

# A Family Stress-Proximal Process Model for Understanding the Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children and Their Families

Joyce A. Arditti  
Virginia Tech

A Family Stress-Proximal Process (FSPP) model is advanced for examining the effects of parental incarceration on children, which situates parental incarceration as a stressor that influences psychological and proximal relational processes in the family. Proximal processes encompass person–environment interactions that broadly involve psychological distress and unresolved loss, as well as alterations in parenting and the need for children to spend time directly in prison settings if they visit the incarcerated parent. These processes occur within a context of social inequality that contribute to the difficulties families experience. The ways in which these processes influence child adjustment are examined as well as the implications of an FSPP framework for methodological innovation and intervention aimed at promoting child and family resilience.

*Keywords:* parental incarceration, family stress, proximal processes, social inequality, ambiguous loss

Over the past 30 years, the number of people who have come into contact with the criminal justice system in the United States has increased at an alarming rate. Approximately 1.6 million people are in prison, and approximately 735,601 offenders are confined to local jails (Glaze & Herberman, 2013; Minton, 2012). An additional 4 million people are on probation, and nearly 65 million individuals have a criminal record (Rodriguez & Emsellen, 2011). Although there have been modest declines in state prison populations in recent years, largely accounted for by the release of offenders in California’s overcrowded facilities (Glaze & Herberman, 2013), federal prison populations continue to increase. The rapid and remarkable growth in the number of individuals incarcerated has been referred to as “mass imprisonment,” which signifies a rate of imprisonment that is well above the historical and comparative norm for the United States (King, Mauer, & Young, 2005). Whereas incarceration used to be reserved for the most serious violent offenders,

today’s prisoner is likely to be a person of color, involved in a petty or nonviolent offense, and a parent (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014).

Substantial numbers of the incarcerated have children, and after decades of unprecedented prison growth, social scientists are now turning their attention to the question of how parental incarceration affects families. Approximately 52% of state inmates and 63% of federal inmates are parents to an estimated 1.7 million minor children, accounting for 2.3% of the U.S. population under the age of 18 at any one point in time (Glaze & Maruschak, 2010). More recent estimates indicate that 5 million youth, or 7% of all US children, experience parental incarceration at some point in their lives before reaching the age of 18 (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). As a group, children of incarcerated parents face multiple risks and poor developmental outcomes. Empirical evidence has suggested that even after accounting for other general risk markers such as parental substance abuse, parental mental health, compromised parenting, and environmental risks (e.g., poverty, education, race, large family size), parental incarceration continues to predict youth externalizing (Dallaire, Zeman, & Thrash, 2015; Johnson, 2009; Kinner, Alati, Najman, & Williams, 2007; Murray, Farrington, & Sekol, 2012; Turney, 2014; Wildeman, 2010), internalizing

---

This article was published Online First April 14, 2016.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Joyce A. Arditti, Department of Human Development, Virginia Tech, 311 Wallace Hall, Blacksburg, VA 24061. E-mail: [arditti@vt.edu](mailto:arditti@vt.edu)

problems such as depression (Dallaire et al., 2015; Johnson, 2009; Murray & Farrington, 2008), child trauma symptomology (Arditti & Savla, 2015), antisocial behavior (Will, Whalen, & Loper, 2014), developmental and learning disabilities (Turney, 2014), and overall poor health (Lee, Fang, & Luo, 2013). Wakefield and Wildeman's (2014) stringent analyses of several secondary data sets provide some of the most compelling evidence that parental incarceration (particularly paternal incarceration) uniquely contributes to substantial increases in children's externalizing, internalizing, physically aggressive, and total behavioral problems.

Despite the robustness of this growing body of literature pointing to the harms that parental incarceration poses to children, the underlying mechanisms by which this occurs still remain largely unexplored due to data limitations and difficulties accessing families for research (Arditti, 2012; Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013). Within ecological theory, proximal processes are defined as enduring interactions between the developing child and people, objects, and symbols in his or her immediate environments. These dynamic interactions are seen as the engines that "drive" development and vary as a joint function of the characteristics of the developing person and changes in his or her environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). A focus on proximal processes potentially yields critical answers to questions about *why* parental incarceration negatively affects children and what we can do about it (Arditti, 2015a).

The purpose of this paper is to advance a Family Stress-Proximal Process (FSPP) model (Boss, 2002; Conger, Cui, Bryant, & Elder, 2000; Patterson, 2002), which first frames parental separation due to incarceration as a stressor for children and their families, and second focuses on key intervening psychological and proximal processes. Such a perspective acknowledges the systemic interdependence among family members that is a hallmark of ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as well as how stressful childhood experiences or risk factors set in motion specific family processes and mechanisms of effect (Cummings, Davies, & Campbell, 2000). Consistent with stress-process models on health disparities (Pearlin, Schieman, Fazio, & Meersman, 2005), this model acknowledges parental incarceration as a fundamental stressor that may directly con-

tribute to children's psychopathology and adjustment, as well as a factor connected to "stress proliferation," resulting in additional stressful sequelae that may undermine youth mental and physical health (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Dallaire et al., 2015; Foster & Hagan, 2013; Murphey & Cooper, 2015; Schnittker & John, 2007; Turney, 2014).

### Theoretical Background and Significance

Past and current scholarship on parental incarceration has drawn from an array of developmental and sociological perspectives. Developmental theoretical orientations tend to focus on how the age of the developing child might influence short- and long-term outcomes as they pertain to a parent's incarceration and how attachments disruptions, particularly during infancy and early childhood, may be an underlying cause of child emotional and behavior problems (Parke & Stewart, 2003; Poehlmann, 2005a, 2010). Applications of attachment theory to explain the effects of parental incarceration on children typically conceptualize attachment as a developmental process in conjunction with an array of risk and resilience factors. The extent to which children can maintain a secure, organized attachment relationship with the incarcerated parent or another caregiver serves a protective function, which counterbalances other risks associated with parental incarceration (Dallaire & Zeman, 2013). With regard to how parental incarceration affects children, the strength of developmental perspectives involves attention to children's changing needs and competencies, systemic interdependence (Poehlmann, Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010), and microprocesses within the family as well as children's resilience (Poehlmann & Eddy, 2010).

Sociological perspectives on parental incarceration are broadly concerned with mass incarceration as a means to crystallize social inequality (Western & Pettit, 2010), and tend to focus on how parental incarceration corresponds with, or intensifies, economic strain and social disadvantage (Geller, Garfinkel, & Western, 2011; Phillips, Erkanli, Keeler, Costello, & Angold, 2006; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014; Western, 2002). Mass imprisonment has been demonstrated to contribute to and perpetrate deepening socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic disparities be-

tween African Americans, Whites, and Latino adults (Lopez & Light, 2009; Pettit & Western, 2004) and their children (Wildeman, 2009). In addition to racial and ethnic disparities, the incarcerated tend to come from intense histories of cumulative disadvantage characterized by multiple risks. These risks include family histories of victimization, mental health difficulties, substance misuse and addiction, and intergenerational criminality (Arditti, 2012; Phillips & O'Brien, 2012). Macro sociological perspectives often situate family effects within the larger context of the use of imprisonment as a criminal sanction. Child and family outcomes are defined as "collateral" in that parental incarceration involves unintended costs to children via the diminished economic and social capital of their families and communities (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999). Sociological perspectives contribute to our understanding of parental incarceration through a focus on social inequality as the context in which parental incarceration occurs.

More recently, parental incarceration has been conceptualized as a source of stress that can have lasting consequences for children, consistent with the intergenerational effects literature (Foster & Hagan, 2013; Turney, 2014). Foster and Hagan (2013) tested an intergenerational stress-influence hypothesis that specified how parental incarceration caused mental health problems for offspring in young adulthood. The authors also theorized that the intergenerational effects of parental incarceration are socially structured along dimensions of social disadvantage and the differential vulnerability of children based on the gender of the parent who is incarcerated and the gender and race of the offspring. Utilizing the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health [Add Health] data set to test a series of hypotheses, the authors found support for a gendered loss perspective whereby maternal imprisonment increased depressive symptoms for offspring in young adulthood whereas paternal imprisonment increased substance abuse problems (Foster & Hagan, 2013). Although this study helped contribute to an understanding of the structural factors that influence the extent to which parental incarceration may serve as a stressor for offspring, it did not unpack the proximal processes by which parental incarceration might influence families.

### An FSPP Model for Understanding Parental Incarceration

The FSPP model advanced here draws from both developmental and sociological perspectives, along with tenets of family stress theory. Family stress theory has not typically been applied to the study of parental incarceration, yet it holds the potential to unpack mediating psychological and family relational processes (K. Conger, Reuter, & Conger, 2000; Kotchick, Dorsey, & Heller, 2005; Patterson, 2002) that would help explain why parental incarceration appears to contribute to negative child outcomes. Boss's (2002) contextual model of family stress is particularly applicable to the study of parental incarceration given its basic premise that family stress processes are influenced by internal and external contexts. External contexts include outside influences the family cannot control such as economic recession, war, and with regard to the present topic, much of the circumstance (i.e., sentencing laws, prison policies, etc.) surrounding a family member's incarceration. The internal context involves those aspects of a situation that the family can control and includes the experience of loss, family boundaries, and family rules and roles. Therefore, from a family stress perspective, proximal processes of critical importance involve the nature of loss and who is perceived as in or out of the family. According to Boss, stressor events that are ambiguous and contain a great deal of uncertainty are the most difficult to resolve and cause the most negative outcomes for family members.

