaming), he would probably be seen as enacting the very forms of violence against which he was protesting. It was, in part, her role as a mother that made it more difficult to turn a blind eye, and deaf ear, to Mrs. Lana’s screams. This was at least part of the reason people were willing to make room for her madness.

Some contextual information about the nature of Mrs. Lana’s screams will clarify this point.

Marla tells me, when driving past that intersection where Jo Jo was shot, that she sometimes pictures her mother as she was before her son died: beautiful and not yet ravaged, lipstick, a breezy dress, head full of flowing locks. She chronicles her mother the same way Christians do Christ, only in Mrs. Lana’s case, AD refers to Jo Jo’s death, not the crucifixion.

Unlike the doctors and her Eastwood neighbors, at first Marla didn’t think her mother’s condition was permanent. Her theory was that one day she would not need to scream at people or follow them around, telling them to keep their head covered. One day, Marla thought, her mother would finally accept Jo Jo’s demise. It took at least a year for Marla to abandon this expectation.

Back then, a year removed from Jo Jo’s shooting, Mrs. Lana could be seen standing on her porch yelling at passersby in a high-pitched

3. Dice was among the local gang’s most cherished symbols; “it represents that every day is a gamble,” as one member told me.

shrill. But it started, Marla told me, with a stare directed at her youngest child Travis, then nine years old. Her glance at first was cautious. “What’s wrong?” Marla remembers asking.

“Oh, nothing, baby,” Mrs. Lana said, her eyes fixed on the back of her young boy’s head.

Now this scene began to repeat daily, Mrs. Lana calling Travis over and inspecting him from head to toe. Once finished with her youngest, she would inspect her daughter too. Though Marla was twelve years older than Travis, Mrs. Lana found special comfort in giving her hair a reassuring stroke.

I ask Marla when she first began to worry about her mother’s safety.

In response she tells me “the drugstore story.”

At the drugstore, Mrs. Lana knocked over the contents of shelves in a search for duct tape. When an employee finally handed it to her, hopeful that this unruly customer might leave, Mrs. Lana ripped the packaging open with her teeth and then tried to use it right there in the store. And by “use it” I mean that Mrs. Lana attempted to apply the tape to strangers’ heads.

Marla hands me a copy of the police report; after pausing to look it over, I ask her how she made sense of the official description.

Marla’s interpretation of this event was this. Her mother could not bear to see all those vulnerable bodies. Her mother “grew frightened” of the patrons fleeing from her—the unprotected who were rejecting her efforts to save their lives.

According to the report, Mrs. Lana’s head was already covered with duct tape. She tried explaining to an employee the need for protective taping. The employee notified the store manager; Mrs. Lana tried covering his head as well. Finally, the manager called the police. “And I was happy to see them too,” Mrs. Lana later told her daughter. “At least they had the good sense to keep their hats on.”

Unlike most patrons in the store, the manager reportedly told the police that he didn’t believe Mrs. Lana was on drugs. Eastwood is nationally renowned for heroin distribution, and he claimed he could recognize an addict—usually they were subdued and docile. Mrs.

Lana was frantic, mad. Still, when the police officers checked her record, they found an arrest for possession of drugs. Even though that arrest had occurred more than twenty years earlier, it was all the evidence they needed to put her away.

Stapled to the report Marla hands me is another document. This second document, itself a report, came from the county jail where Mrs. Lana was held. It contains the findings of a doctor’s visit during her incarceration. She was examined in preparation for a hearing at the Mental Health Court.⁴ There her refusal to accept her son’s death was codified into a diagnosis.

While incarcerated, Mrs. Lana’s picture of Jo Jo was taken from her. She had carried it in her inside pocket ever since his death.

“That’s when she lost herself,” Marla says. The picture was a reminder to Mrs. Lana of who she was, and without it, Marla explains, her mother’s urge to yell and scream and warn people to cover their heads became even harder to control.

This is what Marla learned about her mother’s three-day stint from the two reports and eventual hearing at the Mental Health Court. In jail, Mrs. Lana was subdued with sedatives and eventually placed in a cell by herself. It’s impossible to say whether or not Mrs. Lana, lying there on her bunk, drugs coursing through her veins, realized that her thoughts had become fragmented. Was she curious about when or if her mind, now scrambled, would ever get pieced back together? She might have feared that if things could come undone like this, almost instantaneously, then how in the world could she hold everything in? Marla’s theory is that this, her newfound reality, began to irritate her. And then that irritation transformed itself into rage, prompting Mrs. Lana to scream. “Screaming is the only *rational* thing she could think of to do,” Marla says.

In contrast to Marla’s acceptance of her mother’s screams, her outbursts while incarcerated confirmed a doctor’s determination that Mrs. Lana had “delusional disorder, with obsessional features.” The court recommended that she be released, and Mrs. Lana was prescribed drugs that would block the

4. The Mental Health Court is located inside the jail.

neurotransmitter involved in developing her delusions. Additionally, family therapy was encouraged. That's where Marla decided that she would not fight her mother's madness. She would go with the tide.

Months after she was released from jail, I ask Marla if her mother seems to be a changed person.

Marla explains that, at first, being outside was simply too much to bear. Mrs. Lana stayed indoors, her family accommodating her accordingly. Travis, who didn't like hats, wore his football helmet in the house. He learned that when his mother's eyes got big, he needed to buckle his chinstrap. Marla wore silk scarves on her head. "People in the neighborhood thought I had converted to Islam," she jokes.

What was the biggest challenge? I ask.

"Mother grew tired of such a confined lifestyle," Marla answers. "She wanted to at least feel the sun on her skin." But even sitting on the porch made her uneasy. We know this from therapy. During her sessions, Mrs. Lana speculated about how the Beverly twins across the street could jump rope like that, so carefree. And where was Mrs. Beverly, anyway? (She fought the urge to run across the road and grab those lighthearted children.)

Mrs. Lana revealed other observations: She noticed for the first time all the children and teenagers and grown folks about. She could see partial and sometimes entire heads missing from their bodies. The human sounds emanating from their necks disturbed her. She wondered when these deformed people would fall to their knees, when their headless bodies would collapse in the street. With visions such as this, it stands to reason that simply keeping her eyes open on the porch left Mrs. Lana weak. She would shuffle, shake her head, look again, and then finally close her eyes. Sometimes with her eyes still closed, she would cry soundlessly. Exhausted from an overloaded mind, she must have fought to tamp down that rage she felt in jail. In my reading, this swollen anxiety was about more than remembering who she was and how she used to live. It was an anxiety born from a heartfelt burden to warn her neighbors about death, which required that she dwell in a perpetual madness, a timeless space, where its

urgency was never to be forgotten, assuaged, or overcome.

BECOMING AGGRIEVED: THE ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK OF CARE

So far we have seen Marla struggle to place her mother's grief within a coherent frame. The primary way she attempts to do so is by positioning "mourning" and "madness" on an even social plane, such that the former is not deemed "normal" and the latter is not branded "pathological." Rather, in refusing to overcome loss, Mrs. Lana is seen by her daughter as displaying a justifiable anger. In this section, we will see that Marla's interpretation of her mother's pain as "reasonable" provides insights into the process by which Eastwoodians *become aggrieved*.

But before I describe a final ethnographic scene, which bolsters this point, a brief parenthesis is warranted.

I mentioned from the outset that, in my analysis, "grief" connotes mourning as well as madness. It is now time to distinguish grief from the process of "becoming aggrieved," which cannot merely be defined in terms of mourning the past—it is also about developing a communal framework for care. I realize that this relationship between becoming aggrieved and practicing care may strike some as strange (or at least counterintuitive). If the term "care" connotes safekeeping, consideration, and support, the term "aggrieved" connotes mistreatment, resentfulness, and injury. The words are not quite antonyms, but they are certainly distinct. Still, in what's to come, I link the practice of care to the process of becoming aggrieved because to care for someone in an underresourced community is precisely about keeping loved ones safe, considering their needs, and supporting them, while at the same time holding out hope that one's injuries and resentments may somehow prove productive in the end.

In the fall of 2009, Marla began to complain that whenever she had to leave the house—for school, work, the grocery store—Mrs. Lana would open her front door and walk through Eastwood with newspaper and duct tape, warning people to cover their heads. In the block club meetings I attended during this

time, I noted that some of her neighbors initially expressed fear. At the same time, knowing what she had been through, they felt remorse. Mrs. Lana's voice was so dreadfully sincere that they believed her shrill spoke to a breathtaking trauma. Indeed, the first time I heard Mrs. Lana scream I reacted, *startled*, as if it were a gun blast. Like the bullet itself, her voice was an intrusion that ruptured the present. Symbolically reinstating the violence that took Jo Jo, she drew an audible line, every day, between life and death.

After several worrisome confrontations, word began to spread about the nature of Mrs. Lana's madness. Soon Marla reluctantly confided in neighbors, telling them that since Jo Jo's death her mother had been harboring a disquieting worry that either they or she herself were not real. At first she was ashamed to share this private information. The young boys who identified with the local gang might try to antagonize her mother, Marla feared. But she underestimated the respect they had for Jo Jo and the love they had for Travis. Marla failed to recognize, in other words, that Jo Jo's peers may have been coping with their own grief through the care they expressed for her mother.

Eventually, Marla invited her neighbors over. As they entered her home, Marla observed that her mother kept her eyes down, directly at their feet, then slowly scanned up to see their faces. In Marla's words, her mother was attempting to verify that they had a "head on their shoulders." When their familiar faces and covered heads greeted her with their warm presence—which, for her, was as undeniable as it was reassuring—this was the first step of a communal commitment to see Mrs. Lana strip madness of its stigma.

Pastor Scott was the first neighbor to come over in the winter of 2009. He kept on his fedora despite it being mandatory for all men in his congregation to take off their hats when entering the sanctuary. A month later, it was Mrs. Beverly, with her cashmere cowl, and her twins with their pink hoodies. Marla monitored who came and went and learned to scrutinize their naked scalps, as did her mother. "You can't step foot in this house unless you cover your head," she told everyone. Only weeks later, Mr. Gregory visited. He told me:

"If you had to take your shirt off and fashion it into a makeshift turban [when visiting Mrs. Lana], that's what you did." Marla's concerns were finally assuaged when, in early December, Travis's football team had a pizza party and everyone ate slices at her mother's table through their face masks.

Flipping through her journal, Marla recounts her description of that day with a smile. She tells me that the night of the pizza party she watched from her mother's bedroom door as she fell into a still, deep sleep that didn't require the aid of drugs—a sleep that began and ended in Mrs. Lana's own bed rather than Travis's, as had become the custom. Looking on as her mother slept, a yellow bandana affixed to her head, Marla came to realize that the struggle to order and focus experience was not just her mother's; it was a collective fight that would have to elevate madness such that it was no longer a devalued liminal state but simply another response to violence. In this way, elevating madness—making room for it, even valuing it—was an effort to develop an alternative framework of care that searched for therapy through accommodation and understanding. People might be mad, but they were still human (see Bambara 1980; Morrison 1974).

That is, once her neighbors began to accommodate Mrs. Lana's voice, they could understand their own lives and losses—their own *grief*—in relation to it. Eastwoodians stopped trying to hurry past Mrs. Lana's porch or diverting their eyes when they saw her sitting unstill. This is not to say that as time went on they took less notice of her madness. Quite the opposite: everyone took a little more care. Passersby looked for Mrs. Lana on her porch, gang members called her name and touched the brim of their caps (a personal salute), and women took their babies out of their strollers to show off bonnets.

Toward the end of 2009, I began jotting down passing references to Mrs. Lana in my notebook. On the "lunch money" corner, adjacent to Mrs. Lana's house, idle talk about her was plentiful. Tiko, ready to leave the dice game, was putting his sweater back on over his RIP T-shirt when he said to Danny, "You sure did take a long time going to the store. I thought you were coming right back?"

And Danny, brushing off his inherited boots, answered, "I had to walk the long way past Mrs. Lana's. I forgot my hat."

Or Justin, talking to his wife Tina: "We should feed that baby before we go to church." Tina agreeing: "If we don't, she'll be screaming louder than Mrs. Lana in a barbershop."

More: Mrs. Pearl lent her grandson, Pete, some money, and there he was, standing on the corner with the hat he purchased using his grandmother's gift, a suede cap with a snake-skin brim.

"You wasted my hard-earned money on that thing," Mrs. Pearl said. "That hat is so ugly that even Mrs. Lana would tell you to take it off."

Even Pastor Scott addressed her in a sermon. "Mrs. Lana," he said, "has got more sense than any of the so-called antiviolence activists I know. She doesn't hold a rally and then feel good about herself. She warns everybody, every day, about the consequences of the bullet." How many in the congregation, the pastor wanted to know, could claim they did the same?

In all these ways, Eastwoodians promoted Mrs. Lana's madness to the ranks of respectability. And her scars gained a status that was no less than sacred for the people on James Street.

Throughout this essay, we have witnessed residents creating a space to express grief in many different places: on the corner where teenage boys don RIP T-shirts; embedded in the boots a best friend has left behind; inside Mrs. Lana's home, where residents must take heed to cover their heads. In this context, the disproportionate likelihood that an Eastwoodian will suffer from mental illness or fall victim to gun violence shapes the ways in which grief is understood. Moreover, as I have shown, many people who grapple with grief contribute to, and draw from, a critical reserve cultivated from their own vulnerabilities (Vargas 2006, 481). It follows that by donating their time, energy, and emotions to this reserve, Eastwoodians create what I refer to here as an alternative framework of care. From Marla we learned that the chief element in such a framework includes an elevation of madness, such that it is neither denigrated nor devalued but given the same respectability as mourning. By cleansing madness

of its stigma and shame, Eastwoodians become aggrieved through collective practices of care.

Metaphorically speaking, care in a context of structural violence entails the unsettled discontentment of a baby wailing in church, a woman whose grandson spends her hard-earned money on something frivolous, and the annoyance of having to walk the long way home even when there is a shorter path. Likewise, feeling irritated when your mother constantly leaves the house and yells at people, yet exercising concern for her well-being nevertheless, points us to how anger and resentment might serve a greater good. Toward this end, the pastor's words (Mrs. Lana "warns everybody, every day, about the consequences of the gun") crystallize the common Eastwoodian contention that one's anger can be a critical asset when it is directed at the very social problems that exacerbate mourning, madness, and many other manner of grief.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, I have developed a concept of grief that accounts for both mourning and madness. Furthermore, I have distinguished the grief that many Eastwoodians express from the ways people become aggrieved—a process through which an alternative framework of care is developed. As we have seen, this framework seeks to balance the scales of judgment and ridicule between the ephemeral sadness associated with mourning and the permanent sorrow that plagues "the mad." By doing so, it challenges traditional (yet still common) understandings of mourning, which rely on a model of the human subject that is strictly wedded to a sense of the individual. In the Freudian scheme, mourning ends when a mother ceases her debilitating everyday preoccupation with her loss and finds a way to function as she did before the death of her child, thus reestablishing her own autonomy through sorrow. My analysis, by contrast, moves beyond the individual to examine collective grief. Like the Eastwoodians who visit Mrs. Lana at her home, I do not pathologize madness even as I compare it to mourning. Instead, placing mourning and madness within a spectrum on the same social plane makes grief more about affirming life than merely coping with death. I see Mrs. Lana's screams, in this

regard, as an attempt to create a public sphere in which oppositional voices are not feared, degraded, or dismissed but valued for the productive reflections they can occasion.

Insofar as it clues us in to the basic needs and desires of a dehumanized collective, examining the strategies for caregiving in black Chicago—as well as the premises behind them—can help scholars, researchers, and medical experts understand locally salient ways of interpreting the human condition. In this essay, I have urged researchers to begin their analyses by seeking to understand the local responses to trauma that are generated from within the communities they study because, as I see it, the framework of care that Eastwoodians have developed is a therapeutic method of accommodating trauma that does not unduly institutionalize people. Here, practices of care are rooted in the idea that “the mad” can be regulated in a way that has more to do with integration than quarantine. Crucially, this alternative framework is at odds with the sole reliance on pharmaceutical drugs to treat trauma patients. Screaming is not an indication that someone should simply be institutionalized or merely prescribed medication. People can scream and it’s okay.

This, above all else, is why I have elaborated

for so long on the hidden potential embedded in a “mad” woman’s screams. Her anger helps us to reimagine grief by contemplating what kind of life is made livable on Chicago’s West Side.

REFERENCES

- Bambara, Toni Cade. 1980. *The Salt Eaters*. New York: Random House.
- Biehl, João, and Peter Locke. 2010. “Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming.” *Current Anthropology* 51: 317–51.
- Butler, Judith. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. New York: Verso.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Frank, Arthur. 1995. *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kleinman, Arthur. 2013. “From Illness to Caregiving as Moral Experience.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 368: 15.
- Metzl, Jonathan. 2006. *The Protest Psychosis: How Schizophrenia Became a Black Disease*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morrison, Toni. 1974. *Sula*. New York: Knopf.
- Vargas, Joao. 2006. “Black Radical Becoming: The Politics of Identification in Permanent Transformation.” *Critical Sociology* 32: 475–500.

PART IV
The Prison as
Poverty Institution

Homelessness and Housing Insecurity Among Former Prisoners



CLAIRE W. HERBERT, JEFFREY D. MORENOFF, AND
DAVID J. HARDING

The United States has experienced dramatic increases in both incarceration rates and the population of insecurely housed or homeless persons since the 1980s. These marginalized populations have strong overlaps, with many people being poor, minority, and from an urban area. That a relationship between homelessness, housing insecurity, and incarceration exists is clear, but the extent and nature of this relationship is not yet adequately understood. We use longitudinal, administrative data on Michigan parolees released in 2003 to examine returning prisoners' experiences with housing insecurity and homelessness. Our analysis finds relatively low rates of outright homelessness among former prisoners, but very high rates of housing insecurity, much of which is linked to features of community supervision, such as intermediate sanctions, returns to prison, and absconding. We identify risk factors for housing insecurity, including mental illness, substance use, prior incarceration, and homelessness, as well as protective "buffers" against insecurity and homelessness, including earnings and social supports.

Keywords: reentry, homelessness, housing instability, intermediate sanctions

The United States has experienced dramatic increases in both incarceration rates and the homeless population since the 1980s, the latter owing in part to the severe decline in affordable housing (Blau 1992; Burt 1992; Jencks 1994;

Wright, Rubin, and Devine 1998). By 2001, another 36.9 million U.S. households had experienced forms of housing insecurity, such as spending over 30 percent of household income on housing or living in poor-quality housing or

Claire W. Herbert is a doctoral student at the University of Michigan. **Jeffrey D. Morenoff** is associate professor of sociology and associate research professor in the Population Studies Center and Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. **David J. Harding** is associate professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

This research was funded by the University of Michigan Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy, the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan, the Russell Sage Foundation, the National Institute of Justice (2008-IJ-CX-0018), the National Science Foundation (SES-1061018, SES-1060708), and the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (1R21HD060160 01A1), as well as by a center grant to the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R24 HD041028). We thank Paulette Hatchett, our collaborator at the Michigan Department of Corrections, for facilitating access to the data and for advice on the research design; and Steve Heeringa and Zeina Mneimneh, for advice on the sample design. Charley Chilcote, Brenda Hurlless, Bianca Espinoza, Andrea Garber, Jessica Wyse, Jonah Siegal, Jay Borchert, Amy Cooter, Jane Rochmes, Jon Tshiamala, Katie Harwood, Elizabeth Sinclair, Carmen Gutierrez, Joanna Wu, Clara Rucker, Michelle Hartzog, Tyrell Connor, Madie Lupei, Elena Kaltsas, Brandon Cory, and Elizabeth Johnston provided excellent research assistance. Direct correspondence to: Claire W. Herbert at clairewh@umich.edu, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 500 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109; Jeffrey D. Morenoff at morenoff@umich.edu, University of Michigan, 500 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109; and David J. Harding at dharding@berkeley.edu, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 462 Barrows Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720.

in overcrowded conditions (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2004). Recent counts estimate that 665,000 persons are homeless on any given night, and that approximately 1.6 million Americans use shelters or transitional housing over the course of a year (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 2010). Meanwhile, the United States now incarcerates nearly 1 percent of its population at any given time, while an additional 2 percent serve time on probation and parole (Wakefield and Uggen 2010).

Beyond the confluence of these two trends, there are strong reasons to expect a connection between incarceration and homelessness. First, both the formerly incarcerated and the insecurely housed or homeless are disproportionately poor minorities from urban areas (Lee, Tyler, and Wright 2010; National Low Income Housing Coalition 2004; Wakefield and Uggen 2010). There are also more direct connections between returning from prison and the risk of housing instability. Formerly incarcerated persons face a unique set of obstacles to finding and maintaining secure and stable housing, including prejudice and discrimination against those with a criminal record, legal barriers, and hurdles stemming from the direct involvement of the criminal justice system in their lives. Housing insecurity and homelessness have important consequences for returning prisoners, and some researchers have argued that secure housing is their most pressing and immediate short-term need (Lutze, Rosky, and Hamilton 2013; Metraux and Culhane 2004; Roman and Travis 2006); moreover, parole officials cite housing as the biggest need for parolees (Petersilia 2003, 8). Stable housing may be the foundation upon which other aspects of successful reentry rely (Bradley et al. 2001): it can be difficult for returning prisoners to find and maintain stable employment, maintain family connections, receive physical and mental health care, and avoid substance use without stable housing (Lutze, Rosky, and Hamilton 2013).

Despite these links between prisoner reentry and homelessness, only a few studies have specifically examined housing insecurity and homelessness among former prisoners. They show high rates of shelter use (Metraux and Culhane 2004) and residential insecurity

(Geller and Curtis 2011), as well as an elevated risk of recidivism for returning prisoners who do not receive housing and wraparound services upon their release (Lutze et al. 2013).

There are still many important gaps in the research on prisoner reentry and housing instability. First, there are no estimates of the frequency of various forms of residential instability and homelessness based on representative samples of former prisoners, and no studies have considered residential instability and homelessness together as part of a spectrum of insecure housing using long-term prospective, longitudinal data. Second, there has been no prior research on the role of the criminal justice system in housing individuals recently released from prison and in generating residential instability through forced residential moves.

In this article, we use prospective, longitudinal data on a cohort of prisoners released on parole in Michigan in 2003 to examine their experiences with housing insecurity and homelessness. The first part of our analysis asks two questions: How often do former prisoners experience homelessness and housing insecurity both immediately after release and over time? And what forms of homelessness and housing insecurity are most common among former prisoners? Our analysis reveals the prevalence and forms of housing insecurity and homelessness among the reentry population. We are able to compare the relative prevalence and timing of different forms of adverse housing situations that returning prisoners face. Our analysis details the range of unstable housing situations experienced by this population, including living on the streets or in shelters or other temporary housing; living in institutional settings; experiencing high rates of mobility; and absconding (aka being “on the run”) (Goffman 2014).

The second part of our analysis looks at the characteristics and experiences of former prisoners to determine which are predictive of homelessness and housing insecurity. We examine preprison, prison, and postprison characteristics and experiences, such as demographics, preprison residence type, incarceration length, crime type, substance use, mental health, education, and work history. We use discrete time event history models

with competing risks to predict various types of residential moves, including moves to new private residences, to treatment or medical care, to homelessness, to short-term criminal justice sanctions, and to prison.

Our analysis finds relatively low rates of outright rooflessness or shelter use among former prisoners, but very high rates of housing insecurity. The predictors of homelessness and housing insecurity in the existing literature on other populations are also found here, including mental illness, drug and alcohol use, prior incarceration, and prior homelessness. Much of former prisoners' housing insecurity is linked to features of community supervision, including increased risk of arrests, substance abuse tests, intermediate sanctions, returns to prison, and absconding. Two buffers against housing insecurity and homelessness among former prisoners are higher earnings and social support from parents and romantic partners.

LINKS BETWEEN PRISONER REENTRY AND HOUSING INSECURITY

A staggering 700,000 prisoners are released from federal and state prisons each year (West, Sabol, and Greenman 2010). This transition is fraught with obstacles. Most prisoner reentry research seeks to identify the predictors of a "successful" transition and the risk factors associated with recidivating and returning to prison. This research has focused predominantly on the effects of employment, physical and mental health, substance abuse, family reintegration and social support systems, and neighborhood characteristics. Housing has received little attention within the prisoner reentry literature. For example, a recent National Academy of Sciences report on mass incarceration and its consequences contains chapters on health, employment, families, and communities, but little discussion of housing and homelessness (National Research Council 2014).

Many of the obstacles to successful prisoner reentry overlap with the obstacles facing the insecurely housed and homeless populations. Both populations are at risk for mental health problems (Beck and Maruschak 2001; Burgard, Seefeldt, and Zelner 2012; Lee et al. 2010; Shaw 2004; Travis 2003), substance abuse (Mumola 1999; Shlay and Rossi 1992; Visser and Travis

2003), and fragile family relationships. Family support is associated with lower risks of housing insecurity (Burgard, Seefeldt, and Zelner 2012), homelessness (Bassuk et al. 1997), and recidivism (Nelson, Deess, and Allen 1999; Visser and Travis 2003). Former prisoners face great difficulty finding and maintaining employment (Bushway, Stoll, and Weiman 2007; Sampson and Laub 1993; Solomon, Gouvis, and Wall 2001; Uggen, Manza, and Behrens 2003; Visser and Travis 2003; Western, Kling, and Weiman 2001), and experiencing unemployment can be a precursor to housing insecurity (Burgard, Seefeldt, and Zelner 2012) and homelessness (Shlay and Rossi 1992). These risks threaten successful reentry for former prisoners, and overcoming these risks is made more difficult without stable housing (Geller and Curtis 2011). Former prisoners who lack secure housing thus face a compounded disadvantage as they not only are compelled to negotiate the stigma and barriers of a criminal record but are also hindered by a lack of stable housing.

With regard to the effects of incarceration on homelessness, we know that returning prisoners can face structural obstacles to obtaining housing that put them at risk of housing insecurity or homelessness (see, for example, Geller and Curtis 2011). Prior research suggests that being homeless puts individuals at risk of incarceration, and also that incarceration increases an individual's risk of homelessness, although the direct evidence on these effects is thin. With regard to the effect of homelessness on incarceration, the lives of homeless persons are increasingly controlled by laws and ordinances that criminalize their daily activities. Lacking private, personal space, the homeless must use public spaces to engage in private activities such as sleeping, urinating, and drinking or using drugs, and many cities have enacted "anti-homeless" campaigns that criminalize such private activities in public spaces (Donley and Wright 2008). In Seattle and several other West Coast cities, even sitting or lying on the sidewalk is illegal (Beckett and Herbert 2010). The homeless are also more likely to engage in actions that put them at high risk of entering the criminal justice system, such as heavy drinking, stealing money, and stealing food (Gowan 2002; Greenberg and Rosenheck 2008).

Understanding homelessness and housing insecurity requires a broad conceptualization of the challenges of securing and maintaining stable housing. Homelessness research has expanded over time to analyze a range of experiences, from transitional and episodic forms to chronic homelessness, and many scholars emphasize the necessity of viewing homelessness as part of a spectrum of precarious housing situations (Geller and Curtis 2011; Honig and Filer 1993; Lutze, Rosky, and Hamilton 2013). People who are insecurely housed may experience frequent residential moves; may be cost-burdened by spending more than 30 percent of their income on housing; may live in overcrowded conditions or be doubling up (for example, two families sharing one apartment); may be at risk of losing their housing (such as facing an eviction); or may be exiting an institutional setting, having been homeless prior to entering.¹ There is a fine line between being insecurely housed and literal homelessness (Shlay and Rossi 1992), and housing insecurity is a risk factor for homelessness (Reid, Vittinghoff, and Kushel 2008). Longitudinal research on homelessness affirms the fluid nature of housing, demonstrating that exits from and entries into homelessness are quite common after an initial period of homelessness (Metraux and Culhane 1999; Piliavin et al. 1996; Wong and Piliavin 1997). Research on housing obstacles among former prisoners needs to incorporate (1) insecurity in addition to outright homelessness, and (2) a longitudinal approach in order to capture the spectrum of housing situations that former prisoners may face and how they unfold over time. In this article, we conceptualize “housing insecurity” as a broad spectrum of precarious housing situations, from living on the street to being cost-burdened by a high mortgage payment.

BARRIERS TO HOUSING STABILITY AMONG FORMER PRISONERS

Former prisoners face many obstacles to finding housing upon release. Returning prisoners often have little to no income, they can be discriminated against by private landlords, and they can be prevented from applying for the limited supply of public housing, a restriction that may also affect the families with whom they may plan to live after prison (Geller and Curtis 2011). In this section, we discuss the key barriers to stable housing for former prisoners, including the nature of the U.S. housing market, collateral consequences of criminal justice system involvement, and the role of community supervision after release from prison.

The Market for Low-Income Housing

The constrained affordable rental market in the United States has heightened consequences for returning prisoners. Scholars cite the lack of affordable housing in the United States as a key factor in the growth of homelessness (Blau 1992; Snow and Anderson 1993; Wright, Donley, and Gotham 2008). Starting in the 1970s and 1980s, real wages have not kept up with increasing housing prices (Jencks 1994). Joel Blau (1992, 75) explains: “More than any other single phenomenon, it is the interaction between the relative decline of income and the relative increase in housing costs that explains the growth of the homeless population.” By 1983, the proportion of renters paying more than 35 percent of their income on rent increased to 37 percent, up from 25 percent in 1974 (Blau 1992, 74). Some households handle this increase by spending less money on other expenses, like food or clothing. When that is not possible, some renters turn to other forms of insecure housing, like doubling up in order to save on rental costs, while others end up homeless (Blau 1992).

1. Signed into law in 1987, the McKinney Act defined homelessness as “an individual who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence,” including persons living in shelters, hotels, or anywhere not designed for regular sleeping accommodations (McKinney Homeless Assistance Act 1987, 101 STAT 515 Q2). Over time, these guidelines have been expanded to include persons exiting an institution who were homeless prior to institutionalization and anyone facing an imminent threat to their housing (such as facing an eviction or not having the resources to continue to pay for their housing beyond fourteen days), as well as to cover a category of persons “at risk” of homelessness because they have income below 30 percent of the median for their geographic area, they move frequently, they are staying with others (“doubling up”) or living in overcrowded conditions, they live in a hotel or motel, they are facing eviction, or they are exiting an institution (McKinney-Vento Act 1987, 3).

Low-income renters who turn to public housing face long waiting lists, at times longer than the number of available housing units.² The Reagan administration cut subsidies for the construction of new public housing, instead supporting housing-choice vouchers, which subsidize rents on the private rental market for low-income individuals. These vouchers are rarely enough to enable the holder to find an affordable rental, however, and thus merely reflect the lack of affordable housing for the poor (Blau 1992); moreover, private landlords may discriminate against potential renters, including former prisoners.

The decline in the availability of single-room-occupancy (SRO) hotels has further constrained housing options for those, like former prisoners, who are seeking very low-cost housing. SROs historically were utilized by returning prisoners or others leaving institutions, the elderly, and casual laborers (Blau 1992). These single-room rentals shared a bathroom and kitchen facility and were available for weekly or monthly rental (Rossi 1989). But as urban areas gentrified, SRO hotels and rooming houses were increasingly converted into high-cost rental units for urban professionals who returned to the city (Blau 1992).

The Collateral Consequences of the Involvement of the Criminal Justice System

Recent scholars have documented what could be called the “collateral consequences” of incarceration: the stigma and prejudice of prior incarceration burdens and disadvantages former prisoners long after their incarceration spells are complete. These collateral consequences have a negative impact on former prisoners’ ability to find employment and housing, or even to maintain personal relationships (Petersilia 2000). Devah Pager (2003, 2007) explains that the “mark of a criminal record” negatively affects potential employers’ perceptions of job applicants’ trustworthiness and employability. Harry Holzer (1996) conducted surveys in four major U.S. cities and found that 60 percent of employers were unwilling to hire someone with a criminal record. Private land-

lords often require criminal history disclosure (Helfgott 1997; Holzer 1996), and landlords can refuse—and often do—to rent to those with a felony record (Geller and Curtis 2011).

There are also formal mechanisms of discrimination at play that negatively affect former prisoners long after reentry. In ten states, a single felony conviction bars the individual from voting for the rest of his or her life (Petersilia 2000, 19). Depending on the state, persons with a felony record are excluded from certain occupations, such as education, medicine, the law, and real estate (Petersilia 2000, 4). Many states temporarily or permanently ban those with felony convictions from receiving benefits such as food stamps, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) (Harding et al. 2014; Travis 2005). Those with a felony record can be banned from residing in public housing, either temporarily or permanently, and thus are often prohibited from residing with family members who may be receiving such assistance (and sometimes families risk eviction if they welcome home a family member with a felony record) (Freudenberg et al. 2005; Geller and Curtis 2011; Godsoe 1998; Pinard 2010; Rubinstein and Mukamal 2002; Travis 2005).

Community Supervision and Residential Instability

Recent research documents the way the intense surveillance of formerly incarcerated and wanted men shapes their desire to *avoid* the criminal justice system (Brayne 2014; Goffman 2014). Alice Goffman illustrates the intense presence of law enforcement in the lives of wanted men in Philadelphia, where searches and seizures are commonplace. Both qualitative and quantitative research finds that persons with criminal history involvement avoid institutions such as hospitals and schools for fear of arrest (Goffman 2014; Brayne 2014). With parole and the intense surveillance of poor communities, returning prisoners’ daily lives are shaped even *after* incarceration through interventions by the criminal justice system.

2. The number of households on the waiting list for public housing is estimated to be in the millions. A survey of 134 Public Housing Authorities found more than 1.5 million for just those PHAs, and many had closed their lists to restrict new applicants. For further discussion see Leopold 2012.

The institution of parole has shifted from treating parole agents as providers of *services* to emphasizing *surveillance*; the kind of training parole officers now receive is more akin to law enforcement than social work—stressing monitoring and arrests, for example, rather than service referrals (Petersilia 1999; 2003, 11; Travis 2005, 40). Because parolees are technically still in the legal custody of the criminal justice system, their constitutional rights are severely limited (Petersilia 1999, 506). Former prisoners on parole must, among other requirements, report to parole officers when directed and answer all reasonable questions, notify the parole agent of changes in residence, submit to mandatory drug tests, and not leave the jurisdiction without permission (Travis 2005, 47). If the conditions of parole are violated, the parolee may be required to adhere to a curfew or even change residences (Travis 2005, 47). Parolees may be returned to prison or temporarily moved to a variety of institutional settings other than prison. Drug treatment facilities, for example, may be “rehabilitative” settings but are often used as punitive measures of control (Lynch 1998, 860).

These forced moves present an additional risk factor for the reentry population that has not received prior attention in the literatures on homelessness and housing insecurity or on prisoner reentry—namely, the high frequency of so-called intermediate sanctions, which remove parolees from the community for short-term spells of custody in institutions such as jails, residential treatment centers, and programs for technical rule violators (Harding, Morenoff, and Herbert 2013). Intermediate sanctions are often given as punishments for parole violations as alternatives to returning the parolee to prison. Sometimes these behaviors are illegal, such as drug use or petty theft, and sometimes they are violations of the rules of parole, such as alcohol consumption, curfew violations, failure to report to one’s parole officer, association with other parolees, or contact with crime victims. Intermediate sanctions are often intended to stop such behavior from escalating to more serious offenses. For example, a parolee who fails to report to his parole officer and is suspected of using drugs may be sent to a residential drug treatment program or a technical rule violation center for a week or two

in order to “detox.” Typically a parolee will not receive such a sanction for a rule violation until he or she has accumulated a number of infractions or displays behaviors consistent with prior crimes. Another common intermediate sanction is spending time in jail. This occurs when a parolee is arrested by the police for a minor crime and either serves a short jail sentence (for example, ninety days) or has the charges dropped before prosecution. Parolees may also spend a few days in jail as an intermediate sanction at the behest of parole agents. In addition, treatment programs can be used as an intermediate sanction by parole officers. Frequent, short-term, temporary moves in and out of intermediate sanctions are a potential source of residential instability for parolees.

Some parolees also may abscond in order to avoid intermediate sanctions. Goffman tells of a young man named Mike who was recently released from prison and lived at a halfway house. He “discovered that the guards there were conducting alcohol tests. He left before they could test him, assuming he would test positive and spend another year upstate for the violation. He planned to live on the run for some time” (Goffman 2014, 30). Absconding or being “on the run,” a pathway unique to the population of former prisoners, may cause them to experience greater housing insecurity. Seeking to evade intermediate sanctions, parolees may temporarily stay elsewhere in order to avoid their registered residence or other locations where a parole officer might be likely to look for them.