Figure 1 summarizes an FSPP framework. Consistent with both ecological and family stress theory, meanings (loss experiences, perceptions of distress), parental functioning, and person-environment interactions concerning children and their parents are critical areas of concern (Bronfenbrenner, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Conger & Elder, 1994). Parental incarceration is conceptualized as an ongoing stressor (illustrated at the far left and bottom of the figure as an extended line) that contributes to psychological distress, which in turn, influences proximal relational family processes that the literature has identified as linked to children's adjustment. The FSPP model bridges developmental and sociological perspectives by situating psychological and

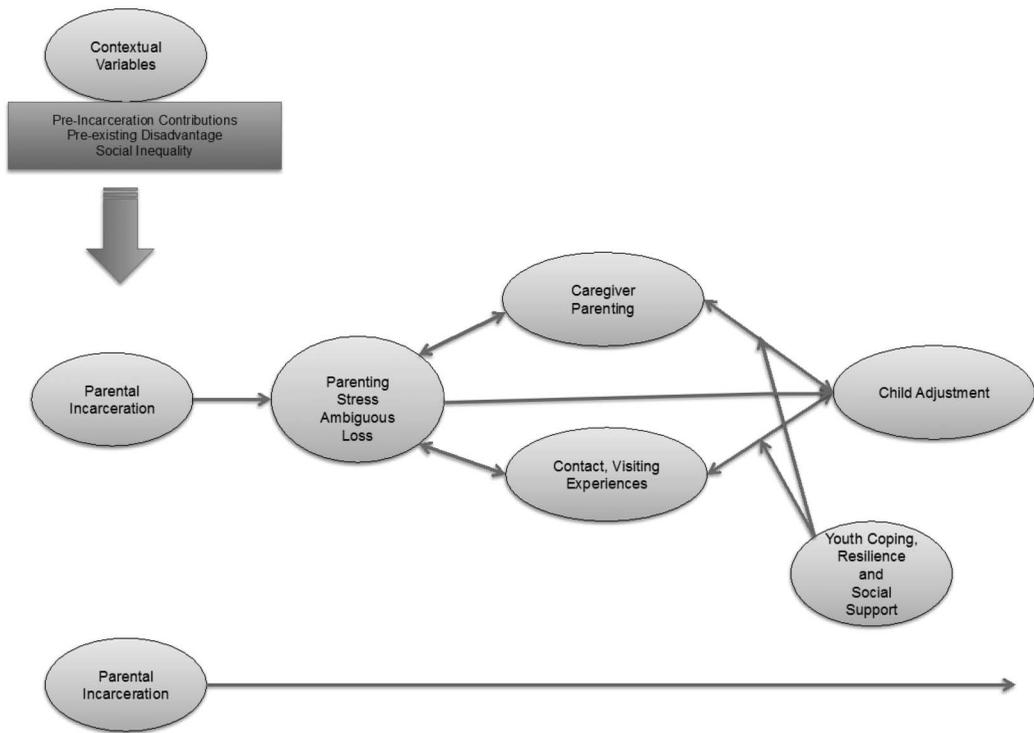


Figure 1. A Family Stress-Proximal Process model of how parental incarceration affects nonincarcerated caregivers and their children.

family processes within the broader context of social inequality.

### Elements of the Model

#### Context: Parental Incarceration as a Result of and Contributor to Disadvantage

Contextualizing the experience of parental incarceration involves attending to evidence that suggests that imprisonment is both a result of and contributor to social inequality. Penal involvement tends to “crystallize” social inequality, as prisoners are often the least advantaged members of society and drawn from its “bottom rung” (Western & Pettit, 2010). Incarceration can be viewed as a result of disadvantage because most prisoners come from histories characterized by multiple risks such as family histories of victimization, low education, neighborhood disadvantage, mental health difficulties, substance misuse and addiction, and intergenerational criminality (Arditti, 2012;

Phillips et al., 2006; Phillips & O’Brien, 2012). Accumulated risk can also reproduce itself in that it is related to increased rates of both first time and repeat incarceration rates (Morenoff & Harding, 2011; Sampson, 1997; Western & Pettit, 2010).

Similar to the backgrounds of the incarcerated, the existing literature indicates that the social and economic situation of children prior to a parent’s incarceration (and in particular paternal incarceration) is *already* characterized by economic difficulties, lower father engagement, and risky or harmful behaviors on the part of the offender parent such as substance abuse, domestic violence, and antisocial behavior (Murphey & Cooper, 2015; Phillip et al., 2006; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). Although the incarceration of a parent can certainly offer a family relief as in the case of domestic violence, child maltreatment, or overt criminality, overall it appears that a parent’s incarceration does more harm than good. Even when there is a

demonstrated lack of involvement on the part of the offender parent, his or her incarceration may still equate with economic and social harms to children (Geller, Cooper, Garfinkel, & Mincy, 2010; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014).

Part of the reason for this spate of harm involves how parental incarceration may connect with the declining social and economic capital of their families (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). The growth of the male penal population in recent decades, specifically poor young men of color, is seen as a strong influence in the formation of poor single-parent families (Western, Loopoo, & McLanahan, 2004). Prison confinement can compound any preexisting disadvantage by prohibiting the involvement and contributions of individuals from their family systems and kin (Hairston, 1998; Swisher & Waller, 2008). For example, although most incarcerated fathers reported incomes well below the poverty line (Mumola, 2000), recent data indicate that more than half of fathers in prison reported that they were the primary source of financial support for their children, with ~46% of men residing with their children prior to their confinement (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Further, children may lose child support as a result of a parent's incarceration, particularly in the case of fathers' incarceration (Arditti, Lambert-Shute, & Joest, 2003; Geller, Garfinkel, & Western, 2011). The loss of any financial support coming from parents prior to their incarceration further compromises the economic survival of affected households (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999; Murray & Farrington, 2006; Wildeman, 2010). In addition to precluding economic support, incarceration suppresses the enactment of key family functions as articulated by family stress theory (Patterson, 2002) such as membership and family formation, education and socialization, and the provision of protective care of family members. For parents that engaged in these functions prior to incarceration, their cessation can profoundly impact children and their nonincarcerated family members (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999).

To summarize, the inequality created by incarceration is not only cumulative but intergenerational and unequally distributed (Phillips et al., 2006; Western & Pettit, 2010) in that the reproduction of disadvantage is particularly likely among African American families expe-

riencing paternal incarceration (Haskins, 2014; Johnson, 2009). For example, children with an incarcerated parent are significantly more likely to experience homelessness, housing instability, food insecurity, and lower rates of educational achievement, and these effects are concentrated among African American youth (Cox & Wallace, 2013; Foster & Hagan, 2009; Haskins, 2014; Johnson, 2009; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). It is in this context of hardship and social inequality that parental incarceration shapes proximal family processes, for it often equates with imposing additional economic and social stress on already vulnerable families. Per family stress theory (Conger & Elder, 1994), preexisting disadvantage as well as prolonged financial and situational hardship associated with a family member's incarceration, is expected to undermine family relationships and child adjustment by increasing emotional and psychological distress on the part of the nonincarcerated family members. The distress is a pathway by which risk and maladjustment increases (Conger et al., 1992).

### **Psychological Distress: Ambiguous Loss and Parenting Stress**

Consistent with family stress frameworks (Boss, 2002; Conger et al., 1992), manifestations of psychological distress are a centerpiece of the FSPP model in terms of how it might influence proximal caregiving, contact processes, and child adjustment. Bidirectional lines are illustrated between psychological distress and relational processes to reflect the dynamic nature of family systems, although most research informed by family stress theory tests a unidirectional path of influence (intra-individual state → relational processes; Newland, Crnic, Cox, & Mills-Koonce, 2013; Scaramella, Sohr-Preston, Callahan, & Mirabile, 2008; Sobolewski & Amato, 2005). Here, two aspects of psychological distress are discussed based on their theoretical and empirical significance within the context of parental incarceration: ambiguous loss and parenting stress.

**Parental incarceration as an ambiguous loss.** Parental incarceration gives rise to ambiguous loss on the part of nonincarcerated family members and children because it is a highly stigmatized and uncertain experience. Even when the incarcerated parent did not live with their children prior to arrest and confinement,

children still seem to suffer emotionally (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014), suggesting that some of our greatest losses may be quite ambiguous and unfold over time. Ambiguous losses are unclear and characterized by a “mismatch” between physical and psychological presence. The loved one is missed either physically or psychologically (Boss, 2004), and with regard to incarceration, nonincarcerated caregivers and their children likely experience this “mismatch” in multiple ways. For example, the incarcerated parent may be physically absent but psychologically present in the home. The family may develop strategies to ensure the incarcerated parent is “present” by keeping pictures out, engaging in activities that were a part of family life when the person was free, or wearing certain clothing items that the incarcerated individual liked (Comfort, 2008). These strategies might extend into the family dialogue and parenting behaviors.

Children’s experience of ambiguous loss can manifest in a broad array of emotions and behaviors, ranging from anger, to withdrawal, or profound sadness (Arditti, 2003; Bocknek, Sanderson, & Britner, 2009; De Masi & Bohn, 2010). Indeed, focus group interviews with children, youth, and caregivers of formerly incarcerated parents in New York State yielded a very clear pattern that the experience of parental incarceration “leaves children with a keen sense of loss” (De Masi & Bohn, 2010, p. 16). The loss associated with having a parent incarcerated is palpable—even if this parent was not known to them or had been away for a very long time, children still sensed something was “missing.” As one youth explained: “I look around and see other kids with their fathers and it makes me sad” (De Masi & Bohn, 2010, p. 26). In addition to the ambiguous loss associated with the lack of a parent’s physical presence in the home and the uncertainty that might surround his or her return, ambiguity also arises when a person is perceived as physically present but psychologically absent. This form of absence extends to situations in which the person is not as he or she “used to be” or perhaps returns as a “different person” (Boss, 1999). When prisoners come home they must face many challenges with regard to reintegration, including the renegotiation of family relationships. There is a good chance that they are emotionally and psychologically disabled

(Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001), particularly in cases of prolonged incarceration, which surely renders them a different person creating additional stress for the family.

Boss (2014) has characterized ambiguous loss as paradoxical and without closure, in terms of the difficulties in mourning a “missing” person. These ideas as derived from family stress theory are incredibly applicable to the experiences of children and their families impacted by parental incarceration, for imprisonment involves a social rather than physical death of the loved one. It is an ambiguous loss because the prisoner remains physically alive but is treated as dead (via their confinement) by the outside world (Sudnow, 1967). Grieving and psychological adjustment is further complicated by the fact that incarceration is a highly stigmatized “death” that is not socially validated. Nonincarcerated family members may experience a profound sense of loss, yet the loss cannot be publicly acknowledged for two reasons: the person is still biologically alive, and incarceration is so highly stigmatized it is not defined as socially significant. Children’s caregivers have described the experience as a “funeral that no one attends” (Arditti, 2002). Hostile, disapproving, or indifferent social attitudes compound the pain of parental incarceration. As a result of the stigma, misinformation given to children regarding their incarcerated parent’s whereabouts can further contribute to ambiguity thus heightening children’s anxiety, insecurity, and emotional distress (Bocknek et al., 2009; Poehlmann, 2010). Secrecy about a parent’s incarceration may serve a protective function in the short run, but can also “establish a foundation in which isolation, shame, and loneliness are built” (Hagen & Myers, 2003, p. 230).

In sum, parental incarceration is an ambiguous loss experienced by the families and children of the incarcerated parent. Grieving the “missingness” of the parent may be further complicated by the highly stigmatized nature of the loss and the lack of social validation associated with “death by imprisonment.”

**Parenting stress.** Parenting stress is a psychological stress reaction to the persistent and significant challenges related to the care of children (Abidin, 1995; Pisula, 2011). Applications of family stress theory have situated parenting stress as a mediator of effect with regard to economic strain and dysfunctional parental be-

havior (Putnick et al., 2008), which in turn contributes to adult and child psychopathology (Crnic, Gaze, & Hoffman, 2005; Huang, Chang, Chi, & Lai, 2014; Stern, Smith, & Jang, 1999). For example, parenting stress has been shown to be associated with authoritarian, harsh, and negative parenting behaviors (Deater-Deckard, 1998). These types of parenting behaviors have been found to link to deleterious child outcomes (Osborne & McLanahan, 2007) and PTSD symptoms (Valentino, Berkowitz, & Stover, 2010). Parenting stress has also been found to directly predict observed and reported negative child behavior problems (Crnic et al., 2005). Both direct and indirect pathways of influence are reflected in Figure 1. Descriptive research that parental incarceration can negatively affect caregivers (Arditti et al., 2003; Turanovic, Rodriguez, & Pratt, 2012), along with quantitative findings indicating that recent paternal incarceration was significantly associated with mother's subsequent parenting stress (Turney & Wildeman, 2013), supports a theoretical proposition that parental incarceration equates with greater parenting stress for nonincarcerated caregivers.

Parenting stress for caregivers of children with a parent in jail or prison likely stems from three main sources: 1) child characteristics that predate parental incarceration or behavioral symptoms associated with the incarceration, 2) characteristics or vulnerabilities in the caregivers themselves, or 3) stigmatized attitudes toward families impacted by parental incarceration. With regard to the first issue, children with incarcerated parents appear to display internalizing and externalizing behavior, and school difficulties that may extend into antisocial, delinquent behavior in adolescence and young adulthood (Eddy & Reid, 2001; Farrington, Coid, & Murray, 2009; Johnson, 2009). These kinds of child characteristics and behaviors may contribute to parenting stress, and vice versa. Transactional effects of parenting stress and child behavior problems are documented in other literatures (e.g., developmental disabilities, Osborne & Reed, 2009; Woodman, Mawdsley, & Hauser-Cram, 2015), and although reciprocal effects have not been empirically tested with regard to children of incarcerated parents, they seem likely. It is worth noting here that recent qualitative analyses from interviews with families impacted by parental incarceration are indicative of both children's behavior problems

and caregivers' parenting stress. The nature of children's problems rendered them in need of more support, attention, and discipline from their primary caregivers—a situation that is rife with parenting stress. Caregivers reported problems at home (such as fighting with siblings, arguing with caregivers, general defiance) and at school (detention, suspension, fighting with classmates) along with difficult child behavior and developmental regression (e.g., crying, withdrawal, fatigue, loss of "potty training") (Arditti et al., 2003; Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010).

Second, caregivers may find themselves physically, emotionally, and financially overwhelmed as they deal with the demands of caring for children of the incarcerated parent—particularly over extended periods of time (Hanlon, Carswell, & Rose, 2007; Hungerford, 1996; Mackintosh, Myers, & Kennon, 2006). Caregiver vulnerabilities may be due in part to the demographic of the penal population (disproportionately younger men of color) and the fact that the majority of caregivers affected by parental incarceration are resource-poor African American women (Christian & Thomas, 2009; Comfort, 2008; Hanlon et al., 2007). Consequences of women's caregiving in this context may include further marginalization, role strain due to family caregiving, including the need to support the incarcerated parent, and economic decline (Arditti et al., 2003; Braman, 2004). These conditions connect to empirically and theoretically relevant contributors of parenting stress such as financial inadequacy (Deater-Deckard & Scarr, 1996; Reitman, Currier, & Stickle, 2002), low social support (Ostberg & Hagekull, 2000), and caregiver distress (e.g., depression or caregiver psychopathology) (Theule, Wiener, Rogers, & Marton, 2011). Grandmothers are heavily relied on to care for the children of the incarcerated, especially as a result of maternal incarceration (Cecil, McHale, Strozier, & Pietsch, 2008; Hanlon et al., 2007; Hungerford, 1996). Caregiving can be a problem to the extent that the grandparents are poor or infirm. Moreover, grandparents who are caregiving as a result of incarceration are also commonly caring for other family members in the same residence, contributing to the possibility of role strain and caregiver distress (Dressel & Barnhill, 1990).

Further contributing to the stress of caregiving is the stigma and isolation from others who may disapprove of the family members' continuing involvement with the incarcerated parent, blame the caregiver for the offender's criminality, or make assumptions about the family's values based on the incarcerated parent's actions (Nesmith, Ruhland, & Krueger, 2006). As one caregiver participating in a study about incarcerated parents explained: "Lots of people think that when you have somebody that's in jail . . . that you're bad too . . . they think that you accepted or condone that and that's not true" (Nesmith et al., 2006, p. 19). The literature on incarceration has documented a "tainting" phenomenon, whereby stigma bleeds onto the family members by virtue of their association with the incarcerated. The tainting phenomena, or "stigma by association" (Goffman, 1963), intensifies the possibility of risk and has unique disruptive effects for nonincarcerated family members because of the demoralization and social isolation that comes with the prison experience (Arditti et al., 2003; Golden, 2005; Lowenstein, 1986; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Nurse, 2002; Western & McLanahan, 2000).

Other literatures (e.g., disability studies) have conceptualized stigma as a direct contributor to parenting stress (Baxter, 1989; Green, 2003). Worries about how the experience of stigma and blame affects children under their care are particularly difficult for caregivers (Phillips & Gates, 2011). Caregivers may attribute behavior problems of their children to social stigma because their children have been teased and bullied as a result of having a parent incarcerated (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). Stigma has been demonstrated not only to isolate family members, but diminish children's potential; others may assume problematic family environments and have lowered expectations in terms of children's social competence or their ability to excel in school (Dallaire, Ciccone, & Wilson, 2010; Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). Caregivers are keenly aware of this possibility, and understandably reluctant for others to know the truth about the incarcerated parent. One mother in a qualitative study of children of incarcerated parents in New York State reasoned: "Teachers would have low standards for children [if they knew about the incarceration]. They would pigeon hole my kids and not require much of him" (De Masi & Bohn, 2010, p. 31). Stigma then, is

not only isolating and disruptive, but stress inducing, in terms of the actual and anticipated reactions of others to the children of incarcerated parents. Stigma can impact proximal processes within the family and between the family and key institutions (e.g., schools) instrumental in children's development.

In sum, parental incarceration along with any preexisting child behavior problems or ones that develop post incarceration, likely contributes to elevated levels of parenting stress. Social stigma can further intensify caregivers' worries about their children.

### Proximal Processes That Involve Children: Parenting and Visiting

The FSPP model illustrates key proximal family processes that stem from alterations in family life brought about by a parent's incarceration. These alterations involve parenting on the part of the nonincarcerated caregiver and contact interactions with the incarcerated parent.

**Nonincarcerated caregivers' parenting.** For children impacted by incarceration, the importance of caregivers in shaping their developmental trajectories "*cannot be overstated*" (Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2015, p. 54) because it is often the most proximal relationship influencing children and adolescents (Arditti, 2012). Parenting is implicated in "virtually every study of resilience in children" and is also malleable to interventions that predict better child outcomes (Masten, 2014, p. 107.). Unfortunately, children who have a history of parental incarceration are more likely to experience caregiver risk such as caregiver mental health problems, high levels of caregivers stress, caregiver substance abuse (Mackintosh et al., 2006; Phillips, Burns, Wagner, & Barth, 2004; Phillips et al., 2006), caregiver health problems (Arditti et al., 2003), harsh punitive discipline and less parental supervision (Phillips et al., 2006), and family victimization (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Phillips et al., 2004, 2006).