PRIOR RESEARCH ON HOUSING INSECURITY AND HOMELESSNESS AMONG RETURNING PRISONERS

Despite the obstacles that former prisoners face in finding and maintaining secure housing and its important role in aiding a successful reentry process, few studies have examined the relationship between homelessness or housing insecurity and the formerly incarcerated population. Moreover, the studies that have examined this relationship face methodological limitations. Most research on the relationship between homelessness and incarceration has at least one of three weaknesses. First, most studies rely on small or nonrepresentative samples of formerly incarcerated individuals and therefore cannot estimate the

extent and duration of homelessness among the formerly incarcerated (Bucklen and Zajac 2009; Cooke 2005; Garland, Wodahl, and Mayfield 2011; Harding et al. 2014; van Olphen et al. 2006). Second, many studies examine past experiences of incarceration or homelessness and are therefore unable to prospectively analyze how these events unfold over time (Freudenberg et al. 2005; Snow, Baker, and Anderson 1989). Longitudinal data are needed in order to examine trajectories of homelessness and residential instability. Third, many studies rely on experiences with shelter use as an indicator of homelessness and therefore exclude experiences of outright rooflessness or other forms of housing insecurity that intertwine with shelter use, such as squatting, doubling up, staying with friends or relatives, residing in hotels or weeklies, or residing in short-term criminal justice institutions such as halfway houses and technical rule violator centers. Because returning prisoners face many institutional obstacles to securing stable housing (Geller and Curtis 2011; Metraux, Roman, and Cho 2008; Roman and Travis 2006), exclusively focusing on experiences of homelessness results in an incomplete picture of housing insecurity among the reentry population.

Here we briefly review the few relevant studies of housing insecurity and homelessness among the reentry population of which we are aware. Using longitudinal data on shelter use from the Department of Homeless Services in New York City and on incarceration from the New York Department of Correctional Services, Stephen Metraux and Dennis Culhane (2004) matched identifying data (such as name and Social Security number) for 48,424 returning prisoners to examine their shelter use and incarceration history over time. The authors found that 11.4 percent experienced a shelter stay after their release, and that over half of these shelter stays (6.2 percent) occurred within the first month after release. Although this study utilizes longitudinal data on a large sample, it defined homelessness narrowly as use of a shelter administered by the Department of Homeless Services in New York City, which operates 85 percent of the shelters in the city; therefore, it cannot provide a more detailed analysis of housing insecurity or other forms of homelessness.

Amanda Geller and Marah Curtis (2011) studied the housing security of urban fathers with incarceration histories using survey data from the Fragile Families study. They demonstrated that 31 percent of those with an incarceration history experienced housing insecurity, versus 14 percent of those without such a history. Examining only shelter use, they found that twice as many men with an incarceration history had a shelter history compared to those without an incarceration history (4 percent versus 2 percent). These findings provide empirical motivation for analyzing the spectrum of unstable housing situations that formerly incarcerated persons experience; however, the study looks only at formerly incarcerated fathers and relies on potentially unreliable survey-based measures that ask respondents to recall past experiences.

In a longitudinal study that evaluated a housing assistance program for high-risk or high-need offenders leaving prison, Faith Lutze, Jeffrey Rosky, and Zachary Hamilton (2013) found that periods of homelessness significantly increased the risk of recidivism. Periods of homelessness created more than two times the risk for new convictions and prison readmissions and three times the risk for revocations. Because this study was designed as a program evaluation, ethical and feasibility restrictions prevented the use of a random sample. Lutze and her colleagues called for increased attention to experiences of housing insecurity, not just homelessness, as the program evaluation specifically examined instances of homelessness and did not include housing insecurity.

In sum, despite the clear links between the reentry population and the population at risk of homelessness and housing insecurity, there is little research on homelessness and housing insecurity among those leaving prison. The existing literature suffers from important methodological limitations, does not consider the role of criminal justice institutions of supervision and custodial control, and tends to focus narrowly on particular forms of homelessness, such as shelter use, or on particular subpopulations. It also does not address heterogeneity within the reentry population in the risk of homelessness or housing insecurity.

The present study makes five contributions to the literature on prisoner reentry and housing:

1. We present estimates of the frequency of housing insecurity and homelessness for a representative sample of all individuals paroled in a single state in a single year.
2. We examine the more widespread problem of residential instability in conjunction with outright homelessness.
3. We assess the role of criminal justice institutions in “housing” individuals under community supervision and in generating residential instability.
4. We examine sources of heterogeneity in the risk of housing insecurity and homelessness within the reentry population.
5. We incorporate postrelease experiences into our analysis in addition to characteristics of individuals fixed at release.

DATA

Our data come from detailed administrative records—compiled in collaboration with the Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC)—on a cohort of 11,064 Michigan prisoners who were placed on parole in Michigan during 2003.³ Over 90 percent of Michigan’s released prisoners are put on parole, one of the higher conditional release rates among American states. Our analyses in this article are based on a randomly selected one-third sample ($n = 3,681$) of this pop-

ulation for whom we collected more detailed data on postprison living arrangements by coding the narrative case notes that parole agents update regularly on each parolee.⁴ All of the variables used in our analysis have been extensively cleaned, which involved checking for duplicate records, multiple people with the same ID number, and logical inconsistencies across variables, as well as detailed reading of the case notes where appropriate to resolve discrepancies across sources.

We operationalize the concept of housing insecurity in this article by examining the duration of time that parolees spend within a given set of living arrangements. (In the literature, more than one move per year is considered an indicator of residential instability [Geller and Curtis 2011]). We compiled event histories of residential moves and changes in living arrangements from the parole agent case notes, which contained the addresses of parolee residences, a description of what type of residence it was, whom the parolee lived with when the residence was private housing, and the dates of all residential moves, periods of unknown residence, and absconding.⁵ Although parole agents may not always be aware of where the parolees they supervise are living, our background research revealed that the case notes do capture the vast majority of parolees’ residential locations.⁶ Moreover, parolees are required to report all changes of address for the duration of their parole to their parole officers, who in turn are expected to ver-

3. Whereas jails are run by local cities and counties and hold individuals whose sentences are less than one or two years or who are awaiting trial, prisons are run by the states or the federal government and hold individuals who have longer sentences.

4. For more information on our sampling framework and the methods we used to collect residential address data, see Harding et al. (2013) and Morenoff and Harding (2011).

5. Determining exact move-in and move-out dates for residences was challenging. We estimated approximately one-quarter of the dates based on inexact information in the case notes. However, periods of absconding tend to be well documented in the case notes. An absconding warrant issued by a parole agent signals that the parolee is no longer being supervised by the agent and so the agent cannot be held responsible for the parolee’s behavior.

6. We conducted a comparative analysis of a small sample of former prisoners who were interviewed for a longitudinal qualitative study and found that thirty-three of the thirty-seven addresses obtained through the qualitative study were correctly recorded by MDOC parole agents, and that fourteen of the eighteen subjects had their complete residential histories recorded in the case notes. Addresses that were missing in the case notes were either brief stays or short periods of living on the streets; parolees with missing addresses tended to be more residentially mobile, suggesting that the administrative data understates mobility slightly for some parolees.

ify the address, assess its appropriateness, and record it in the MDOC database. Failure to keep one's parole agent informed of one's address is a parole violation, and parole agents are required to verify the residence information provided by parolees, so parolees have a strong incentive to provide address information. In approximately 12 percent of the residential episodes (as defined later) in our sample (5,882 out of 48,186 episodes), the parolee's place of residence was unknown to the parole agent. In 72 percent of such cases, the parolee was officially absconding (that is, the parole agent had issued an absconding warrant). In a very small fraction of episodes ($n = 67$), the residence was unknown because the offender had been paroled out of state.

Residential Episodes

Our strategy for analyzing housing insecurity is to model the duration of parolees' "residential episodes," which we define as the continuous periods of time during which a parolee lives in the same location with the same living arrangement, excluding correctional settings. A residential episode begins when a parolee experiences a transition in living arrangements marked by a move to (1) a new private residence; (2) a state of homelessness, including living on the streets or in a temporary residence at a hotel, motel, shelter, or mission; or (3) a state of absconding. A residential episode ends with an event marking a change in a parolee's living arrangements, including moving to a new private residence, becoming homeless, absconding, being incarcerated,

and being admitted to a treatment center or hospital.⁷

It is noteworthy that moves to institutional locations (prisons, jails, residential treatment centers, residential centers for technical rule violators, and hospitals) marked the end of the current episode but did not trigger the start of a new residential episode. Residential episodes also ended when our observations of a parolee were either temporarily or permanently censored from our data and therefore the parolee was no longer at risk of experiencing a move we could observe. Censoring occurred when a person was discharged from parole, died while on parole, or reached the end of the observation period (August 18, 2009). Once a person moved to an institutional setting (prison, jail, hospital, treatment center, or correctional center), we excluded observations of them from the analysis until they returned to a residential setting. It is also important to note that the proportion of parolees who were censored increased over time as more parolees were discharged, returned to prison, or died, making the sample more selective. The direction in which such selection might bias our estimates is not clear. On the one hand, parolees who discharge earlier are likely to have more stable living arrangements, but those who move to prison or other institutional settings may have been at greater risk of housing insecurity while in the community.

We defined the start of the observation period for each person as the first residential episode after their parole in 2003 (the same parole that made the person eligible to be sampled).⁸ People who were paroled to insti-

7. The residential histories constructed from the case notes do not detect changes in living arrangements that occur when a parolee absconds or when the parole agent is otherwise unaware of the parolee's place of residence. Thus, if a given episode ends with a transition to a state of absconding or an unknown residence, a new episode cannot begin until the person moves to a known residential location. However, episodes that begin with a period of absconding or living in an unknown residence can end with a move to an institutional location, and such episodes are observed in the data.

8. No prisoner in Michigan is released without a planned place to live, so living on the streets immediately following release is extremely rare, but it may be more common later in the parole period. Few parolees have the financial resources to live alone, and few are married (12 percent of those paroled in 2003 in Michigan, according to estimates), so most parolees must live with parents, other family members, or romantic partners. Parolees are forbidden from moving out of state unless they initiate a lengthy bureaucratic procedure and pay a fee. Moving between counties is allowed but requires prior permission; as such, a move would require changing parole offices. In Michigan there is no requirement that the offender return to the same city or county where she or he was arrested or sentenced.

Table 1. Moves, Types of Moves, and Censoring Events for Michigan Prisoners Paroled in 2003: Frequencies for Event Outcomes

| Variables | Person-Weeks | | Person-Episodes | | People ^a | |
|---|--------------|--------|-----------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | Frequency | % | Frequency | % | Frequency | % |
| Moving as a binary outcome | | | | | | |
| Moved | 23,013 | 4.71% | 23,013 | 87.81% | 3,343 | 90.82% |
| Did not move | 465,662 | 95.29% | 3,196 | 12.19% | 338 ^b | 9.18% |
| Type of move experienced | | | | | | |
| To new private residence | 6,727 | 1.38% | 6,727 | 25.67% | 2,397 | 65.12% |
| To homelessness | 528 | 0.11% | 528 | 2.01% | 347 ^b | 9.43% |
| To treatment or care | 2,511 | 0.51% | 2,511 | 9.58% | 1,131 | 30.73% |
| To intermediate sanction | 8,275 | 1.69% | 8,275 | 31.57% | 2,411 | 65.50% |
| To prison | 2,410 | 0.49% | 2,410 | 9.20% | 1,732 | 47.05% |
| To absconding | 2,562 | 0.52% | 2,562 | 9.78% | 1,343 | 36.48% |
| Censoring events | | | | | | |
| Death | 89 | 0.02% | 89 | 0.34% | 89 | 2.42% |
| Discharge from parole | 2,329 | 0.48% | 2,329 | 8.89% | 2,200 | 59.77% |
| On parole when observation period ended | 778 | 0.16% | 778 | 2.97% | 778 | 21.14% |
| <i>n</i> | 488,675 | | 26,209 | | 3,681 | |

Source: Authors' calculations.

^aPerson-level frequencies indicate how many people experienced a move or censoring event at least once.

^bThe number of people who never moved during the observation period.

tutions offering no exposure to the community, such as hospitals, in-patient treatment centers, and county jails, did not begin their first episode until they moved to a non-institutional address.⁹ To estimate the models described here, we structured the data set such that each record corresponds to a weekly interval of time for a specific person and episode.¹⁰ For example, a person who had three residential episodes, with the first lasting for twenty weeks, the second for fifty weeks, and the third for ten weeks, would have eighty records in our data set. As indicated in this example, we measure episode duration by resetting the “clock” to zero at the beginning of each new episode and counting the number of weeks until the end of that episode. The resulting data set contains 488,675 person-week observations.

Outcomes

We use two types of outcome variables in this analysis: a binary indicator of whether a person moved during a given week, and a categorical typology of moving events that captures the type of residence or living arrangement to which the individual moved. Table 1 shows frequencies for both of these outcomes, tabulating the frequencies of events per week ($n = 488,675$ person-weeks), episode ($n = 26,209$ person-episodes), and person ($n = 3,681$ people). Frequencies for the binary measure of moves show that approximately one out of every twenty observations (4.71 percent) in the person-week data corresponds to weeks during which moves occurred. The vast majority of episodes (87.81 percent) eventually ended with moves, while the others (12.19 percent) were censored without a move occurring.

9. Roughly 15 percent of the parolees in our sample were released from prison before their parole date because they were moved to a correctional center where they had community exposure or were placed on electronic monitoring (and technically were not yet considered to be on parole).

10. We treated weeks as the unit of time for measuring episode duration to reduce the size of the data set, but our underlying data identify the precise date on which each event occurred.

The typology of moves describes the particular type of event that ended an episode. We classified moves into six categories. The first category consists of moves to a new private residence,¹¹ which may include living alone, with family, or with friends.¹² The second category, homelessness, captures moves in which the parolee was either living “on the streets” or staying in a shelter, mission, hotel, or motel. Although spells of homelessness were relatively rare in this population, occurring in only 2 percent of all residential episodes, roughly 9 percent of all sample members experienced at least one homelessness spell.¹³ The third category, treatment and care, includes moves in which the parolee was admitted to a residential treatment center for substance abuse problems or mental illness, a hospital, or a care facility (such as adult foster care, hospice care, or a nursing home).¹⁴

The next two categories represent events in which the parolee was reincarcerated. “Intermediate sanctions” refer to custodial punishments for new crimes or technical violations of parole or probation guidelines that involved incarceration, usually for shorter periods of time, in jails or custodial centers that ran programs for technical rule violators. Alternatively, a parolee could be returned to

prison, which usually involved the revocation of parole and a longer period of incarceration. The final category is absconding, which was recorded in the case notes when a parole officer issued an absconding warrant for a parolee.

Covariates

The covariates used in the models described here include both time-varying and fixed (time-invariant) characteristics of parolees and episodes. Summary statistics on the covariates are shown in table 2. We constructed five types of time-varying covariates. First, we captured the passage of time with measures of time (in weeks) since the start of the episode, and of episodes since the start of the observation period.

Second, we constructed a typology of employment status and wages from linked Michigan Unemployment Insurance (UI) records, which contain information on the employment status and gross wages paid to individuals during a calendar quarter.¹⁵ Since the UI data did not allow us to observe changes in employment and wages within a given calendar quarter, we used data from the most recently completed calendar quarter to construct this measure. The reference category is being unem-

11. The parole agent case notes not only indicate whether the residence was private or institutional but also provide details, in the case of private residences, on the type of living arrangement. We chose to aggregate all types of private living arrangements into a single category for the purposes of creating this typology, but we constructed other measures that use the more detailed classification of living arrangements as predictors of moving events.

12. Moves to new private residences can be further classified as follows: 15.5 percent to live with parents, 27.8 percent to live with a romantic partner, 20.2 percent to live with other family, 12.4 percent to live with a friend, and 6.6 percent to live alone. In 11.2 percent of moves, the parole agent knew that the parolee was living in a private residence but did not record with whom, while in the remaining 6.4 percent of moves the parolee’s location was unknown.

13. Owing to the restrictions we imposed on the analytic sample, the frequencies of homelessness reported in table 1 underestimate the actual prevalence of homelessness that we observed in our data. Recall that we excluded from our sample episodes that began when a person moved to an institutional facility (a prison, jail, residential treatment center, residential center for technical rule violators, or hospital). Had we included institutional episodes in our sample, we would have observed that 20.0 percent ($n = 735$) of the parolees in our sample experienced at least one spell of homelessness, and that 5.7 percent ($n = 1,487$) of all episodes ended in homelessness.

14. Roughly two-thirds of the moves in this category (69 percent) were to residential treatment centers, and 31 percent were to hospitals or care facilities.

15. For more information on the UI data and how we matched them to parolee records from the Michigan Department of Corrections, see Morenoff and Harding (2011).

Table 2. Event Histories for Michigan Prisoners Paroled in 2003: Summary Statistics for Covariates

| Variables | Week-Specific ^a | | | Episode-Specific ^a | | | Person-Specific ^a | | |
|--|----------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum |
| Time since start of episode | 30.05 (36.50) | 0 | 319 | | | | | | |
| Episode order | | | | 6.35 (5.40) | 1 | 45 | | | |
| Wages in last complete quarter | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployed (reference) | 0.70 (0.46) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Gross wages less than \$1,000 | 0.08 (0.27) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Gross wages \$1,000–\$2,900 | 0.08 (0.27) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Gross wages \$3,000–\$5,900 | 0.08 (0.27) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Gross wages \$6,000 or more | 0.06 (0.24) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Recent events | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of arrests in past month | 0.02 (0.16) | 0 | 4 | | | | | | |
| Number of positive substance abuse tests in past month | 0.05 (0.26) | 0 | 7 | | | | | | |
| Treatment or care in last episode | 0.13 (0.34) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Intermediate sanction in last episode | 0.30 (0.46) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Prison in last episode | 0.05 (0.22) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Absconding warrant in last episode | 0.01 (0.09) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living arrangements | | | | | | | | | |
| Living with parent (reference) | 0.22 (0.41) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living with romantic partner | 0.18 (0.38) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living with other family | 0.17 (0.38) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living with friends | 0.06 (0.24) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living alone | 0.03 (0.18) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living at other private residence | 0.06 (0.24) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Homeless | 0.06 (0.23) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living at unknown residence | 0.22 (0.42) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Living at preprison address | 0.13 (0.34) | 0 | 1 | | | | | | |

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

| Variables | Week-Specific ^a | | | Episode-Specific ^a | | | Person-Specific ^a | | |
|--|----------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum | Mean (SD) | Minimum | Maximum |
| Cumulative event history (up to current week) | | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion of quarters with wages less than \$1,000 | 6.65 (14.32) | 0 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$1,000–\$2,900 | 6.81 (15.35) | 0 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$3,000–\$5,900 | 6.41 (16.65) | 0 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$6,000 or more | 4.51 (16.05) | 0 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Rate of arrests | 0.61 (1.33) | 0 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Rate of positive substance abuse tests | 1.25 (3.38) | 0 | 200 | | | | | | |
| Number of prior episodes with parents | | | | 1.38 (2.23) | 0 | 25 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes with romantic partner | | | | 1.09 (2.30) | 0 | 39 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes with other family | | | | 1.11 (2.13) | 0 | 31 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes with friends | | | | 0.93 (1.73) | 0 | 20 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes in treatment or care | | | | 1.05 (2.18) | 0 | 25 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes of homelessness | | | | 0.43 (1.06) | 0 | 12 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes with intermediate sanction | | | | 3.35 (4.27) | 0 | 41 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes in prison | | | | 0.37 (0.65) | 0 | 6 | | | |
| Number of prior episodes of absconding | | | | 1.14 (1.93) | 0 | 21 | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| White (reference) | | | | | | | 0.45 (0.50) | 0 | 1 |
| Black | | | | | | | 0.53 (0.50) | 0 | 1 |
| Other race | | | | | | | 0.02 (0.14) | 0 | 1 |
| Female | | | | | | | 0.08 (0.27) | 0 | 1 |
| Age | | | | | | | 35.32 (9.65) | 18 | 75 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---|---|
| Marital status | | | |
| Never married (reference) | 0.66 (0.47) | 0 | 1 |
| Married | 0.12 (0.33) | 0 | 1 |
| Divorced or separated | 0.20 (0.40) | 0 | 1 |
| Widowed | 0.01 (0.11) | 0 | 1 |
| Number of dependents | | | |
| Zero (reference) | 0.40 (0.49) | 0 | 1 |
| One | 0.23 (0.42) | 0 | 1 |
| Two | 0.18 (0.38) | 0 | 1 |
| Three or more | 0.20 (0.40) | 0 | 1 |
| Education | | | |
| Zero to eight years (reference) | 0.07 (0.26) | 0 | 1 |
| Nine to eleven years | 0.35 (0.48) | 0 | 1 |
| Obtained GED | 0.31 (0.46) | 0 | 1 |
| Twelve years | 0.20 (0.40) | 0 | 1 |
| Thirteen to nineteen years | 0.06 (0.24) | 0 | 1 |
| Education missing | 0.01 (0.11) | 0 | 1 |
| Mental illness | | | |
| Known mental illness | 0.21 (0.41) | 0 | 1 |
| Missing data on mental illness | 0.01 (0.08) | 0 | 1 |
| Substance abuse history | | | |
| None | 0.51 (0.50) | 0 | 1 |
| History of alcohol abuse | 0.04 (0.20) | 0 | 1 |
| History of THC use | 0.08 (0.27) | 0 | 1 |
| History of hard drugs | 0.05 (0.22) | 0 | 1 |

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

| Variables | Week-Specific ^a | | | Episode-Specific ^a | | | Person-Specific ^a | | | |
|--|----------------------------|------|---------|-------------------------------|------|---------|------------------------------|--------|---------|----|
| | Mean | (SD) | Maximum | Mean | (SD) | Maximum | Mean | (SD) | Maximum | |
| History of alcohol and THC | | | | | | | 0.06 | (0.24) | 0 | 1 |
| History of hard drugs and alcohol/THC | | | | | | | 0.26 | (0.44) | 0 | 1 |
| Years served on sampled prison spell | | | | | | | 2.95 | (3.18) | 0 | 21 |
| Prison prefix | | | | | | | | | | |
| Prefix A (reference) | | | | | | | 0.48 | (0.50) | 0 | 1 |
| Prefix B | | | | | | | 0.26 | (0.44) | 0 | 1 |
| Prefix C or D | | | | | | | 0.21 | (0.40) | 0 | 1 |
| Prefix E or above | | | | | | | 0.06 | (0.24) | 0 | 1 |
| Offense type | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non-assaultive offense (reference) | | | | | | | 0.46 | (0.50) | 0 | 1 |
| Assaultive offense | | | | | | | 0.28 | (0.45) | 0 | 1 |
| Drug offense | | | | | | | 0.26 | (0.44) | 0 | 1 |
| Sex offense | | | | | | | 0.08 | (0.27) | 0 | 1 |
| Preprison measures | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lived in private residence before prison | | | | | | | 0.88 | (0.33) | 0 | 1 |
| Homeless before prison | | | | | | | 0.03 | (0.17) | 0 | 1 |
| Employed in the year before prison | | | | | | | 0.14 | (0.35) | 0 | 1 |
| Missing on preprison employment | | | | | | | 0.15 | (0.36) | 0 | 1 |

Source: Authors' calculations.

^aThere were 48,8675 weeks, 26,209 episodes, and 3,681 people.

ployed (no reported wages), and we classified employed parolees into four categories based on quarterly gross wage cut-points of \$1,000, \$3,000, and \$6,000.

Third, we constructed time-varying indicators of adverse events related to contact with the criminal justice system, including the number of arrests and positive substance use tests that a parolee had during the four weeks prior to the current week and whether the prior residential episode ended with the parolee being moved to a treatment or care facility, an intermediate sanction, a return to prison, or the issuance of an absconding warrant.

Fourth, we constructed an episode-specific typology of parolee living arrangements consisting of the following categories: living with parents, a romantic partner, other family members, friends, or alone, being homeless, or living in a private residence that was not recorded by the parole agent.¹⁶

Fifth, to help us isolate the effects of recent adverse events and current living arrangements on residential instability, we control for the frequency of repeated adverse events over time, including the proportion of prior quarters spent in each category of the employment or wage typology, rates of arrests and positive tests for substance abuse (calculated as the number of events divided by the number of elapsed weeks in the observation period), and the number of prior episodes spent in each living arrangement.

We also controlled for an extensive set of fixed individual characteristics pulled from MDOC's database (listed in table 2). Most of these characteristics were measured at the time

the person was admitted to prison for the spell that ended with parole in 2003. Our list of controls includes measures of race, sex, age at parole (using linear splines with knots that define equal intervals at ages twenty-seven, thirty-four, and forty-two), marital status, number of dependents, education, mental illness, history of substance abuse, time (in years) served in prison for the spell that ended with parole in 2003 (using linear splines with knots that define equal intervals at 0.96, 1.79, and 3.55), the number of prior prison spells (aka the person's "prefix"), the type of offense (related to the sampled prison spell), and whether the parolee was a sex offender. We also controlled for the person's living arrangements (whether the person lived in a private residence or was homeless) prior to the sampled prison spell and an indicator of whether the person was employed in the year before that prison spell.

METHODS

To analyze housing insecurity, we model the duration of residential episodes using discrete-time event history models.¹⁷ The hazard of moving during a given week is defined as the conditional probability of moving during week t (for person j in episode i), given that no event occurred during a previous week in that episode: $p_{tij} = \Pr(y_{tij}=1 | y_{t-1,ij}=0)$, where y_{tij} is a binary response variable that is coded as 1 when a move occurred during that week and 0 for weeks when a person's living arrangement was unchanged from the prior week (Steele 2008).¹⁸

We take two different approaches to modeling types of discrete-time models in our anal-

16. The residential episodes characterized as living with "other family" can be further classified into the following arrangements: 48.4 percent were with a sibling, 17.6 percent were with an aunt or uncle, 13.7 percent were with a grandparent, 8.9 percent were with a cousin, 6.7 percent were with one of their children or stepchildren, 1.1 percent were with a relative of a current or former romantic partner, and 1.0 percent were with other family.

17. In the analysis, we use the term "homeless" to refer specifically to times when a parolee was living on the streets, in a shelter, or in a hotel or motel. We use the term "housing insecurity" to refer to the broader spectrum of events that we are modeling, namely, the frequency of moves in general and events that represent moves to specific types of private and institutional settings. We do not have more direct measures of housing insecurity in our data, such as doubling up or being cost-burdened.

18. In the multinomial logit model presented in equation (3), the response variable has seven categories. In this case, the hazard is the probability of moving to state r during weekly interval t in episode (for person j in episode i), given that no transition has occurred before the start of week t :

$$p_{tij}^{(r)} = \Pr(y_{tij}=r | y_{t-1,ij}=0) \text{ for } r=1, \dots, R.$$

ysis. In the first, we estimate a discrete-time hazard model of moving using a logistic regression model:

$$\log \frac{p_{tj}}{1-p_{tj}} = \alpha \mathbf{D}_{tj} + \beta \mathbf{x}_{tj}, \quad (1)$$

where \mathbf{D}_{tj} is a vector specifying a function of the cumulative duration of weeks at week t , with coefficients α , and \mathbf{x}_{tj} is a vector of covariates that include both time-varying and invariant (fixed) characteristics, with coefficients β (Steele 2008).¹⁹ To estimate the baseline logit-hazard function, $\alpha \mathbf{D}_{tj}$, we employed a piecewise specification of time consisting of five linear splines, with knots (at weeks 4, 11, 24, and 49) that partition the data into equal-size groups.²⁰ The β coefficients represent associations between the covariates and the log-odds of moving during a given week. Because having a higher probability of moving at any given week also means that the episode is likely to end sooner, the results of these models are often interpreted in terms of episode duration, whereby positive coefficients indicate associations with shorter duration and negative coefficients imply longer duration.

The model described in equation (2) can be criticized for presenting an overly simplistic picture that reduces the phenomenon of housing insecurity to the duration of time that any residential episode lasted, regardless of why the episode ended. Put differently, this approach to modeling episode duration equates

episodes of equal length that end for reasons as diverse as moving to a new private residence, becoming homeless, incurring a sanction, or absconding. Since these events are produced by very different processes, it is reasonable to believe that the effects of the covariates, \mathbf{x}_{tj} , may depend on the type of event that ended the episode. To differentiate between these types of moves, we coded a response variable with the following categories:

| | |
|----|---|
| 0, | no event (continuing to live in the same residence as prior week) |
| 1, | move to private residence |
| 2, | homeless |
| 3, | move to treatment or care facility |
| 4, | intermediate sanction |
| 5, | move to prison |
| 6, | absconding |

The discrete-time hazard function can then be defined as the probability of moving to state r during weekly interval t (for person j in episode i), given that no transition has occurred before the start of week t :

$$p_{tj}^{(r)} = \Pr(y_{tj} = r \mid y_{t-1, ij} = 0) \text{ for } r = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.$$

We estimate this hazard function using a multinomial logit model that compares the prob-

19. The model described in equation (1) assumes that the durations of the episodes experienced by the same person are independent of one another. This assumption breaks down if there are individual-specific factors that influence the risk of moving but are not captured by the covariates. We can account for such unobserved heterogeneity by adding a person-level random effect to the model:

$$\log \left(\frac{p_{tj}}{1-p_{tj}} \right) = \alpha \mathbf{D}_{tj} + \beta \mathbf{x}_{tj} + u_j,$$

where u_j is a time-invariant latent variable (random effect) that is normally distributed, $u_j \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$. In event history analysis, this is also referred to as a “shared frailty” model. We ran this model and obtained results that were very similar. We report the results from the logit model without random effects in this article because they are more comparable to the multinomial logit model described here, which also does not contain random effects.

20. To explore the robustness of the results to spline specification and choice of knots we refit the models substituting the linear splines with restricted cubic splines, using Frank Harrell’s (2001) method for selecting knots. We followed this procedure not only for the episode duration splines but also for other continuous variables that we measured with splines (episode number, age, and years served on sampled prison spell). In all cases, the results were unchanged by using restricted cubic splines. We report the results from linear splines because they are much easier to interpret.

ability of experiencing an event of type r to the probability of having no event, $p_{ij}^{(0)}$:

$$\log \frac{p_{ij}^{(r)}}{p_{ij}^{(0)}} = \alpha^{(r)} \mathbf{D}_{ij}^{(r)} + \beta^{(r)} \mathbf{x}_{ij}^{(r)}, \text{ for } r = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. \quad (2)$$

This is also known as a discrete-time model for recurrent events with competing risks (Steele 2008).²¹ As was the case with the logit model, positive coefficients in this model indicate associations with shorter spell duration, and negative coefficients mean longer spell duration. The main difference in the coefficients from the multinomial logit model, however, is that they are event-specific, meaning that they represent associations between the covariates and the probability that one of the six different types of moving events will occur during a given week, relative to the probability that the episode will continue without an event.

RESULTS

We begin with a descriptive analysis of residential episode duration and the types of moves that were most common among the sampled parolees. There are three important points to make about the level and type of residential instability that parolees experienced. First, table 1 shows that spells of homelessness were relatively rare in this population, occurring in only 2 percent of all residential episodes. Second, a much bigger source of housing insecurity among parolees was the risk of having a residential episode disrupted by some kind of sanction-related move. Returning to table 1, we see that almost one-third (31.6 percent) of all episodes were disrupted by an intermediate sanction; when combined with moves to treatment or care or prison, these “forced” moves ended just over half (50.4 percent) of all episodes. This proportion grows still higher when absconding (9.8 percent) is added (many parolees abscond to avoid receiving sanctions). Only one-quarter (25.7 percent) of episodes ended with a move to a new private residence. Thus, despite the relative infrequency of street, shel-

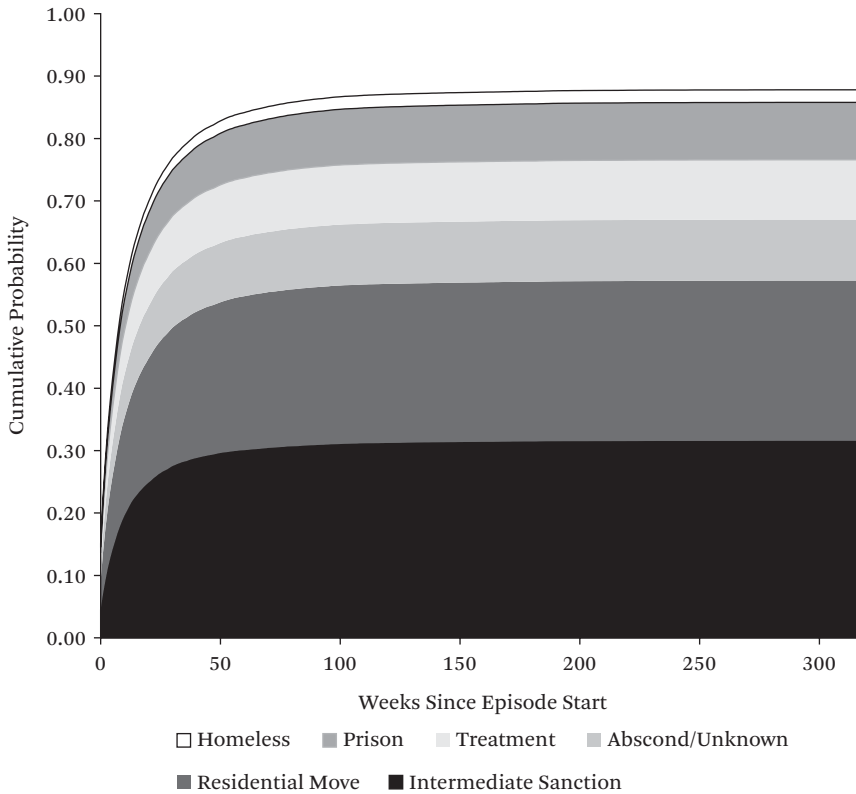
ter, or hotel or motel homelessness among parolees, housing insecurity brought on by sanction-related moves was a large problem in this population.

Third, most residential episodes were very short, lasting only a few months, which signals high levels of housing insecurity. This can be seen in figure 1, which shows a stacked area graph plotting change over time in the episode-specific cumulative probability that a move of a given type has already occurred. The sum of all shaded regions in the graph represents the probability that an episode will have ended with some type of move by a given time point. This area increases dramatically as episode time increases during the early weeks. In fact, over 50 percent of the episodes ended at or before week 8, and 75 percent ended by week 27. The median spell length was seventeen weeks.

Next, we consider the flows that parolees experienced going into and out of different living arrangements. Table 3 presents a transition matrix that cross-tabulates the frequencies of (1) the living arrangements that parolees experienced in a given week (in the rows) against (2) the living arrangements they experienced in the following week (in the columns), for the 488,675 person-weeks we observed. The percentages displayed in the table reflect the probabilities of ending up in a given living arrangement during week $t + 1$, conditional on the living arrangement that the parolee experienced in week t . Note that there are fourteen columns but only ten rows in this table. There are fewer rows than columns because our analytic sample consists only of residential episodes during which parolees were living in non-institutionalized settings. Thus, the starting points of each transition (the rows) can only be a residential setting, whereas the ending points (the columns) can be either a residential or institutional setting.

One may be tempted to conclude from this table that there is a lot of stability in parolees' living arrangements because the modal pattern is to remain in the same category from

21. We intended to include random effects in this model to account for unobserved risk factors and their potential correlation across competing risks. We have tried running a multinomial logit model with correlated random effects, but thus far we have been unable to get the maximum likelihood function to converge (after letting it run for a long time). We will pursue other options, such as using different software packages and running models on a more powerful computer.

Figure 1. Cumulative Probability of Residential Moves, by Type

Source: Authors' calculations.

one week to the next. It is important to keep in mind, however, that even small departures from this pattern can represent high levels of residential insecurity. For example, consider the pattern of transitions for weeks in which parolees were living with their parents. On the one hand, this appears to be a very stable living arrangement, since 96 percent of the time a parolee was living with a parent during a given week the same parolee would be living with a parent the following week. On the other hand, four out of every 100 weeks in which parolees were living with a parent, they would move to a different living arrangement the following week; in other words, over the course of a year (fifty-two weeks), the average parolee living with a parent was likely to experience roughly two residential moves. The rate of residential mobility was slightly lower (3.51 percent) for parolees living with a romantic partner or alone, but substantially higher for

parolees living with friends (5.99 percent), living in a hotel or motel (13.49 percent), living in a mission or shelter (13.19 percent), or living on the streets or being homeless (12.15 percent).

Discrete-Time Event History Analysis

Results from the discrete-time models of episode duration are presented in table 4. The table shows the results from both the logistic regression model of moving during a given week, as described in equation (1), and the multinomial logit model predicting whether a specific type of move occurred during a given week, as described by equation (2). For ease of exposition, we consider the results of both models together, emphasizing the most central results.

First, as we saw in figure 1, the initial weeks of residential episodes are often a very turbulent period when the risk of moving is quite

Table 3. Transitions In and Out of Living Arrangements by Michigan 2003 Parolees (Row Percentages)

| Living Arrangement at Week <i>t</i> | Living Arrangement at Week <i>t</i> + 1 | | | | | | | | | | Receiving Treatment or Care | | | Total |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | Parent | Romantic Partner | Other Family | Friend | Alone | Other Private | Hotel-Motel | Mission-Shelter | Homeless | Unknown | Group Home | Jail or Center | Prison | |
| Parent | 96.04% (112,068) | 0.38% (442) | 0.23% (269) | 0.10% (119) | 0.08% (99) | 0.10% (122) | 0.02% (29) | 0.03% (30) | 0.01% (9) | 0.71% (833) | 0.34% (394) | 1.34% (1,569) | 0.02% (28) | 100.00% (116,692) |
| Romantic partner | 0.29% (262) | 96.49% (88,071) | 0.23% (214) | 0.12% (110) | 0.04% (33) | 0.09% (86) | 0.02% (22) | 0.03% (27) | 0.01% (5) | 0.58% (529) | 0.25% (231) | 1.26% (1,148) | 0.03% (24) | 100.00% (91,271) |
| Other family | 0.29% (226) | 0.41% (327) | 95.45% (75,635) | 0.17% (135) | 0.12% (98) | 0.16% (123) | 0.03% (26) | 0.07% (59) | 0.01% (5) | 0.92% (731) | 0.42% (331) | 1.32% (1,046) | 0.02% (16) | 100.00% (79,244) |
| Friend | 0.40% (87) | 0.58% (127) | 0.47% (103) | 94.01% (20,565) | 0.22% (48) | 0.32% (70) | 0.06% (13) | 0.15% (32) | 0.04% (8) | 1.14% (250) | 0.70% (153) | 1.56% (342) | 0.01% (2) | 100.00% (21,876) |
| Alone | 0.15% (25) | 0.32% (54) | 0.22% (38) | 0.20% (33) | 96.49% (16,316) | 0.09% (15) | 0.03% (5) | 0.02% (4) | 0.00% (0) | 0.54% (92) | 0.66% (111) | 1.14% (193) | 0.01% (1) | 100.00% (16,909) |
| Other private | 0.21% (59) | 0.41% (118) | 0.26% (75) | 0.22% (64) | 0.06% (17) | 96.17% (27,664) | 0.05% (13) | 0.04% (12) | 0.01% (3) | 0.62% (177) | 0.50% (144) | 1.19% (342) | 0.02% (7) | 100.00% (28,765) |
| Hotel/motel | 0.71% (25) | 1.16% (41) | 2.04% (72) | 1.22% (43) | 0.88% (31) | 0.94% (33) | 86.51% (3,053) | 0.68% (24) | 0.11% (4) | 2.07% (73) | 0.82% (29) | 2.07% (73) | 0.03% (1) | 100.00% (3,529) |
| Mission/shelter | 0.73% (41) | 0.82% (46) | 1.42% (80) | 1.51% (85) | 0.55% (31) | 0.98% (55) | 0.39% (22) | 86.81% (4,877) | 0.14% (8) | 2.92% (164) | 1.64% (92) | 1.58% (89) | 0.02% (1) | 100.00% (5,618) |
| Homeless | 0.64% (5) | 0.26% (2) | 1.28% (10) | 0.90% (7) | 0.00% (0) | 0.26% (2) | 0.13% (1) | 1.41% (11) | 87.85% (687) | 0.77% (6) | 2.43% (19) | 3.58% (28) | 0.00% (0) | 100.00% (782) |
| Unknown | 0.10% (124) | 0.10% (130) | 0.12% (151) | 0.06% (78) | 0.02% (20) | 0.06% (75) | 0.01% (8) | 0.05% (62) | 0.00% (3) | 95.54% (118,454) | 0.23% (287) | 3.54% (4,387) | 0.08% (105) | 100.00% (123,989) |
| Total | 23.11% (112,922) | 18.29% (89,358) | 15.68% (76,647) | 4.35% (21,239) | 3.42% (16,693) | 5.78% (28,245) | 0.65% (3,192) | 1.05% (5,138) | 0.15% (732) | 24.82% (121,309) | 0.51% (2,511) | 1.89% (9,217) | 0.04% (185) | 100.00% (488,675) |

Source: Authors' calculations.

Table 4. Discrete-Time Event History Models of Moving (Logit) and Type of Move (Multinomial Logit) for Michigan Prisoners Paroled in 2003

| Variables | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------|---------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------|
| | Logit | | | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Any Move | Private Residence | Homeless | Treatment or Care | Intermediate Sanction | Prison | Abscond | Coefficient | (SE) | Coefficient | (SE) | Coefficient | (SE) | |
| Time since start of episode | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Spline: weeks 0-4 | -0.20 | (0.01)*** | -0.24 | (0.01)*** | -0.37 | (0.04)*** | -0.30 | (0.02)*** | -0.13 | (0.01)*** | -0.07 | (0.02)** | -0.22 | (0.02)*** |
| Spline: weeks 4-11 | -0.01 | (0.00)** | -0.01 | (0.01) | -0.07 | (0.03)* | 0.00 | (0.01) | -0.02 | (0.01)* | 0.00 | (0.01) | -0.02 | (0.01) |
| Spline: weeks 11-24 | -0.02 | (0.00)*** | -0.02 | (0.00)*** | -0.04 | (0.02) | -0.05 | (0.01)*** | -0.03 | (0.00)*** | -0.02 | (0.01)* | -0.03 | (0.01)*** |
| Spline: weeks 24-49 | -0.02 | (0.00)*** | -0.02 | (0.00)*** | -0.02 | (0.02) | -0.02 | (0.01)** | -0.03 | (0.00)*** | -0.01 | (0.00)** | -0.02 | (0.01)*** |
| Spline: weeks 49 and later | 0.00 | (0.00)*** | 0.00 | (0.00)** | -0.03 | (0.02)* | -0.02 | (0.00)*** | 0.00 | (0.00)* | 0.00 | (0.00) | -0.02 | (0.00)*** |
| Episode order | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Spline: episodes 1-5 | 0.03 | (0.02)* | 0.13 | (0.03)*** | 0.15 | (0.06)** | 0.14 | (0.03)*** | -0.06 | (0.02)** | -0.11 | (0.03)*** | 0.17 | (0.03)*** |
| Spline: episodes 5 and more | 0.02 | (0.02) | 0.15 | (0.03)*** | 0.12 | (0.05)** | 0.07 | (0.03)* | -0.05 | (0.02)* | -0.13 | (0.03)*** | 0.03 | (0.03) |
| Wages in last complete quarter (reference = unemployed) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gross wages less than \$1,000 | 0.00 | (0.03) | 0.14 | (0.04)** | 0.21 | (0.15) | -0.06 | (0.07) | 0.00 | (0.04) | -0.20 | (0.08)* | -0.12 | (0.07) |
| Gross wages \$1,000-\$2,900 | -0.15 | (0.03)*** | 0.07 | (0.05) | -0.16 | (0.18) | -0.19 | (0.09)* | -0.24 | (0.05)*** | -0.32 | (0.09)*** | -0.35 | (0.09)*** |
| Gross wages \$3,000-\$5,900 | -0.50 | (0.05)*** | -0.03 | (0.07) | -0.35 | (0.21)* | -0.90 | (0.15)*** | -0.79 | (0.07)*** | -1.18 | (0.15)*** | -0.86 | (0.13)*** |
| Gross wages \$6,000 and higher | -0.49 | (0.07)*** | 0.10 | (0.08) | -0.62 | (0.33)* | -0.83 | (0.21)*** | -0.94 | (0.12)*** | -1.36 | (0.22)*** | -0.98 | (0.19)*** |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|
| Recent events | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of arrests in past month | 0.09 | (0.04)* | 0.05 | (0.08) | 0.36 | (0.21) ⁺ | 0.28 | (0.10)** | 0.09 | (0.06) | 0.19 | (0.10)* | -0.07 | (0.12) |
| Number of positive substance abuse tests in past month | 0.31 | (0.02)*** | 0.18 | (0.05)*** | 0.03 | (0.17) | 0.70 | (0.04)*** | 0.28 | (0.04)*** | 0.03 | (0.08) | 0.43 | (0.05)*** |
| Treatment or care in last episode | 0.27 | (0.03)*** | -0.20 | (0.05)*** | 0.16 | (0.17) | 1.06 | (0.07)*** | 0.24 | (0.04)*** | 0.30 | (0.08)*** | 0.47 | (0.07)*** |
| Intermediate sanction in last episode | 0.26 | (0.02)** | -0.23 | (0.04)*** | -0.05 | (0.13) | 0.45 | (0.07)*** | 0.55 | (0.03)*** | 0.32 | (0.05)*** | 0.45 | (0.06)*** |
| Prison in last episode | -0.18 | (0.04)*** | -0.29 | (0.07)*** | -0.38 | (0.25) | -0.04 | (0.12) | -0.29 | (0.07)*** | -0.09 | (0.11) | 0.16 | (0.09) |
| Absconding warrant in last episode | 0.34 | (0.09)*** | 0.06 | (0.16) | -0.49 | (0.61) | 0.92 | (0.19)*** | 0.20 | (0.16) | 0.52 | (0.27) ⁺ | 0.59 | (0.18)** |
| First episode (no prior events) | 0.01 | (0.03) | 0.01 | (0.05) | 0.10 | (0.19) | 0.02 | (0.10) | 0.00 | (0.05) | -0.06 | (0.09) | 0.22 | (0.09)* |
| Living arrangements (reference = living with parents) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Living with romantic partner | -0.04 | (0.03) | 0.03 | (0.05) | -0.19 | (0.21) | -0.04 | (0.09) | 0.02 | (0.06) | -0.20 | (0.10)* | -0.31 | (0.08)*** |
| Living with other family | 0.15 | (0.03)*** | 0.26 | (0.05)*** | 0.45 | (0.19)* | -0.10 | (0.09) | 0.07 | (0.06) | -0.03 | (0.09) | 0.25 | (0.08)** |
| Living with friends | 0.33 | (0.04)*** | 0.55 | (0.06)*** | 0.71 | (0.24)** | -0.11 | (0.11) | 0.14 | (0.08)* | 0.07 | (0.13) | 0.31 | (0.11)** |
| Living alone | -0.10 | (0.06) ⁺ | -0.02 | (0.08) | -1.05 | (0.45)* | -0.09 | (0.14) | -0.20 | (0.10)* | -0.34 | (0.19) ⁺ | 0.08 | (0.17) |
| Other private | 0.14 | (0.04)*** | 0.29 | (0.07)*** | -0.03 | (0.25) | -0.16 | (0.13) | 0.03 | (0.08) | 0.18 | (0.14) | -0.04 | (0.11) |
| Homeless | 0.84 | (0.05)*** | 1.45 | (0.07)*** | 1.76 | (0.21)*** | 0.07 | (0.13) | 0.11 | (0.11) | 0.19 | (0.15) | 0.54 | (0.12)*** |

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

| Variables | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| | Logit | | | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | |
| | Any Move | Private Residence | Homeless | Treatment or Care | Intermediate Sanction | Prison | Abscond | Coefficient | (SE) | Coefficient | (SE) | Coefficient | (SE) |
| Living at unknown residence | 0.01 (0.03) | -0.90 (0.06)*** | -0.34 (0.22) | -1.06 (0.11)*** | 0.78 (0.05)*** | 1.05 (0.08)*** | -3.88 (0.21)*** | | | | | | |
| Living at preprison address | -0.12 (0.03)*** | -0.55 (0.05)*** | -0.45 (0.19)* | 0.19 (0.07)** | 0.07 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.08) | -0.07 (0.07) | | | | | | |
| Cumulative event history (up to current week) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion of quarters with wages less than \$1,000 | 0.00 (0.00) ⁺ | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00)** |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$1,000-\$2,900 | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$3,000-\$5,900 | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00)* | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) ⁺ | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) |
| Proportion of quarters with wages \$6,000 or higher | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00)*** | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.00 (0.00) |
| Rate of arrests | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.00 (0.01) | -0.09 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.01)*** | 0.04 (0.01)*** | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.03 (0.01)*** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.01 (0.00)** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.00)*** |
| Rate of positive substance abuse tests | 0.01 (0.00)*** | -0.01 (0.01) ⁺ | -0.02 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.00)** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.01 (0.00)** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.03 (0.01)*** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.01 (0.00)** | 0.02 (0.00)*** | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.00)*** |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Number of prior episodes with parents | 0.00 | (0.01) | -0.09 | (0.03)** | -0.16 | (0.05)** | -0.11 | (0.03)*** | 0.07 | (0.02)*** | 0.13 | (0.03)*** | -0.08 | (0.03)** |
| Number of prior episodes with other family | -0.02 | (0.01) | -0.08 | (0.03)** | -0.18 | (0.06)** | -0.09 | (0.03)** | 0.05 | (0.02)* | 0.11 | (0.03)*** | -0.15 | (0.04)*** |
| Number of prior episodes with friends | -0.01 | (0.02) | -0.07 | (0.03)* | -0.15 | (0.06)* | -0.08 | (0.04)* | 0.04 | (0.02)* | 0.11 | (0.03)** | -0.09 | (0.04)* |
| Number of prior episodes alone | -0.01 | (0.02) | -0.09 | (0.04)* | -0.07 | (0.09) | -0.10 | (0.04)** | 0.08 | (0.03)** | 0.18 | (0.04)*** | -0.26 | (0.06)*** |
| Number of prior episodes other private | -0.05 | (0.02) | -0.12 | (0.04)*** | -0.14 | (0.08)* | -0.11 | (0.04)** | 0.01 | (0.03) | 0.08 | (0.04)* | -0.10 | (0.04)* |
| Number of prior episodes in treatment or care | 0.01 | (0.01)* | -0.02 | (0.01) | -0.04 | (0.04) | 0.13 | (0.01)*** | 0.01 | (0.01) | 0.00 | (0.02) | -0.04 | (0.02)* |
| Number of prior episodes homeless | 0.02 | (0.02) | -0.12 | (0.03)*** | 0.08 | (0.06) | -0.02 | (0.04) | 0.09 | (0.03)** | 0.19 | (0.04)*** | -0.04 | (0.04) |
| Number of prior episodes with intermediate sanction | 0.00 | (0.01) | -0.04 | (0.01)** | 0.02 | (0.02) | -0.04 | (0.01)** | 0.04 | (0.01)*** | 0.04 | (0.01)** | -0.01 | (0.01) |
| Number of prior episodes in prison | -0.02 | (0.02) | 0.07 | (0.04)* | 0.13 | (0.09) | 0.07 | (0.05) | -0.05 | (0.03) | -0.08 | (0.05) | -0.06 | (0.05) |
| Number of prior episodes absconded | -0.01 | (0.01) | -0.19 | (0.03)*** | -0.21 | (0.06)*** | -0.07 | (0.03)* | 0.03 | (0.02)* | 0.11 | (0.03)*** | 0.17 | (0.03)*** |

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

| Variables | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | Logit | | | Intermediate Sanction | | | | | | | | | |
| | Any Move | Private Residence | Homeless | Treatment or Care | Prison | Abscond | Homeless | Private Residence | Any Move | Homeless | Treatment or Care | Prison | Abscond |
| | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) |
| Race (reference = white) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black | -0.06 (0.02)* | -0.21 (0.04)*** | -0.10 (0.11) | 0.05 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.04) | -0.15 (0.05)** | 0.28 (0.06)*** | 0.11 (0.07) | -0.09 (0.30) | -0.01 (0.19) | 0.12 (0.16) | 0.58 (0.17)*** | 0.28 (0.06)*** |
| Other race | -0.02 (0.04) | 0.14 (0.05)** | 0.35 (0.17)* | 0.05 (0.08) | -0.11 (0.06)* | -0.27 (0.09)** | -0.04 (0.10) | 0.00 (0.10) | 0.00 (0.10) | 0.12 (0.16) | 0.12 (0.16) | 0.58 (0.17)*** | 0.58 (0.17)*** |
| Female | -0.03 (0.01)*** | -0.04 (0.01)*** | 0.08 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.03) | -0.03 (0.01)** | -0.05 (0.02)*** | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.01 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01)** | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.04 (0.02)** | 0.04 (0.02)** |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Spline: age 18-27 | 0.01 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.09 (0.04)* | 0.05 (0.02)** | 0.01 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.04 (0.02)** | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01)** | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.04 (0.02)** | 0.04 (0.02)** |
| Spline: age 27-34 | -0.01 (0.01)** | -0.02 (0.01)** | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.00 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.02 (0.01)* |
| Spline: age 34-42 | -0.02 (0.00)*** | -0.02 (0.01)** | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01)*** | -0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.03 (0.01)*** | -0.03 (0.01)*** | -0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.02 (0.01)* | -0.02 (0.01)* |
| Spline: age 42 or older | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Marital status | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 0.04 (0.04)** | 0.20 (0.05)*** | -0.11 (0.16) | -0.04 (0.09) | -0.07 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.09) | -0.17 (0.10)* | 0.07 (0.03) | -0.22 (0.13)* | -0.02 (0.07) | 0.26 (0.07)*** | 0.02 (0.07) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Divorced/separated | 0.04 (0.10) | 0.20 (0.12) | -0.84 (0.33)* | -0.04 (0.19) | -0.11 (0.16) | 0.26 (0.23) | -0.02 (0.24) | 0.20 (0.16) | -0.22 (0.13)* | -0.02 (0.07) | 0.26 (0.07)*** | 0.02 (0.07) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Widowed | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of dependents (reference = zero) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| One | -0.01 (0.03) | 0.07 (0.04)* | -0.06 (0.13) | 0.01 (0.06) | -0.09 (0.04)* | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.05 (0.07) | 0.08 (0.05)* | -0.20 (0.14) | 0.00 (0.07) | 0.13 (0.07)* | 0.06 (0.07) | 0.06 (0.07) |
| Two | 0.03 (0.03) | 0.08 (0.05)* | -0.40 (0.15)** | -0.10 (0.07) | -0.03 (0.04) | 0.10 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.07) | 0.08 (0.05)* | -0.40 (0.15)** | -0.10 (0.07) | 0.10 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.07) | 0.04 (0.07) |
| Three or more | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Education (reference = zero to eight years) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nine to eleven years | -0.07 (0.04)* | -0.12 (0.05)* | -0.28 (0.19) | -0.10 (0.10) | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.00 (0.09) | -0.17 (0.09)* | -0.07 (0.04)* | -0.12 (0.05)* | -0.10 (0.10) | 0.00 (0.09) | -0.17 (0.09)* | -0.17 (0.09)* |
| Obtained GED | 0.01 (0.04) | -0.13 (0.05)* | -0.01 (0.18) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.09 (0.06)* | 0.19 (0.09)* | -0.05 (0.09) | -0.13 (0.05)* | -0.01 (0.18) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.19 (0.09)* | -0.05 (0.09) | -0.05 (0.09) |
| Twelve years | -0.07 (0.04)* | -0.21 (0.06)*** | -0.17 (0.19) | -0.12 (0.11) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.10) | -0.26 (0.11)* | -0.07 (0.04)* | -0.17 (0.19) | -0.12 (0.11) | 0.04 (0.10) | -0.26 (0.11)* | -0.26 (0.11)* |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-----------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Thirteen to nineteen years | -0.08 | (0.06) | -0.08 | (0.09) | -0.06 | (0.23) | -0.38 | (0.15)* | -0.01 | (0.09) | 0.17 | (0.14) | -0.39 | (0.16)* |
| Education missing | -0.04 | (0.10) | -0.08 | (0.14) | -0.70 | (0.46) | -0.31 | (0.19)† | 0.13 | (0.12) | 0.21 | (0.19) | -0.41 | (0.31) |
| Mental illness | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Known mental illness | 0.10 | (0.03)*** | 0.06 | (0.04) | 0.04 | (0.11) | 0.31 | (0.06)*** | 0.07 | (0.04)† | 0.09 | (0.05)† | 0.00 | (0.06) |
| Missing on mental illness | 0.04 | (0.15) | 0.30 | (0.21) | -12.86 | (0.39)*** | 0.22 | (0.24) | -0.01 | (0.13) | -1.11 | (0.45)* | -0.42 | (0.26) |
| Substance abuse history (reference = none) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| History of alcohol abuse | -0.04 | (0.05) | -0.10 | (0.07) | -0.01 | (0.19) | -0.17 | (0.15) | 0.03 | (0.07) | 0.37 | (0.10)*** | -0.45 | (0.14)** |
| History of THC use | -0.11 | (0.04)** | -0.13 | (0.05)* | -0.23 | (0.27) | -0.60 | (0.13)*** | -0.04 | (0.05) | 0.04 | (0.09) | -0.21 | (0.10)* |
| History of hard drugs | 0.13 | (0.04)** | -0.11 | (0.08) | -0.16 | (0.21) | 0.09 | (0.09) | 0.25 | (0.06)*** | 0.13 | (0.10) | 0.40 | (0.09)*** |
| History of alcohol and THC | -0.09 | (0.04)** | -0.17 | (0.06)** | 0.23 | (0.22) | -0.35 | (0.13)** | -0.03 | (0.05) | 0.07 | (0.09) | -0.09 | (0.11) |
| History of hard drugs and alcohol/THC | 0.15 | (0.02)*** | -0.04 | (0.04) | 0.32 | (0.12)** | 0.17 | (0.06)** | 0.25 | (0.04)*** | 0.34 | (0.06)*** | 0.17 | (0.06)** |
| Time served on sampled prison spell | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Spline: years 0-0.96 | -0.06 | (0.06) | -0.02 | (0.12) | -0.23 | (0.32) | -0.10 | (0.18) | 0.01 | (0.09) | -0.41 | (0.16)* | -0.02 | (0.16) |
| Spline: years 0.96-1.79 | -0.06 | (0.04) | -0.01 | (0.07) | -0.29 | (0.22) | -0.05 | (0.11) | -0.10 | (0.06) | 0.10 | (0.10) | -0.14 | (0.11) |
| Spline: years 1.79-3.55 | 0.00 | (0.03) | 0.03 | (0.04) | 0.04 | (0.12) | -0.03 | (0.07) | 0.00 | (0.04) | 0.00 | (0.06) | 0.00 | (0.06) |
| Spline: years 3.55 and more | -0.01 | (0.01) | 0.01 | (0.01) | -0.12 | (0.04)** | 0.00 | (0.02) | -0.02 | (0.01) | -0.03 | (0.02) | -0.02 | (0.03) |

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

| Variables | Multinomial Logit | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------|-------------|------|---------|-------------|------|--|
| | Logit | | | Treatment or Care | | | Intermediate Sanction | | | Prison | | | Abscond | | | | | | | | |
| | Coefficient | (SE) | Private Residence | Coefficient | (SE) | Homeless | Coefficient | (SE) | Treatment or Care | Coefficient | (SE) | Intermediate Sanction | Coefficient | (SE) | Prison | Coefficient | (SE) | Abscond | Coefficient | (SE) | |
| Prison prefix (reference = prefix A) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Prefix B | 0.18 | (0.02) | 0.07 | (0.04) ⁺ | 0.01 | (0.12) | 0.11 | (0.07) ⁺ | 0.16 | (0.04) ^{***} | 0.77 | (0.06) ^{***} | 0.17 | (0.06) ^{**} | | | | | | | |
| Prefix C or D | 0.30 | (0.03) | 0.16 | (0.04) ^{***} | -0.09 | (0.13) | 0.22 | (0.07) ^{**} | 0.25 | (0.04) ^{***} | 1.07 | (0.07) ^{***} | 0.36 | (0.07) ^{***} | | | | | | | |
| Prefix E or above | 0.32 | (0.05) | 0.07 | (0.08) | -0.17 | (0.21) | 0.30 | (0.10) ^{**} | 0.26 | (0.07) ^{***} | 1.22 | (0.11) ^{***} | 0.41 | (0.11) ^{***} | | | | | | | |
| Offense type (reference = non-assaultive) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assaultive offense | -0.04 | (0.03) | -0.07 | (0.04) ⁺ | 0.04 | (0.12) | 0.10 | (0.07) | -0.10 | (0.04) [*] | 0.09 | (0.06) | -0.08 | (0.07) | | | | | | | |
| Drug offense | -0.12 | (0.03) | -0.12 | (0.04) ^{**} | -0.51 | (0.13) ^{***} | -0.04 | (0.07) | -0.08 | (0.04) [*] | -0.22 | (0.06) ^{***} | -0.19 | (0.06) ^{**} | | | | | | | |
| Sex offense | 0.08 | (0.04) | 0.05 | (0.06) | 0.34 | (0.14) [*] | 0.05 | (0.10) | -0.03 | (0.06) | 0.53 | (0.08) ^{***} | -0.20 | (0.11) [†] | | | | | | | |
| Preprison measures | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lived in private residence before prison | -0.06 | (0.03) | -0.03 | (0.05) | -0.25 | (0.12) [*] | -0.13 | (0.08) | -0.10 | (0.04) [*] | -0.01 | (0.07) | -0.01 | (0.08) | | | | | | | |
| Homeless before prison | 0.02 | (0.06) | -0.13 | (0.11) | 0.22 | (0.19) | 0.06 | (0.14) | 0.00 | (0.08) | -0.07 | (0.14) | 0.09 | (0.13) | | | | | | | |
| Employed in year before prison | -0.01 | (0.04) | 0.02 | (0.05) | -0.01 | (0.17) | -0.15 | (0.10) | 0.01 | (0.05) | -0.06 | (0.08) | -0.14 | (0.10) | | | | | | | |
| Missing on preprison employment | -0.05 | (0.06) | -0.08 | (0.07) | 0.30 | (0.31) | -0.28 | (0.16) [†] | -0.05 | (0.08) | 0.35 | (0.13) ^{**} | -0.38 | (0.16) [*] | | | | | | | |
| Constant | -1.52 | (0.17) | -1.84 | (0.26) ^{***} | -7.11 | (1.50) ^{***} | -4.71 | (0.66) ^{***} | -3.02 | (0.26) ^{***} | -4.31 | (0.42) ^{***} | -3.79 | (0.50) ^{***} | | | | | | | |

Source: Authors' calculations.

[†] $p < .1$; ^{*} $p < .05$; ^{**} $p < .01$; ^{***} $p < .001$ (robust standard errors in parentheses)

high. This is reflected by the coefficients for the splines measuring the number of weeks since the start of an episode. The first spline measuring linear change from weeks 0 to 4 has a large and significant negative coefficient in the logit model and in every category of the multinomial logit model. In the logit model, this coefficient implies that the odds of moving drop by 18 percent ($1 - \exp[-0.200] = 0.18$) with each passing week during the first four weeks of an episode. The spline coefficients for weeks 0 to 4 in the multinomial logit model indicate which types of moves tend to occur early in an episode. Homelessness is the most time-dependent of all the moving events: the odds of becoming homeless drop sharply with each passing week of an episode, declining by 31 percent ($1 - \exp[-0.37] = 0.31$) per week during the first month. In other words, episodes that end in homelessness tend to have very short durations. The coefficients for splines representing later time periods are much smaller in both the logit and multinomial logit models, indicating that the passage of time does not change the likelihood of a move occurring if the episode has already lasted five or more weeks. Returns to prison are the least time-dependent types of moves, meaning that as the duration of an episode increases, the odds of it ending with a move to prison do not drop as dramatically as with other types of moves.

Second, parolees who were working and earning higher wages were less likely to move, primarily because they were at much lower risk of experiencing a sanction-related event, such as being admitted for treatment or care, having an intermediate sanction, being returned to prison, or absconding. For example, the odds of returning to prison during a given week were 74 percent ($1 - \exp[-1.36] = 0.74$) lower for parolees who were earning at least \$6,000 per quarter in gross wages—the highest wage category in our typology—compared to those who were unemployed. Parolees in the highest wage category were also significantly less likely to become homeless. The effects of wages and employment status are weakest in predicting moves to private residences, but there is one significant difference: those in the lowest wage category (earning less than \$1,000 per quarter) were more likely to move than those who were

unemployed. One interpretation of the association between working for a very small wage and moving to a new private residence is that when contrasted with being unemployed, establishing a toehold in the labor market with a low-paying job could provide an impetus for parolees to move, perhaps to seek a more desirable living situation.

Third, being involved with the criminal justice system or living under institutional care had disruptive effects on subsequent episodes. Episodes were less stable (that is, they were likely to end sooner) when the parolee had recently been arrested, tested positive for substance use, been released from a treatment center or hospital, incurred an intermediate sanction, or been issued an absconding warrant. The most disruptive of these events were testing positive for substance abuse tests and having an absconding warrant in the prior episode. The odds of moving increased by 37 percent ($\exp[0.31] = 1.37$) with each positive substance abuse test in the past month and by 40 percent if the last episode ended with an absconding warrant. These associations were even stronger in predicting moves to treatment centers or hospitals. For example, the odds of being sent to a treatment center or hospital doubled ($\exp[0.70] = 2.02$) with each positive substance abuse test a parolee had within the past month and were two and a half times ($\exp[0.92] = 2.50$) higher for parolees who had absconded in the prior episode. The only instance where criminal justice system contact did not disrupt subsequent episodes was when a parolee was returned to prison and subsequently released again to the community. It is important to note that many of these episodes were censored because they began late in the observation period; this censoring could account for the apparent stability that followed a return from prison.

Fourth, some living arrangements were associated with more stable episodes. Moves were less frequent when parolees lived with parents (the reference category), with a romantic partner, or by themselves, and this was especially true of moves to new private residences. The odds of moving were lowest for parolees who lived alone, and this was especially protective against becoming homeless or

moving because of an intermediate sanction or prison sentence. The odds of moving were higher when parolees were living with other family members, with friends, or at other private residences or when they were homeless. Moreover, the odds of becoming homeless were significantly higher among parolees living with friends or other family members and among those who were already homeless.

Returning “home” (to the same residence where they lived prior to the prison spell that ended in 2003) was also associated with significantly lower odds of moving in general and, more specifically, with moving to a new private residence or becoming homeless. However, living at home was associated with higher odds of being admitted for treatment or to a hospital, which is consistent with the idea that parolees who return home face more temptations to return to drug and alcohol use.

Fifth, among fixed (time-invariant) characteristics of parolees, some of the strongest predictors of episode duration were a parolee’s history of mental illness, substance abuse, and imprisonment. Parolees known to have mental illnesses tended to experience shorter episodes, principally because they were at greater risk of being sent to a residential treatment center or hospital. The relationship between substance abuse history and episode duration was less straightforward. Those who had a history of using hard drugs (alone or in combination with alcohol and THC) were more likely to move because they were at highest risk of experiencing intermediate sanctions or absconding. However, having a history that involved THC use (either alone or with alcohol) was associated with longer episodes, in part because people with histories of THC use were less likely to be sent to treatment or a hospital than those with no substance abuse history. Finally, parolees who had been to prison more often (that is, who had a higher prefix) had significantly shorter episode durations, owing to their higher risk of having a sanction-related event (being sent to treatment or care or prison, having an intermediate sanction, or absconding).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Decades of high incarceration rates and defunding of various welfare and public assistance programs have led to an increase in two

at-risk populations in the United States: former prisoners who are reentering society (or are struggling to do so successfully), and precariously housed or homeless persons. Despite the significant overlap in the demographic composition of and risk factors for these two populations, and despite a burgeoning literature on prisoner reentry that focuses on outcomes that are closely intertwined with housing, such as employment, recidivism, and health, few prior studies have examined homelessness and housing insecurity among former prisoners. Former prisoners struggling to successfully reenter society—while burdened by the “mark of a criminal record” and facing many structural barriers to parity—face a compounded disadvantage when they are also encumbered by the obstacles of housing insecurity. Using administrative data on a large sample of parolees in Michigan, we have examined the frequency and predictors of various forms of housing insecurity and homelessness among former prisoners. We emphasize four key conclusions from our analysis and then discuss the limitations of our data and implications for the reentry and homelessness literatures, including considerations for future research. To help interpret our results and highlight important findings we present the marginal effects—measured as the proportional change in the probability of the outcome per unit change in the predictor—for key covariates from our models in table 5.

Key Findings

First, there was a great deal of residential mobility among the former prisoners in our sample. In previous research, we found that this same sample of parolees experienced an average of 2.6 moves per year (Harding et al. 2013, 226), a rate of mobility higher than that of any other population of which we are aware. The conventional threshold for residential instability in housing research is more than one move per year (Geller and Curtis 2011). Here we show that there was considerable variability in the risk of a residential move over time. The probability of a residential move decreased dramatically after the early weeks at a particular residence; 50 percent of the moves occurred within the first eight weeks. In other words, there was an inverse relationship between housing tenure and the probability of a

Table 5. Marginal Effects of Selected Covariates from Discrete-Time Event History Models for Michigan Prisoners Paroled in 2003 (Proportional Change in Probability of Move per Unit Change in Predictor)

| Variables | Logit | | Multinomial Logit | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------|
| | Any Move | Private Residence | Homeless | Treatment or Care | Intermediate Sanction | Prison | Abscond |
| Wages in last complete quarter (reference = unemployed) | | | | | | | |
| Gross wages less than \$1,000 | 0.00 | 0.14* | 0.23 | -0.06 | -0.18 | -0.12* | 0.00 |
| Gross wages \$1,000-\$2,900 | -0.13* | 0.08 | -0.14 | -0.17* | -0.27* | -0.29* | 0.01* |
| Gross wages \$3,000-\$5,900 | -0.37* | 0.00 | -0.27 ⁺ | -0.58* | -0.68* | -0.56* | 0.03* |
| Gross wages \$6,000 or higher | -0.37* | 0.14 | -0.44 ⁺ | -0.55* | -0.74* | -0.61* | 0.03* |
| Recent events | | | | | | | |
| Number of arrests in past month | 0.08* | 0.04 | 0.42 ⁺ | 0.31* | 0.08 | 0.20* | -0.08* |
| Number of positive substance abuse tests in past month | 0.32* | 0.16* | -0.01 | 0.94* | 0.27* | -0.01 | 0.48* |
| Treatment or care in last episode | 0.26* | -0.21* | 0.13 | 1.77* | 0.23* | 0.30* | 0.55* |
| Intermediate sanction in last episode | 0.26* | -0.22* | -0.08 | 0.54* | 0.70* | 0.35* | 0.53* |
| Prison in last episode | -0.16* | -0.24* | -0.31 | -0.03 | -0.24* | -0.08 | 0.18 |
| Absconding warrant in last episode | 0.34* | 0.02 | -0.41 | 1.39* | 0.17 | 0.61 ⁺ | 0.72* |
| Living arrangements (reference = living with parents) | | | | | | | |
| Living with romantic partner | -0.03 | 0.04 | -0.17 | -0.03 | 0.02 | -0.18* | -0.26* |
| Living with other family | 0.13* | 0.26* | 0.54* | -0.11 | 0.05 | -0.05 | 0.26* |
| Living with friends | 0.33* | 0.66* | 0.96* | -0.14 | 0.11 ⁺ | 0.03 | 0.31* |
| Living alone | -0.09 ⁺ | -0.01 | -0.65* | -0.08 | -0.18* | -0.28 ⁺ | 0.09 |
| Other private | 0.14 | 0.33* | -0.04 | -0.15 | 0.02 | 0.19 | -0.05 |
| Homeless | 0.97* | 2.62* | 3.94* | -0.09 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.46* |
| Living at unknown residence | 0.05 | -0.58* | -0.26 | -0.64* | 1.26* | 1.95* | -0.98* |
| Living at preprison address | -0.09* | -0.41* | -0.35* | 0.23* | 0.09 | 0.06 | -0.05 |

Source: Authors' calculations.

Notes: Marginal effects are defined for a black male, age thirty-five, never married, with no dependents, between nine and eleven years of education, unemployed, and living in private residence in year prior to sampled prison sentence, no history of substance use, not mentally ill, not a sex offender, has been to prison once for non-assaultive offense, currently in first week of third postprison residential episode, never homeless, with mean values on all cumulative event history variables.

⁺ $p < .1$; * $p < .05$

move; the longer a parolee lived in a residence, the less likely it was that he or she would move from that residence. This means that instability begets instability. When a former prisoner moves, he or she is put at heightened risk for another move.

Second, the predictors of homelessness and housing insecurity identified in the prior literature on risk factors among the general population also seem to operate among former prisoners. Mental illness, drug and alcohol use, prior incarcerations, and prior experiences with homelessness were all predictive of greater residential instability. Earnings and social supports are both protectors against homelessness and housing insecurity. As table 5 shows, former prisoners earning at least \$6,000 in the past quarter had a 37 percent lower probability of moving compared to those who were unemployed, as well as a 44 percent lower probability of becoming homeless, 55 percent lower probability of being moved for residential treatment or care, 74 percent lower probability of receiving an intermediate sanction, and 61 percent lower probability of being returned to prison. These findings are consistent with the idea that there are important commonalities among the reentry population and those at risk of homelessness and housing insecurity in the wider population.

Our third conclusion is that the criminal justice system is a key player in generating residential instability: moves due to intermediate sanctions, to treatment or care, to prison, or to absconding status accounted for nearly 60 percent of all moves made by parolees in our sample. Absconding is by nature an unstable housing situation. When individuals go “on the run” from authorities in an attempt to avoid criminal justice sanctions, they put themselves in a precarious state in which it is difficult to achieve stable housing or employment and to maintain social relationships and access social supports (Goffman 2014). In table 5, we see more evidence of the way the criminal justice system influences residential moves: following a positive substance abuse test, parolees were 26 percent more likely to experience a move, 177 percent more likely to be moved to a treatment or care facility, 23 percent more likely to receive an intermediate sanction, 30 percent more

likely to return to prison, and 53 percent more likely to abscond (most likely in an attempt to avoid being assigned to treatment or to an intermediate sanction).