Caregivers are important not only in terms of children's day-to-day care, but also in terms of how they contribute to other developmental contexts. For example, primary caregivers filter information about the incarcerated parent, help children and youth develop understandings around parents' imprisonment, regulate chil-

dren's contact experiences, and facilitate relationships between children and their incarcerated parents at the time of reentry (Arditti, 2012; Harris, Harris, Graham, & Carpenter, 2010; Poehlmann et al., 2010). Although there may be instances when incarceration might improve children's caregiving scenarios (e.g., removing an abusive or neglectful parent from the home) and protect them from exposure to harmful behaviors such as parental drug abuse (Hanson et al., 2005), parental incarceration is more often related to a lack of quality parenting by nonincarcerated parents and caregivers (Kjellstrand & Eddy, 2011; Mackintosh et al., 2006; Phillips et al., 2006; Poehlmann, 2005a, 2005b). The lack of quality parenting can be considered an important contributor to child trauma and adjustment difficulties (Gewirtz, Forgatch, & Wieling, 2008; Poehlmann, 2003; Valentino et al., 2010), although it should be noted that not all of the research on families experiencing parental incarceration has found negative parenting effects. For example, Turney and Wildeman's (2013) analysis of the Fragile Families and Child Well-being data found that recent paternal incarceration was associated with an *increase* in maternal engagement with children.

If the incarcerated parent was the children's primary caregiver, then the shift resulting from imprisonment can be quite dramatic—as is often the case with regard to maternal incarceration (Dallaire et al., 2015; Maruschak, Glaze, & Mumola, 2010; McClure et al., 2015). More commonly in instances of paternal incarceration (which is far more frequent), the incarceration of a parent creates an involuntary single parent household (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Lowenstein, 1986) that catalyzes family structure and process changes between caregivers and their children. Nonincarcerated caregivers may be unprepared for sole caregiving responsibilities or experience psychological distress and role strain (Arditti et al., 2003; Braman, 2004; Lowenstein, 1986). These changes might also include shifting residences and family fragmentation, particularly if sibling groups are split up or for children of immigrants (De Masi & Bohn, 2010). Family dynamics can be particularly challenging in instances where children must pick up adult responsibilities prematurely to help fill in the void left by the incarcerated parent. Youth charged with the care of younger siblings or other household responsibilities are

keenly aware of their caregivers' strain (Nesmith et al., 2006). Offspring with an incarcerated parent may take on responsibilities with "great seriousness," pride, and even gratitude (Nesmith et al., 2006), while other youth may feel resentful of the burdens they must carry because of the incarcerated parent's unavailability (De Masi & Bohn, 2010).

Apart from the proliferation of caregiver risks, the caregiver-child relationship can be more subtly influenced by a parent's incarceration. For example, the incarceration may change how much time the nonincarcerated caregiver spends with children—either resulting in less time from a previously available parent who is spread thinner (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Nesmith et al., 2006) or more time due to parental unemployment that may be unwittingly triggered by the family member's jail time (Arditti et al., 2003). Relationships may also destabilize between caregivers and children, sometimes due to frequent changes in the nonincarcerated parent's (typically mothers) romantic relationships (Edin, Nelson, & Paranal, 2004; Turney & Wildeman, 2013). These changes can connect with maternal distress and negative parenting practices (Arditti, Burton, & Neeves-Botelho, 2010; Beck, Cooper, McLanahan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Braman, 2004).

On the other hand, children's positive relationships with their primary caregivers can mediate the degree to which youth are affected by parental incarceration (Murray & Farrington, 2008; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001). Recent research has suggested a caregiver-to-child effect over time in families affected by parental incarceration (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). For example, warm, accepting relationships between children with incarcerated mothers and their caregivers were associated with fewer self-reported behavior problems among children (Mackintosh et al., 2006). Conversely, Poehlmann, Park, Bouffiou, Shlafer, and Hahn (2008) found that when children exhibited more negative relationships with their grandparent caregivers, they were rated by their caregivers as exhibiting higher rates of externalizing problems.

In sum, even brief periods of parental incarceration (e.g., as in jail stays; Miller et al., 2013) can result in caregiving disruptions that can compromise family functioning. Future research is needed to uncover potentially complex

causal patterns between parental incarceration and nonincarcerated caregivers' parenting behaviors. Caregiving challenges, while daunting, also provide an important point for meaningful intervention. For example, programs aimed at enhancing caregiving skills and stress management can make a positive difference in improving caregiving scenarios and child outcomes in families impacted by parental incarceration (Miller et al., 2013; Phillips & O'Brien, 2012).

**Children's contact with the incarcerated parent.** Considerable variation exists with regard to the nature and extent of children's contact with their incarcerated parent due in part to the type of facility where the parent is confined (jail or prison), and institutional policies regulating contact (Cochran & Mears, 2013; Shlafer, Loper, & Schillmoeller, 2015). For example, jails are locally operated and tend to be much closer in proximity to the affected family than prisons. Jails also by and large have "no contact" visitation policies which involve seeing the incarcerated person behind a barrier or glass, prohibiting any physical contact (Boudin, Stutz, & Littman, 2013; Shlafer et al., 2015). Prisons generally house more serious offenders and for longer periods of time. It is not uncommon for incarcerated persons in state and federal prisons to be held far from home with the average distance ~100 miles (Mumola, 2000).

Regardless of the type of institution and its corresponding policies, contact is in an important processual pathway through which a parent's incarceration may influence family and child adjustment. Nationally representative survey data provide an overview of contact and visitation trends with the majority of incarcerated parents reporting mail contact with their children (70% state prisoners; 84% federal prisoners), more than half reporting phone contact with children (53% state; 85% federal), and 42% of state prisoner parents and 55% of federal prisoner parents reporting in-person visits (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Of all the contact modalities available to incarcerated parents and their family members, in person visitation is the most proximal and potentially has the most impact on parent, children, and caregivers. Although the physical set up for in person visits may vary considerably across institutions, generally the inmate is permitted face-to-face interaction with their children and family members, with limits on displays of physical affection, but

at least some physical contact is permitted (e.g., such as a hug in the beginning or end of a visit). Prior to such visits, children and family members have to undergo personal searches and security procedures limiting what is brought into the visiting area (Boudin et al., 2013; Shlafer et al., 2015).

Families and children may spend considerable time in visiting areas interacting with each other, with the incarcerated parent, and with correctional personnel (Arditti, 2005). Factors linking to more frequent visits include shorter sentencing length (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008), living closer to the corrections facility (Cochran, Mears, Bales, & Stewart, 2016), less parenting stress on the part of the caregiver, and having fewer visitation problems (Arditti, Acock, & Day, 2005; Beckmeyer & Arditti, 2014). In person visits seem to benefit the incarcerated by strengthening family bonds, lessening the confined parent's distress (Loper & Tuerk, 2011; Roxburgh & Fitch, 2014), and improving inmate behavior during incarceration and after release (Bales & Mears, 2008; Cochran & Mears, 2013). Less clear are the effects of in person visitation on children, with some studies showing positive benefits for youth, particularly those visiting incarcerated mothers. For example, adolescents who reported regular contact with their incarcerated mothers were less likely to drop out of school than those youth in a comparison group who did not have regular contact (Trice & Brewster, 2004). Regular contact with their incarcerated mothers also seemed to benefit young children who displayed less alienation (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010).

Although visits can be a source of connection and continuity for family members, visits in correctional settings can be hard for caregivers and their children. During prison visits family members are exposed to many of the same deprivations that the incarcerated are subject to such as a controlled movement, a lack of goods, services and amenities, and concentrated surveillance (Comfort, 2008; See also Poehlmann et al., 2015). Although visitors report positive emotions (e.g., excitement) with regard to spending time with the incarcerated parent during visits, these visits also arouse worry and concern (Tewksbury & DeMichele, 2005) and can come at a high price for many families. In order to visit, families have to forgo other opportunities given the time, inconvenience, travel

expenses, and personal and practical challenges involved in visiting (Arditti, 2003; Christian, 2005; Comfort, 2008; Tewksbury & DeMichel, 2005). Typical visitation conditions often involve tedious and lengthy waits, rude treatment by correctional officers, and visiting in crowded, noisy, and uninviting facilities (Arditti, 2003; Comfort, 2008; Hairston, 2002). These conditions, along with the overall inaccessibility of prisons, impedes child visitation (Hoffmann, Byrd, & Kightlinger, 2010; Kalkan & Smith, 2014; Visser, 2013).

In view of these difficulties, visitation can be characterized as a “developmental paradox” because it can serve either as a mechanism to facilitate child adjustment or as a context for emotional pain and trauma (Arditti & Savla, 2015; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Pynoos, 1993). Case examples from children with incarcerated parents in New York State help illustrate the visitation paradox: “I want to see my father but I don’t want to see him there [i.e., prison]” (De Masi & Bohn, 2010, p. 16). Visitation may evoke deeply painful emotions among family members, and involve reliving potential traumatic separation from the parent, poignantly illustrated by the following case exemplar: “The visit is like a tease. I’d go visit my father and then had it all taken away from me when I had to leave. It’s traumatic” (De Masi & Bohn, 2010, p. 16). It is no surprise then that both caregivers and children report that it is “hard to leave” after visitation (Arditti, 2003), and research provides evidence of children’s emotional difficulties with visits, particularly in highly restrictive settings such as jails (Arditti, 2003; Arditti & Savla, 2015; Dallaire, Zeman, & Thrash, 2015). Other research has connected more proximal forms of contact (visits & phone calls) between children and their incarcerated mothers to children’s internalizing and externalizing problems (McClure et al., 2015).

In addition to activating emotional pain on the part of children, visits may put a great deal of stress on the caregivers to monitor their children and ensure they behave (illustrated by the bidirectional arrow in Figure 1; Cecil et al., 2008; Poehlmann, Shlafer, & Maes, 2006) as visits can be denied or terminated by correctional staff if parents cannot control their children (Boudin et al., 2013). Caregivers themselves may come to limit contact if they perceive children’s confusion and stress is a

result of visitation or phone contact (De Masi & Bohn, 2010; Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). Recent evidence suggests that the longer young children were in a correctional facility, the “clingier” and more distressed they became, possibly reflecting increased stress levels (Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2015). Such behavior on the part of children puts additional pressure on caregivers. It makes sense that over time, the experience of going to prison to see the incarcerated parent is perceived by visitors as more problematic and less positive (Tewksbury & DeMichelle, 2005).