The positive or negative effects of this kind of residential mobility triggered by the criminal justice system are unclear. On the one hand, intermediate sanctions are an attempt by parole agents to intervene by preventing unwanted behavior. Sometimes these behaviors are illegal, such as drug use or petty theft, and sometimes they are violations of the rules of parole, such as alcohol consumption, curfew violations, failure to report to one’s parole officer, association with other parolees, or contact with crime victims. Intermediate sanctions are also an alternative to returning a parolee to prison as punishment for minor crimes or rule violations, and they are often intended to stop such behavior from escalating to more serious offenses. On the other hand, temporary removal from the community for an intermediate sanction may disrupt otherwise stable living situations, separate the parolee from family and other forms of social support, and cause a parolee to lose a job or be unable to search for a job.

Fourth, we found two important postrelease “buffers” against residential instability among the parolee population: wages and living arrangements. Our analysis found that parolees were significantly more likely to avoid intermediate sanctions if they had higher quarterly earnings. This finding suggests a preventative effect of earnings on criminal or prohibited behavior, but it could also reflect unobserved differences between parolees with high earnings and others with lower earnings, or the lower likelihood of parole officials assigning a parolee to an intermediate sanction when he or she is stably employed. This finding also suggests that research attempting to uncover the relationship between employment and housing among parolees needs to consider the role of intermediate sanctions. Moreover, parolees were least likely to move, experience homelessness, or move to a correctional institution when they were living alone, a sign of being economically self-sufficient. Second, living with parents, living with a romantic partner, and returning “home” to the preprison

residence were all associated with more residential stability, consistent with prior findings that social supports play a key role in both the reentry process and avoiding homelessness (Bassuk et al. 1997; Harding et al. 2014; Nelson, Deess, and Allen 1999, 10; Visher and Travis 2003).

Limitations of the Study

Data for this research are drawn from one particular cohort of parolees in one state. Although Michigan's rate of incarceration was close to the national average during the time period, other features of Michigan make the experiences of Michigan parolees potentially less generalizable. Michigan experienced higher rates of unemployment, less immigration, and greater racial and economic segregation during the study time period than many other states. And with their high levels of residential vacancy and abandonment, homelessness often takes a different form in Michigan's central cities than it does elsewhere. For instance, squatting is common and often slips under the radar of authorities; thus, it may not be immediately evident that a parolee is squatting and therefore actually homeless. The states also vary in their criminal justice policies on, for instance, prison release, parole supervision, and the treatment of those with a felony record. Michigan has a longer time to parole than other similar states but imposes fewer restrictions than most states on access to public benefits by those with a felony record. Furthermore, since the 2003 cohort of parolees was released, Michigan implemented the Michigan Prisoner Reentry Initiative, which greatly expanded the services and resources offered to individuals released on parole.

The administrative data used in this research also present potential limitations. Records may be inaccurate since the data are based on parolees' self-reported residences. Although residences are supposed to be verified by parole agents, their large caseloads may prevent them from conducting frequent residence verifications. In particular, moves to new residences may not be recorded right away, and some parolees surely have reason to report one residence while living elsewhere (for example, reporting a mother's address while living with a girlfriend). This is likely to

lead to underestimation of residential instability for some parolees.

Moves to homelessness (as defined by living on the streets, in a shelter, or in a hotel or motel) were relatively rare in our sample, and it is likely that such forms of homelessness are underestimated for a few reasons. First, because parolees are required to report a viable address to their parole agents, some reported addresses may have been used by parolees who were not actually living there. For example, some parolees may have used the address of a family member or acquaintance to report to their parole officer while actually being homeless or in some other living situation not sanctioned by the conditions of their release; such self-reports would also have led to overestimating the number of episodes spent living with parents, other family members, or friends. Second, given the high levels of residential vacancy in urban areas of Michigan, especially throughout Wayne County (where about one-third of the former prisoners were paroled), squatting in abandoned homes is a common form of residence for homeless persons. It is beyond the scope of our study to assess whether or not addresses listed as "private" are legally occupied or squatted, but high rates of squatting present a potentially interesting area for future research. (One soup kitchen estimates that 70 percent of its clientele, which includes a high rate of returning prisoners and parolees in Detroit, are squatting [Herbert 2014].) Third, unknown residences and periods of absconding are likely to include some periods of homelessness unknown to parole agents.

Finally, not all residential moves are "bad" moves. Moving in with a new spouse or romantic partner, moving to a more desirable neighborhood, returning to family, or upgrading housing may be indicators of successful reintegration rather than residential instability. Our administrative data do not allow us to reliably capture these fine-grained distinctions.

Implications for Prisoner Reentry

This research indicates that among the formerly incarcerated population (1) there is a high level of residential instability, and (2) this instability is expressed in a unique way because of the role of intermediate sanctions in generating resi-

dential instability. Moves due to intermediate sanctions account for over 30 percent of all moves. Using the same sample of Michigan parolees, we previously found that only 74.7 percent of parolees return to their presanction neighborhood, and that there is evidence that most postsanction moves are to neighborhoods with high poverty rates, where fewer opportunities for employment and more of a risk for criminal involvement can be expected (Harding et al. 2013). What this demonstrates is that intermediate sanctions may be having unintended consequences for parolees. Rather than just curtailing undesirable activities that might lead to recidivism, intermediate sanctions and forced moves to prison or treatment facilities may put a parolee at greater risk of recidivating by creating unstable housing situations. Furthermore, frequent moves in and out of the community for intermediate sanctions, to treatment facilities, or for absconding may have unforeseen impacts on former prisoners' ability to maintain employment and may stress familial relationships. Future reentry research should consider (1) the unintended consequences of moves forced by the criminal justice system and their collateral consequences for families and communities; (2) the consequences of absconding beyond the increased risk of returns to prison; and (3) the spectrum of insecure housing situations other than homelessness as conventionally defined (living on the street or in a shelter) that former prisoners may face.

Implications for Homelessness and Housing Insecurity

Research on housing insecurity needs to take into consideration the unique residential moves of former prisoners subject to community supervision. Some residential instability among former prisoners takes a particular form and may have a different temporal trajectory. Further research should consider the impact of not only the very high frequency of moves among some former prisoners but also the short duration of many of their residential episodes. Intermediate sanctions or spells in treatment or care programs often last only a few days or weeks and may have disruptive effects not considered by previous research on housing insecurity because they involve tem-

porary removal from the community and separation from social supports and the labor market. This oversight also implies a need for the broader literature on homelessness and housing insecurity to more thoroughly measure and analyze contact with the criminal justice system and how it interacts with residential trajectories. Moreover, the risk of living on the streets may be lower for individuals on community supervision because parole and probation agents, viewing living on the streets as a risk factor for recidivism, are likely to place people in custodial housing or treatment to prevent them from living on the streets.

Our results also suggest that understanding housing insecurity is aided by considering time-varying predictors. In general, we found that postrelease experiences are strong predictors of housing insecurity, even net of longer-term histories. For example, recent substance abuse test results and recent arrests are important even when controlling for prior substance abuse history and criminal history. Some of this association is accounted for by intermediate sanctions, incarceration in prison, and absconding, but recent positive substance abuse tests are also predictive of moves to private residences. This suggests that future research on homelessness and housing insecurity should incorporate time-varying predictors capturing recent experiences whenever possible.

Policy Implications

From this research, we have identified three main policy implications for prisoner reentry. First, certain living arrangements—living with parents or romantic partners—are predictive of greater residential stability. This suggests that incentivizing these protective living arrangements would encourage families to take in family members who are returning from prison. Current policy is counterproductive: low-income families in public housing are *prohibited* from having family members who have a felony record reside with them. Second, reentry policies need to consider the importance of stable residences in the first few weeks following release: 50 percent of all moves in our study occurred in the first eight weeks, and when a former prisoner moves, he or she is at greater risk for another move in

the future. In other words, more residential stability in the first few weeks following reentry may lower the risk of experiencing residential instability in the future. Finally, while intermediate sanctions are intended to curb undesirable behavior among parolees, they are very disruptive for residential stability. The possible unintended consequences of increased residential instability among parolees should be considered when imposing intermediate sanctions.

REFERENCES

- Bassuk, Ellen L., John C. Buckner, Linda F. Weinreb, Angela Browne, and Shari S. Bassuk. 1997. "Homelessness in Female-Headed Families: Childhood and Adult Risk and Protective Factors." *American Journal of Public Health* 87: 241–48.
- Beck, Allen J., and Laura M. Maruschak. 2001. "Mental Health Treatment in State Prisons, 2000." Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Beckett, Katherine, and Steve K. Herbert. 2010. *Banished: The Transformation of Urban Social Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blau, Joel. 1992. *The Visible Poor: Homelessness in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bradley, Katharine H., R. B. Michael Oliver, Noel C. Richardson, and Elspeth M. Slayter. 2001. "No Place Like Home: Housing and the Ex-prisoner." Policy Brief. Boston: Community Resources for Justice (November).
- Brayne, Sarah. 2014. "Surveillance and System Avoidance: Criminal Justice Contact and Institutional Attachment." *American Sociological Review* 79(367): 367–91.
- Bucklen, Kristofer B., and Gary Zajac. 2009. "But Some of Them Don't Come Back (to Prison!): Resource Deprivation and Thinking Errors as Determinants of Parole Success and Failure." *Prison Journal* 89(3, July): 239–64.
- Burgard, Sarah A., Kristin S. Seefeldt, and Sarah Zelter. 2012. "Housing Instability and Health: Findings from the Michigan Recession and Recovery Study." *Social Science and Medicine* 75(12): 2215–24.
- Burt, Martha R. 1992. *Over the Edge: The Growth of Homelessness in the 1980s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bushway, Shawn D., Michael A. Stoll, and David F. Weiman, eds. 2007. *Barriers to Reentry? The Labor Market for Released Prisoners in Post-industrial America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Cooke, Cheryl L. 2005. "Going Home: Formerly Incarcerated African American Men Return to Families and Communities." *Journal of Family Nursing* 11(4, November): 388–404.
- Donley, Amy M., and James D. Wright. 2008. "Cleaning Up the Streets: Community Efforts to Combat Homelessness by Criminalizing Homeless Behaviors." In *Homelessness in America*, vol. 3, *Solutions to Homelessness*, edited by Robert McNamara. New York: Praeger.
- Freudenberg, Nicholas, Jesse Daniels, Martha Crum, Tiffany Perkins, and Beth E. Richie. 2005. "Coming Home from Jail: The Social and Health Consequences of Community Reentry for Women, Male Adolescents, and Their Families and Communities." *American Journal of Public Health* 95: 1725–36.
- Garland, Brett, Eric J. Wodahl, and Julie Mayfield. 2010. "Prisoner Reentry in a Small Metropolitan Community: Obstacles and Policy Recommendations." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 22(1, March): 90–110.
- Geller, Amanda, and Marah A. Curtis. 2011. "A Sort of Homecoming: Incarceration and the Housing Security of Urban Men." *Social Science Research* 40(4, July 1): 1196–1213.
- Godsoe, Cynthia. 1998. "Ban on Welfare for Felony Drug Offenders: Giving a New Meaning to Life Sentence." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 13: 257–67.
- Goffman, Alice. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gowan, Teresa. 2002. "The Nexus: Homelessness and Incarceration in Two American Cities." *Ethnography* 3(4, December): 500–34.
- Greenberg, Greg A., and Robert A. Rosenheck. 2008. "Jail Incarceration, Homelessness, and Mental Health: A National Study." *Psychiatric Services* 59: 170–77.
- Harding, David J., Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and Claire W. Herbert. 2013. "Home Is Hard to Find: Neighborhoods, Institutions, and the Residential Trajectories of Returning Prisoners." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647(1, May 1): 214–36.
- Harding, David J., Jessica Wyse, Cheyney Dobson, and Jeffrey D. Morenoff. 2014. "Making Ends

- Meet After Prison." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 33(2): 440–70.
- Harrell, Frank E., Jr. 2001. *Regression Modeling Strategies: With Applications to Linear Models, Logistic Regression, and Survival Analysis*. New York: Springer.
- Helfgott, Jacqueline. 1997. "Ex-offender Needs Versus Community Opportunity in Seattle, Washington." *Federal Probation* 61(2): 12–24.
- Herbert, Claire W. 2014. "The Ethos of Care: Assessing the (Nonlegal) Right to Property in Detroit." Unpublished paper. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Holzer, Harry J. 1996. *What Employers Want: Job Prospects for Less-Educated Workers*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Honig, Marjorie, and Randall K. Filer. 1993. "Causes of Intercity Variation in Homelessness." *American Economic Review* 83: 248–55.
- Jencks, Christopher. 1994. *The Homeless*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Lee, Barrett A., Kimberly A. Tyler, and James D. Wright. 2010. "The New Homelessness Revisited." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1, June): 501–21.
- Leopold, Josh. 2012. "The Housing Needs of Rental Assistant Applicants." *Cityscape* 14(2): 257–98.
- Lutze, Faith E., Jeffrey W. Rosky, and Zachary K. Hamilton. 2013. "Homelessness and Reentry: A Multisite Outcome Evaluation of Washington State's Reentry Housing Program for High Risk Offenders." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 41(4, December 19): 471–91.
- Lynch, Mona. 1998. "Waste Managers? The New Penology, Crime Fighting, and Parole Agent Identity." *Law and Society Review* 32: 839–69.
- (Stewart B.) McKinney Homeless Assistance Act. 1987. HR 558 (100th Cong.).
- McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act. 1987. Pub. L. 100-77, July 22, 1987, 101 Stat. 482, 42 U.S.C. § 11301 et seq.
- Metraux, Stephen, and Dennis P. Culhane. 1999. "Family Dynamics, Housing, and Recurring Homelessness Among Women in New York City Shelters." *Journal of Family Issues* 20: 371–96.
- . 2004. "Homeless Shelter Use and Reincarceration Following Prison Release." *Criminology and Public Policy* 3(2): 139–60.
- Metraux, Stephen, Caterina G. Roman, and Richard S. Cho. 2008. "Incarceration and Homelessness." In *Toward Understanding Homelessness: The 2007 National Symposium on Homelessness Research*, edited by Deborah Dennis, Gretchen Locke, and Jill Khadduri. Washington: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Available at: <http://www.works.bepress.com/metraux/1> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Morenoff, Jeffrey D., and David J. Harding. 2011. "Final Technical Report: Neighborhoods, Recidivism, and Employment Among Returning Prisoners." Report submitted to the National Institute of Justice (grant award 2008-IJ-CX-0018).
- Mumola, Christopher J. 1999. "Substance Abuse and Treatment, State and Federal Prisoners, 1997." Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report. Washington: U.S. Department of Justice (January).
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2004. "America's Neighbors: The Affordable Housing Crisis and the People It Affects." Washington, D.C.: National Low Income Housing Coalition (February). Available at: <http://www.nlihc.org/sites/default/files/neighbors.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- National Research Council. 2014. *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Committee on Causes and Consequences of High Rates of Incarceration, Jeremy Travis, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn, eds. Committee on Law and Justice, Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences and Education. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Navarro, Mireya. 2013. "227,000 Names on List Vie for Rare Vacancies in City's Public Housing." *New York Times*, July 24.
- Nelson, Marta, Perry Deess, and Charlotte Allen. 1999. "The First Month Out: Post-Incarceration Experiences in New York City." New York: Vera Institute of Justice.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(5, March): 937–75.
- . 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Petersilia, Joan. 1999. "Parole and Prisoner Reentry in the United States." *Crime and Justice* 26: 479–529.
- . 2000. "When Prisoners Return to the Community: Political, Economic, and Social Consequences." *Sentencing and Corrections Issues for the 21st Century* (November).
- . 2003. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Piliavin, Irving, Bradley R. Entner Wright, Robert D. Mare, and Alex H. Westerfelt. 1996. "Exits from and Returns to Homelessness." *Social Service Review* 70: 33–57.
- Pinard, Michael. 2010. "Collateral Consequences of Criminal Convictions: Confronting Issues of Race and Dignity." *New York University Law Review* 85: 457–534.
- Reid, Kristen W., Eric Vittinghoff, and Margot B. Kushel. 2008. "Association Between the Level of Housing Instability, Economic Standing, and Health Care Access: A Meta-Regression." *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 19(4): 1212–28.
- Roman, Caterina Gouvis, and Jeremy Travis. 2006. "Where Will I Sleep Tomorrow? Housing, Homelessness, and the Returning Prisoner." *Housing Policy Debate* 17(2): 389–418.
- Rossi, Peter H. 1989. *Down and Out in America: The Origins of Homelessness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rubinstein, Gwen, and Debbie Mukamal. 2002. "Welfare and Housing—Denial of Benefits to Drug Offenders." In *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, edited by Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: New Press.
- Sampson, Robert J., and John H. Laub. 1993. *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Shaw, Mary. 2004. "Housing and Public Health." *Annual Review of Public Health* 25: 397–418.
- Shlay, Anne B., and Peter H. Rossi. 1992. "Social Science Research and Contemporary Studies of Homelessness." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18: 129–60.
- Snow, David A., and Leon Anderson. 1993. *Down on Their Luck: A Study of Homeless Street People*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Snow, David A., Susan G. Baker, and Leon Anderson. 1989. "Criminality and Homeless Men: An Empirical Assessment." *Social Problems* 36: 532.
- Solomon, Amy L., Caterina Gouvis, and Michelle Waul. 2001. "Summary of Focus Group with Ex-Prisoners in the District: Ingredients for Successful Reintegration." Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute.
- Steele, Fiona. 2008. "Multilevel Models for Longitudinal Data." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A* 171(1): 5–19.
- Travis, Jeremy. 2003. "Invisible Punishment: An Instrument of Social Exclusion." In *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, edited by Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: New Press.
- . 2005. *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Urban Institute Press.
- Uggen, Christopher, Jeff Manza, and Angela Behrens. 2003. "Stigma, Role Transition, and the Civic Reintegration of Convicted Felons." In *After Crime and Punishment: Ex-offender Reintegration and Desistance from Crime*, edited by Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon. New York: State University of New York Press.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Office of Community Planning and Development. 2010. *The 2009 Annual Homeless Assessment Report to Congress*. Washington: HUD (June). Available at: <http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/pdf/5thHomelessAssessmentReport.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Van Olphen, Juliana, Nicholas Freudenberg, Princess Fortin, and Sandro Galea. 2006. "Community Reentry: Perceptions of People with Substance Use Problems Returning Home from New York City Jails." *Journal of Urban Health* 83(3): 372–81.
- Visher, Christy A., and Jeremy Travis. 2003. "Transitions from Prison to Community: Understanding Individual Pathways." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29(1, August): 89–113.
- Wakefield, Sara, and Christopher Uggen. 2010. "Incarceration and Stratification." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1, June): 387–406.
- West, Heather C., William J. Sabol, and Sarah J. Greenman. 2010. "Prisoners in 2009." Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs.
- Western, Bruce, Jeffrey R. Kling, and David F. Weiman. 2001. "The Labor Market Consequences of Incarceration." *Crime and Delinquency* 47: 410–27.
- Wong, Yin-ling I., and Irving Piliavin. 1997. "A Dynamic Analysis of Homeless-Domicile Transitions." *Social Problems* 44: 408–23.
- Wright, James D., Amy M. Donley, and Kevin F. Gotham. 2008. "Housing Policy, the Low-Income Housing Crisis, and the Problem of Homelessness." In *Homelessness in America*, vol. 2, *Causes of Homelessness*, edited by Robert H. McNamara. New York: Praeger.
- Wright, James D., Beth A. Rubin, and Joel A. Devine. 1998. *Beside the Golden Door: Policy, Politics, and the Homeless*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.



Mass Incarceration, Parental Imprisonment, and the Great Recession: Intergenerational Sources of Severe Deprivation in America

JOHN HAGAN AND HOLLY FOSTER

What were the socioeconomic consequences for American youth of having a parent incarcerated during the 2008 Great Recession? We analyze a nationally representative panel study of adolescents who, when interviewed during this recession, were transitioning to and through early adulthood. Young adult children who have had a father or mother imprisoned are at increased risk of experiencing socioeconomic deprivation, including inadequate access to food. We build in this article on recent research showing that postsecondary education has become especially important in determining adult outcomes, and we demonstrate that higher educational attainment reduces intergenerational effects of parental imprisonment. The salient policy implication of this article may be the important protective role of education in reducing unprecedented risks and vulnerabilities imposed by mass parental incarceration.

Keywords: mass incarceration, parental incarceration, economic insecurity, food insecurity, Great Recession

American youth transitioning through early adulthood in the first decade of the new millennium were exposed to unprecedented social and economic risks resulting from world-leading levels of parental imprisonment and the most severe economic downturn since the Great Depression. Some of the risks were foreseen and predicted when Sheldon Danziger, Sandra Danziger, and Jonathan Stern (1997,

183) wrote at the end of the last century that “America’s high child poverty rate and its negative consequences for children are likely to persist into the next century.” Of course, this prediction was made without foreknowledge of the extent of the following decade’s expansion in mass incarceration and the severity of the forthcoming Great Recession. Rather, this prediction was mainly informed by the aware-

John Hagan is John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology and Law at Northwestern University and the American Bar Foundation. **Holly Foster** is associate professor of sociology at Texas A&M University.

We thank the National Science Foundation for research support of our research on parental imprisonment (grant SES-1228345). This research uses data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a program project directed by Kathleen Mullan Harris, designed by J. Richard Udry, Peter S. Bearman, and Kathleen Mullan Harris at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and funded by grant P01-HD31921 from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, with cooperative funding from twenty-three other federal agencies and foundations. Special acknowledgment is due Ronald R. Rindfuss and Barbara Entwisle for assistance in the original design. Information on how to obtain the Add Health data files is available at the Add Health website (<http://www.cpc.unc.edu/addhealth>). No direct support was received from grant P01-HD31921 for this analysis. The authors contributed equally to this article. Direct correspondence to: John Hagan at j-hagan@northwestern.edu, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, 1810 Chicago Ave., Evanston, IL 60208; and Holly Foster at hfooster@tamu.edu, Department of Sociology, Texas A&M University, MS4351, College Station, TX 77843.

ness that the previous century's expansion of the welfare state had been derailed by the "Reagan revolution" and a further understanding that "starve the beast" politics was likely to follow. What was not as easily anticipated was that such politics would fail to hold back the oncoming explosive spending on prison construction and the ensuing massive growth in American imprisonment.

The children we consider in this article were born during the onset of the prison boom in the 1980s. Not only were they at elevated risk of their fathers and mothers being incarcerated, but they were also subject to the perils of entering early adulthood during the 2008 recession. The risks presented by mass incarceration before and during this recessionary era are not fully understood. Matthew Desmond and Nicol Valdez (2013) point out that in recent decades we actually have witnessed a "double movement" within the crime control field: a prison boom accompanied by greatly intensified policing, which has contributed to the population and eventual overcrowding of prisons. The recent research of Desmond (2012) and Alice Goffman (2014) identifies and explains the myriad ramifications of these crime control strategies in a new economy where human insecurity takes many forms, including the severe deprivation that is the subject of this volume.

We focus in this article on the destabilizing life circumstances and severe deprivation affecting the children of incarcerated parents in a nationally representative panel study of adolescents who were transitioning through early adulthood when interviewed before and during the 2008 recession. The damaged prospects for the young children of fathers incarcerated during the prison boom are only recently and increasingly revealed in a relatively new (Bloom 1995; Hagan and Dinovitzer 1999) and rapidly expanding research literature on parental incarceration (for example, Arditti 2012; Foster and Hagan 2007; Murray and Farrington 2008; Wakefield and Wildeman 2014).

As in many new research literatures, from the medical science of cardiovascular disease to the American sociology of socioeconomic status (Kalmijn 1994), the accumulation of findings can increase knowledge while also exposing gaps. For example, the literatures just noted both initially focused nearly exclusively

on men. The new literature on parental imprisonment similarly has tended to focus on fathers. This is consequential because imprisoned women are more often parents than are imprisoned men (Chesney-Lind and Pollock 1995), and because the rate of female incarceration, though still much lower than for men, markedly increased during the prison boom (Kruttschnitt 2010; Snell and Morton 1994). As yet, we have less understanding of the developing consequences of maternal incarceration than we do for paternal incarceration.

The parental incarceration research literature has also concentrated on *young children* and their early lives *before* the Great Recession (see, for example, Wakefield and Wildeman 2014). This is pathbreaking work, but the continuing vulnerability of these youth as they moved into early adulthood during the recent recessionary period is not yet well understood. The children of the prison boom are now increasingly represented among the young adults affected by the Great Recession. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) that we analyze in this article provides a unique opportunity to examine the cumulative effects of maternal and paternal incarceration on young adults who came of age during the 2008 recession.

IMPRISONED PARENTS, SEVERE DEPRIVATION, AND THE SYSTEMIC EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN

Americans are now imprisoned about seven times more often than in the early 1970s, with two to three million Americans now serving sentences in jails and prisons. About half of these prisoners are the parents of several million children (National Research Council 2014). Susan Phillips and Barbara Bloom (1998, 539) summarize the severity of the consequences when they observe that "by getting tough on crime, the United States has gotten tough on children." The second-generation children of the first-generation fathers and mothers incarcerated in the 1970s and 1980s are now moving into and through early adulthood. These are the children of the prison generation, and many of these children in their childhood, as well as now in their early adulthood, have experienced severe forms of deprivation that involve exclusion from a range of societal insti-

tutions essential to meeting basic human needs—including schools, housing, and medical coverage (Foster and Hagan 2007).

This is the exclusionary toll for children that Jeremy Travis and Michelle Waul (2003) thematize in their aptly titled book *Prisoners Once Removed* and that Megan Comfort (2007) details in her ethnography *Doing Time Together*. We use the severe deprivation framework to analyze the acute, chronic, and compounding ways in which state and school regimes shape and structure parental incarceration effects across the life course, while leading to the systemic social exclusion of children from formative institutions and essential services (Foster and Hagan 2015b).

In the introduction to this volume, Matthew Desmond identifies three aspects of severe deprivation that are also part of the parental incarceration effects on children. First, the *acute* nature of parental incarceration effects on children is signaled by the sheer massiveness of American incarceration: today more than one million American parents are imprisoned. The *compounding* impact of parental incarceration is expressed at two levels: at the individual level, as children directly experience multidimensional forms of insecurity resulting from the imprisonment of a parent, and at the contextual level, where spillover effects radiate to include surrounding children, families, schools, and communities (Hagan and Foster 2012a, 2012b; Perkins and Sampson, this volume). The *chronic* dimension of parental incarceration stems from how early in children's lives this trauma can occur and how persistent its long-term intergenerational consequences can be. Thus, the acute, compounding, and chronic features of severe deprivation importantly identify the endangered conditions of the everyday lived experiences of the children of incarcerated parents.

Still, something more is required in conceptualizing and analyzing this form of severe deprivation as it relates to "prison-generation children." Imprisonment is one of the most exclusionary forms of removal or banishment practiced in developed societies. For policy purposes, it is important to identify the societal agency and political responsibility involved in the imposition of this form of exclusionary deprivation. Severe deprivation may often be

the unintended consequence of public policies and practices, but the severe deprivation resulting from mass incarceration is *intended*: it is the product of *deliberate policy choices* such as determinate and mandatory minimum sentencing, prison without parole, and three-strikes laws. Identifying the collective agents and agencies responsible for systemic exclusionary deprivation can give essential policy direction to the identification of leverage points for removing its deliberately enacted origins.

A systemic social exclusion perspective recognizes and emphasizes the multiple deliberately chosen and overlapping institutional policy domains by and from which the children of incarcerated parents are excluded (Foster and Hagan 2015b). Thus, we purposefully combine the terms "systemic" and "exclusion" with "severe deprivation" to make two points: the disadvantaging outcomes found in studies of the children of incarcerated parents are products of deliberate policy choices, and these outcomes are socially reproduced in intergenerational, inter-institutional (across multiple realms such as housing, schools, and labor markets), and intersectional ways (that is, they are contingent on racial-ethnic and gender domains). Unlike a focus on poverty per se, a focus on systemic exclusion resulting in severe deprivation is explicitly multidimensional and reveals disconnection from multiple societal institutions.

A systemic social exclusion framework locates state punishment and policy regimes (Beckett and Western 2001; Esping-Anderson 1990) as formative contexts for linked lives that shape an array of social inequalities in lived experiences—from childhood through adulthood—across realms of social, cultural, political, and economic development. Succinctly said, systemic social exclusion is the structural condition of being "shut out" from conventional society (Micklewright 2002). Recent work on systemic exclusion has examined parental incarceration effects on powerlessness, earnings, perceived socioeconomic standing, and financial, housing, and food insecurity (Foster and Hagan 2015a). Indicators of systemic social exclusion widen our focus to broadly include institutional disconnections from the civic, cultural, social, and economic realms, as well as the subjectively perceived so-

cial exclusion (for example, feelings of being “left out of society”) explored in new European research (Bohnke 2006; Silver 2007).

Social exclusion has been used to conceptualize groundbreaking research on the disconnection of adult prisoners from society (Travis 2002, 19). Research on the collateral consequences of imprisonment reveals social exclusion from occupational, familial, and political life (Manza and Uggen 2006; Pager 2007; Pettit and Western 2004; Western 2006). Becky Pettit (2012) emphasizes the unique systemic exclusion of incarcerated African American males from data collection, including important government databases. Young African American males are in this way often invisible to social science and public policy. As a result, spillover effects of imprisonment have spread across the lives of their families (Comfort 2007; Kamerman and Kahn 2002) in a range of exclusionary ways that we are only beginning to understand (Foster and Hagan 2007, 2015a, 2015b; Murray 2007).

Ajit Bhalla and Frederic Lapeyre (1997, 417) use social exclusion to conceptually broaden attention to the social relational as well as economic distributional aspects of severe deprivation. They do this by emphasizing how the distributional dimension of poverty drives the opportunities to achieve what Amartya Sen (1992, 110) calls the “functionings” made up of “beings and doings,” such as “taking part in the life of the community, being able to appear in public without shame, and so on.” The point is that adequate levels of inclusionary access to social and economic institutions and resources are a necessary though not sufficient means of meeting basic human needs. From this perspective, exclusion is a denial of fundamental rights and liberties granted and therefore presumably protected by the state. A developed state fails to fulfill its responsibilities when instead of protecting vulnerable groups—such as the innocent children of incarcerated parents—it discriminates between insiders and outsiders and excludes some disadvantaged groups of citizens while advantaging others who are included.

We hypothesize in this article that education plays a pivotal mediating role in the socioeconomic process that connects the incarceration

of parents to the social exclusion of their emerging adult children. Patrick Wightman and Sheldon Danziger (2014) point out that access to public education is like other civil rights in American society in that it has expanded only fitfully across the social spectrum. They note that in the recent history of American education, the funding of public schools with local property taxes has greatly advantaged children living in prosperous communities as contrasted with poor communities. Perhaps the most notable effort to compensate for the resulting community-level disparities were the War on Poverty programs initiated in the 1960s and 1970s, including Head Start and other federal subsidies for primary, secondary, and postsecondary education.

Yet disparities in accessing and completing college persist, and the negative impact of the prison boom on schools in poorer neighborhoods and communities (Hagan and Foster 2012a, 2012b) counteracts the compensatory efforts that continue in these settings. President Obama in his 2015 State of the Union Address called for vastly increasing access to postsecondary education in America. Wightman and Danziger (2014, 23) explain that disparities in educational outcomes are especially likely at the college level, because going to college requires tuition payments, while going to high school is publicly funded. They observe that disparities in college outcomes are especially likely in an era of declining inflation-adjusted earnings among low-income parents, with the result that “the ratio of college costs to parental income has increased much more for young adults from low-SES than from high-SES families. Many poor young adults may perceive (rightly or wrongly) that college is not a financially feasible option. In addition, government spending on college subsidies for children from low-SES families has not risen as fast as college costs.” We hypothesize that, as a result, restricted postsecondary educational attainment is an important mediating mechanism through which maternal and paternal incarceration leads to severe deprivation and the social exclusion of children in ways that will almost certainly have effects throughout their adult lives.

The ultimate focus of this article is on the loss of rights of access among these older children of incarcerated parents to the most basic requirements for systemic inclusion in conventional society, such as rent or mortgage money, phone service, utilities, and even food—the essential economic resources required to be free of housing and hunger insecurity in America. Recent national estimates (Houseman 2003) of severely deprived and disconnected youth ages sixteen to twenty-four in American society range from 8 to 15 percent. The purpose of this article is to examine the likely role of the mass incarceration of parents during the recent economic recession in explaining the deprivation, disconnection, and broader social exclusion of these children as they transition into and through early adulthood.

SELECTION AND SELF-CONTROL

It is important in assessing severe deprivation and systemic exclusion to also consider related and alternative perspectives on selection and self-control. These perspectives emphasize that exogenous selection processes render imprisoned parents and their children different from parents and children who are not imprisoned. Thus, Daniel Nagin and Raymond Paternoster (1991, 167) juxtapose a state dependency theory with this kind of population heterogeneity perspective. They observe that individuals selected for imprisonment would be characterized by Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi (1990) as having low self-control, by James Wilson and Richard Herrnstein (1985) as having high impulsivity and low conscience, and by some criminologists as having a propensity for criminal offending resulting from low conditionability (Fishbein 1990). As Robert Sampson and John Laub (1997) remind us, and as we reemphasize later, these individual differences may derive from and lead to a mixture of factors. Regardless, these perspectives speak to the traditional American concern about failures of personal responsibility in accounting for social exclusion.

The most comprehensive explanation of a self-control theory of selection is Gottfredson and Hirschi's *A General Theory of Crime* (1990). Their point is that a stable and versatile range of exclusionary outcomes, which in their view

would include economic deprivation and human insecurity, are the product of a common cause—namely, low self-control—and resulting processes of self-selection. Their selection hypothesis is simply that “people with low self-control sort themselves and are sorted in a variety of circumstances” (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, 119).

Past work (for example, Hagan and Palloni 1990; Nagin and Paternoster 1991) has sought to take this kind of “characterological” theory of selection into account by statistically modeling selection processes using specific assumptions about distributions in the unmeasured heterogeneity of individual background conditions and the structural forms of state dependence. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) propose a more direct measurement approach that, when applied to the study of crime, seems to risk circularity by positing crime as its own best explanation. They assert that “the fact that crime is by all odds the major predictor of crime is central to our theory. It tells us that criminality (low self-control) is a unitary phenomenon that absorbs its causes such that it becomes for all intents and purposes, *the* individual-level cause of crime” (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, 232, emphasis in the original).

Since in contrast with Gottfredson and Hirschi our concern is with noncriminal forms of social exclusion (economic deprivation and human insecurity), it does not pose a problem of circularity for us to use repeated measures of arrests as indicators of weak self-control and as one part of a methodologically conservative consideration of self-selection. We are further able to take advantage of Gottfredson and Hirschi's assertion that many other events and behaviors are unitary expressions of weak self-control. In particular, we include as further measures of low self-control and population heterogeneity indications of parents' alcoholism, parents' weak social bonds to their children, and parents' low educational achievement. Holding these influences constant allows us to more narrowly assess the independent effects of mothers' and fathers' imprisonment and the cumulative mechanisms—especially their children's educational achievement—that transmit the effects of pa-

rental imprisonment on the deprivation, insecurity, and broader social exclusion of their emerging adult children.

DATA AND METHODS FOR STUDYING THE MASS INCARCERATION AND GREAT RECESSION GENERATIONS

Parameters of the Study

Assessment of the historic impact on the deprivation and insecurity of children transitioning into and through early adulthood of the explosion in parental incarceration during the prison boom and the Great Recession requires knowledge of when these events occurred and, ideally, longitudinal data on child cohorts that appropriately coincide with the unfolding of these events. The prison boom started in the 1970s, began its steep ascent in the 1980s, and reached its approximate peak by the end of the first decade of the new millennium. The Great Recession was sparked by the U.S. subprime mortgage crisis and the ensuing financial crisis that began in 2007. International Monetary Fund (IMF) gross domestic product (GDP) figures place the onset of the Great Recession at the middle of 2008.

The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health

Pettit (2010, 90) observes that the inadequate enumeration of and explanation for the effects of mass incarceration policies by social scientists and policy analysts has contributed to our “collective blindness” about the effects of high U.S. rates of imprisonment. This may be simultaneously true of the Great Recession. However, Pettit (2010, 87) also notes that an important exception to this generalization is the data collected in the ongoing National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). The Add Health panel study has not only tracked respondents over time and inquired about parent incarceration but also measured important intergenerational family, school, and work experiences that prior research on educational attainment and economic deprivation has identified as important.

Add Health thus provides a well-timed and nationally representative sample of the incarceration and recession generations who were born in the early 1980s, entered adulthood (at

average age twenty-one) about the turn of the millennium, and were transitioning through early adulthood (ranging in age from twenty-four to thirty-two, with an average age of twenty-eight) when the Great Recession began in mid-2008. Add Health began in 1995 by sampling grades seven to twelve in 132 U.S. schools (Chantala and Tabor 2010 [1999]; Udry and Bearman 1998; see also Resnick et al. 1997).

The inception of the Add Health survey in 1995 is propitious for our purposes in that Katherine Beckett and Bruce Western (2001, 52) have demonstrated the emergence of a strong negative relationship between welfare support and penal punitiveness at approximately this time. Add Health parents participated in one wave of data collection, and students participated in four waves. The fourth-wave interviews occurred between 2007 and 2009, with about 1 percent of the interviews completed in 2007 and over 99 percent before the end of 2008. We consider the effects of the onset and unfolding of the recession in 2008 with a count measure of days from January 1, 1960, until the fourth-wave Add Health interview.

Key Independent and Dependent Add Health Variables

Add Health respondents were asked in waves 3 (2002, 77.3 percent response rate) and 4 (2008, 80.3 percent response rate) to report retrospectively on parental imprisonment. As we note later, the four waves of Add Health provide a valuable moving window on incarcerated parents and their backgrounds, adolescents’ backgrounds, their educational attainments, their familial and legal circumstances, and their experiences of economic deprivation and human insecurity. These moving measures are summarized in table 1 and described more fully in the appendix, including individual-level indicators of deprivation and insecurity (the key outcomes analyzed in this article): the wave 3 and 4 scale measures of not being able to pay phone, rent/mortgage, or utility bills and, in the final wave, being unable to buy food (alpha = 0.64–0.72). As indicated in figure 1, from 20 to 40 percent of young adult children of incarcerated mothers or fathers had experienced one or more of these sources of deprivation and insecurity. Figure 2 indicates that 10 to 20

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Young Adults with an Incarcerated Parent During the Great Recession

| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Range | N | Means Produced with Multiple Imputation (n = 9,401) |
|---|-----------|-----------------------|--|-------|--|
| Young adult income insecurity | | | | | |
| Economic insecurity, wave 4 | 0.36 | 0.83 | 0–4 | 9,401 | 0.36 |
| Economic insecurity, wave 3 | 0.40 | 0.83 | 0–4 | 9,305 | 0.40 |
| Food insecurity, wave 4 | 0.11 | — | 0–1 | 9,415 | 0.11 |
| Any economic insecurity ^a (5), wave 4 | 0.24 | — | 0–1 | 9,401 | 0.24 |
| Any economic insecurity, wave 4 | 0.20 | — | 0–1 | 9,401 | 0.21 |
| Any economic insecurity, wave 3 | 0.24 | — | 0–1 | 9,305 | 0.25 |
| Parental imprisonment | | | | | |
| Paternal imprisonment, wave 4 | 0.15 | — | 0–1 | 8,885 | 0.16 |
| Paternal imprisonment, wave 3 | 0.14 | — | 0–1 | 8,831 | — |
| Maternal imprisonment, wave 4 | 0.03 | — | 0–1 | 9,328 | 0.03 |
| Young adult sociodemographics | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 0.11 | — | 0–1 | 9,406 | 0.12 |
| African American | 0.16 | — | 0–1 | 9,406 | 0.16 |
| White (reference) | 0.66 | — | 0–1 | 9,406 | — |
| Asian American | 0.04 | — | 0–1 | 9,406 | 0.04 |
| Other | 0.03 | — | 0–1 | 9,406 | 0.03 |
| Gender (female = 1) | 0.50 | — | 0–1 | 9,421 | 0.50 |
| Age, wave 4 | 27.89 | 1.67 | 24–34 | 9,416 | 27.88 |
| Parent welfare receipt, wave 1 | 0.09 | — | 0–1 | 8,353 | 0.09 |
| Lived in single-parent family, wave 1 | 0.23 | — | 0–1 | 9,421 | 0.23 |
| Interview date, wave 4 (number of days since January 1, 1960) | 17,660.68 | 93.98 | 17,259– 17,929 (April 3, 2007, to February 1, 2009) | 9,421 | 17,660.65 |
| Log personal income, wave 3 | 8.57 | 2.14 | 0–12.43 | 8,601 | 8.57 |
| Number of moves 1995 to 2001–2002 | 1.96 | 2.08 | 0–10 | 9,354 | 1.96 |
| Young adult life circumstances | | | | | |
| College degree, wave 4 | 0.31 | — | 0–1 | 9,419 | 0.31 |
| Bachelor's degree, wave 3 | 0.08 | — | 0–1 | 9,417 | 0.08 |
| Ever fired or laid off, 2001 to wave 4 | 0.51 | 1.43 | 0–50 | 9,152 | 0.55 |
| Ever married, wave 4 | 0.47 | — | 0–1 | 9,410 | 0.47 |
| Ever married, wave 3 | 0.16 | — | 0–1 | 9,410 | 0.16 |
| Ever arrested, wave 4 | 0.29 | — | 0–1 | 9,363 | 0.29 |
| Ever arrested, wave 3 | 0.12 | — | 0–1 | 9,366 | 0.12 |

Table 1. (continued)

| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Range | <i>N</i> | Means Produced with Multiple Imputation (<i>n</i> = 9,401) |
|--|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------|--|
| Number of children, wave 4 | 0.87 | 1.12 | 0–7 | 9,378 | 0.87 |
| Live alone, wave 3 | 0.08 | — | 0–1 | 8,905 | — |
| Live alone, wave 4 | 0.11 | — | 0–1 | 9,339 | — |
| Resident children, wave 3 | 0.30 | 0.66 | 0–5 | 8,852 | — |
| Resident children, wave 4 | 0.84 | 1.11 | 0–7 | 9,330 | — |
| Any resident parenting, wave 3 | 0.22 | — | 0–1 | 8,852 | — |
| Any resident parenting, wave 4 | 0.45 | — | 0–1 | 9,330 | — |
| Differences in life circumstances | | | | | |
| Differences in paternal imprisonment | 0.05 | — | 0–1 | 8,122 | — |
| Differences in paternal imprisonment ^a | 0.003 | 0.31 | –1–1 | 8,508 | — |
| Differences in bachelor's degree | 0.24 | — | 0–1 | 9,399 | — |
| Differences in bachelor's degree ^a | 0.24 | 0.43 | –1–1 | 9,415 | — |
| Differences in having been married | 0.31 | — | 0–1 | 9,321 | — |
| Differences in having been married ^a | 0.31 | 0.47 | –1–1 | 9,399 | — |
| Differences in having been arrested | 0.18 | — | 0–1 | 9,144 | — |
| Differences in having been arrested ^a | 0.16 | 0.14 | –1–1 | 9,338 | — |
| Differences in living alone | 0.09 | — | 0–1 | 8,279 | — |
| Differences in living alone ^a | 0.03 | 0.39 | –1–1 | 8,832 | — |
| Differences in residential parenting | 0.28 | — | 0–1 | 8,598 | — |
| Differences in residential parenting ^a | 0.25 | 0.48 | –1–1 | 8,772 | — |
| Differences in residential parenting ^b | 0.57 | 0.92 | –4–6 | 8,772 | — |
| Other parental characteristics | | | | | |
| Biological father's alcoholism, wave 1 | 0.16 | — | 0–1 | 7,746 | 0.16 |
| Biological father's education | 5.38 | 2.40 | 1–9 | 8,348 | 5.27 |
| Closeness to biological father | 4.21 | 1.26 | 1–5 | 7,318 | 4.15 |
| Biological father smokes | 0.64 | — | 0–1 | 7,513 | 0.64 |
| Biological mother's alcoholism, wave 1 | 0.03 | — | 0–1 | 8,240 | 0.03 |

(continued)

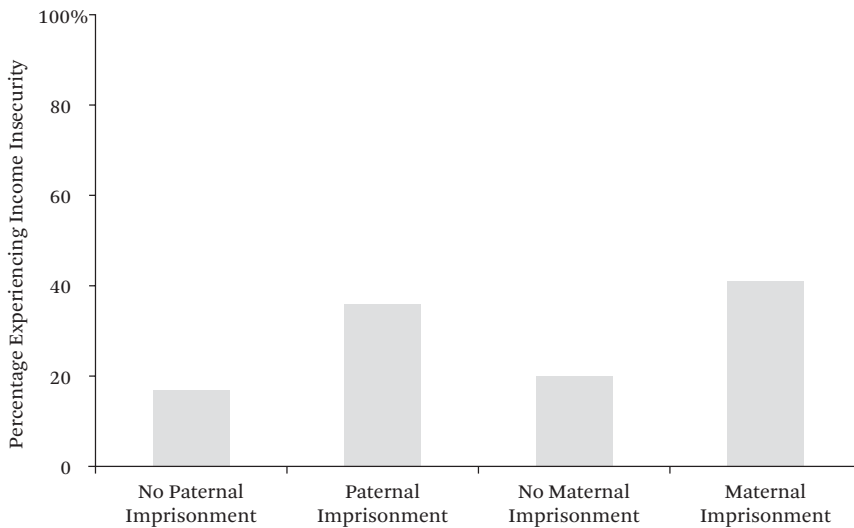
Table 1. (continued)

| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Range | <i>N</i> | Means Produced with Multiple Imputation (<i>n</i> = 9,401) |
|--------------------------------|------|-----------------------|-------|----------|--|
| Biological mother's education | 5.32 | 2.31 | 1-9 | 8,109 | 5.30 |
| Closeness to biological mother | 4.49 | — | 0-1 | 8,362 | 4.49 |
| Biological mother smokes | 0.52 | — | 0-1 | 8,323 | 0.52 |

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), 1994/1995-2007/2008.

^a Indicates alternate form of measure used (for example, any economic insecurity at wave 4 with the superscript is a dichotomized version of the five-item economic insecurity measure inclusive of food insecurity at wave 4).

^b There are three forms of the measure of resident parenthood used. The form of the measure with superscript b is the second alternative operationalization.

Figure 1. Percentage of Young Adults Experiencing Any of Four Types of Income Insecurity in 2007-2008

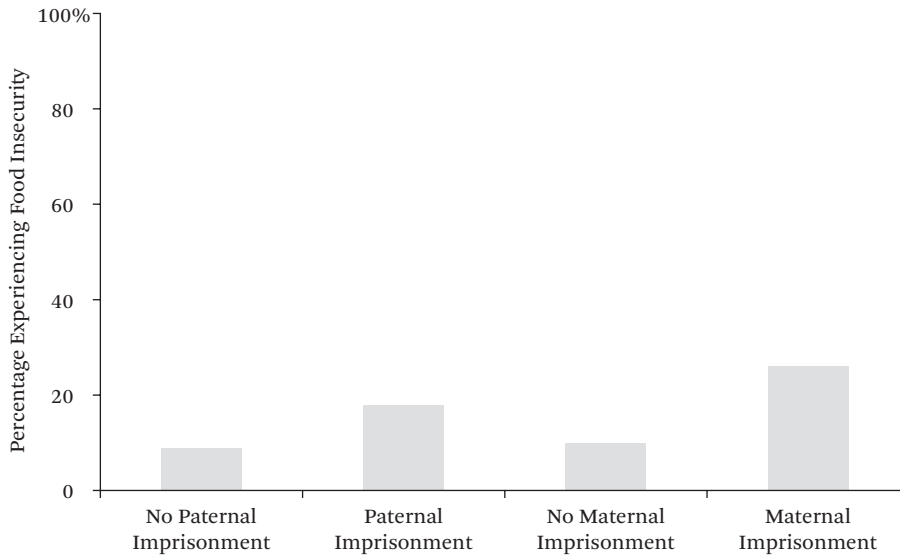
Source: Add Health, 2007-2008.

Note: The four types of economic insecurity include being unable to pay utility bills, being without a phone, being unable to pay the rent or mortgage, and being without utilities.

percent of these young adults had been unable to buy food.

The key independent variables in our analysis are father's and mother's incarceration. From 14 to 15 percent of the sampled youth reported that their biological father "had

served time in jail or prison" in waves 3 and 4, while 3 percent reported that their mother, as measured in wave 4, had been incarcerated. In wave 4, nearly 3,000 members ($n = 2,926$) of the cohort retrospectively reported having mothers and fathers who had been incarcerated.

Figure 2. Percentage of Young Adults Experiencing Food Insecurity in 2007–2008

Source: Add Health, 2007–2008.

Retrospective survey items have been effectively used to re-create cohorts' experiences of fertility, social mobility, and other salient behavioral events such as parental incarceration (Hagan and Palloni 1988; Palloni and Sørensen 1990). Add Health youth reported paternal incarceration reliably in waves 3 and 4: the correlation across waves in reported incarceration is 0.82 ($p < 0.001$, with new onset cases excluded in wave 4).

Theoretical and Control Variables

The additional theoretical and standard young adult sociodemographic control variables are detailed in the appendix. The latter control variables include self-reported and dummy-coded respondent race-ethnicity (Hispanic, African American, white, Asian American, "other" as omitted comparison), gender (female = 1), and age (in years). Family status is measured at wave 1 as receiving welfare (yes = 1) and living in a single-parent family (yes = 1). As noted earlier, exposure to the 2008 recession is measured as the date of the interview minus January 1960. Personal total income is logged for 2000–2001 in late adolescence. Residential mobility is a reported count from 1995 to 2001–2002.

We have argued that a key mediating variable determining economic deprivation and human insecurity outcomes is educational attainment by early adulthood, which is measured in waves 3 and 4 as attaining a bachelor's degree or higher. However, drawing from the literature on the importance of local life circumstances (Horney, Osgood, and Marshall 1995), we include a number of additional young adult self-reported indices at waves 3 and 4, including having ever been married (yes = 1), having ever been arrested (yes = 1), and number of children at wave 4 (count). Given the salience of early research on family structure for food insecurity, followed by the mixed effects of family structure (Miller et al. 2014), we further attend to adulthood family circumstances as part of the foreground of potential influences.

Five measures of the biological father's and mother's backgrounds are also controlled: mother's and father's alcoholism, mother's and father's education, mother's and father's smoking, the parent-child social bond, and mother's or father's absence from the home. The controls for father's and mother's education, family structure in adolescence, and welfare receipt in adolescence are especially important to our focus on young adult children's educational attainment and family circum-

stances as potential mediating variables in our analysis of their early adult economic deprivation and insecurity.

Methods

We use multiple imputation (MI) techniques for missing data (MI procedures in Stata using twenty multiply imputed data sets) to work with all cases with nonmissing information on our focal dependent variables ($n = 9,401$) that also have valid wave 4 sampling weights. The multivariate analyses initially presented in this article use survey-adjusted logistic and negative binomial regression equations to estimate direct and indirect effects of mothers' and fathers' imprisonment on economic outcomes. We believe this multivariate approach is persuasive because of the range of co-occurring factors and prior-wave economic outcomes that may be spuriously conflated with parental incarceration. Of course, one can never be certain that all relevant variables have been considered, but a comprehensive range of alternative causal factors are included and available for analysis in the relevant waves of the Add Health survey.

In addition, we take special advantage of the cross-wave repeated measurement of a number of key variables in the third and fourth waves of the Add Health survey, most notably father's imprisonment. These measures can be used to estimate a final set of fixed-effects models, or within-person difference models, as contrasted with the previous cross-person models. We use fixed-effects logistic regression models for the two-period case (Allison 2009). These models allow us to compare child economic outcomes and life circumstances between entry into adulthood in the third wave of the Add Health survey and six years later during early adulthood in the fourth wave.

We modeled differences within person across waves in obtaining a bachelor's degree, in having been married, in having been arrested, in residential parenthood, and in living alone. The unique advantage of these final fixed-effects models is that they control for time-invariant unobservable factors that may be related to selection into paternal imprisonment (Allison 2009). Thus, the fixed-effects models help to address competing explanations of the relationship between the father's incarceration and the child's adult economic

insecurity by ruling out time-invariant sources of unobserved heterogeneity.

The findings of our final fixed-effects models parallel our findings in the earlier regression models and therefore boost our confidence in our results. In the two period-case fixed-effects regression models, we regress economic insecurity at wave 4 on difference scores in the time-varying independent variables between waves 3 and 4. Sample sizes are restricted in fixed-effects logistic regression models, with cases excluded if they have the same value of the outcome variable in both waves 3 and 4, indicating no change in status (Allison 2009, 29).

MULTIVARIATE RESULTS

The first logistic regression equation estimated in table 2 indicates that both father's and mother's imprisonment are strongly and significantly related to one or more of the five measures of early adult economic deprivation (inability to pay for phone, rent, mortgage, utilities, or food). This continues to be the case in the second equation, which, since food insecurity was measured at wave 4 only, introduces a four-item economic deprivation measure from the prior wave. When the eight father and mother controls (for alcoholism, smoking, education, and parent-child bond) are added in the third equation of table 2, the effects of father's and mother's imprisonment are reduced by about one-third, but both parental imprisonment effects remain highly significant.

The fourth equation further includes the duration of the recession (indicated by the interview date) and sociodemographic characteristics. The results indicate the significant impact of the recession and of having a single parent, being a woman, and having African American or "other" (non-Hispanic) minority status on forms of economic insecurity, as well as the significant mitigating effect of being Asian American. Still, the effects of maternal and paternal imprisonment remain statically significant.

Finally, the fifth equation incorporates second-generation child attainment of a bachelor's degree as well as ever having been married, ever having been arrested, number of children, and having been fired, laid off, or let go. The last column in table 2 presents the ex-

Table 2. Survey-Adjusted Logistic Regression of Any Economic Insecurity^a at Wave 4 on Paternal and Maternal Imprisonment and Predictors

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 (Odds Ratio) |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Parental imprisonment | | | | | | |
| Biological father's imprisonment | 0.86*** (0.07) | 0.78*** (0.08) | 0.49*** (0.09) | 0.44*** (0.09) | 0.35*** (0.10) | 1.42*** |
| Biological mother's imprisonment | 0.93*** (0.16) | 0.86*** (0.17) | 0.59*** (0.17) | 0.53** (0.17) | 0.47** (0.17) | 1.59** |
| Controls | | | | | | |
| Binary economic insecurity, wave 3 | | 0.97*** (0.07) | 0.87*** (0.07) | 0.81*** (0.07) | 0.69*** (0.07) | 2.00*** |
| Biological father's alcoholism | | | 0.14 (0.12) | 0.12 (0.12) | 0.05 (0.13) | 1.05 |
| Biological father's education | | | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.03 (0.02) | 0.97 |
| Bond to biological father | | | -0.09** (0.03) | -0.03 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.03) | 1.00 |
| Biological father smokes | | | 0.20* (0.09) | 0.20* (0.09) | 0.16+ (0.09) | 1.17* |
| Biological mother's alcoholism | | | 0.21 (0.21) | 0.14 (0.20) | 0.07 (0.20) | 1.07 |
| Biological mother's education | | | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) | 1.02 |
| Bond to biological mother | | | -0.09* (0.04) | -0.11* (0.05) | -0.08+ (0.05) | 0.92+ |
| Biological mother smokes | | | 0.25** (0.08) | 0.24** (0.08) | 0.16+ (0.08) | 1.17+ |
| Interview date, wave 4 | | | | 0.0009* (0.0004) | 0.0006+ (0.0004) | 1.0001+ |
| Gender (female = 1) | | | | 0.23*** (0.06) | 0.39*** (0.07) | 1.48*** |
| Hispanic | | | | -0.12 (0.13) | -0.14 (0.12) | 0.87 |
| African American | | | | 0.33*** (0.09) | 0.10 (0.09) | 1.10 |
| Asian American | | | | -0.70** (0.22) | -0.59* (0.24) | 0.55* |
| Other | | | | 0.38* (0.19) | 0.27 (0.18) | 1.37 |
| Age | | | | -0.02 (0.03) | -0.03 (0.03) | 0.97 |
| Lived in single-parent family, wave 1 | | | | 0.30** (0.09) | 0.27** (0.09) | 1.32** |
| Parent received welfare, wave 1 | | | | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.03 (0.12) | 1.03 |
| Personal income, wave 3 | | | | -0.03+ (0.02) | -0.04* (0.02) | 0.96* |
| Number of residential moves 1995 to 2001-2002 | | | | 0.04* (0.02) | 0.04* (0.02) | 1.04* |

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 (Odds Ratio) |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Young adult life circumstances | | | | | | |
| Bachelor's degree, wave 4 | | | | | -0.95*** (0.10) | 0.39*** |
| Ever married, wave 4 | | | | | -0.31*** (0.08) | 0.72*** |
| Ever arrested, wave 4 | | | | | 0.35*** (0.08) | 1.42*** |
| Number of children, wave 4 | | | | | 0.27*** (0.03) | 1.32*** |
| Ever fired or laid off, before wave 4 | | | | | 0.13*** (0.04) | 1.14*** |
| Constant | -1.34*** (0.04) | -1.61*** (0.05) | -.53* (0.26) | -16.06** (6.14) | -11.44+ (6.28) | |
| Adjusted Wald statistic | 88.50*** | 102.64*** | 34.56*** | 24.56*** | 39.93*** | |

Source: Add Health, 1994/1995–2007/2008.

Note: $N = 9,401$ Coefficient (b)/ Standard Error (sb).

^aOutcome measure is the dichotomized version of the five item version of economic insecurity measure (includes food insecurity).

+ $p < 0.1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

ponentiated logistic regression coefficients, or odds ratios, for the fifth equation and confirms that child attainment of a bachelor's degree has among the strongest and most significant of the effects mediating the influence of parental imprisonment. Attaining a bachelor's degree reduces the probability of experiencing any of the measured economic deprivations by nearly two-thirds. However, in support of a local life circumstances perspective, marriage reduces the odds of economic insecurity in adulthood, while having more children and having been arrested increases these odds. Having been fired or laid off increases the odds of experiencing any economic insecurity at wave 4. Thus, family, legal, and labor market status matter in adulthood for changes in economic insecurity. Yet even with the full range of independent variables taken into account, the early adult children in the Add Health sample with a father imprisoned are estimated to be 42 percent more likely to experience one or more of the measured economic deprivations—and 59 percent more likely to experience economic insecurity with a mother imprisoned.

The same pattern of results is revealed in table 3 when a negative binomial regression is

used to estimate effects with a five-item additive scale. Thus, whether a binary or additive scale of economic early adult deprivation is used, and notwithstanding comprehensive inclusion of control measures, the effects of maternal and paternal imprisonment remain highly significant. Furthermore, child educational attainment in the form of the absence of a bachelor's degree is also clearly shown to be an important mediator of these parental imprisonment effects. Additionally, we see the salience of overall local life circumstances in mediating the effects of parental imprisonment: having been married reduces economic insecurity, ever having been arrested increases economic insecurity, having more children increases economic insecurity, and having been fired or laid off increases economic insecurity.

We next examine food insecurity, which was uniquely measured in wave 4 of the Add Health study. The inability to pay for food is an especially telling form of economic deprivation in a developed society. Again there is evidence that notwithstanding the comprehensive inclusion of control measures, both maternal and paternal imprisonment make it more likely that children will be less likely in early adulthood to be

Table 3. Survey-Adjusted Negative Binomial Regression of Economic Insecurity^a at Wave 4 on Paternal and Maternal Imprisonment and Predictors

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Parental imprisonment | | | | | |
| Biological father's imprisonment | 0.65*** (0.06) | 0.57*** (0.06) | 0.35*** (0.06) | 0.34*** (0.07) | 0.29*** (0.07) |
| Biological mother's imprisonment | 0.76*** (0.13) | 0.68*** (0.12) | 0.47*** (0.12) | 0.43*** (0.12) | 0.37** (0.12) |
| Controls | | | | | |
| Economic insecurity, wave 3 | | 0.44*** (0.03) | 0.39*** (0.03) | 0.36*** (0.03) | 0.28*** (0.03) |
| Biological father's alcoholism | | | 0.07 (0.10) | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.03 (0.10) |
| Biological father's education | | | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.04* (0.02) |
| Bond to biological father | | | -0.07** (0.02) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.03) |
| Biological father smokes | | | 0.12 (0.08) | 0.11 (0.08) | 0.09 (0.08) |
| Biological mother's alcoholism | | | 0.15 (0.14) | 0.09 (0.14) | 0.01 (0.13) |
| Biological mother's education | | | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) |
| Bond to biological mother | | | -0.05 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.04) |
| Biological mother smokes | | | 0.24*** (0.07) | 0.23** (0.07) | 0.14* (0.07) |
| Young adult sociodemographics | | | | | |
| Interview date, wave 4 | | | | 0.001** (0.0003) | 0.0008* (0.0003) |
| Gender (female = 1) | | | | 0.17** (0.06) | 0.31*** (0.06) |
| Hispanic | | | | -0.18 (0.11) | -0.21+ (0.11) |
| African American | | | | 0.28*** (0.07) | 0.11 (0.08) |
| Asian American | | | | -0.40 (0.24) | -0.25 (0.27) |
| Other | | | | 0.27+ (0.15) | 0.10 (0.15) |
| Age | | | | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.00 (0.02) |
| Lived in single-parent family, wave 1 | | | | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.09 (0.07) |
| Parent received welfare, wave 1 | | | | 0.11 (0.08) | 0.02 (0.08) |
| Personal income, wave 3 | | | | -0.03+ (0.02) | -0.03* (0.01) |
| Number of residential moves 1995 to 2001-2002 | | | | 0.02 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.01) |

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Young adult life circumstances | | | | | |
| College degree, wave 4 | | | | | -0.84*** (0.10) |
| Ever married, wave 4 | | | | | -0.19* (0.08) |
| Ever arrested, wave 4 | | | | | 0.25*** (0.07) |
| Number of children, wave 4 | | | | | 0.20*** (0.02) |
| Ever fired or laid off, before wave 4 | | | | | 0.13*** (0.03) |
| Constant | -0.93*** (0.04) | -1.16*** (0.04) | -0.31 (0.22) | -17.57** (5.42) | -15.21** (5.60) |
| Log of alpha | 1.13 (0.06) | 0.97 (0.07) | 0.89 (0.07) | 0.84 (0.07) | 0.63 (0.07) |
| Alpha | 3.11 (0.19) | 2.63 (0.18) | 2.42 (0.17) | 2.31 (0.17) | 1.88 (0.13) |
| Adjusted Wald statistic | 81.91*** | 110.00*** | 39.60*** | 27.98*** | 33.37*** |

Source: Add Health, 1994/1995–2007/2008.

Note: $N = 9,401$ Coefficient (b)/ Standard Error (sb).

^aFive-item economic insecurity measure.

+ $p < 0.1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

able to afford to pay for food. However, while the effect of paternal imprisonment on the ability to afford food is statistically significant at the 0.10 level, the effect of maternal imprisonment on food insecurity is stronger and statistically significant at the 0.01 level (see table 4). Exponentiation of the logistic regression coefficient indicates that when a mother is imprisoned, the likelihood of experiencing the inability to pay for food is increased by 81 percent. Again, these background effects are partly working through foreground local life circumstances to influence food insecurity experiences.

The equations estimated in the survey-adjusted logistic regression analyses of experiencing any of five forms of income insecurity and experiencing food insecurity are used to generate exponentiated odds ratios and adjusted odds ratios in figure 3. Thus, the odds presented in the bars on the left-hand side of figure 3 estimate without controls for other independent variables the likelihood of the child of an incarcerated father or mother experiencing any income insecurity or food insecurity,

while the odds presented in the bars on the right-hand side estimate these maternal and paternal effects, net of all other independent variables in the equation. The bars in figure 3 thus indicate that without taking other variables into account, the likelihoods of income insecurity and food insecurity are elevated from about 100 to 150 percent among children with incarcerated fathers or mothers. When the range of potentially confounding variables, such as father, mother, or child attainment of a bachelor's degree, are taken into account, the effect of parental incarceration remains large—from 25 to 75 percent. The last more pronounced effect is the estimated impact of maternal incarceration on food insecurity.

Finally, table 5 presents the more stringent fixed-effects assessment of the effects of maternal and paternal imprisonment on economic insecurity. Economic insecurity at both waves 3 and 4 in these analyses is measured with four items included at both waves, while a dichotomous indicator is used to measure any economic insecurity at each wave.

Table 4. Survey-Adjusted Logistic Regression of Food Insecurity at Wave 4 on Paternal and Maternal Imprisonment and Predictors

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 (Odds Ratio) |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Parental imprisonment | | | | | | |
| Biological father's imprisonment | 0.69*** (0.10) | 0.58*** (0.11) | 0.31* (0.12) | 0.31* (0.12) | 0.23+ (0.12) | 1.26+ |
| Biological mother's imprisonment | 0.96*** (0.20) | 0.89*** (0.20) | 0.68** (0.21) | 0.65** (0.21) | 0.59** (0.22) | 1.81** |
| Controls | | | | | | |
| Economic insecurity, wave 3 | | 0.48*** (0.04) | 0.43*** (0.04) | 0.41*** (0.05) | 0.34*** (0.04) | 1.40*** |
| Biological father's alcoholism | | | 0.19 (0.15) | 0.17 (0.14) | 0.10 (0.15) | 1.10 |
| Biological father's education | | | -0.04+ (0.02) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | 0.99 |
| Bond to biological father | | | -0.08+ (0.04) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.05) | 0.97 |
| Biological father smokes | | | 0.19 (0.13) | 0.18 (0.13) | 0.14 (0.13) | 1.15 |
| Biological mother's alcoholism | | | 0.07 (0.25) | -0.00 (0.24) | -0.08 (0.24) | 0.93 |
| Biological mother's education | | | -0.07** (0.02) | -0.07** (0.03) | -0.03 (0.03) | 0.97 |
| Bond to biological mother | | | -0.00 (0.05) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.05) | 0.97 |
| Biological mother smokes | | | 0.17 (0.11) | 0.17 (0.11) | 0.08 (0.11) | 1.09 |
| Interview date, wave 4 | | | | 0.0007 (0.0006) | 0.0004 (0.0006) | 1.00 |
| Gender (female = 1) | | | | 0.34*** (0.09) | 0.49*** (0.11) | 1.63*** |
| Hispanic | | | | -0.11 (0.17) | -0.13 (0.16) | 0.87 |
| African American | | | | 0.23+ (0.13) | -0.01 (0.14) | 0.99 |
| Asian American | | | | -0.44 (0.36) | -0.34 (0.37) | 0.71 |
| Other | | | | 0.45 (0.24) | 0.30 (0.25) | 1.35 |
| Age | | | | 0.07 (0.11) | 0.07 (0.11) | 1.07 |
| Lived in single-parent family, wave 1 | | | | 0.16 (0.12) | 0.13 (0.12) | 1.14 |
| Parent received welfare, wave 1 | | | | 0.02 (0.15) | -0.06 (0.15) | 0.94 |
| Personal income, wave 3 | | | | -0.05** (0.02) | -0.05** (0.02) | 0.95** |
| Number of residential moves 1995 to 2001-2002 | | | | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | 1.03 |

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

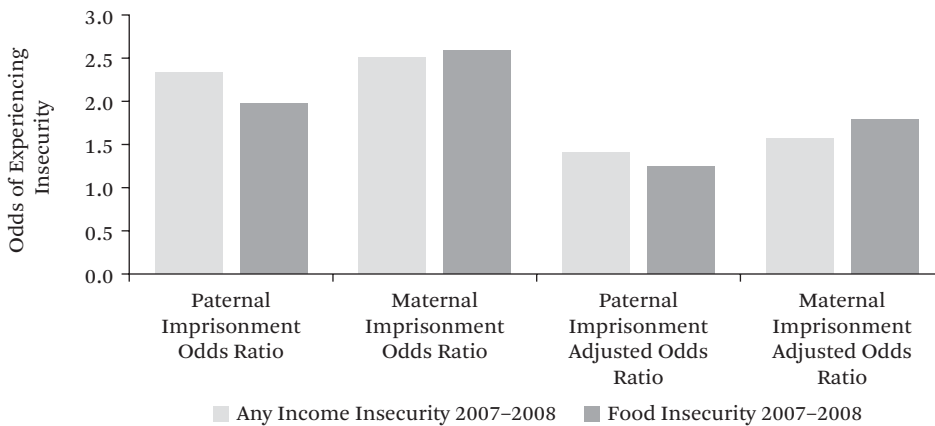
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 (Odds Ratio) |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Young adult life circumstances | | | | | | |
| Bachelor's degree, wave 4 | | | | | -0.75*** (0.15) | 0.47*** |
| Ever married, wave 4 | | | | | -0.26*** (0.12) | 0.77* |
| Ever arrested, wave 4 | | | | | 0.32** (0.12) | 1.38** |
| Number of children, wave 4 | | | | | 0.26*** (0.04) | 1.29*** |
| Ever fired or laid off, before wave 4 | | | | | 0.12*** (0.04) | 1.13*** |
| Constant | -2.28*** (0.05) | -2.52*** (0.06) | -1.57*** (0.31) | -14.67 (10.65) | -9.69 (10.58) | |
| Adjusted Wald statistic | 38.41*** | 55.66*** | 17.91*** | 13.90*** | 20.90*** | |

Source: Add Health, 1994/1995–2007/2008.

Note: N = 9,401 Coefficient (b)/ Standard Error (sb).

+ p < 0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Figure 3. Odds Ratios and Adjusted Odds Ratios from Multivariate Survey Adjusted Logistic Regression Analyses



Source: Add Health, 1994/1995–2007/2008.

The results of the models shown across the columns in table 5 indicate consistently that experiencing paternal imprisonment between waves 3 and 4 increase the odds of economic insecurity from waves 3 to 4. In column 1, having a father incarcerated between waves 3 and 4 increases the odds of experiencing economic insecurity by 2.17 ($p < 0.01$). The measure of paternal imprisonment used is a lifetime mea-

sure (ever imprisoned) that respondents reported at waves 3 and 4. However, respondents who indicated that their father was imprisoned at wave 3 but not at wave 4 may have wrongly reported this, introducing measurement error. Accordingly, in model 1 we set the cases where this happened to missing.

Also in model 1, differences in residential parenthood that involve having an additional

Table 5. Survey-Adjusted Fixed-Effects Regressions (Two-Period Case) of Differences in Any Economic Insecurity on Changes in Paternal Imprisonment and Time-Varying Young Adult Life Circumstances Between Waves 3 and 4

| | 1 | | 3 | | 5 | | 7 | |
|--|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| | Coefficient | 2 | Coefficient | 4 | Coefficient | 6 | Coefficient | 8 |
| | (b)/ | Odds | (b)/ | Odds | (b)/ | Odds | (b)/ | Odds |
| | Standard | Ratio | Standard | Ratio | Standard | Ratio | Standard | Ratio |
| | Error (sb) | | Error (sb) | | Error (sb) | | Error (sb) | |
| Differences in paternal imprisonment | 0.77** (0.27) | 2.17** | 0.80*** (0.23) | 2.22*** | 0.79*** (0.23) | 2.21*** | | |
| Differences in paternal imprisonment ^a | | | | | | | 0.59*** (0.17) | 1.81*** |
| Differences in bachelor's degree | -0.96*** (0.17) | 0.38*** | -0.98*** (0.16) | 0.37*** | -0.96*** (0.16) | 0.38*** | | |
| Differences in bachelor's degree ^a | | | | | | | -0.88*** (0.16) | 0.42*** |
| Differences in having been married | -0.01 (0.15) | 0.99 | -0.02 (0.14) | 0.98 | -0.02 (0.13) | 0.98 | | |
| Differences in having been married ^a | | | | | | | -0.06 (0.14) | 0.95 |
| Differences in having been arrested | -0.01 (0.15) | 0.99 | 0.03 (0.14) | 1.03 | 0.03 (0.14) | 1.03 | | |
| Differences in having been arrested ^a | | | | | | | 0.10 (0.14) | 1.10 |
| Differences in residential parenthood | 0.26* (0.14) | 1.30* | | | | | | |
| Differences in residential parenthood ^a | | | 0.22* (0.12) | 1.24* | | | 0.26* (0.11) | 1.30* |
| Differences in living alone | 0.50* (0.21) | 1.65* | | | | | | |
| Differences in living alone ^a | | | 0.71*** (0.15) | 2.03*** | 0.70*** (0.15) | 2.02*** | 0.64*** (0.15) | 1.90*** |
| Differences in residential parenthood ^b | | | | | 0.12* (0.06) | 1.13* | | |
| Constant | -0.25** (0.09) | | 0.77** (0.07) | | 0.75*** (0.07) | | -0.27** (0.09) | |
| Adjusted Wald statistic | 7.99*** | | 11.43*** | | 11.10*** | | 9.65*** | |
| N ^c | 1,821 | | 2,023 | | 2,023 | | 2,141 | |

Source: Add Health, 1994/1995–2007/2008.

^aAlternative measure used, see Appendix. ^bAlternative measure used, see Appendix. ^cSample sizes are restricted in fixed-effects logistic regression models, with cases excluded if they had the same value on the outcome variable at both time points, indicating no change in status (Allison 2009, 29).