In sum, the effects of proximal forms of contact will depend on the type of visitation setting, the developmental status of children, the quality of the interactions during visits, and the degree to which families themselves are troubled by the institutional constraints associated with prison and jail visits (Comfort, 2008; Poehlmann et al., 2010).

### Youth Protective Factors

Both developmental theories of risk and resilience (Cowan, Cowan, & Schulz, 1996; Masten, 2014) and family stress theory (Boss, 2002; Patterson, 2002) identify coping and social support as prominent protective processes that moderate the relationship between youth exposure to significant risk and family and child competence. The empirical literature examining the effects of stress on youth confirms the role of social support and coping strategies as salient protective factors in the stress–distress relationship (Dumont & Provost, 1999) and critical intervention points with regard to reducing the effects of perceived stress on youth (Thorsteinsson, Ryan, & Sveinbjornsdottir, 2013). The FSPP model applies the protective value of both coping and social support to the experience of parental incarceration.

**Coping.** Coping involves adaptive efforts on the part of children to reduce stress or negative emotions related to adversity (Compas, Jaser, Dunn, & Rodriguez, 2012). The adolescent stress and coping literature suggests that the ways that offspring navigate stressful life experiences will have important implications for their emotional and psychological well-being (Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001; Compas & Reeslund, 2009). Family stress theory conceptual-

izes coping on both the individual and familial level. For example, Boss (2002) defines family coping as the ability of the family unit to manage a stressful event or situation with no detrimental effects on any individual in that family. Coping skills are seen as a key mechanism that is believed to foster resilience (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009; Compas et al., 2001) and contribute to lower levels of posttraumatic stress symptomatology (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1979).

Despite a growing interest in resilience among families of the incarcerated (Poehlmann & Eddy, 2010, 2013), there are very few empirical studies that actually tap into the dynamics of child and family coping. Qualitative research based on interviews with youth experiencing a parent's incarceration have yielded promising results with regard to the protective value of effective coping strategies. For example, Bocknek et al. (2009), found that children in Grades 1 through 10 reported a variety of strategies to cope with uncomfortable feelings about their incarcerated family members. Although the authors did not go into detail describing the strategies, they noted that avoidance of feelings was a repeated theme related to coping. Nesmith and Ruhland's (2008) study of children between 8 and 17 indicated two primary coping strategies in response to the stress children experienced in conjunction with their parent's incarceration. These included youths' positive outlook on life and connections to prosocial organization. The engagement in prosocial activities (e.g., sports, extracurricular activities, church) was further confirmed in another qualitative study of 36 children being raised by grandparents due to parental incarceration (Sands, Goldberg-Glen, & Shin, 2009) and seemed to connect with positive family experiences for youth. More recently, Johnson and Easterling (2015) found evidence of youth coping in their qualitative study of 10 adolescents experiencing parental incarceration. The majority of youth in the study coped by *deidentifying* or distancing themselves emotionally from their incarcerated parents thereby avoiding the stress and stigma of the situation. A second coping strategy identified in the study involved a *desensitization* to incarceration in which parents' incarceration was defined by youth as "no big deal" or something they did not care about. Finally, several youth in the study coped via "strength through

control"—a strategy which involved finding meaning in the experience, helping others, and empowering oneself to communicate honestly with the incarcerated parent.

Qualitative studies are a first step in identifying coping as a potentially important protective factor among youth impacted by parental incarceration. Next steps include more rigorous examinations of how specific coping strategies are more beneficial than others, particularly in terms of developmental changes among youth and in response to ambiguous loss (Johnson & Easterling, 2015).

**Social support.** Social support is a multidimensional concept that includes the nature and source of support received (Dumont & Provost, 1999). Social support is considered a primary resilience mechanism for youth exposed to adversity (Jones & Ollendick, 2005; Keppel-Benson, Ollendick, & Benson, 2002; Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012) and believed to buffer the negative effects of parental incarceration (Luther, 2015; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001). Such support can come from within the family as well as from others in children's lives such as teachers and peers. Qualitative evidence suggests that social support, particularly kin support, is an important resilience resource for children impacted by parental incarceration (Bloom & Steinhart, 1993; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008). Social support is associated with less stigma (Hagen & Myers, 2003) and enhances well-being for vulnerable parents and trauma-exposed children (Anan & Barnett, 1999; Brodowski & Fischman, 2013; Hodas, 2006; Jones & Ollendick, 2005; Runtz & Schallow, 1997).

In one of the few studies that specifically examined how social support might promote positive outcomes among youth with an incarcerated parent, Luther (2015) conducted in-depth interviews with 32 college students who had experienced parental incarceration during their childhood. Among the participants, evidence of emotional social support by caring adults in their lives emerged as a "reoccurring way that participants explained their resilience" (p. 510). Luther explained that social support promoted positive developmental outcomes in participants' lives in three ways. First, social support provided youth access to conventional, prosocial activities (i.e., day camps, athletics, community programs). Second, social support

helped youth have a vision for a better (i.e., crime free) life, and third, social support encouraged “turning points”, that is helping youth shift from risky behavior to make positive changes or engage in new opportunities.

Much remains to be done in testing the extent to which social support moderates adverse outcomes typically associated with parental incarceration. The qualitative research suggests a need to consider the emotional support children receive from caring adults in their lives.

### Conclusion

Scholars examining the effects of parental incarceration on children and their families have articulated numerous theoretical perspectives and empirical findings about the reasons for negative developmental outcomes (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Eddy & Poehlmann, 2010; Foster & Hagan, 2013; Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Phillips et al., 2006). A thread throughout this work is the need to better understand the underlying psychological and relational processes associated with parental incarceration. The benefits of doing so, particularly in the context of widespread and intense social inequality, permits for innovative intervention points and natural adaptation on the part of families impacted by incarceration. An FSPP framework advances our understanding of how and why parental incarceration impacts children and their families by unpacking psychological and relational processes that explain variation in children’s adjustment to a parent’s incarceration. Although not all family processes that impinge on or promote children’s developmental trajectories are accounted for in the FSPP model (e.g., coparenting; Baker, McHale, Strozier, & Cecil, 2010; Cecil et al., 2008; Loper & Clark, 2013), the FSPP model is flexible and can be expanded depending on the focus of a study and the nature of children’s caregiving scenarios. Because parent–child relationships have been identified as one of the most powerful adaptive systems (Masten, 2001; Wright, Masten, & Narayan, 2013), the FSPP model advanced here focuses on developmental contexts that directly involve youth and their parents or primary caregivers.

### Methodological Implications

Use of the FSPP model can give rise to methodological innovation with regard to the study of children impacted by parental incarceration via its testing, refinement, and the development of cutting edge measurement strategies. Parenting and child adjustment variables in the model can be assessed via a variety of techniques. Although a full exploration of how best to measure the constructs included in the FSPP model is beyond the scope of this paper, preliminary suggestions are made here in terms of guiding assessment. First with regard to psychological processes included in the FSPP model, there are several good measures for assessing parenting stress such as the Parenting Stress Index (PSI, Abidin, 2012), and the Parenting Stress Scale (PSS, Berry & Jones, 1995). The PSI is particularly appropriate for examining parenting stress related to raising young children. Psychological processes pertaining to ambiguous loss are more challenging to assess, because ambiguous loss lends itself to social construction and qualitative assessment (Boss, 2007). Blieszner, Roberto, Wilcox, Barham, and Winston (2007) in commenting on the inherent challenges of assessing ambiguous loss recommend a combination of qualitative open-ended questions along with quantitative assessment. It might make sense to utilize existing measures assessing boundary ambiguity (Boss, Greenberg, & Pearce-McCall, 1990) as a complementary concept related to ambiguous loss given that high levels of boundary ambiguity have been demonstrated to result in negative outcomes for families (Boss, 2007).

Second, with regard to assessment of proximal family processes in the FSPP model, Hurley and colleagues’ (2014) review provides an excellent overview of psychometric properties of a wide range of parenting measures, with recommendations for their use (Hurley, Huscroft-D’Angelo, Trout, Griffith, & Epstein, 2014). A combination of self-report and third party observational measures is seen as optimal in assessing parent–child relationships and parenting (Skinner, MacKenzie, Haggerty, Hill, & Roberson, 2011). Observations provide a unique window on family processes and parenting strategies and also appear to be sensitive to change in parent and child behavior following intervention (Aspland & Gardner, 2003; Mas-

ten, 2014). The “five-minute speech sample” method is particularly innovative for it is a brief measure that appears to work well with very vulnerable families, similar to populations impacted by incarceration (Narayan, Herbers, Plowman, Gewirtz, & Masten, 2012). Scores on this measure were related to much more labor-intensive observational assessments of parent-child interaction (Masten, 2014). Measures pertaining to children’s visitation experiences that show promise include the Visiting Problems Checklist (Arditti, 2003; Arditti & Savla, 2015), and the Jail-Prison Observation Checklist (JPOC, Poehlmann, 2012).

Third, youth protective factors can be assessed via interview and using standardized measures. For example, the Children’s Coping Strategies Checklist (CCSC, Ayers, Sandler, West, & Roosa, 1996) is widely and successfully utilized. The youth coping measure also captures whether youth seek out other people (i.e., parents, friends, other adults) when they are in need. Although measures of children’s perceptions of social support are limited, the Child and Adolescent Social Support Scale (CASSS, Malecki, Demaray, Elliot, & Nolten, 1999) is an appropriate measure to use with youth aged 5–18. It has strong psychometric properties and scores on the CASSS explained variation on child adjustment for diverse youth populations (Demaray, Malecki, Davidson, Hodgson, & Rebus, 2005; Malecki & Demaray, 2002).