+ $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

child in the home or living alone increase the odds of economic insecurity. The living alone variable is unfortunately somewhat ambiguous in its meaning: it included at least some cases in which respondents chose and could afford to live alone. However, even choosing to live alone is found in the research literature to carry risks, and the risk we are concerned with is not having someone else in the household to fall back on when problems emerge. We find very clear evidence of hardship outcomes associated with living alone. Leaving these out of the article would be misleading. Unfortunately, we cannot do more with this variable, as it is a household composition measure in the survey and does not permit more nuanced assessment.

In model 2 in column 3, we next use an alternative measure of living alone between waves, because this is a wave-specific rather than a lifetime indicator. The results for the effect of paternal imprisonment on increasing economic insecurity are robust to this change in the measurement of living alone. In model 3 in column 5, we additionally use an alternative measure of differences in residential parenthood involving a count score of the number of children living in the respondent's household at waves 3 and 4. We find again that those who experienced paternal imprisonment between waves, net of other time-varying covariates, experienced heightened economic insecurity.

Finally, in model 4 in column 7, we use an alternative measure of paternal imprisonment, with respondents reporting a father in prison at wave 3 but not at wave 4 kept in the analyses (coded as -1) in the difference score rather than set to missing. This final model is consistent with those that came before. That is, after testing sensitivity to the measurement of the difference scores, we obtain the same substantive result: respondents experiencing paternal imprisonment between waves encounter more economic insecurity at wave 4, net of other time-varying covariates.

Furthermore, as seen in column 7 of table 5, obtaining a bachelor's degree between waves 3 and 4 decreases the likelihood of moving into economic insecurity, while becoming a residential parent increases these odds, and a transition to living alone also increases the odds of economic insecurity. However, differ-

ences in being arrested do not have short-term effects on differences in economic insecurity. These results are consistent with prior studies in showing that college incompleteness and family status are significant sources of severe deprivation, while the results of the present analysis are unique in revealing the importance of changes in paternal imprisonment during the recent period.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SEVERE DEPRIVATION IN TRANSITIONS TO ADULTHOOD

Glen Elder's (1999 [1974]) seminal life-course study of the *Children of the Great Depression* highlighted the vulnerability of children in perilous economic circumstances. We too have found that the children of the 2008 Great Recession experienced economic insecurity, but in a notably new way involving the massive and unprecedented rise in parental incarceration in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Even with a wide range of variables taken into account, the early adult children in the Add Health sample with a father or mother imprisoned were uniquely likely to experience economic insecurity, including problems of access to food. We have built in this article on recent research showing that postsecondary education has become especially important in determining economic outcomes in modern American society, and we have demonstrated that achieving higher education is similarly important in reducing the effects of parental imprisonment on the economic insecurity of children. The salient policy implication of this article may be the essential role of education in reducing the unprecedented risks and vulnerabilities imposed by mass parental incarceration in twenty-first-century American society.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1941) responded to the vulnerability to severe deprivation created by the Great Depression by highlighting the *right* to a "freedom from want" in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. Social scientists today recognize the significance of "freedom from want" with concepts such as economic insecurity and severe deprivation. Desmond emphasizes in the introduction to this volume that "the severe deprivation approach engages in an empirically driven values conversation about poverty in America, one

that is transparent about the moral principles undergirding research and policy, that specifies and reimagines desirable ends, and that rigorously assesses whether we are living up to our professed values.” The rights that Roosevelt enshrined in his Four Freedoms speech embodied the value commitment to eliminating severe deprivation in this richest nation on the planet.

The tools of social science can be especially important in documenting and explaining the widespread, disproportionate, and systematic vulnerabilities to human want in contemporary society. Life-course research increasingly focuses on the cumulative nature of these vulnerabilities across the transitions and trajectories of human lives, with recent scholarship focusing on transitions from childhood through adolescence to adulthood, or what is now called early and emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000; Furstenberg, Rumbaut, and Settersten 2005, 18). The challenge is to link the imperatives of a human rights framework with scientific understandings of severe deprivation and with identification of effective mechanisms for its remediation and elimination.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) has universalized the protection of children in the language of human rights and with a focus on childhood vulnerability to various forms of want and insecurity. Interdisciplinary scholars (for example, Duncan and Brooks-Gunn 1997) have advanced children’s rights by studying how parenting and childhood experiences affect the basic needs of children protected in the UN Convention. The ways in which societal institutions such as the justice system and educational institutions respond to parents and children in meeting these challenges can facilitate turning points and trajectories of development that extend through adolescence and into adulthood.

Article 28 of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child mandates the provision of educational opportunities to children. Life-course studies have proven especially important in focusing on disparities and vulnerabilities in transitions from childhood to adulthood—for example, in access to and completion of higher education. The children of incarcerated parents are in special need of

educational opportunities to reduce the heightened vulnerabilities they experience.

Duncan Gallie and Serge Paugam (2000, 370) provide a perspective that effectively summarizes the systemic exclusionary risks of the kinds of food and housing deprivations we have found among children of incarcerated mothers and fathers during the recent economic recession. They write that “social exclusion refers to a situation where people suffer from . . . cumulative disadvantages” and that “the different aspects of deprivation become mutually reinforcing over time, leading to a downward spiral in which the individual comes to have neither the economic nor the social resources needed to participate in their society.” These restricted resources among children of incarcerated parents may especially involve problems of access to, and support for sustaining, postsecondary education.

We believe it is also important to emphasize that the risks of this kind of social exclusion among the children of incarcerated parents are largely the result of deliberate policy choices enacted through determinate and mandatory minimum sentencing laws and related policies and practices such as prison without parole and “three strikes.” Kathleen Daly’s (1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b) findings on the period before the passage of these laws and the adoption of these guidelines reflects the background of this consequential policy development.

Daly found that pre-guideline judges expressed concerns in interviews and at sentencing that by incarcerating “familied offenders” they would “break up families” and “punish innocent family members” (see Daly and Bordt 1995, 163). Pre-guideline research by Daly found evidence that judges more leniently sentenced women who were also mothers, and further evidence that some judges also leniently sentenced fathers who provided reliable support to mothers and children (Daly 1989a). These leniency effects based on family care responsibilities conflicted with the subsequent policies demanded by federal and state commissions for equal treatment based on conviction records and charges, regardless of parenting expectations or responsibilities (Stith and Koh 1993). These were deliberate policy choices with far-reaching consequences of the kind empha-

sized in the concept of systemic social exclusion and in the findings reported in this article.

Daly argued that “equal treatment of defendants whose responsibilities for others not only varied but differed by gender may be unjust” (see Daly and Bordt 1995, 163). She further reasoned that a source of this problem was the policy choice that made “unfamiliar” males rather than “familiar” females the standard of comparison. Daly (1995) argued instead for a reversal in this policy, maintaining that provisions allowing consideration of parenting as a factor in sentencing for both men and women could have spared many fathers as well as mothers from prison, and thus reduced rising imprisonment. However, federal and state sentencing commissions adopted guidelines that reduced judicial discretion, which had been the norm since the founding of the republic, and directed judges to punish mothers equally based on the statutory seriousness of the offense and prior convictions, while disregarding gender-linked family responsibilities.

This policy experiment had profound implications for mothers and fathers of children. It meant treating as equal accused men and women whose family-connected vulnerabilities were actually quite different. Since judges previously incarcerated many fewer women than men, the new guidelines especially increased rates of female imprisonment. Meanwhile, of course, elevated and determinate sentences more broadly increased rates of confinement, and increasing numbers of these men as well as women were parents. The number of young people whose lives as a result were disrupted by separation from their imprisoned parents grew dramatically (Patillo, Weiman, and Western 2004).

Social exclusion is the result of a mixture of private- and public-sector sources of deprivation. An important body of research has focused on the combined roles of family socioeconomic status and welfare provisions in determining educational attainment and economic deprivation and security. Beckett and Western’s (2001) finding that by 1995 the relationship between welfare support and penal punitiveness had turned strongly negative in the United States

suggests that criminal sentencing policy is an important factor for consideration in studies of severe deprivation. American life-course research increasingly informs us that social inequality and exclusion is the result of interactions across human lives between private- and public-sector institutional arrangements and individual biographies (O’Rand 1996a, 1996b) and family backgrounds (Warren, Sheridan, and Hauser 2002, 433). There may be no more consequential shift over the last half-century in public-sector treatment of already disadvantaged Americans than the exclusionary use of incarceration.

APPENDIX

Young Adult Income Insecurity

Economic insecurity at wave 4[†]

In the past twelve months, was there a time when (you/your household) . . .

- (1) . . . (were/was) without phone service because you didn’t have enough money?
- (2) . . . didn’t pay the full amount of the rent or mortgage because you didn’t have enough money?
- (3) . . . didn’t pay the full amount of a gas, electricity, or oil bill because you didn’t have enough money?
- (4) . . . had the service turned off by the gas or electric company, or the oil company wouldn’t deliver, because payments were not made?
- (5) . . . worried whether food would run out before you would get money to buy more?

Alpha = 0.75

Economic insecurity at wave 4

In the past twelve months, was there a time when (you/your household) . . .

- (1) . . . (were/was) without phone service because you didn’t have enough money?
- (2) . . . didn’t pay the full amount of the rent or mortgage because you didn’t have enough money?
- (3) . . . didn’t pay the full amount of a gas, electricity, or oil bill because you didn’t have enough money?

[†] See table 1 notes.

- (4) . . . had the service turned off by the gas or electric company, or the oil company wouldn't deliver, because payments were not made?

Alpha = 0.72

Economic insecurity at wave 3

In the past twelve months, was there a time when (you were/your household was) . . .

- (1) . . . without telephone service for any reason?
 (2) . . . didn't pay the full amount of the rent or mortgage because you didn't have enough money?
 (3) . . . didn't pay the full amount of a gas, electricity, or oil bill because you didn't have enough money?
 (4) . . . had the service turned off by the gas or electric company, or the oil company wouldn't deliver, because payments were not made?

Alpha = 0.64

Any economic insecurity at wave 4^a

We used a five-item measure dichotomized to indicate any economic insecurity at wave 4.

Any economic insecurity at wave 4

We used a four-item measure dichotomized to indicate any economic insecurity at wave 4.

Any economic insecurity at wave 3

We used a four-item measure dichotomized to indicate any economic insecurity at wave 4.

Food insecurity at wave 4

In the past twelve months, was there a time when (you were/your household was) worried whether food would run out before you would get money to buy more?

Parental Imprisonment

Paternal imprisonment at wave 4

(Has/did) your biological father ever (spent/spend) time in jail or prison? 1 = yes, 0 = no.

Paternal imprisonment at wave 3

Has your biological father ever served time in jail or prison? 1 = yes, 0 = no.

Maternal imprisonment at wave 4

(Has/did) your biological mother ever (spent/spend) time in jail or prison? 1 = yes, 0 = no.

Young Adult Sociodemographics

Hispanic, African American, white (reference), Asian American, and other

We used adolescent self-reported racial and ethnic identification data at wave 1 to construct the race-ethnicity dummy variables. Incidences of Hispanic status were used to first categorize respondents, followed by other group designations. The reference group in the analyses was the white non-Hispanic group.

Gender

1 = female, 0 = male.

Age at wave 4

We calculated age at wave 4 using birth date and interview date.

Parent welfare receipt at wave 1

A parent was asked at wave 1: *Are you receiving public assistance, such as welfare?* 1 = yes, 0 = no.

Lived in single-parent family at wave 1

We used the measure created by Kathleen Mullan Harris (1999) to operationalize family status using adolescent household roster information to index living in a single-parent household compared to all other family types.

Interview date at wave 4 (number of days since January 1, 1960)

The interview date at wave 4 ranged between 2007 and 2009. We conducted the interviews primarily over the twelve months of 2008, completing 1.23 percent of the interviews in 2007 and 99.15 percent of them before 2009.

Log personal income at wave 3

Personal income responses were combined from two questions.

Including all the income sources you reported above, what was your total personal income before taxes in 2000–2001? Please include all of the income sources you identified in the previous question. \$0–509,909.

Those who responded that they did not know were asked: *What is your best guess of*

your total personal income before taxes? Categories were: (1) less than \$10,000, (2), \$10,000 to \$14,999, (3) \$15,000 to \$19,999 (4) \$20,000 to \$29,999, (5) \$30,000 to \$39,999, (6) \$40,000 to \$49,999, (7) \$50,000 to \$74,999, (8) \$75,000 or more.

“Don’t know” responses to the first question were set to the midpoint of the selected income category.

Number of moves 1995 to 2001–2002

Since the beginning of June 1995, at how many (other) addresses have you lived? Answers ranged from zero to ten other addresses lived at during this period. If respondents indicated that they had always lived at their current address or had moved there before 1995, they were set to 0 on this measure.

Young Adult Life Circumstances

College degree, wave 4

What is the highest level of education that you have achieved to date? (1) eighth grade or less; (2) some high school; (3) high school graduate; (4) some vocational/technical training (after high school); (5) completed vocational/technical training (after high school); (6) some college; (7) completed college (bachelor’s degree); (8) some graduate school; (9) completed a master’s degree; (10) some graduate training beyond a master’s degree; (11) completed a doctoral degree; (12) some postbaccalaureate professional education (for example, law school, medical school, nursing school); (13) completed postbaccalaureate professional education (for example, law school, medical school, nursing school). 1 = completed college (bachelor’s degree or higher), 0 = else.

Bachelor degree, wave 3

What degrees or diplomas have you received? Indicate all that apply. Bachelor’s degree—a BA, AB, or BS. 1 = received a degree, 0 = else.

Ever fired or laid off, wave 4 (2001)

Thinking back over the period from 2001 to [the previous year], how many times have you been fired, let go, or laid off from a job? Answers ranged from zero to fifty.

Ever married, wave 4

How many persons have you ever married? Be sure to include your current spouse if you are married now. 1 = any person married, 0 = else.

Ever married, wave 3

How many times have you been married? 1 = any marriage, 0 = else.

Ever arrested, wave 4

We used combined responses from three questions for this preconstructed variable: (1) *Have you ever been arrested?* 1 = yes, 0 = else; (2) a preconstructed indicator of whether the interview was conducted in prison; 1 = yes, 0 = else; and (3) *How many times have you been arrested?* 1 = one or more, 0 = else.

Ever arrested, wave 3

Have you ever been arrested or taken into custody by the police? 1 = yes, 0 = no.

Number of children, wave 4

We used a number-of-children indicator based on the number of children reported as still living (*How many of these children are still living?*). This composite variable also used information from (1) *Thinking about all the relationships and sexual encounters you have ever had, (how many times have you ever been pregnant/how many times have you ever made a partner pregnant)? Include all pregnancies, whether they resulted in a baby born alive, stillbirth, abortion, miscarriage, or ectopic or tubal pregnancy,* and (2) *How many live births resulted from (this pregnancy/these pregnancies)?*

Resident parenthood, wave 3

Using information from the household roster on nineteen relationships, we coded instances of living with a son or daughter as 1 and other relationships as 0. A count of sons and daughters across these relationships indicated respondent resident parenthood. This measure was then dichotomized to indicate any resident parenthood.

Resident parenthood, wave 4

Using information from the household roster on sixteen relationships, we coded instances of living with a son or daughter as 1 and other relationships as 0. A count of sons and daugh-

ters across these relationships indicated respondent resident parenthood. This measure was then dichotomized to indicate any resident parenthood.

Living alone, wave 3

Do you live (here/there) alone or with others?
1 = alone, 0 = else.

Living alone, wave 4

Do you live alone or with others? 1 = alone, 0 = else.

Differences in Life Circumstances

Differences in paternal imprisonment

Paternal imprisonment at wave 4 minus paternal imprisonment at wave 3: We coded responses 1 where the respondent did not report their father being imprisoned at wave 3 but did report their father being incarcerated at wave 4. 0 = respondent indicated that their father was not incarcerated at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in paternal imprisonment^a

Paternal imprisonment at wave 4 minus paternal imprisonment at wave 3: We coded responses 1 where respondent did not report their father being imprisoned at wave 3 but did report their father being incarcerated at wave 4. 0 = respondent indicated that their father was not incarcerated at wave 3 or 4; -1 = respondent indicated that their father was incarcerated at wave 3 but not at wave 4.

Differences in bachelor's degree

Bachelor's degree at wave 4 minus bachelor's degree at wave 3: 1 = respondent reported having a bachelor's degree at wave 4 but not at wave 3; 0 = respondent did not report having a bachelor's degree at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in having been married

Respondent married at wave 4 minus respondent married at wave 3: 1 = respondent was married at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not married at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in having been arrested

Ever arrested at wave 4 minus ever arrested at wave 3: 1 = respondent was arrested at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not arrested at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in living alone

Living alone at wave 4 minus living alone at wave 3: 1 = respondent was living alone at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not living alone at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in living alone^a

Living alone at wave 4 minus living alone at wave 3: 1 = respondent was living alone at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not living alone at wave 3 or 4; -1 = respondent was living alone at wave 4 but not living alone at wave 3.

Differences in resident parenthood

Resident parenthood at wave 4 minus resident parenthood at wave 3: 1 = respondent was a resident parent at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not a resident parent at wave 3 or 4.

Differences in resident parenthood^a

Resident parenthood at wave 4 minus resident parenthood at wave 3: 1 = respondent was a resident parent at wave 4; 0 = respondent was not a resident parent at wave 3 or 4; -1 = respondent was not a resident parent at wave 4 but was at wave 3.

Differences in resident parenthood^b

Differences in the count score of the number of resident children between waves 3 and 4.

Controls

Biological father's alcoholism, wave 1

We created a dummy variable where a positive response indicated that the child's biological father was alcoholic, as indicated in a question posed in the parent questionnaire at wave 1.

Biological father's education

This variable combined information from adolescent reports at wave 1 on biological fathers from the nonresident biological father section of the questionnaire and the resident father section. It used responses to the question that reported the father's level of education: *How far in school did your biological father go?* The same response scale was used for a question on the education level of the resident father that was used if the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological father or if it was indicated

that the biological father lived in the household.

Bond to biological father

This variable combined information from adolescent reports on biological fathers from the nonresident biological father section of the questionnaire and the resident father section. Youth with nonresident biological fathers were asked: *How close do you feel to your biological father?* 1 = not close at all, 2 = not very close, 3 = somewhat close, 4 = quite close, and 5 = extremely close. Information was also used on relations with the father figure if the parent interview indicated that the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological father or that the biological father lived in the household, using the item: *How close do you feel to your (father figure)?* 1 = not at all, 2 = very little, 3 = somewhat, 4 = quite a bit, and 5 = very much. The two questions were combined to take a nonmissing response as the indicator of the respondent's closeness to the biological father.

Other Parental Characteristics

Biological father smokes

This variable combined information from adolescent reports on biological fathers from the nonresident biological father section of the questionnaire and the resident father section. Adolescents responded to the question on nonresident fathers: *Has your biological father ever smoked cigarettes?* 1 = yes. If the parent interview indicated that the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological father or that the biological father lived in the household, this measure also used information on the resident father from the question: *Has he ever smoked?* 1 = yes. A positive response to either of these two questions indicated that the biological father smoked.

Biological mother's alcoholism, wave 1

We created a dummy variable where a positive response indicated that the child's biological mother was alcoholic, as indicated in a question posed in the parent questionnaire at wave 1.

Biological mother's education

This variable combined information from adolescent reports at wave 1 on biological moth-

ers from the nonresident biological mother section of the questionnaire and the resident mother section. It used responses to the question that reported the mother's level of education: *How far in school did your biological mother go?* The same response scale was used for a question on the education level of the resident mother that was used if the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological mother or if it was indicated that the biological mother lived in the household.

Bond to biological mother

This variable combined information from adolescent reports on biological mothers from the nonresident biological mother section of the questionnaire and the resident mother section. Youth with nonresident biological mothers were asked: *How close do you feel to your biological mother?* 1 = not close at all, 2 = not very close, 3 = somewhat close, 4 = quite close, and 5 = extremely close. Information was also used on relations with the mother figure if the parent interview indicated that the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological mother or that the biological mother lived in the household, using the item: *How close do you feel to your (mother figure)?* 1 = not at all, 2 = very little, 3 = somewhat, 4 = quite a bit, and 5 = very much. The two questions were combined to take a nonmissing response as the indicator of the respondent's closeness to the biological mother.

Biological mother smokes

This variable combined information from adolescent reports on biological mothers from the nonresident biological mother section of the questionnaire and the resident mother section. Adolescents responded to the question on nonresident mothers: *Has your biological mother ever smoked cigarettes?* 1 = yes. If the parent interview indicated that the person filling out the parent questionnaire was the child's biological mother or that the biological mother lived in the household, this measure also used information on the resident mother from the question: *Has she ever smoked?* 1 = yes. A positive response to either of these two questions indicated that the biological mother smoked.

REFERENCES

- Allison, Paul D. 2009. *Fixed Effects Regression Models*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Arditti, Joyce A. 2012. *Parental Incarceration and the Family: Psychological and Social Effects of Imprisonment on Children, Parents, and Caregivers*. New York: New York University Press.
- Arnett, Jeffrey J. 2000. "Emerging Adulthood: A Theory of Development from the Late Teens Through the Twenties." *American Psychologist* 55(5): 469–80.
- Beckett, Katherine, and Bruce Western. 2001. "Governing Social Marginality: Welfare, Incarceration, and the Transformation of State Policy." In *Mass Imprisonment: Social Causes and Consequences*, edited by David Garland. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Bhalla, Ajit, and Frederic Lapeyre. 1997. "Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework." *Development and Change* 28(3): 413–33.
- Bloom, Barbara. 1995. "Imprisoned Mothers." In *Children of Incarcerated Parents*, edited by Katherine Gabel and Denise Johnston. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bohnke, Klans. 2006. *Am Rande der Gesellschaft: Risiken Sozialer Ausgrenzung*. Verlag Barbara Budrich, Opladen.
- Chantala, Kim, and Joyce Tabor. 2010 [1999]. "Strategies to Perform a Design-Based Analysis Using the Add Health Data." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Carolina Population Center.
- Chesney-Lind, Meda, and Joycelyn M. Pollock. 1995. "Women's Prisons: Equality with a Vengeance." In *Women, Law, and Social Control*, edited by Alida V. Merlo and Joycelyn M. Pollock. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Comfort, Megan. 2007. *Doing Time Together: Love and Family in the Shadow of the Prison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Daly, Kathleen. 1987a. "Structure and Practice of Familial-Based Justice in a Criminal Court." *Law and Society Review* 21(2): 267–90.
- . 1987b. "Discrimination in the Criminal Courts: Family, Gender, and the Problem of Equal Treatment." *Social Forces* 66(1): 152–75.
- . 1989a. "Rethinking Judicial Paternalism: Gender, Work-Family Relations, and Sentencing." *Gender and Society* 3(1): 9–36.
- . 1989b. "Neither Conflict nor Labeling nor Paternalism Will Suffice: Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Family in Criminal Court Decisions." *Crime and Delinquency* 35(1): 136–68.
- . 1995. "Gender and Sentencing: What We Know and Don't Know from Empirical Research." *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 8(3): 163–68.
- Daly, Kathleen, and Rebecca Bordt. 1995. "Sex Effects and Sentencing: An Analysis of the Statistical Literature." *Justice Quarterly* 12(1): 143–77.
- Danziger, Sheldon, Sandra Danziger, and Jonathan Stern. 1997. "The American Paradox: High Income and High Child Poverty." In *Child Poverty and Deprivation in the Industrialized Countries, 1945–1995*, edited by Giovanni Andrea Cornia and Sheldon H. Danziger. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(1): 88–133.
- Desmond, Matthew, and Nicol Valdez. 2013. "Unpolicing the Urban Poor: Consequences of Third-Party Policing for Inner-City Women." *American Sociological Review* 78(1): 117–41.
- Duncan, Greg J., and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. 1997. *Consequences of Growing Up Poor*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Elder, Glen. 1999 [1974]. *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience*. 25th Anniversary Edition. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Esping-Anderson, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fishbein, Diana H. 1990. "Biological Perspectives in Criminology." *Criminology* 28(1): 27–72.
- Foster, Holly, and John Hagan. 2007. "Incarceration and Intergenerational Social Exclusion." *Social Problems* 54(4): 399–433.
- . 2015a. "Maternal and Paternal Imprisonment and Children's Social Exclusion in Young Adulthood." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. In press.
- . 2015b. "Punishment Regimes and the Multi-Level Effects of Parental Imprisonment: Intergenerational, Intersectional, and Interinstitutional Modes of Social Inequality and Systemic Exclusion." *Annual Review of Sociology* 41: 135–58.
- Furstenberg, Frank F., Jr., Rubén G. Rumbaut, and Richard Settersten, Jr. 2005. "On the Frontier of Adulthood: Emerging Themes and New Directions." In *On the Frontier of Adulthood: Theory, Research, and Public Policy*, edited by Richard A. Settersten Jr., Frank F. Furstenberg Jr., and Rubén

- G. Rumbaut. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gallie, Duncan, and Serge Paugam. eds. 2000. *Welfare Regimes and the Experience of Unemployment in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goffman, Alice. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gottfredson, Michael R., and Travis Hirschi. 1990. *A General Theory of Crime*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Hagan, John, and Ronit Dinovitzer. 1999. "Collateral Consequences of Imprisonment for Children, Communities, and Prisoners." *Crime and Justice* 26: 121-62.
- Hagan, John, and Holly Foster. 2012a. "Intergenerational School Effects of Mass Imprisonment in America." *Sociology of Education* 85(3): 259-86.
- . 2012b. "Children of the American Prison Generation: The Paradoxical 'Spillover' School Effects of Incarcerating Mothers." *Law and Society Review* 46(1): 37-69.
- Hagan, John, and Alberto Palloni. 1988. "Crimes as Social Events in the Life Course: Reconceiving a Criminological Controversy." *Criminology* 26(1): 87-100.
- . 1990. "The Social Reproduction of a Criminal Class in Working-Class London, Circa 1950-1980." *American Journal of Sociology* 96(2): 265-99.
- Harris, Kathleen Mullan. 1999. "The Health Status and Risk Behavior of Adolescents in Immigrant Families." In *Children of Immigrants: Health, Adjustment, and Public Assistance*, edited by Donald J. Hernandez. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Horney, Julie, D. Wayne Osgood, and Ineke Haen Marshall. 1995. "Criminal Careers in the Short Term: Intra-individual Variability in Crime and Its Relation to Local Life Circumstances." *American Sociological Review* 60(5): 655-73.
- Houseman, Alan. 2003. "Introduction." In *Leave No Youth Behind: Opportunities for Congress to Reach Disconnected Youth*, edited by Jodie Levin-Epstein and Mark H. Greenberg. Washington, D.C.: Center for Law and Social Policy.
- Kalmijn, Matthijs. 1994. "Mother's Occupational Status and Children's Schooling." *American Sociological Review* 59(2): 257-75.
- Kamerman, Sheila B., and Alfred J. Kahn. 2002. *Beyond Child Poverty: The Social Exclusion of Children*. New York: Institute for Child and Family Policy at Columbia University.
- Kruttschnitt, Candace. 2010. "The Paradox of Women's Imprisonment." *Daedalus* (Summer): 32-42.
- Manza, Jeff, and Christopher Uggen. 2006. *Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Micklewright, John. 2002. "Social Exclusion and Children: A European View for a U.S. Debate." In *Beyond Child Poverty: The Social Exclusion of Children*, edited by Alfred Kahn and Sheila Kamerman. New York: Institute for Child and Family Policy at Columbia University.
- Miller, Daniel P., Lenna Nepomnyaschy, Gabriel Lara Ibarra, and Steven Garasky. 2014. "Family Structure and Child Food Insecurity." *American Journal of Public Health* 104(7): e70-76.
- Murray, Joseph. 2007. "The Cycle of Punishment: Social Exclusion of Prisoners and Their Children." *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 7: 55-81.
- Murray, Joseph, and David P. Farrington. 2008. "The Effects of Parental Imprisonment on Children." *Crime and Justice* 37: 133-206.
- National Research Council. 2014. *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Nagin, Daniel, and Raymond Paternoster. 1991. "On the Relationship Between Past and Future Participation in Delinquency." *Criminology* 29(2): 163-90.
- O'Rand, Angela. 1996a. "The Cumulative Stratification of the Life Course." In *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, 4th ed., edited by Robert H. Binstock and Linda K. George. New York: Academic.
- . 1996b. "The Precious and the Precocious: Understanding Cumulative Disadvantage and Cumulative Advantage over the Life Course." *The Gerontologist* 36(2): 230-38.
- Pager, Devah. 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Palloni, Alberto, and Aage Sørensen. 1990. "Methods for the Analysis of Event History Analysis." In *Life-Span Development and Behavior*, vol. 10, edited by Paul B. Baltes, David L. Featherman, and Richard M. Lerner. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Patillo, Mary, David Weiman, and Bruce Western. 2004. *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of*

- Mass Incarceration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Pettit, Becky. 2012. *Invisible Men: Mass Incarceration and the Myth of Black Progress*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Pettit, Becky, and Bruce Western. 2004. "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69: 151–69.
- Phillips, Susan, and Barbara Bloom. 1998. "In Whose Best Interest? The Impact of Changing Public Policy on Relatives Caring for Children with Incarcerated Parents." *Child Welfare* 77(5): 531–41.
- Resnick, Michael D., Peter S. Bearman, Robert W. Blum, Karl E. Bauman, Kathleen M. Harris, Jo Jones, Joyce Tabor, Trish Beuhring, Renee Sieving, Marcia Shew, Marjorie Ireland, Linda Bearinger, and J. Richard Udry. 1997. "Protecting Adolescents from Harm: Findings from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 278(10): 823–32.
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 1941. "The 'Four Freedoms' Speech: Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union." Delivered January 6. Available at: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/pdfs/fftext.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Sampson, Robert J., and John H. Laub. 1997. "A Life-Course Theory of Cumulative Disadvantage and the Stability of Delinquency." In *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency*, edited by Terence P. Thornberry. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Sen, Amartya K. 1992. *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Silver, Hilary. 2007. "The Process of Social Exclusion: The Dynamics of an Evolving Concept." Working Paper 95. Providence, R.I.: Brown University, Chronic Poverty Research Center.
- Snell, Tracy L., and Danielle C. Morton. 1994. "Women in Prison: Survey of State Prison Inmates, 1991." Special Report (NCJ 145321). Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Stith, Kate, and Steve Koh. 1993. "The Politics of Sentencing Reform: The Legislative History of the Federal Sentencing Guidelines." *Wake Forest Law Review* 28(2): 223.
- Travis, Jeremy. 2002. "Invisible Punishment: An Instrument of Social Exclusion." In *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, edited by Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: The New Press.
- Travis, Jeremy, and Michelle Waul. 2003. *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute.
- Udry, J. Richard, and Peter S. Bearman. 1998. "New Methods for New Research on Adolescent Sexual Behavior." In *New Perspectives on Adolescent Risk Behavior*, edited by Richard Jessor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). 1989. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Resolution 44/25, adopted November 20. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Wakefield, Sara, and Christopher Wildeman. 2014. *Children of the Prison Boom: Mass Incarceration and the Future of American Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Warren, John Robert, Jennifer T. Sheridan, and Robert M. Hauser. 2002. "Occupational Stratification Across the Life Course: Evidence from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study." *American Sociological Review* 67(3): 432–55.
- Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Wilson, James Q., and Richard J. Herrnstein. 1985. *Crime and Human Nature: The Definitive Study of the Causes of Crime*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Wightman, Patrick, and Sheldon H. Danziger. 2014. "Multi-generational Income Disadvantage and the Educational Attainment of Young Adults." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 35: 53–69.



Severe Deprivation and System Inclusion Among Children of Incarcerated Parents in the United States After the Great Recession

BRYAN L. SYKES AND BECKY PETTIT

The expansion of the criminal justice system over the last four decades and the corresponding rise of parental incarceration raises questions about whether the children of current and former inmates are at an increased risk of material hardship that necessitates social service intervention. Recent sociological scholarship finds that the greater surveillance experienced by former inmates and the criminally involved precludes them from seeking medical care and social services. Yet there is no scholarship that assesses health care and social service utilization among children exposed to parental incarceration. In this article, we investigate how race and educational inequality in parental incarceration were associated with markers of deprivation and social program enlistment after the Great Recession. Using data from the 2011–2012 National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH), we not only find that children with an incarcerated parent experience greater levels of deprivation—material hardship, unmet health needs, and residential instability—but that these children are drawn into social service programs at a higher rate than the rate for children unexposed to parental incarceration. Nearly 2.1 million children (or 81 percent of minors) with an incarcerated parent are enrolled in at least one social service program. Our findings are consistent with a “system inclusion” perspective, which aligns with David Garland's and William Julius Wilson's theoretical and historical explanations of social service participation among disadvantaged minors.

Keywords: incarceration, hardship, deprivation, program participation, inequality, welfare

By the close of 2012, over 2.2 million Americans were incarcerated in local, state, and federal correctional facilities, and another 4.8 million were under some form of criminal justice supervision (Glaze and Herberman 2013), making the United States the world leader in incarceration. The rise of the penal state as a form of social exclusion has been likened to other historical configurations of race and social rela-

tions in the United States (Alexander 2010; Wacquant 2001). The contemporary incarceration of entire demographic groups has made the risk of imprisonment highly stratified by race and class, and incarceration now constitutes a new stage in the life course (Garland 2001a; Pettit and Western 2004); the lifetime risk of imprisonment among young, undereducated African American men hovers around

Bryan L. Sykes is assistant professor of criminology, law, and society at the University of California, Irvine. **Becky Pettit** is professor of sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2014 Russell Sage Foundation conference “Severe Deprivation in America.” We thank Sheldon Danziger, Matthew Desmond, anonymous reviewers, Anjali Verma, Naomi Sugie, participants of the Socio Legal Workshop (SLW) at the University of California, Irvine, and the “Severe Deprivation” conference participants for suggested revisions on previous drafts. Direct correspondence to: Bryan L. Sykes at blsykes@uci.edu, 3317 Social Ecology II, Criminology, Law and Society, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA 92697; and Becky Pettit at bpettit@utexas.edu, Department of Sociology, The University of Texas at Austin, 305 E. 23rd St., A 1700, CLA 3.306, Austin TX 78712.

70 percent (Pettit 2012; Pettit, Sykes, and Western 2009; Western and Wildeman 2009).

The social, economic, and familial consequences of criminal justice contact are staggering. Having a criminal record reduces employment and earnings (Pager 2003; Pager and Quillian 2005; Pettit 2012; Western 2006; Western and Pettit 2005), lowers marital prospects and heightens the risk of divorce (Edin and Kefelas 2005; Lopoo and Western 2005; Massoglia, Remster, and King 2011; Sampson, Laub, and Wimer 2006; Western, Lopoo, and McLanahan 2004), bars civic participation and obscures voter turnout (Pettit 2012; Uggen and Manza 2002), increases health disparities (Freudenberg 2001; Johnson and Raphael 2009; Wildeman and Muller 2012), worsens communities (Clear 2009), and creates new forms of nondischargeable legal debt owed to correctional and justice systems (Harris, Evans, and Beckett 2010). Spending time in prison or jail also excludes incarcerated men and women from national surveys that measure employment, high school completion and health (Ewert, Sykes, and Pettit 2014; Pettit 2012), particularly after the passage of civil rights legislation that was aimed at increasing the socioeconomic opportunities and civic engagement of racial and ethnic minorities (Pettit and Sykes 2015).

The prison boom has produced other collateral consequences that extend to the family members of current and former inmates (Hagan and Dinovitzer 1999). Over half of all prisoners have children under the age of eighteen (Pettit 2012; Pettit et al. 2009), and about 45 percent of fathers and two-thirds of mothers were living with their children at the time they were sent to prison (Glaze and Maruschak 2010; Mumola 2000). In 2012 nearly 2.6 million children had at least one parent in prison or jail (Sykes and Pettit 2014), and racial inequality in the risk of ever having a parent incarcerated is pronounced: 3.6 percent of white youth experienced parental incarceration by age fourteen in 2009, compared to 24.5 percent of blacks (Wildeman 2009). The consequences of parental incarceration exacerbate existing childhood disadvantage; children of incarcerated parents have increased behavioral challenges (Geller et al. 2012; Johnson 2009; Murray, Loeber, and Pardini 2012; Wakefield and Wildeman 2011;

Wildeman 2010), and the learning difficulties and grade retention associated with parental incarceration place children at risk of early educational inequality (Cho 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Eddy and Poehlmann 2010; Foster and Hagan 2009; Hagan and Foster 2012; Turney 2014; Turney and Haskins 2014).

The social and economic consequences of criminal justice contact among adults raise important questions about the impact of parental incarceration on child well-being. Despite the burgeoning literature on the effects of incarceration on communities, families, and society as a whole, no empirical research exists on how the Great Recession may have placed children with an incarcerated parent at greater risk of government assistance. Past work on material hardship and paternal incarceration leverages data prior to the economic downturn (Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, and Garfinkel 2011; Sugie 2012); the fact that these studies are based on a cohort of American children in large U.S. cities may mask the relative needs of youth at different ages in the life course and in non-urban areas. This article fills a gap in the literature by examining the association between parental incarceration and severe deprivation—material hardship, unmet health needs, and residential instability—as well as enlistment in social programs after the Great Recession. We situate our study in the existing literature on poverty, material hardship, and childhood disadvantage.

POVERTY, MATERIAL HARDSHIP, AND CHILDHOOD DISADVANTAGE

Poverty remains deeply entrenched in American culture. Rising income inequality since the 1970s has increased the overall poverty rate, concentrating economic hardship and deprivation in urban, metropolitan areas (Massey 1996). In 2012, 21.8 percent of children were poor, and because of high unemployment rates, economic growth has been less effective in reducing poverty than during previous historical periods (Danziger and Wimer 2014). The spatial concentration of poverty and residential segregation creates a permanent underclass by isolating inner-city residents from mainstream social institutions known to have an impact on their economic well-being (Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987; Massey

and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987). Increasing family and household complexity among children is, in part, a response to growing social inequality since the latter half of the twentieth century (Furstenberg 2014; Guzzo 2014; Manning, Brown, and Stykes 2014).

Growth in the penal system has accentuated the material deprivation of minors. Children of incarcerated parents now face social exclusion and many hardships, including homelessness (Foster and Hagan 2007; Wildeman 2014), food insecurity (Cox and Wallace 2013), and political disengagement (Foster and Hagan 2007). Critically, for our purposes, Holly Foster and John Hagan (2007, 411) find that youth classified as “socially excluded” owing to paternal incarceration have a 77 percent chance of lacking health insurance, and Amanda Geller and her colleagues (2009) show that children of incarcerated parents experience more economic and residential instability than their counterparts. The economic hardship of children exposed to parental incarceration is in part due to the low remittances, if any, from formerly incarcerated fathers, and the loss of additional contributions is principally driven by fathers residing outside the household (Geller, Garfinkel, and Western 2011). Other scholarship shows that incarceration places children at significant risk of material hardship using a variety of indicators that include residential instability, having utilities disconnected, having unmet medical needs, and receiving free food (Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, and Garfinkel 2011).

Official measures of the poverty rate do not account for many government benefits that the poor receive (Danziger and Wimer 2014). Although researchers have called for increased social service participation to ameliorate the growing poverty and inequality associated with parental incarceration (Foster and Hagan 2007; Geller et al. 2009; Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, and Garfinkel 2011), and past work documents that childhood poverty would have been significantly higher during economic downturns if not for social service programs (Fox et al. 2015), we know of no existing research that quantifies how parental incarceration affects program participation among children after a severe economic re-

cession. This article examines severe deprivation through four measures of hardship and how enrollment in five different needs-based programs may attenuate levels of disadvantage.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Parental incarceration—as a stressful life event—is one of many factors that contribute to the social exclusion of children. Having a parent in prison or jail deprives household members of much-needed resources (Geller, Garfinkel, and Western 2011), producing strain and opportunities for youth to engage in crime and delinquency (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Merton 1938). The adverse socioemotional conditions that children experience during their formative years accumulate across the life course to reinforce and extend individual and familial disadvantage (Sampson and Laub 1997), with delinquency serving as a transitional state that results from repeated stressful life conditions (Hagan and Foster 2003). Stressful events like parental incarceration are known to produce a host of childhood behavioral challenges (Wakefield and Wildeman 2011, 2013; Wildeman 2010), health limitations (Turney 2014), and residential instabilities, such as homelessness and foster care placement (Andersen and Wildeman 2014; Wildeman 2014).

Despite these hardships, one-half to two-thirds of fathers expect to live with their children and families when they reenter society (Foster and Hagan 2009), requiring a particular public policy intervention aimed at increasing both child well-being and familial connectedness during periods of parental absence and reunification. The positive or protective factors that may increase well-being among children of incarcerated parents have not been studied in great detail. Caroline Lanskey and her colleagues (2014) argue that much of the research around the well-being of prisoners’ children does not account for the intersectionality of time, space, and agency, and they contend that external manifestations of well-being (wealth, environmental conditions, and so on) are neither accounts of nor substitutes for the subjective experiences (happiness or life satisfaction) of youth. However, because the mate-

rial deprivation and insecure attachments that children experience are likely to affect their cognitive development and emotional states (Eddy and Poehlmann 2010), governmental intervention is needed to ensure minimal levels of subsistence.

Yet recent scholarship shows that the mark of a criminal record facilitates a behavioral change among prospective, current, and former inmates. Alice Goffman's (2014) ethnographic work details how men on the run avoid institutions that may increase their likelihood of arrest and incarceration. Hospitals, for instance, are surveilled in ways that make health care utilization problematic for the families and friends of men who are and have been criminally involved. Sarah Brayne (2014) shows that such surveilling institutions (hospitals, banks, formal employment, and schools) produce a form of "system avoidance" by former inmates because they expose men with criminal records to increased risk of formal monitoring. Both of these works draw on data that were collected before the recent economic recession, and this body of research largely focuses on the avoidance by the person incarcerated. Thus, it is unknown whether system avoidance extends to children with a parent currently or previously incarcerated.

There are several theoretical reasons why parental incarceration should be associated with increased governmental assistance, especially after the Great Recession. First, Wilson (1987) originally posited that the underclass in urban areas endure heightened levels of poverty, imprisonment, and unemployment that place them at risk of increased welfare and social services. He showed that the United States relies on public assistance to aid poor families, contrary to social policy in some European nations, which supplement income through "incentives to work" programs that allow for "alternative income transfers" in the forms of family, housing, and un(der)employment allowances (Wilson 1987, 156–57). The poverty and joblessness of young, undereducated men who experience criminal justice contact trickle down into their families and communities (Western and Wildeman 2009). Thus, one should expect levels of government assistance and program participation to have been higher

among children of incarcerated parents after the Great Recession.

Second, historical understandings of crime control implicate social workers in uncovering a host of poverty-related social ills within households. Garland (2001b) argues that the economic and social progress that the welfare state ushered in during the 1980s ultimately undermined the effectiveness and legitimacy of welfarist reforms. Institutions created to meet the housing, health care, educational, and social service needs of the poor found that the most-disadvantaged members of our society have a constellation of needs and not a singular problem (Garland 2001b). Thus, the tattered fabric of American life for residents in the urban core revealed severe deprivation requiring immediate government assistance, which increased budgets and made problems appear larger than previously imagined. Nearly thirty years later, the economic recession of the early twenty-first century would again usher in a moment of extreme need.

Although the Great Recession ended in June 2009, the poverty associated with it continues. The national poverty rate remained at 14.5 percent for 2013, with black and Hispanic poverty rates two to three times higher than rates for whites (DeNavas-Walt and Proctor 2014, 13). With the rise of punitive justice and increased social control in America, having a criminal record now threatens the ability of poor families to enroll in, or continue the benefits of, various public assistance programs (Sugie 2012; Uggen and McElrath 2014). Such barriers to government assistance for needy families compromise the general welfare of children and accentuate the existing hardships of disadvantaged families.

We posit three different hypotheses about inequality in deprivation and program participation. First, we anticipate that children of an incarcerated parent will be more likely to live in poverty and reside in a working poor household. Second, we hypothesize that differences in levels of poverty during the Great Recession exposed children with an incarcerated parent to greater levels of deprivation than children unexposed to parental incarceration, net of social background effects. Finally, we expect higher levels of program participation among children

who have experienced parental incarceration because their households and communities are more likely to be visited by social workers (Garland 2001b) and to receive assistance (Wilson 1987) to buffer or attenuate these forms of deprivation. Such findings would support a “system inclusion” perspective for children of the prison boom during the economic downturn.

DATA

We use data from the 2011–2012 National Survey of Children’s Health (NSCH) to investigate race and class differences in markers of deprivation and program participation by parental incarceration status. NSCH data are collected by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago on behalf of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). The NSCH randomly sampled (both cell-phone and landline) telephone numbers to locate households with children ages zero to seventeen, and within each household one child was randomly selected to be the subject of the interview. The landline and cell-phone samples have national response rates of 38.2 and 15.5 percent, respectively, and the combined dual-frame sample has a response rate of 23.0 percent. Differences between landline and cell-phone samples do not present nonresponse bias between sampling methods because the assumed rates of eligibility as well as the definitions to determine eligibility differed for the landline and cell-phone samples. The NSCH interview completion rate, defined as the proportion of households known to include children that completed all sections, was 54.1 percent for the landline sample and 41.2 percent for the cell-phone sample.

Despite the low response rate, these data are appropriate for several reasons. First, while longitudinal data sources, like the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being (FFCW) study, follow a cohort of children, such data do not describe the current condition of material hardship or program participation for all children outside particular age groups for any calendar year. Cross-sectional data are necessary to investigate how parental incarceration is related to hardship and the social service needs for all minors. Second, the NSCH data are the only data available, to our knowledge, that al-

low for post–Great Recession analyses. The low response rates may mean that the estimates reported here are quite conservative. Thus, while the response rates are not ideal, there are very few alternative data sources that describe levels of deprivation and program participation for all children after the recent economic recession.

The NSCH asked the same demographic and health questions of all children; however, because children experience the social world at different stages of development, specific questions were asked about early childhood (under age five) and later childhood (ages six to seventeen). Parents were asked about family functioning, parental health, neighborhood and community characteristics, health coverage, and other demographic information. Children over age six were asked about self-control and educational attachment. Each interview lasted, on average, about twenty-seven minutes, and data were collected between February 28, 2011, and June 25, 2012. Over 95,600 child-level interviews were completed, with the number of interviews ranging from 1,800 to 2,200 per state. When weighted, NSCH results represent the social experiences and familial conditions of non-institutionalized minors.

There are several reasons why these data are appropriate for studying severe deprivation and participation in needs-based social programs for children who have a parent currently or formerly incarcerated. First, the data contain many measures of program participation and several markers of social disadvantage (such as parental stress, economic hardship, and parental incarceration). Second, the data are nationally representative of all youth and their socioeconomic experiences, although recent research shows that survey measures of parental incarceration in the NSCH are lower than estimates derived from population data (Sykes and Pettit 2014). These differences may matter for estimating the relative magnitude of the impact of parental imprisonment on childhood deprivation and program participation—that is, we may underestimate within- and between-group differences—but the effects of having a parent in prison or jail on measures of social disadvantage are in the anticipated direction. Our

estimates of racial and educational inequality are likely to be statistically conservative because the number of children with a parent in prison or jail is underreported. Lastly, the NSCH data provide a rich set of parental indicators that are known to affect enrollment in needs-based programs.

CONCEPTUAL MEASURES

Table 1 displays the operationalization and coding of measures in our study. The central variables in our study are measures of deprivation and program participation among children of incarcerated parents. The NSCH data contain several markers of deprivation: material hardship, unmet health needs, and residential instability. Material hardship is measured as the parent often finding it hard to cover the basics like food or housing; over one-quarter of U.S. children resided in such a household in 2011–2012. Similarly, approximately 7 percent of children had an unmet or delayed health care need, with minors utilizing an average of two services in the previous year. Residential instability is defined as the number of times the child has ever moved; parents reported that their children had made, on average, two relocations.

The NSCH data also contain measures of enrollment in social services programs. The Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), benefits from the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program, cash assistance from a state or county welfare program (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families [TANF]), Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits, and programs for free or reduced-price lunches at school are our measures of government assistance that constitute program participation. Table 1 shows that the percentage of American children enrolled for these benefits varies substantially by program. Roughly 40 percent of all children are enrolled in CHIP; 17 percent are on

WIC; 7 percent are in households that receive welfare; one in four minors is a SNAP participant; and over one-third of all children receive a free or reduced-price lunch.¹ These programs respond to primary forms of economic need and are necessary to attenuate material hardship and deprivation.

We construct two composite measures that summarize the overall system inclusion of children based on their economic need. Program participation is the sum of all programs for which the child or household has been enrolled. Using these variables, we create a scale of system inclusion that ranges from low (0) to high (5) based on the total number of programs ($\alpha = 0.73$). Additionally, we create a measure of whether a child has enrolled in any program. On average, children are enrolled in 1.25 programs, with 51 percent of all youth exposed to at least one program.

According to NSCH data, roughly 7.1 percent of children have experienced the incarceration of a parent, almost double the percentage observed in other studies (Pettit, Sykes, and Western 2009; Wildeman 2009). Rapid changes in family life, data, methods, and social policy may partially explain discrepant estimates of parental incarceration in population and survey data (Sykes and Pettit 2014). At the same time, racial-ethnic and class-based inequality in parental incarceration is similar to that found in other surveys (Sykes and Pettit 2014; Wildeman 2009).

Race is measured as non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic other. The racial distribution of children in our sample is broadly representative of American minors; roughly 53 percent of white, 14 percent of black, and 23 percent of Hispanic children are included in these data.

Educational attainment is operationalized as whether the mother has less than a high school education, has received a high school diploma, or has received some college educa-

1. Unfortunately, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) reports program data in aggregate counts of children who receive WIC and SNAP benefits (see USDA, FNS, "Overview," at: <http://www.fns.usda.gov/pd/overview>). However, the USDA does report the percentage of children who receive reduced-price or free lunches—8.6 percent and 59.6 percent, respectively, in 2012. Our estimate of 33 percent is between these figures, suggesting that the NSCH question on food limitation, as an aggregate of these two programs, is reasonable given the unknown distribution of children receiving free or reduced-price lunches.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Their Operationalization for Deprivation and Program Participation Among Children in the United States, 2011–2012

| Variables | Operationalization | Coding | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|--|---|--------------------|------|--------------------|
| Parental incarceration | Child lives with a parent or guardian who served time in jail or prison | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.07 | 0.26 |
| Material hardship | Parent often finds it hard to cover the basics like food or housing | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.26 | 0.44 |
| Unmet health needs | Child has any unmet or delayed health needs (medical, dental, vision, mental health, or other) | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.07 | 0.25 |
| Health service utilization | Number of health care services utilized | Number of services | 1.97 | 0.86 |
| Residential instability | Number of times the child has ever moved to a new address | Number of moves | 2.04 | 2.37 |
| Social service visit | Was visited by a social service worker (nurse, social worker, health professional) if child is age three or younger | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.14 | 0.34 |
| Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) | Child has been enrolled in Medicaid or CHIP | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.40 | 0.49 |
| Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) | Someone receives benefits from the WIC program | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.17 | 0.37 |
| Welfare | Received cash assistance from a welfare program in the last twelve months | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.07 | 0.26 |
| Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) | Received food stamps or SNAP benefits in the last twelve months | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.25 | 0.44 |
| Reduced-price lunch | Received free or reduced-price breakfasts or lunches at school in the last twelve months | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.33 | 0.47 |
| Poverty | Household is below the poverty line for its size | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.22 | 0.41 |
| Social programs ($\alpha = 0.73$) | Number of programs (CHIP, WIC, welfare, SNAP, reduced-price lunch): 0 = low, 5 = high | Y = 1, N = 0 | 1.23 | 1.45 |
| Any social program | Child has received any needs-based assistance (CHIP, WIC, welfare, SNAP, or reduced-price lunch) | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.51 | 0.50 |
| Non-Hispanic white | Child is non-Hispanic white (baseline) | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.53 | 0.50 |
| Non-Hispanic black | Child is non-Hispanic black | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.14 | 0.34 |
| Hispanic | Child is Hispanic | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.23 | 0.42 |
| Non-Hispanic other | Child is non-Hispanic other | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.10 | 0.30 |

Table 1. (continued)

| Variables | Operationalization | Coding | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---|---|-----------------|------|--------------------|
| Less than high school education | Mother has less than a high school education (baseline) | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.14 | 0.35 |
| High school diploma | Mother has a high school diploma | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.23 | 0.42 |
| Some college or more | Mother has some college education or more | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.63 | 0.48 |
| Age | Age of child | Number of years | 8.59 | 5.19 |
| Male | Child is male | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.51 | 0.50 |
| Employed full-time | At least one adult in the household was employed fifty out of fifty-two weeks in the past twelve months | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.84 | 0.36 |
| Working poor | Household is below the poverty line even though someone is employed full-time | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.13 | 0.33 |
| Social institutions ($\alpha = 0.64$) | Sum of community institutions (sidewalks, playgrounds, recreation centers, libraries): 0 = low, 4 = high | Y = 1, N = 0 | 3.19 | 1.10 |
| Residential disorder ($\alpha = 0.59$) | Count of neighborhood disorders (litter, dilapidated housing, broken windows): 0 = low, 3 = high | Y = 1, N = 0 | 0.44 | 0.79 |
| Social cohesion ($\alpha = 0.82$) | Count of social cohesion (people help each other out, residents watch each other's kids, adults trust each other, people count on one another): 0 = low, 4 = high | Y = 1, N = 0 | 3.42 | 1.14 |
| Concentrated disadvantage ($\alpha = 0.52$) | Count of adverse childhood experiences (witness domestic violence, living in a single-parent household, renting, is a bother to parents, is difficult to care for, angers parents): 0 = low, 6 = high | Y = 1, N = 0 | 1.47 | 1.36 |

Source: Authors' calculations from National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.

Note: Weighted N = 73,716,871 for all variables except social service visit (N = 15,660,308).

tion. The fraction of mothers with some college education is more than twice the percentage of women with a four-year degree or more (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). These differences may reflect either delays in the timing of motherhood due to college enrollment or the

growth in two-year and nontraditional educational programs for returning students.

Additional measures of social background reflect, to varying degrees, the social inequality in contemporary America. Past research shows that social institutions, neighborhood disorder,

and social cohesion are relevant to understanding inequality in residential stability and crime reduction, particularly within communities exposed to high levels of incarceration (Patillo 1998; Peterson, Krivo, and Harris 2000; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Wilson 1987; Wilson and Kelling 1982). Therefore, we construct four distinct measures of social and neighborhood background to include as controls. “Social institutions” include scaled measures of whether the neighborhood has sidewalks, playgrounds, recreational centers, and libraries ($\alpha = 0.64$); “neighborhood disorder” is the count of whether litter, dilapidated housing, and broken windows are present in the neighborhood ($\alpha = 0.59$); “social cohesion” measures the connectedness of residents through their ability to help each other, watch each other’s kids, trust one another, and count on each other ($\alpha = 0.82$); and “concentrated disadvantage” contains six measures of adverse childhood experiences and parental stress related to caring for the child ($\alpha = 0.52$).²

We include an indicator of full-time employment that represents whether a parent or guardian was employed fifty out of fifty-two weeks in the past year. Approximately 84 percent of children live in households that had at least one adult employed for the full year, and nearly one in four minors live in poverty. The survey also includes a measure of the working poor, which is defined as a parent or guardian who is employed full-time but lives below the poverty line. According to these data, over one in eight children in America live in a working poor household.

METHODS

We employ two different methods to investigate the relationship between parental incarceration and our measures of severe deprivation and program participation. First, we fit two incarceration-specific probit models to estimate racial differences in the likelihood that nonwhite children will experience program participation. We report marginal effects, which express the rate of change in the depen-

dent variable (the predicted probability) relative to a unit change in an independent variable (Long 1997; Powers and Xie 2000). All models are evaluated at their mean values.

Second, because the likelihood of experiencing parental incarceration is not randomly distributed across the population, we use propensity score matching methods to reduce the bias associated with observable social background characteristics. The propensity score is the conditional probability of having a parent incarcerated given a set of demographic, social background, and labor market covariates that predict severe deprivation and program participation and are also potential confounders in the association between parental incarceration and material hardship. The method balances the background characteristics of children exposed to parental incarceration with the characteristics of children unexposed to parental incarceration to ensure that any differences in severe deprivation and enlistment in social programs are not due to significant variation in the likelihood of having a parent in prison or jail (that is, to ensure that there are no “pretreatment” differences, in the language of Paul Rosenbaum and Donald Rubin 1983, 1984).

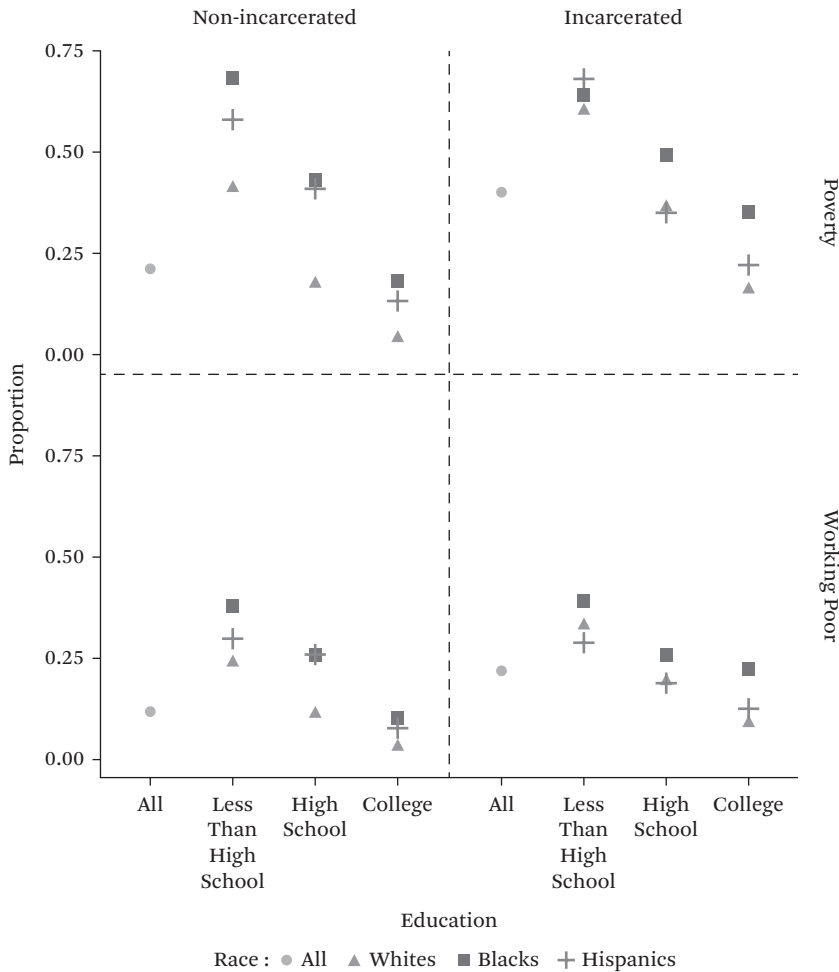
SEVERE DEPRIVATION AMONG AMERICAN CHILDREN

Figure 1 plots racial and educational inequality in the percentage of minor children living in poverty and working poor households by parental incarceration status. This two-by-two figure displays the measure of hardship (poverty and working poor) against the parental incarceration status by levels of educational attainment for each racial or ethnic group. The top half of the graph measures poverty, while the bottom half measures the percentage of children in households designated as the working poor. The left side of the figure is for children who have never had a parent incarcerated, while the right side of the graph depicts the proportion of children who had a parent incarcerated.

Overall, children who have had a parent incarcerated are twice as likely to live in poverty

2. Alpha is a lower bound of reliability (Carmines and Zeller 1979); past research has created indices from survey questions with alpha values between 0.48 and 0.69 (King and Wheelock 2007, 1262; Turney and Wildeman 2013, 973–75).

Figure 1. Racial and Educational Differences in the Percentage of Minor Children Living in Poverty and in Working Poor Households, by Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.
 Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

as children who have not experienced parental incarceration. Roughly one in five children who have not experienced parental incarceration live in poverty, compared to 40 percent of minors who have experienced parental incarceration. Pooled estimates conceal extraordinary racial and educational inequality in the experience of parental incarceration. Among children who have not had a parent behind bars, black children at every educational level have the highest likelihood of living in poverty, followed by Hispanic and white children.

Race and educational gradients in poverty are so profound that the overall percentage of

children living in poverty with a parent incarcerated (40 percent) is on par with the percentage of white children living in poverty with a parent who has not been incarcerated but has less than a high school diploma or the percentage of black or Hispanic children living in poverty with a parent who has not been incarcerated but has a high school degree.

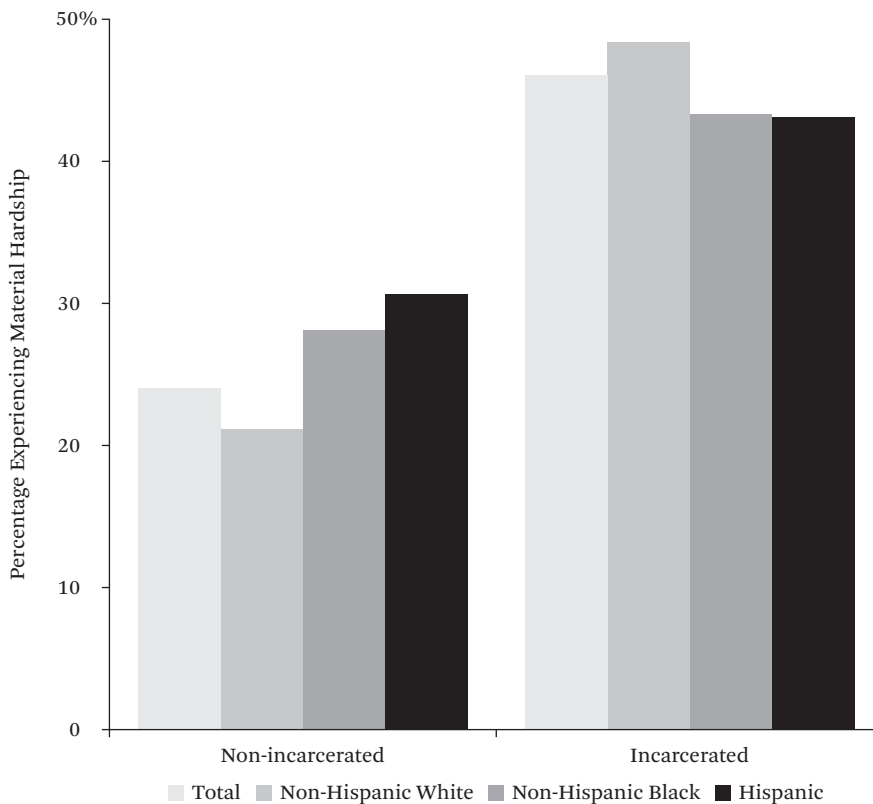
The bottom half of figure 1 displays the relative percentage of children who have a parent designated as working poor. One in eight children who have not had a parent incarcerated live in working poor homes, compared to almost one in four minors who have had a parent

behind bars. Interestingly, for African American children with mothers who have low levels of education (a high school diploma or less), there is no difference in living in a working poor household between children exposed and unexposed to parental incarceration; roughly 39 percent of black children with a mother who dropped out of high school live in working poor homes. This is the highest percentage observed for any of the race-education groupings. Higher levels of maternal education are associated with a lower fraction of children living in working poor households in both panels. However, there appears to be racial inequality among children classified as working poor who live with parents with some college education if those parents spent time behind bars. The wage and employment inequality associated with having a criminal record (Pager 2007;

Pettit 2012; Western 2006; Western and Pettit 2005) suggests that children of incarcerated parents face heightened risks of severe hardships that may require increased social service resources.

Figure 2 displays the racial differences in material hardship of minor children by parental incarceration status. Consistent with Sara Wakefield and Christopher Wildeman's (2013, 51) findings, having a parent incarcerated is associated with greater economic hardship. Approximately one in four children without an incarcerated parent encounter material hardship, compared to 46 percent of children who have experienced parental incarceration. White children of current and former inmates are 27.2 percentage points more likely to live in households experiencing material hardship than similarly situated youth whose parents

Figure 2. Percentage of Children Experiencing Material Hardship, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.
 Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

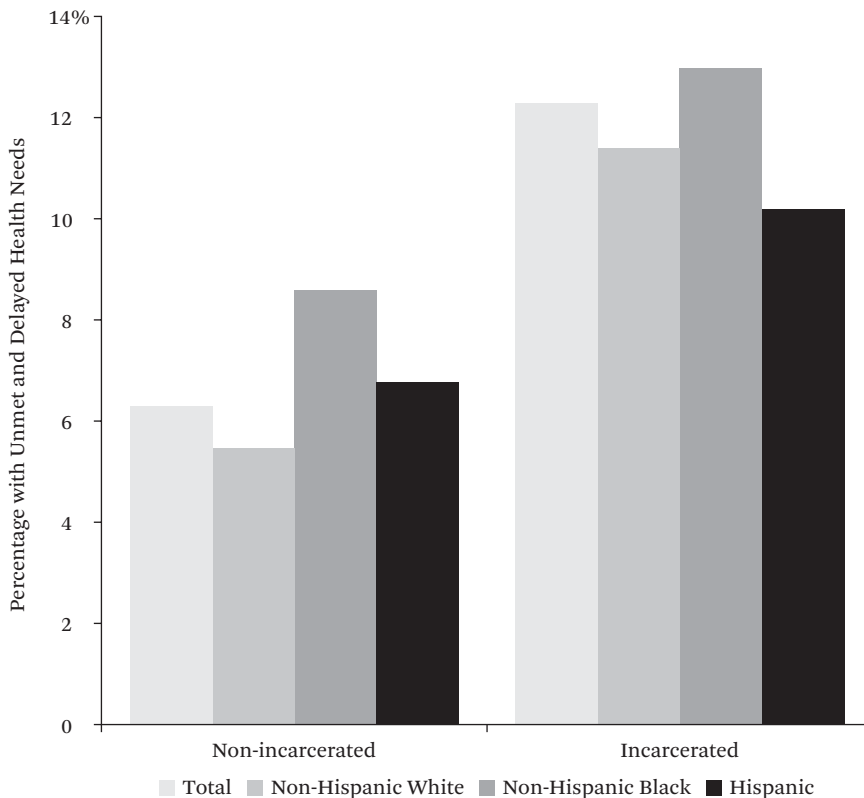
have not come into contact with the criminal justice system. For black and Hispanic children, percentage-point differences in material hardship between children with and without parents behind bars (15.3 and 12.5, respectively) are much lower, largely owing to the greater levels of hardship among children of never-incarcerated parents. Parental incarceration appears to worsen material hardship above and beyond the levels experienced by nonwhite minors.

Figure 3 displays estimates of the percentage of minor children with unmet and delayed health needs. Overall, children with an incarcerated parent are almost twice as likely (12.3 versus 6.3 percent) to have an unmet or delayed health need than children without a parent in prison or jail. Racial differences abound. Almost one in eight black children with an incar-

cerated parent have an unmet or delayed health need, compared to one in eleven African American children without a parent behind bars. Yet white children have the largest absolute difference in unmet health needs due to parental incarceration (5.9 percentage points).

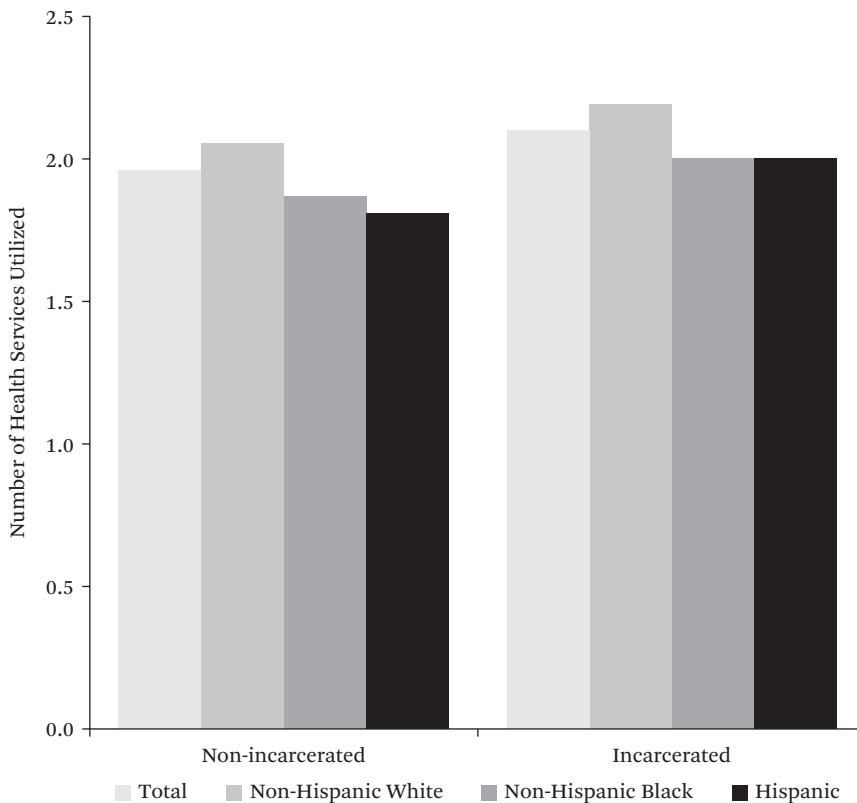
Goffman's (2014) and Brayne's (2014) finding that hospitals are surveillance sites for criminal justice agents indicates that health care services will be underutilized by men who have been or are likely to be incarcerated. Yet no scholarship has examined whether health care service deprivation extends to the lives of children exposed to parental incarceration. Figure 4 shows that the average number of health services utilized by children with an incarcerated parent is slightly greater than and significantly different from the average for youth without a parent entangled in the crim-

Figure 3. Percentage of Children with Unmet and Delayed Health Needs, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.
Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

Figure 4. Average Number of Health Services Utilized, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.

Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

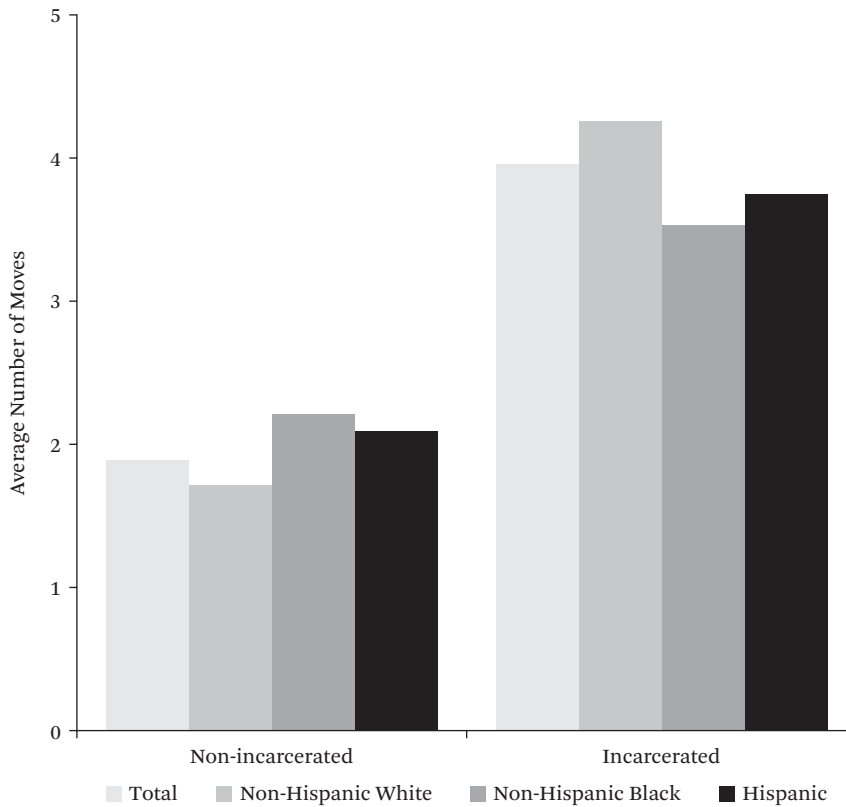
inal justice system ($b = 0.14, p < 0.001$). This finding suggests that surveillance within health care institutions is limited to parents with a criminal or arrest record and does not extend to their children.

Residential stability is important for fostering increased attachments to neighborhoods, peers, and institutions, in addition to greater physical and mental health. Sarah Burgard, Kristin Seefeldt, and Sarah Zelner (2012) show that housing instability increases levels of depression and anxiety among renters, the homeless, and mortgage holders who are behind on payments. Wakefield and Wildeman (2013) show that paternal incarceration increases the risk of homelessness. However, there is no research that documents how increased foreclosures and greater unemployment during and after the Great Recession have affected the residential stability of children with an incarcer-

ated parent. Figure 5 highlights the variation in residential instability among American children. Children who have experienced parental incarceration make twice as many moves, compared to children of parents never incarcerated. White youth who have a parent with a criminal record moved the most—4.26 times, on average—followed by Hispanics (3.75 moves) and blacks (3.53 relocations).

We assess whether these patterns of severe deprivation hold after addressing selection into families at risk of parental incarceration. Table 2 displays matched estimates of the effect of parental incarceration on measures of deprivation. Even after balancing our analysis for social background differences, we continue to find disparities in markers of need. Material hardship—that is, often finding it difficult to cover the basics like food or housing—is 17.9 percentage points higher

Figure 5. Average Number of Residential Moves Among American Children, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.
Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

Table 2. Matched Estimates of Parental Incarceration in the United States on Measures of Deprivation, 2011–2012

| | Material Hardship | Unmet Health Needs | Health Services Utilized | Residential Instability |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Incarcerated | 0.430 | 0.119 | 2.178 | 3.520 |
| Non-incarcerated | 0.251 | 0.071 | 2.055 | 1.785 |
| Difference | 0.179*** | 0.048*** | 0.122*** | 1.735*** |

Source: Authors' calculations from a propensity score matching model that estimates the effect of parental incarceration on the likelihood of a child experiencing any deprivation.