In sum, methodological implications of the FSPP model involve the need to not only triangulate assessment of various constructs, but also triangulate methods. The utilization of mixed methods research is particularly advantageous in conducting research with vulnerable populations because it necessitates the inclusion of some type of qualitative research methodology (Arditti, 2015b; Grace, 2014). The inclusion of a qualitative component helps build trust between researchers and study participants, allows for the voices of children and their families to be expressed and validated, and uncovers child and family perceptions and experiences around the incarceration of a parent thereby effectively filling in the gaps left by standardized measures. Qualitative methods are particularly well suited to illustrate complex social locations involving race, class, gender, and crime (Hunting, 2014; Trahan, 2011)—highly relevant considerations

given that parental incarceration occurs in a context of social inequality and stigma (Arditti, 2015b). Sensitive qualitative approaches responsive to these conditions yield outcomes that are directly applicable and meaningful to the individuals and communities who participate in the research process (Rogers & Kelly, 2011).

### Practice Implications

A focus on key psychological stress reactions and their corresponding proximal processes has promising clinical practice implications for work with families impacted by incarceration. Parental incarceration can be a portal for triggering social service intervention and support (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Zwiebach, Rhodes, & Dun Rappaport, 2010) and promoting resiliency (Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013). Healthy, committed, close relationships have a high “protective potential” and play a crucial role in fostering well-being in all kinds of families (Luthar & Brown, 2007). The protective value of close relationships corresponds well with a family psychology epistemology for professional practice, which recognizes the dynamic reciprocity between contextual, intraindividual, and interpersonal factors over time (Liddle, Santisteban, Levant, & Bray, 2002; Robbins et al., 2003; Stanton, 1999, 2009). For example, children with incarcerated parents seem to benefit from warm and accepting relationships from their caregivers, suggesting the need for practitioners to explore “caregiving interventions to help children of incarcerated parents, rather than focusing exclusively on the child-incarcerated parent relationship” (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010, p. 412).

Given the vulnerabilities in children’s family relationships that predate and stem from parental incarceration, key intervention points would involve helping children and their families manage stress, and come to terms with ambiguous loss, enhancing in person visitation, and the provision of social support and coping resources for children and their nonincarcerated caregivers. For example, there is emerging evidence that when visits are “enhanced” or family friendly, children and their families seem to benefit (Dunn & Arbuckle, 2002; Kalkan & Smith, 2014; Landreth & Lobaugh, 1998; Poehlmann et al., 2010). Enhanced, family friendly visits often feature relaxed or child

sensitive security procedures, longer visiting periods, opportunities for parents and children to participate in structured and unstructured activities (e.g., arts and crafts, toys, games), and visit environments that are more conducive to normative family interactions (e.g., permitting greater movement and displays of parental affection) and less parental stress (Boudin et al., 2013; Dunn & Arbuckle, 2002; Shlafer et al., 2015).

One of the greatest challenges in attending to the needs of families and children of the incarcerated is that mass imprisonment occurs in a context of social inequality. Although broader, more profound shifts are needed on the policy front to ensure social justice and reduce the harms associated with criminal justice involvement, an FSPP model provides a theoretical and empirical road map to guide interventions and programs aimed at promoting child well-being among families experiencing parental incarceration. The systemic underpinning of the model suggests that processual changes can begin a “chain reaction” that forms a positive pattern that enhances adaptation to adversity (Patterson, Forgatch, & DeGarmo, 2010). This positive chain reaction can be facilitated through evidenced based parent-child interventions and non stigmatizing family and community programming that fosters the development of positive emotions, psychological and social resources, and parenting self-efficacy (Fredrickson, 2004; Jones & Prinz, 2005).

## References

- Aaron, L., & Dallaire, D. H. (2010). Parental incarceration and multiple risk experiences: Effects on family dynamics and children's delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *39*, 1471–1484. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9458-0>
- Abidin, R. R. (1995). *The assessment of the parent-child system*. Child assessment news. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Abidin, R. R. (2012). *Parenting stress index* (4th ed.). Lutz, FL: PAR.
- Anan, R. M., & Barnett, D. (1999). Perceived social support mediates between prior attachment and subsequent adjustment: A study of urban African American children. *Developmental Psychology*, *35*, 1210–1222. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.35.5.1210>
- Arditti, J. (2002). Doing family research at the jail: Reflections of a prison widow. *The Qualitative Report*, *7*, 1–16. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol7/iss4/6>
- Arditti, J. A. (2003). Locked doors and glass walls: Family visiting at a local jail. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *8*, 115–138. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15325020305864>
- Arditti, J. A. (2005). Families and incarceration: An ecological approach. *Families in Society*, *86*, 251–260. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.2460>
- Arditti, J. A. (2012). *Parental incarceration and the family: Psychological and social effects of imprisonment on children, parents, and care-givers*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Arditti, J. A. (2015a). A family process perspective on the heterogeneous effects of maternal incarceration on child wellbeing: The trouble with differences. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *14*, 169–182. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12117>
- Arditti, J. A. (2015b). Situating vulnerability in research: Implications for researcher transformation and methodological innovation. *Qualitative Report*, *20*, 1568–1575.
- Arditti, J. A., Acock, A., & Day, R. (2005). Incarcerated fathers and non-incarcerated family members. In V. Bengtson, A. Acock, K. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson, & D. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theories and methods: An interactive approach* (pp. 352–356). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Arditti, J., Burton, L., & Neeves-Botelho, S. (2010). Maternal distress and parenting in the context of cumulative disadvantage. *Family Process*, *49*, 142–164. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2010.01315.x>
- Arditti, J., Lambert-Shute, J., & Joest, K. (2003). Saturday morning at the jail: Implications of incarceration for families and children. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, *52*, 195–204. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2003.00195.x>
- Arditti, J., & Savla, J. (2015). Parental incarceration and child trauma symptoms in single care-giver homes. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *24*, 551–561.
- Aspland, H., & Gardner, F. (2003). Observational measures of parent-child interaction: An introductory review. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, *8*, 136–143. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-3588.00061>
- Ayers, T. S., Sandler, I. N., West, S. G., & Roosa, M. W. (1996). A dispositional and situational assessment of children's coping: Testing alternative models of coping. *Journal of Personality*, *64*, 923–958. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1996.tb00949.x>

- Baker, J., McHale, J., Strozier, A., & Cecil, D. (2010). Mother-grandmother coparenting relationships in families with incarcerated mothers: A pilot investigation. *Family Process, 49*, 165–184. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2010.01316.x>
- Bales, W. D., & Mears, D. P. (2008). Inmate social ties and the transition to society: Does visitation reduce recidivism? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 45*, 287–321. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427808317574>
- Baxter, C. (1989). Investigating stigma as stress in social interactions of parents. *Journal of Mental Deficiency Research, 33*, 455–466.
- Beck, A., Cooper, C., McLanahan, S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2009). *Relationship transitions and maternal parenting* (Working Paper No. 2008–12–FF). Princeton University, Center for Research on Child Wellbeing.
- Beckmeyer, J., & Arditti, J. A. (2014). Implications of in-person visits for incarcerated parents' family relationships and parenting experience. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 53*, 129–151. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509674.2013.868390>
- Benzies, K., & Mychasiuk, R. (2009). Fostering family resiliency: A review of the key protective factors. *Child and Family Social Work, 14*, 103–114. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2008.00586.x>
- Berry, J. O., & Jones, W. H. (1995). The parental stress scale: Initial psychometric evidence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 12*, 463–472. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0265407595123009>
- Besemer, S., & Murray, J. (2015). Prison as environmental pathogen. In M. Delisi & M. G. Vaughn (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of biosocial criminology* (pp. 622–635). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Blieszner, R., Roberto, K., Wilcox, K., Barham, E., & Winston, B. (2007). Dimensions of ambiguous loss in couples coping with mild cognitive impairment. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 56*, 196–209. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2007.00452.x>
- Bloom, B., & Steinhart, D. (1993). *Why punish the children: A reappraisal of the children of incarcerated mothers in America*. Atlanta, GA: Carter Center.
- Bocknek, E., Sanderson, J., & Britner, P. (2009). Ambiguous loss and posttraumatic stress of school-aged children of prisoners. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 18*, 323–333. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-008-9233-y>
- Boss, P. (1999). *Ambiguous loss: Learning to live with unresolved grief*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Boss, P. (2002). *Family stress management: A contextual approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781452233895>
- Boss, P. (2004). Ambiguous loss. In F. Walsh & M. McGoldrick (Eds.), *Living beyond loss* (pp. 237–246). New York, NY: Norton.
- Boss, P. (2007). Ambiguous loss theory: Challenges for scholars and practitioners. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 56*, 105–111. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2007.00444.x>
- Boss, P. (2014, March 15). *The flight 370 paradox: How do you mourn a missing person? A Haglage interview with Pauline Boss*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/03/15/the-flight-370-paradox-how-do-you-mourn-a-missing-person.html>
- Boss, P., Greenberg, J., & Pearce-McCall, D. (1990). *Measurement of boundary ambiguity in families*. Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin. No. 593–1990: Item No. Ad-SB 3763. St. Paul, MN: University of Minnesota.
- Boudin, C., Stutz, T., & Littman, A. (2013). Prison visitation policies: A fifty state survey. *Yale Law and Policy Review, 32*, 149.
- Braman, D. (2004). *Doing time on the outside: Incarceration and family life in urban America*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Brodowski, M. L., & Fischman, L. (2013). Protective factors for populations served by the administration on children, youth, and families. Office on child abuse and neglect. Retrieved from <http://library.childwelfare.gov/>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1995). Developmental ecology through space and time: A future perspective. In P. Moen, G. Elder, & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining lives in context: Perspectives on the ecology of human development* (pp. 619–647). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/10176-018>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1999). Growing chaos in the lives of children youth and families: How can we turn it around?. In J. C. Westman and P. C. Gorman (Eds.), *Proceedings of the conference held in Madison, WI, April 19–21, 1998*. Published by the University of Wisconsin-Madison General Library System. Retrieved from <http://parenthood.library.wisc.edu/Bronfenbrenner/Bronfenbrenner.html>
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (5th ed., pp. 993–1023). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Burgess, A., & Holmstrom, L. L. (1979). *Rape: Crisis and recovery*. Bowie, MD: Brady.
- Cecil, D. K., McHale, J., Strozier, A., & Pietsch, J. (2008). Female inmates, family caregivers, and