Notes: All models control for race, maternal education, employment, age, sex, community institutions, neighborhood disorder, social cohesion, concentrated disadvantage, and other social background characteristics listed in table 1. Given that the distributional form for experiencing deprivation among former inmates is unknown, the standard errors of these estimates have been bootstrapped five hundred times to obtain a more precise measure of the finite sampling approximations associated with any and total deprivation for children of incarcerated parents.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

among children who have had a parent incarcerated. Similarly, children exposed to parental incarceration are 4.8 percentage points more likely to have an unmet or delayed health need despite their slightly greater utilization of health services. Yet they experience pronounced residential instability. After adjusting for social background bias between minors exposed and unexposed to parental incarceration, children of the prison boom are associated with 1.7 more moves (or twice as many relocations), on average, than children who never had a parent under correctional supervision.

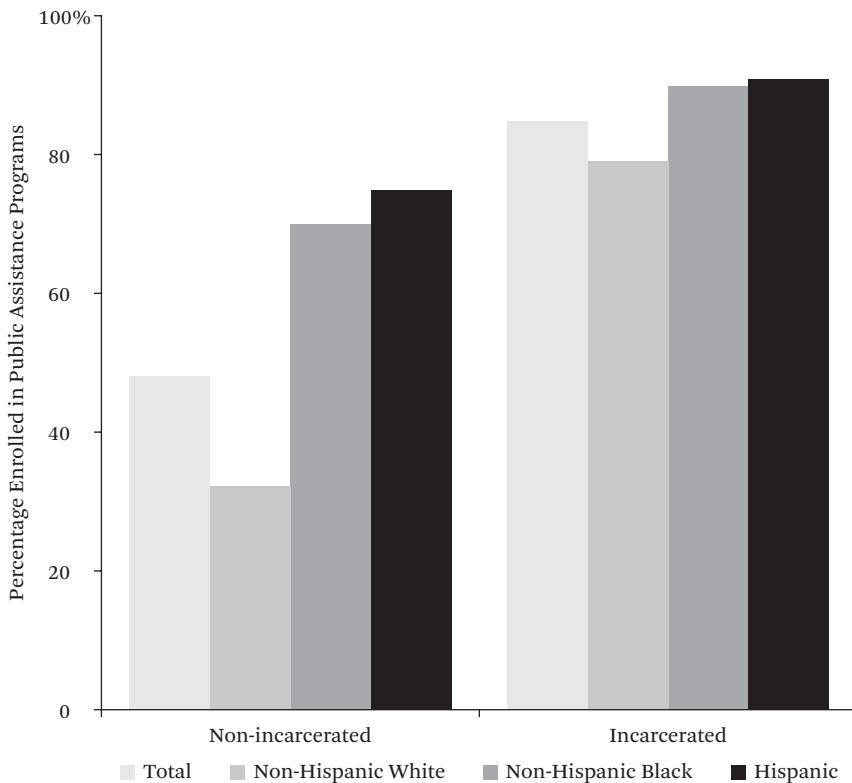
SYSTEM INCLUSION AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED

The foregoing analyses illustrate severe deprivation across a variety of measures. Yet policy findings are thin on how children with an in-

carcerated parent may have been included in social programs during the Great Recession or excluded from them. Although some research indicates that prospective and former inmates may avoid system involvement to circumvent additional surveillance, there is no evidence to suggest the same is true for their children, particularly if the other biological parent or residential guardian has no criminal record and requires program assistance to attenuate household material hardship.

Figure 6 presents estimates of the percentage of minor children who participate in social services programs on at least one measure. About half of all children who have not experienced parental incarceration are enrolled in at least one social program. Among whites, nearly one-third participate in a program, compared to 70 percent of black children and 75 percent of Hispanic children.

Figure 6. Percentage of Minor Children Enrolled in At Least One Public Assistance Program, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.

Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

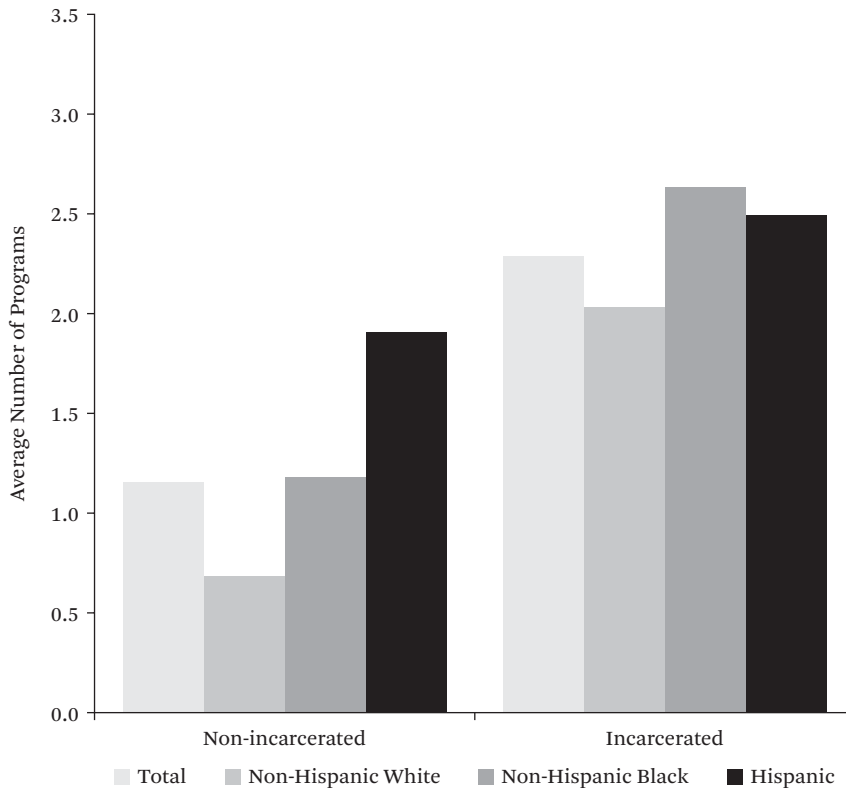
Having an incarcerated parent is associated with a higher likelihood of experiencing at least one measure of program participation. Overall, roughly 85 percent of all children who have experienced parental incarceration receive at least one form of social support. Roughly eight out of ten white children are enrolled in at least one program, and that figure rises to around 91 percent for Hispanic and black children.

Figure 7 displays the average number of social programs that minor children are enrolled in by race and parental incarceration status. Children who have not had a parent in jail or prison participate in 1.1 programs on average. White children are enrolled in less than one program, while black and Hispanic children are enrolled in an average of 1.8 and 1.9 services, respectively.

Children with an incarcerated parent participate in more social programs than youth who have not had a parent in prison or jail. Overall, minors who have had a parent behind bars have program enrollment levels twice those of children with never-incarcerated parents. Again, there is striking racial inequality in government assistance programs. White minors participate in 2.0 social programs, on average, while black and Hispanic youth participate in 2.6 and 2.5 programs, respectively.

Racial differences in system inclusion may be explained by factors beyond parental incarceration. Thus, we estimate incarceration-specific probit models to examine racial differences in participation rates. Table 3 presents the marginal change in the probability of a child being enrolled in any governmental program, net of social background characteristics.

Figure 7. The Average Number of Public Assistance Programs with Minor Children Enrolled, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012



Source: Authors' calculations from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.

Note: All estimates are nationally weighted.

Table 3. The Marginal Change in the Probability of a Child in the United States Experiencing Any Program Participation, by Race and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012

| | Model 1: Limited Controls | | Model 2: Extended Controls | |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| | Non-incarcerated | Incarcerated | Non-incarcerated | Incarcerated |
| Black | 0.369*** | 0.091*** | 0.289*** | 0.045*** |
| Hispanic | 0.317*** | 0.102*** | 0.257** | 0.062*** |

Source: Authors' calculations from a (probit) probability model that estimates the likelihood of a child ever experiencing any of the seven measures of deprivation.

Notes: Limited controls for model 1 include race, maternal education, age, sex, and parental employment status. Extended controls in model 2 contain measures from model 1 and account for material hardship, unmet or delayed health needs, number of health services utilized, residential instability, poverty, community institutions, neighborhood disorder, social cohesion, concentrated disadvantage, and other social background characteristics listed in table 1. Whites are the reference group. All estimates are marginal effects, and measures are evaluated at their mean values. Estimates are also adjusted for unobserved differences between states using state fixed effects, and the standard errors are clustered on states to account for correlated responses within the same geographic space.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Model 1 includes a limited set of controls (race, maternal education, age of child, sex of child, and parental employment status), and model 2 further adjusts for community institutions, neighborhood disorder, social cohesion, concentrated disadvantage, and other social background characteristics. In all models, white children are the reference group.

Among children who have not experienced parental incarceration, nonwhite children are significantly more likely to participate in social programs than white youth. Blacks and Hispanics are 36.9 and 21.7 percentage points more likely, respectively, to have received government aid. Including the additional set of controls (model 2) reduces these point estimates by 21.7 percent for blacks and by 18.9 percent for Hispanic children, but the differences remain statistically significant in comparison to white minors.

Racial differences between youth with an incarcerated parent are smaller, in part because the overall baseline level of participation is much higher than that for children who have not experienced parental incarceration. Black children with an incarcerated parent are 9.1 percentage points more likely than whites to experience any form of deprivation; Hispanic youth are at a slightly greater risk, with a 10.2 percentage-point difference. Again, the ecological contexts in which children reside (model 2)

explain roughly two-fifths (39.2 percent) to over one-half (50.5 percent) of the point estimates in model 1 for Hispanics and blacks, respectively.

Percentage differences in point-estimate reductions between models 1 and 2 for children who did and did not experience parental incarceration suggest that strong selection effects may be operating. Table 4 investigates this line of inquiry and its implications for understanding how the exposure and extent of program participation is associated with parental incarceration. We estimate the effect of parental incarceration on social program involvement after balancing pretreatment differences in background characteristics among children. Unmatched estimates provide a relative baseline for understanding how selection matters in differences between children with and without an incarcerated parent.

Children who experience parental incarceration are significantly more likely to experience at least one measure of assistance. Unmatched estimates indicate that minors of incarcerated parents are 44.1 percentage points more likely to enroll in one program, relative to children who do not have a parent in the correctional system. Matching on observable characteristics reveals that children who have had a parent behind bars are 35.6 percentage points more likely to report participation in at

Table 4. Unmatched and Matched Estimates of Children's Social Program Involvement in the United States, by Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012

| | Total Social Programs | | | Any Social Program | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------|------------|
| | Incarcerated | Non-incarcerated | Difference | Incarcerated | Non-incarcerated | Difference |
| Unmatched | 2.039 | 0.802 | 1.237*** | 0.808 | 0.367 | 0.441*** |
| Matched | 2.039 | 1.061 | 0.978*** | 0.808 | 0.452 | 0.356*** |

Source: Authors' calculations from a propensity score matching model that estimates the effect of parental incarceration on the likelihood of a child being enrolled in any or multiple needs-based programs. *Notes:* Total social programs represents the sum of all measures of program participation, and any social program is if the child was enrolled in at least one means-tested benefit. All models control for race, maternal education, employment, age, sex, community institutions, neighborhood disorder, social cohesion, concentrated disadvantage, and other social background characteristics listed in table 1. Given that the distributional form for experiencing deprivation among former inmates is unknown, the standard errors of these estimates have been bootstrapped five hundred times to obtain a more precise measure of the finite sampling approximations associated with any and total deprivation for children of incarcerated parents.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

least one program. Social background differences between these groups account for 19.3 percent of the difference between matched and unmatched estimates. Using information contained in table 4, we estimate that of the 2.6 million minors who experienced parental incarceration in 2012 (Sykes and Pettit 2014), at least 2.10 million (2.6×0.808) of them are enrolled in at least one social program.

The severe deprivation experienced by children of incarcerated parents is profound. On average, these children participate in 2.04 social programs, whereas children who do not experience parental incarceration participate in 1.06 needs-based programs. The overall difference is that children of incarcerated parents have significantly higher program needs—they are enrolled in almost 1.24 more programs on average. Matching on observed characteristics reduces this difference to almost one program, indicating that balancing social background effects reduces bias in parental incarceration differences by 20.9 percent.

We also investigate program involvement among children of parents who work but remain in poverty. Table 5 presents matched estimates of government assistance enrollment by parental incarceration status among households designated as the working poor. Among non-working poor households, children of incarcerated parents participate in 0.31 more so-

cial programs, on average, than children without an incarcerated parent. Minors from working poor families have much lower program participation rates; however, the absolute difference between the children exposed and unexposed to parental incarceration is larger (0.39 programs) among the working poor because the non-incarcerated group has much lower program enrollment. Nevertheless, parental incarceration remains significantly associated with participation in more needs-based programs.

Perhaps the most important finding comes from our measure of any program participation. Among the non-working poor and working poor households, between 94 and 99 percent of children participate in at least one social program. In both types of households, having an incarcerated parent increases program participation by two to four percentage-points. This finding suggests that for the most economically disadvantaged children in America, program participation continues to depend on parental incarceration, although to a lesser extent. In fact, parental incarceration may have drawn children from the margins and into government assistance to alleviate the deprivation and material hardship associated with the Great Recession.

Finally, we examine whether social service outreach increases program enrollment

Table 5. Matched Estimates of Children's Social Program Involvement in the United States, by Incarceration and Working Poor Status, 2011–2012

| | Total Social Programs | | | Any Social Program | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------|------------|
| | Incarcerated | Non-incarcerated | Difference | Incarcerated | Non-incarcerated | Difference |
| Non-working poor | 3.24 | 2.93 | 0.31*** | 0.99 | 0.97 | 0.02*** |
| Working poor | 3.03 | 2.64 | 0.39*** | 0.98 | 0.94 | 0.04*** |

Source: Authors' calculations from a propensity score matching model that estimates the effect of parental incarceration on the likelihood of a child being enrolled in any or multiple needs-based programs. *Notes:* The working poor are people who were employed full-time (fifty out of fifty-two weeks) in the year prior to being surveyed but remain in poverty, whereas the non-working poor may have been employed up to fifty weeks the previous year, if at all, and live below the poverty line. Total social programs represents the sum of all measures of program participation, and any social program is if the child was enrolled in at least one means-tested benefit. All models control for race, maternal education, employment, age, sex, community institutions, neighborhood disorder, social cohesion, concentrated disadvantage, and other social background characteristics listed in table 1. Given that the distributional form for experiencing deprivation among former inmates is unknown, the standard errors of these estimates have been bootstrapped five hundred times to obtain a more precise measure of the finite sampling approximations associated with any and total deprivation for children of incarcerated parents.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 6. Children in the United States Under Age Three Who Were Visited by Social Service Workers, by Race, Maternal Education, and Parental Incarceration Status, 2011–2012

| | Non-incarcerated | | | Incarcerated | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|
| | Non-Hispanic White | Non-Hispanic Black | Hispanic | Non-Hispanic White | Non-Hispanic Black | Hispanic |
| Less than high school | 18.0% | 21.6% | 14.2% | 28.4% | 53.3% | 6.4% |
| High school | 14.5 | 18.4 | 12.9 | 28.5 | 34.5 | 44.2 |
| College | 11.9 | 13.3 | 8.9 | 13.4 | 40.2 | 41.1 |
| Total | 12.9 | 16.3 | 12.1 | 22.6 | 38.4 | 24.7 |

Source: Authors' calculations from National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) data, 2011–2012.

among children who are impoverished or have experienced parental incarceration, as posited by Wilson (1987) and Garland (2001b). Table 6 tests this proposition by examining the percentage of children under age three who have been visited by social service workers. Overall, children of incarcerated parents receive more social service visits than children who have not experienced parental incarceration. Almost two-fifths of black youth (38.4 percent), nearly one-quarter of Hispanic youth (24.7 percent),

and over one-fifth (22.6 percent) of white youth with a parent under correctional supervision have had a nurse, social worker, or health professional visit their home, compared to 16.3, 12.1, and 12.9 percent of black, Hispanic, and white children unexposed to parental incarceration, respectively.

Maternal educational attainment reveals stark differences in social service visitation. Among children without a parent exposed to criminal justice contact, the educational pat-

terns are consistent with theoretical expectations: minors in households with lower levels of maternal education are more likely to have home visitations. Yet, among youth who have a parent under correctional supervision, the educational patterns vary by race. For instance, there is little difference between white children with a mother who has a high school diploma and those whose mother failed to complete high school. At the other extreme, Hispanic children with mothers who completed high school have the highest visitation rates relative to those whose mother has no high school degree or those whose mother has some college education. It is unclear, however, why Hispanic children in households where the mother has no high school degree have the lowest levels of visitation (6.4 percent). One possibility is that these families are avoiding the double jeopardy associated with both immigration and criminal justice surveillance. Lastly, there are large educational gradients for black children: children of mothers who dropped out of high school have the highest rates of visitation (53.3 percent), followed by those whose mother is college-educated (40.2 percent) or a high school graduate (34.5 percent).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Michel Foucault (1977, 268) famously wrote that the prison system creates delinquents “by throwing the inmate’s family into destitution,” in part, through child abandonment, vagabondage, and familial begging. Although some scholarship indicates that there is system avoidance among prospective and former inmates (Brayne 2014; Goffman 2014), our findings are broadly consistent with the theories and historical accounts of Wilson (1987) and Garland (2001b): severe deprivation and economic disadvantage are triggers for system inclusion through government programs that mollify the harsh economic conditions of the poor and marginalized. Children of current and former inmates greatly participate in these social programs, particularly in the wake of the Great Recession. Our findings indicate that the criminal justice surveillance of former inmates does not upend the inclusive nature of program participation among children of incarcerated parents. In fact,

the enrollment of children in government programs may expose and extend services to former inmates depending on their state of residence. A recent Pew report finds that states are beginning to lift bans on the receipt of food stamps and welfare for drug felons, with a majority of states having partial or no bans for former felons (Beitsch 2015).

Racial and educational differences in incarceration among adults have significant implications for understanding the persistence of poverty and intergenerational inequality. A significant body of work now highlights growing race and class disparities in the likelihood of incarceration (Pettit 2012; Pettit and Western 2004; Tonry 1995; Western 2006), and recent scholarship has linked the expansion of the criminal justice system to growing inequality in the risk of having a parent incarcerated (Pettit, Sykes, and Western 2009; Wildeman 2009). Yet researchers are only beginning to understand how these inequalities cascade across generations and structure particular forms of disadvantage for children later in life (Wakefield and Wildeman 2011, 2013).

In this article, we investigated how parental incarceration has affected exposure to and levels of deprivation and program participation among children in America since the Great Recession. Using data from the NSCH, we show that children who have experienced parental incarceration exhibit elevated rates of deprivation and greater involvement in a range of needs-based programs. Clear majorities of children who have had a parent incarcerated are involved in at least one needs-based social program (such as CHIP, TANF, free or reduced-price lunch, WIC, and SNAP), and many experience material hardship, unmet health needs, and increased residential instability. Black and Hispanic children who experience parental incarceration are the most likely to enroll in government assistance programs, but it is white children with a parent in prison or jail who encounter slightly greater material deprivation and residential instability.

Although our findings reveal systematic differences in children’s social program inclusion based on whether they had a parent incarcerated, our results cannot speak to the

practical effects of such inclusion on the poverty status of disadvantaged children or the material conditions of their lives. Nor can our findings address the questions raised by Goffman (2014) and Brayne (2014) about whether increased contact with welfare and social programs in fact leads to increased criminal justice surveillance and ultimately to an increased risk that children, like their parents, will become incarcerated. These limitations render the normative implications of our findings unclear and somewhat unsettling. Although increased system inclusion of the nation's most-disadvantaged children seems promising for the larger goal of alleviating child poverty, the specter of mass incarceration looms large: it may be that the very social programs offering a path out of poverty simultaneously set a path leading to more formal surveillance into adulthood. Research shows that the coexistence between welfare and penal states is fundamentally orthogonal within modern industrialized societies (Beckett and Western 2001; Garland 1985; Wacquant 2010), raising the possibility that the most-disadvantaged families in America face a tragic dilemma: the price they must pay for inclusion in the social safety net may further their risk of getting caught in the widening carceral net. To this point, Kaaryn Gustafson (2011) illustrates the intersectional nature of welfare and penal institutions when poverty becomes criminalized because some social welfare recipients employ devious methods to cheat the system. Other impoverished families, however, pay the price of punitive social welfare policies meant to curtail the fraudulent behavior of some program participants.

This article joins a chorus of recent research drawing attention to the collateral consequences of mass incarceration for families and their children. Incarceration levies significant penalties against those who spend time behind bars. Yet the costs of incarceration extend to the children of current and former inmates, who are at heightened risk of severe deprivation. Although many of the children who experience parental incarceration may have already been at risk of severe deprivation, our research indicates that incarceration independently and significantly contributes to chil-

dren's need for social support to meet basic living standards.

Our findings are important and timely for several reasons. First, the American public is deeply concerned that government policies since the beginning of the Great Recession have done little to help the poor and the middle class. A recent Pew report shows that 71 percent of Americans believe that government economic policies since the recession have helped large banks and financial institutions a fair amount or a great deal, and roughly two-thirds of individuals polled said the same about laws and programs that have enabled large corporations to navigate difficult financial times. By comparison, 72 percent say that economic policies since the recession have done little or nothing to help the middle class, and slightly fewer (65 percent) feel the same when asked about the poor (Pew Research Center 2015). In light of childhood poverty associated with having an incarcerated parent, social policies must be expanded to aid the children of poor families, including those who are considered the working poor.

Second, our findings highlight the importance of continued government spending on social programs aimed at attenuating poverty and deprivation. Yet recent debates in Congress have focused on the need to reduce spending on Medicare and the food stamps programs that were expanded during the Great Recession (CBS 2015; Tracy 2015). The proposed cuts are in addition to the \$8.7 billion food stamp reduction contained in the 2014 farm bill, which resulted in the loss of about \$90 per month in food stamp benefits for 850,000 households (Resnikoff 2014). These cuts risk deepening and entrenching poverty among the children of ex-prisoners currently being served by such programs.

Children's deprivation and program involvement are largely driven by both parental incarceration and growing economic inequality: children of the working poor who have not had a parent in prison or jail are suffering fates similar to those of their counterparts with a parent in prison or jail. Inmates are drawn from the most-disadvantaged segments of society and are often banished from particular domains of social life (Beckett and Herbert 2009). Thus, it should come as no surprise that

children of inmates also experience agony and distress. But parental incarceration is more than a symbol of disadvantage. Parental incarceration serves to crystallize social inequality by exposing children to additional risks, hardships, and severe deprivation that may further fuel the intergenerational transmission of disadvantage.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press.
- Andersen, Signe H., and Christopher Wildeman. 2014. "The Effect of Paternal Incarceration on Children's Risk of Foster Care Placement." *Social Forces* 93(1): 1-30. doi:10.1093/sf/sou027.
- Beckett, Katherine, and Steve Herbert. 2009. *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beckett, Katherine, and Bruce Western. 2001. "Governing Social Marginality: Welfare, Incarceration, and the Transformation of State Policy." *Punishment and Society* 3(1): 43-59.
- Beitsch, Rebecca. 2015. "States Rethink Restrictions on Food Stamps, Welfare for Drug Felons." The Pew Charitable Trusts. Accessed August 5, 2015. Available at: <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2015/07/30/states-rethink-restrictions-on-food-stamps-welfare-for-drug-felons> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Brayne, Sarah. 2014. "Surveillance and System Avoidance: Criminal Justice Contact and Institutional Attachment." *American Sociological Review* 79(3): 367-91.
- Burgard, Sarah, Kristin Seefeldt, and Sarah Zelner. 2012. "Housing Instability and Health: Findings from the Michigan Recession and Recovery Study." *Social Science and Medicine* 75: 2215-24.
- Carmines, Edward, and Richard Zeller. 1979. *Reliability and Validity Assessment*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- CBS News. 2015. "GOP Cuts Medicare, Food Stamps in New Budget Blueprint." March 16. Available at: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/gop-cuts-medicare-food-stamps-in-new-budget-blueprint/> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Cho, Rosa Minhyo. 2009a. "The Impact of Maternal Imprisonment on Children's Educational Achievement: Results from Children in Chicago Public Schools." *Journal of Human Resources* 44(3): 772-97.
- . 2009b. "Impact of Maternal Imprisonment on Children's Probability of Grade Retention." *Journal of Urban Economics* 65(1): 11-23.
- . 2010. "Maternal Incarceration and Children's Adolescent Outcomes: Timing and Dosage." *Social Service Review* 48(2): 257-82.
- . 2011. "Understanding the Mechanism Behind Maternal Imprisonment and Adolescent School Dropout." *Family Relations* 60(3): 272-89.
- Clear, Todd. 2009. *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cloward, Richard, and Lloyd Ohlin. 1960. *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. New York: Free Press.
- Cox, Robynn, and Sally Wallace. 2013. "The Impact of Incarceration on Food Insecurity Among Households with Children" Fragile Families Working Paper 13-05-FF. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University.
- Danziger, Sheldon, and Christopher Wimer. 2014. "Poverty." In *State of the Union: The Poverty and Inequality Report*, edited by Charles Varner, Marybeth Mattingly, Michelle Poulin, and David Grusky. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality.
- DeNavas-Walt, Carmen, and Bernadette D. Proctor. 2014. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2013." Current Population Reports P60-249. Washington: U.S. Census Bureau (September). Available at: <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/demo/p60-249.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Eddy, J. Mark, and Julie Poehlmann, eds. 2010. *Children of Incarcerated Parents: A Handbook for Researchers and Practitioners*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.
- Edin, Kathryn, and Maria Kefelas. 2005. *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood Before Marriage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ewert, Stephanie, Bryan Sykes, and Becky Pettit. 2014. "The Degree of Disadvantage: Incarceration and Racial Inequality in Education." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651: 24-43.
- Foster, Holly, and John Hagan. 2007. "Incarceration and Intergenerational Social Exclusion." *Social Problems* 54(4): 399-433.

- . 2009. "The Mass Incarceration of Parents in America: Issues of Race/Ethnicity, Collateral Damage to Children, and Prisoner Reentry." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 623: 179–94.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fox, Liana, Christopher Wimer, Irwin Garfinkel, Neeraj Kaushal, JaeHyun Nam, and Jane Waldfogel. "Trends in Deep Poverty from 1968 to 2011: The Influence of Family Structure, Employment Patterns, and the Safety Net." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 1(1): 14–34.
- Freudenberg, Nicholas. 2001. "Jails, Prisons, and the Health of Urban Populations: A Review of the Impact of the Correctional System on Community Health." *Journal of Urban Health* 78(2): 214–35.
- Furstenberg, Frank. 2014. "Fifty Years of Family Change: From Consensus to Complexity." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 654: 12–30.
- Garland, David. 1985. *Punishment and Welfare: A History of Penal Strategies*. Brookfield, Vt.: Gower Publishing.
- . 2001a. "The Meaning of Mass Imprisonment." In *Mass Imprisonment: Social Causes and Consequences*, edited by David Garland. London: Sage Publications.
- . 2001b. *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geller, Amanda, Carey E. Cooper, Irwin Garfinkel, Ofira Schwartz-Soicher, and Ronald B. Mincy. 2012. "Beyond Absenteeism: Father Incarceration and Child Development." *Demography* 49(1): 49–76.
- Geller, Amanda, Irwin Garfinkel, Carey E. Cooper, and Ronald B. Mincy. 2009. "Parental Incarceration and Child Well-Being: Implications for Urban Families." *Social Science Quarterly* 90(5): 1186–1202.
- Geller, Amanda, Irwin Garfinkel, and Bruce Western. 2011. "Paternal Incarceration and Support for Children in Fragile Families." *Demography* 48(1): 25–47.
- Glaze, Lauren E., and Erinn J. Herberman. 2013. "Correctional Populations in the United States, 2012." Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (December 19). Available at: <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4843> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Glaze, Lauren E., and Laura M. Maruschak. 2010. "Parents in Prison and Their Minor Children." Special Report NCJ 222984. Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (August). Available at: <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pptmc.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Goffman, Alice. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gustafson, Kaaryn. 2011. *Cheating Welfare: Public Assistance and the Criminalization of Poverty*. New York: New York University Press.
- Guzzo, Karen. 2014. "New Partners, More Kids: Multiple-Partner Fertility in the United States." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 654: 66–86.
- Hagan, John, and Holly Foster. 2003. "S/He's a Rebel: Toward a Sequential Stress Theory of Delinquency and Gendered Pathways to Disadvantage in Emerging Adulthood." *Social Forces* 82: 53–86.
- . 2012. "Intergenerational Educational Effects of Mass Imprisonment in America." *Sociology of Education* 85(3): 259–86.
- Hagan, John, and Ronit Dinovitzer. 1999. "Collateral Consequences of Imprisonment for Children, Communities, and Prisoners." *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 26: 121–62.
- Harris, Alexes, Heather Evans, and Katherine Beckett. 2010. "Drawing Blood from Stones: Legal Debt and Social Inequality in the Contemporary United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 115: 1753–99.
- Johnson, Rucker. 2009. "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 Stoll. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Johnson, Rucker, and Steven Raphael. 2009. "The Effect of Male Incarceration Dynamics on AIDS Infection Rates Among African-American Women and Men." *Journal of Law and Economics* 52(2): 251–93.
- King, Ryan, and Darren Wheelock. 2007. "Group Threat and Social Control: Race Perceptions of Minorities and the Desire to Punish." *Social Forces* 85(3): 1255–80.
- Lansky, Caroline, Friedrich Lösel, Lucy Markson, and Karen Souza. 2014. "Re-framing the Analysis:

- A 3-Dimensional Perspective of Prisoners' Children's Well-Being." *Children and Society*, 1-11. doi:10.1111/chso.12088.
- Long, J. Scott. 1997. *Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Lopoo, Leonard, and Bruce Western. 2005. "Incarceration and the Formation and Stability of Marital Unions." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 67: 721-34.
- Manning, Wendy, Susan Brown, and J. Bart Stykes. 2014. "Family Complexity Among Children in the U.S." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 654: 48-65.
- Massey, Douglas. 1996. "The Age of Extremes: Concentrated Affluence and Poverty in the Twenty-First Century." *Demography* 33: 395-412.
- Massey, Douglas, Gretchen Condran, and Nancy Denton. 1987. "The Effect of Residential Segregation on Black Social and Economic Well-Being." *Social Forces* 66: 29-56.
- Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Massoglia Michael, Brianna Remster, and Ryan King. 2011. "Stigma or Separation? Understanding the Incarceration-Divorce Relationship." *Social Forces* 90(1): 133-55.
- Merton, Robert. 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review* 3: 672-82.
- Mumola, Christopher J. 2000. "Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin: Incarcerated Parents and Their Children." Special Report NCJ 182335. Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (August). Available at: <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/iptc.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Murray Joseph, Rolf Loeber, and Dustin Pardini. 2012. "Parental Involvement in the Criminal Justice System and the Development of Youth Theft, Marijuana Use, Depression, and Poor Academic Performance." *Criminology* 50(1): 255-302.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108: 937-75.
- Pager, Devah, and Lincoln Quillian. 2005. "Walking the Talk: What Employers Do Versus What They Say." *American Sociological Review* 70: 355-80.
- Patillo, Mary. 1998. "Sweet Mothers and Gang-bangers: Managing Crime in a Black Middle-Class Neighborhood." *Social Forces* 76: 747-74.
- Peterson, Ruth D., Lauren J. Krivo, and Mark A. Harris. 2000. "Disadvantage and Neighborhood Violent Crime: Do Local Institutions Matter?" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 37(1): 31-63.
- Pettit, Becky. 2012. *Invisible Men: Mass Incarceration and the Myth of Black Progress*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Pettit, Becky, and Bryan Sykes. 2015. "Civil Rights Legislation and Legalized Exclusion: Mass Incarceration and the Masking of Inequality." *Sociological Forum* 30(S1): 589-611.
- Pettit, Becky, Bryan Sykes, and Bruce Western. 2009. "Technical Report on Revised Population Estimates and NLSY 79 Analysis Tables for the Pew Public Safety and Mobility Project." Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.
- Pettit, Becky, and Bruce Western. 2004. "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69: 151-69.
- Pew Research Center. 2015. "Most Say Government Policies Since Recession Have Done Little to Help Middle Class, Poor." March 4. Available at: <http://www.people-press.org/files/2015/03/03-04-15-Economy-release.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Powers, Daniel, and Yu Xie. 2000. *Statistical Methods for Categorical Data Analysis*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Resnikoff, Ned. 2014. "Congress Passes \$8.7 Billion Food Stamp Cut." MSNBC, February 4. Available at: <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/congress-passes-farm-bill-food-stamp-cuts> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Rosenbaum, Paul, and Donald Rubin. 1983. "The Central Role of the Propensity Score in Observational Studies for Causal Effects." *Biometrika* 70: 41-55.
- . 1984. "Reducing Bias in Observational Studies Using Subclassification on the Propensity Score." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 79: 516-24.
- Sampson, Robert J., and John H. Laub. 1997. "A Life-Course Theory of Cumulative Disadvantage and the Stability of Delinquency." In *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency*, edited by Terence P. Thornberry. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Sampson, Robert, John Laub, and Christopher

- Wimer. 2006. "Does Marriage Reduce Crime? A Counterfactual Approach to Within-Individual Causal Effects." *Criminology* 44(3): 465–508.
- Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science* 277(5328): 918–24.
- Schwartz-Soicher Ofira, Amanda Geller, and Irwin Garfinkel. 2011. "The Effect of Paternal Incarceration on Material Hardship." *Social Service Review* 85(3): 447–73.
- Sugie, Naomi. 2012. "Punishment and Welfare: Paternal Incarceration and Families' Receipt of Public Assistance." *Social Forces* 90(4): 1403–27.
- Sykes, Bryan, and Becky Pettit. 2014. "Mass Incarceration, Family Complexity, and the Reproduction of Childhood Disadvantage." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 654: 127–49.
- Tonry, Michael. 1995. *Malign Neglect: Race, Crime, and Punishment in America*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tracy, Tennille. 2015. "Republicans Eye Changes to Food-Stamp Program." *Wall Street Journal*, February 11.
- Turney, Kristin. 2014. "Stress Proliferation Across Generations? Examining the Relationship Between Parental Incarceration and Childhood Health." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 55: 302–19.
- Turney, Kristin, and Anna Haskins. 2014. "Falling Behind? Children's Early Grade Retention After Paternal Incarceration." *Sociology of Education* 87(4): 241–58. doi:10.1177/0038040714547086.
- Turney, Kristin, and Christopher Wildeman. 2013. "Redefining Relationships: Explaining the Countervailing Consequences of Parental Incarceration for Parenting." *American Sociological Review* 78(6): 949–79.
- Uggen, Christopher, and Jeff Manza. 2002. "Democratic Contraction? Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States." *American Sociological Review* 67: 777–803.
- Uggen, Christopher, and Suzy McElrath. 2014. "Parental Incarceration: What We Know and Where We Need to Go." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 104(3): 597–604.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2012. "Table 230. Educational Attainment by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Sex: 1970 to 2010." Available at: <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0230.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment and Society* 3(1): 95–134.
- . 2010. "Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity." *Sociological Forum* 25(2): 197–220.
- Wakefield, Sara, and Christopher Wildeman. 2011. "Mass Imprisonment and Racial Disparities in Childhood Behavioral Problems." *Criminology and Public Policy* 10: 791–817.
- . 2013. *Children of the Prison Boom: Mass Incarceration and the Future of American Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Western, Bruce, Leonard Lopoo, and Sara McLanahan. 2004. "Incarceration and the Bonds Between Parents in Fragile Families." In *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, edited by Mary Patillo, David Weiman, and Bruce Western. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Western, Bruce, and Becky Pettit. 2005. "Black-White Wage Inequality, Employment Rates, and Incarceration." *American Journal of Sociology* 111: 553–78.
- Western, Bruce, and Christopher Wildeman. 2009. "The Black Family and Mass Incarceration." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 621: 221–42.
- Wildeman, Christopher. 2009. "Parental Imprisonment and the Concentration of Childhood Disadvantage." *Demography* 46(2): 265–80.
- . 2010. "Paternal Incarceration and Children's Physically Aggressive Behaviors: Evidence from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study." *Social Forces* 89(1): 285–309.
- . 2014. "Parental Incarceration, Child Homelessness, and the Invisible Consequences of Mass Imprisonment." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651: 74–96.
- Wildeman, Christopher, and Christopher Muller. 2012. "Mass Imprisonment and Inequality in Health and Family Life." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 8: 11–30.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, James Q., and George Kelling. 1982. "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety." *Atlantic* (March): 29–38.