- young children's adjustment: A research agenda and implications for corrections programming. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36, 513–521. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2008.09.002>
- Christian, J. (2005). Riding the bus: Barriers to prison visitation and family management strategies. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 21, 31–48. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1043986204271618>
- Christian, J., & Thomas, S. (2009). Examining the intersections of race, gender, and mass imprisonment. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 7, 69–84. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15377930802711797>
- Cochran, J., & Mears, D. (2013). Social isolation and inmate behavior: A conceptual framework for theorizing prison visitation and guiding and assessing research. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 41, 252–261. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2013.05.001>
- Cochran, J., Mears, D., Bales, W., & Stewart, E. (2016). Spatial distance, community disadvantage, and racial and ethnic variations in prison inmate access to social ties. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 53, 220–254.
- Comfort, M. (2008). *Doing time together: Love and family in the shadow of prison*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226114682.001.0001>
- Compas, B. E., Connor-Smith, J. K., Saltzman, H., Thomsen, A. H., & Wadsworth, M. E. (2001). Coping with stress during childhood and adolescence: Problems, progress, and potential in theory and research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127, 87–127. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.127.1.87>
- Compas, B. E., Jaser, S. S., Dunn, M. J., & Rodriguez, E. M. (2012). Coping with chronic illness in childhood and adolescence. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 8, 455–480. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032511-143108>
- Compas, B. E., & Reeslund, K. L. (2009). Processes of risk and resilience during adolescence. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 561–588). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470479193.adlpsy001017>
- Conger, K. J., Rueter, M. A., & Conger, R. D. (2000). The role of economic pressure in the lives of parents and their adolescents: The family stress model. In L. J. Crockett & R. J. Silbereisen (Eds.), *Negotiating adolescence in times of social change* (pp. 201–223). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., Elder, G. H., Jr., Lorenz, F. O., Simons, R. L., & Whitbeck, L. B. (1992). A family process model of economic hardship and adjustment of early adolescent boys. *Child Development*, 63, 526–541. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1131344>
- Conger, R. D., Cui, M., Bryant, C. M., & Elder, G. H., Jr. (2000). Competence in early adult romantic relationships: A developmental perspective on family influences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 224–237. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.2.224>
- Conger, R. D., & Elder, G. H., Jr. (1994). *Families in troubled times: Adapting to change in rural America*. New York, NY: Gruyter Aldine.
- Cowan, P. A., Cowan, C. P., & Schulz, M. S. (1996). Thinking about Risk and Resilience in Families. In E. M. Hetherington & E. Blechman (Eds.), *Stress, coping, and resiliency in children and families: Advances in family Research* (Vol. 5, pp. 1–38). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cox, R., & Wallace, S. (2013). *The impact of incarceration on food insecurity among households with children*. Andrew Young School of Policy Studies Research Paper Series No. 13–05.
- Crnec, K., Gaze, C., & Hoffman, C. (2005). Cumulative parenting stress across the preschool period: Relations to maternal parenting and child behavior at age 5. *Infant and Child Development*, 14, 117–132. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/icd.384>
- Cummings, E. M., Davies, P. T., & Campbell, S. B. (2000). *Developmental psychopathology and family process: Theory, research, and clinical implications*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Dallaire, D., Ciccone, A., & Wilson, L. (2010). Teachers' experiences with and expectations of children with incarcerated parents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 31, 281–290. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2010.04.001>
- Dallaire, D. H., & Zeman, J. L. (2013). Empathy as a protective factor for children with incarcerated parents. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 78, 7–25. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/mono.12018>
- Dallaire, D. H., Zeman, J. L., & Thrash, T. M. (2015). Children's experiences of maternal incarceration-specific risks: Predictions to psychological maladaptation. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 44, 109–122. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2014.913248>
- Deater-Deckard, K. (1998). Parenting stress and child adjustment: Some old hypotheses and new questions. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 5, 314–332. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2850.1998.tb00152.x>
- Deater-Deckard, K., & Scarr, S. (1996). Parenting stress among dual-earner mothers and fathers: Are there gender differences? *Journal of Family Psychology*, 10, 45–59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.10.1.45>
- Demaray, M. K., Malecki, C. K., Davidson, L. M., Hodgson, K. K., & Rebus, P. J. (2005). The relationship between social support and student adjustment: A longitudinal analysis. *Psychology in the*

- Schools*, 42, 691–706. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pits.20120>
- De Masi, M., & Bohn, C. (2010, September). Children with incarcerated parents: A journey of children, caregivers and parents in New York State. Retrieved from the Council on Children and Families: <http://ccf.ny.gov/files/2413/7968/3887/ChildIncarceratedParents.pdf>
- Dressel, P., & Barnhill, S. (1990). *Three generations at risk*. Atlanta, GA: Aid to Imprisoned Mothers.
- Dumont, M., & Provost, M. (1999). Resilience in adolescents: Protective role of social support, coping strategies, self-esteem, and social activities on experience of stress and depression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 28, 343–363. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1021637011732>
- Dunn, E., & Arbuckle, J. G., Jr. (2002). *Impact of the LIFE program: An enhanced visitation program for the children of incarcerated parents*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri-Columbia. Retrieved from <http://outreach.missouri.edu/fcrp/lifeevaluation/>
- Eddy, J., & Poehlmann, J. (2010). Multidisciplinary perspectives on research and intervention with children of incarcerated parents. In J. M. Eddy & J. Poehlmann (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: A handbook for researchers and practitioners* (pp. 1–12). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Eddy, J., & Reid, J. (2001). The antisocial behavior of the adolescent children of incarcerated parents: A developmental perspective. *From prison to home: The effect of incarceration and reentry on children, families, and communities*. Retrieved from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/prison2home02/eddy.htm>
- Edin, K., Nelson, T., & Paranal, R. (2004). Fatherhood and incarceration as potential turning points in the criminal careers of unskilled men. In M. Patillo, D. Weiman & B. Western (Eds.), *Imprisoning America: The social effects of mass incarceration* (pp. 46–75). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Farrington, D. P., Coid, J. W., & Murray, J. (2009). Family factors in the intergenerational transmission of offending. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 19, 109–124. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/cbm.717>
- Foster, H., & Hagan, J. (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, 179–194. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0002716208331123>
- Foster, H., & Hagan, J. (2013). Maternal and paternal imprisonment in the stress process. *Social Science Research*, 42, 650–669. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.01.008>
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Series B, Biological Sciences*, 359, 1367–1378. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2004.1512>
- Geller, A., Cooper, C., Garfinkel, I., & Mincy, R. (2010). *Beyond absenteeism: Father incarceration and its effects on children's development* (Fragile Families Working Paper: WP09-20-FF). Retrieved from <http://crcw.princeton.edu/workingpapers/WP09-20-FF.pdf>
- Geller, A., Garfinkel, I., & Western, B. (2011). Paternal incarceration and support for children in fragile families. *Demography*, 48, 25–47. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s13524-010-0009-9>
- Gewirtz, A., Forgatch, M., & Wieling, E. (2008). Parenting practices as potential mechanisms for child adjustment following mass trauma. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 34, 177–192. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2008.00063.x>
- Glaze, L. E., & Herberman, E. J. (2013, December). *Correctional populations in the United States, 2012* (NCJ 243936). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.
- Glaze, L., & Maruschak, L. (2008, August). *Parents in prison and their minor children*. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report (NCJ222984). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.
- Glaze, L. E., & Maruschak, L. M. (2010). *Parents in prison and their minor children*. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report (Rev. ed.). Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pptmc.pdf>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Golden, R. (2005). *War on the family: Mothers in prison and the families they leave behind*. New York, NY: Routledge Publishers.
- Grace, D. (2014). *Intersectionality-informed mixed method research: A primer*. Vancouver, BC: Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy.
- Green, S. E. (2003). “What do you mean ‘what’s wrong with her?’”: Stigma and the lives of families of children with disabilities. *Social Science & Medicine*, 57, 1361–1374. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(02\)00511-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(02)00511-7)
- Hagan, J., & Dinovitzer, R. (1999). Collateral consequences of imprisonment for children, communities, and prisoners. *Crime and Justice*, 26, 121–162. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/449296>
- Hagen, K., & Myers, B. (2003). The effect of secret keeping and social support on behavioral problems in children of incarcerated women. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 12, 229–242. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1022866917415>

- Hairston, C. F. (1998). The forgotten parent: Understanding the forces that influence incarcerated fathers' relationships with their children. *Child Welfare: Journal of Policy, Practice*, 77, 617–639.
- Hairston, C. F. (2002). Fathers in prison. *Marriage and Family Review*, 32, 111–135. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J002v32n03\\_07](http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J002v32n03_07)
- Hammett, T., Roberts, C., & Kennedy, S. (2001). Health-related issues in prisoner reentry. *Crime and Delinquency*, 47, 390–409. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128701047003006>
- Hanlon, T., Blatchley, R., Bennett-Sears, T., O'Grady, K., Rose, M., & Callaman, J. (2005). Vulnerability of children of incarcerated addict mothers: Implications for preventive intervention. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 27, 67–84. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chilyouth.2004.07.004>
- Hanlon, T. E., Carswell, S. B., & Rose, M. (2007). Research on caretaking of children of incarcerated parents: Findings and their service delivery implications. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 29, 384–362. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chilyouth.2006.09.001>
- Harris, Y., Harris, V., Graham, J., & Carpenter, O. (2010). The challenges of family reunification. In Y. R. Harris, J. A. Graham, & G. Carpenter (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: Theoretical, developmental, and clinical issues* (pp. 255–276). New York, NY: Springer.
- Haskins, A. R. (2014). Unintended consequences: Effects of paternal incarceration on child school readiness and later special education placement. *Sociological Science*, 1, 141–158. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15195/v1.a11>
- Hodas, G. R. (2006). *Responding to childhood trauma: The promise and practice of trauma informed care*. Pennsylvania Office of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services.
- Hoffmann, H. C., Byrd, A. L., & Kightlinger, A. M. (2010). Prison programs and services for incarcerated parents and their underage children: Results from a National Survey of Correctional Facilities. *The Prison Journal*, 90, 397–416. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885510382087>
- Huang, Y. P., Chang, M. Y., Chi, Y. L., & Lai, F. C. (2014). Health-related quality of life in fathers of children with or without developmental disability: The mediating effect of parental stress. *Quality of Life Research: An International Journal of Quality of Life Aspects of Treatment, Care and Rehabilitation*, 23, 175–183. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11136-013-0469-7>
- Hungerford, G. (1996). Caregivers of children whose mothers are incarcerated: A study of the kinship placement system. *Children Today*, 24, 23–34.
- Hunting, G. (2014). Intersectionality-informed qualitative research: A primer. *Criminology*, 4, 32–56.
- Hurley, K., Huscroft-D'Angelo, J., Trout, A., Grif-fith, A., & Epstein, M. (2014). Assessing parenting skills and attitudes: A review of the psychometrics of parenting measures. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 23, 812–823. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9733-2>
- Johnson, E., & Easterling, B. (2015). Coping with confinement: Adolescents' experiences with parental incarceration. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30, 244–264. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0743558414558593>
- Johnson, R. C. (2009). Ever-increasing levels of parental incarceration and the consequences for children. In S. Raphael & M. Stoll (Eds.), *Do prisons make us safer? The benefits and costs of the prison boom* (pp. 177–206). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jones, R. T., & Ollendick, T. H. (2005). Risk factors for psychological adjustment following residential fire: The role of avoidant coping. *Journal of Trauma and Dissociation*, 6, 85–99. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J229v06n02\\_08](http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J229v06n02_08)
- Jones, T. L., & Prinz, R. J. (2005). Potential roles of parental self-efficacy in parent and child adjustment: A review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 25, 341–363. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2004.12.004>
- Kalkan, G., & Smith, N. (2014). *Just visiting: Experiences of children visiting prisons*. Report published by Bernardos Strategy Unit. Retrieved from <http://www.barnardos.org.uk/>
- Keppel-Benson, J. M., Ollendick, T. H., & Benson, M. J. (2002). Post-traumatic stress in children following motor vehicle accidents. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 43, 203–212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1469-7610.00013>
- King, R., Mauer, M., & Young, M. (2005). *Incarceration and crime: A complex relationship*. Retrieved from the Sentencing Project website [http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc\\_iandc\\_complex.pdf](http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc_iandc_complex.pdf)
- Kinner, S. A., Alati, R., Najman, J. M., & Williams, G. M. (2007). Do paternal arrest and imprisonment lead to child behaviour problems and substance use? A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 48, 1148–1156. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01785.x>
- Kjellstrand, J. M., & Eddy, J. M. (2011). Parental incarceration during childhood, family context, and youth problem behavior across adolescence. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50, 18–36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509674.2011.536720>
- Kotchick, B. A., Dorsey, S., & Heller, L. (2005). Predictors of parenting among African American single mothers: Personal and contextual factors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 448–460. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2005.00127.x>

- Landreth, G. L., & Lobaugh, A. F. (1998). Filial therapy with incarcerated fathers: Effects on parental acceptance of child, parental stress, and child adjustment. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 76*, 157–165. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1998.tb02388.x>
- Lee, R. D., Fang, X., & Luo, F. (2013). The impact of parental incarceration on the physical and mental health of young adults. *Pediatrics, 131*, e1188–e1195. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1542/peds.2012-0627>
- Liddle, H. A., Santisteban, D. A., Levant, R. F., & Bray, J. H. (Eds.). (2002). *Family psychology: Science-based interventions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/10438-000>
- Loper, A. B., & Clarke, C. N. (2013). Attachment representations of imprisoned mothers as related to child contact and the caregiving alliance: The moderating effect of children's placement with maternal grandmothers. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 78*, 41–56. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/mono.12020>
- Loper, A. E., & Tuerk, E. H. (2011). Improving the emotional adjustment and communication patterns of incarcerated mothers: Effectiveness of a prison parenting intervention. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 20*, 89–101. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-010-9381-8>
- Lopez, M., & Light, M. (2009). *A rising share: Hispanics and federal crime*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from <http://pewhispanic.org>
- Lowenstein, A. (1986). Temporary single parenthood: The case of prisoners' families. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 35*, 79–85. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/584286>
- Luthar, S. S., & Brown, P. J. (2007). Maximizing resilience through diverse levels of inquiry: Prevailing paradigms, possibilities, and priorities for the future. *Development and Psychopathology, 19*, 931–955. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0954579407000454>
- Luther, K. (2015). Examining social support among adult children of incarcerated parents. *Family Relations, 64*, 505–518. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/fare.12134>
- Mackintosh, V., Myers, B., & Kennon, S. (2006). Children of incarcerated mothers and their caregivers: Factors affecting the quality of their relationship. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 15*, 579–596. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-006-9030-4>
- Malecki, C., & Demaray, K. M. (2002). Measuring perceived social support: Development of the child and adolescent social support scale (CASSS). *Psychology in the Schools, 39*, 1–18. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pits.10004>
- Malecki, C. K., Demaray, M. K., Elliott, S. N., & Nolten, P. W. (1999). *The child and adolescent social support scale*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University.
- Maruschak, L. M., Glaze, L. E., & Mumola, C. J. (2010). Incarcerated parents and their children: Findings from the Bureau of Justice Statistics. In M. Eddy & J. Poehlmann (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: A handbook for researchers and practitioners* (pp. 33–54). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic. Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist, 56*, 227–238. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.3.227>
- Masten, A. S. (2014). *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- McClure, H., Shortt, J., Eddy, J., Holmes, A., Van Uum, S., Russell, E., . . . Snodgrass, J. (2015). Associations among mother-child contact, parenting stress, hair cortisol, and mother and child adjustment related to incarceration. In J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Ed.), *Children's contact with incarcerated parents: Implications for policy and intervention: Advances in child and family policy and practice*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Miller, A. L., Perryman, J., Markovitz, L., Franzen, S., Cochran, S., & Brown, S. (2013). Strengthening incarcerated families: Evaluating a pilot program for children of incarcerated parents and their caregivers. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 62*, 584–596. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/fare.12029>
- Minton, T. D. (2012). Jail Inmates at Midyear 2011 – Statistical Tables. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics annual survey of jails and the 2005 census of jail inmates.
- Morenoff, J. D., & Harding, D. J. (2011). *Final Tech. Rep. No.: Neighborhoods, recidivism, and employment among returning prisoners*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Mumola, C. (2000, August). *Incarcerated parents and their children*. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report (NCJ 182335). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.
- Murphey, D., & Cooper, P. (2015). *Parents behind bars: What happens to their children?* Bethesda, MD: Child Trends, Inc.
- Murray, J., & Farrington, D. P. (2006). Evidence-based programs for children of prisoners. *Criminology and Public Policy, 5*, 721–735. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2006.00412.x>
- Murray, J., & Farrington, D. P. (2008). Parental imprisonment: Long-lasting effects on boys' internalizing problems through the life course. *Development and Psychopathology, 20*, 273–290. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0954579408000138>

- Murray, J., Farrington, D. P., & Sekol, I. (2012). Children's antisocial behavior, mental health, drug use, and educational performance after parental incarceration: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *138*, 175–210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0026407>
- Narayan, A. J., Herbers, J. E., Plowman, E. J., Gewirtz, A. H., & Masten, A. S. (2012). Expressed emotion in homeless families: A methodological study of the five-minute speech sample. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *26*, 648–653. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0028968>
- Nesmith, A., & Ruhland, E. (2008). Children of incarcerated parents: Challenges and resiliency, in their own words. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *30*, 1119–1130. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2008.02.006>
- Nesmith, A., Ruhland, E., & Krueger, S. (2006, January). *Children of incarcerated parents*. Council on Crime and Justice (for the Department of Justice). Retrieved from <http://www.racialdisparity.org/.../CCJ%20CIP%20FINAL%20REPORT.pdf>
- Newland, R. P., Crnic, K. A., Cox, M. J., & Mills-Koonce, W. R., & the Family Life Project Key Investigators. (2013). The family model stress and maternal psychological symptoms: Mediated pathways from economic hardship to parenting. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *27*, 96–105. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0031112>
- Nurse, A. M. (2002). *Fatherhood arrested: Parenting from within the juvenile justice system*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Osborne, C., & McLanahan, S. (2007). Partnership instability and child wellbeing. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *69*, 1065–1083. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00431.x>
- Osborne, L., & Reed, P. (2009). The relationship between parenting stress and behavior problems of children with Autistic Spectrum Disorders. *Exceptional Children*, *76*, 54–73.
- Ostberg, M., & Hagekull, B. (2000). A structural modeling approach to the understanding of parenting stress. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *29*, 615–625. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP2904\\_13](http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP2904_13)
- Parke, R. D., & Clarke-Stewart, K. A. (2001). *Effects of parental incarceration on young children*. The effect of incarceration and reentry on children, families and communities conference (Prison to Home Conference, January 30–31, 2002). US Department of Health and Human Services, The Urban Institute. Retrieved from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/prison2home02/parke-stewart.htm>
- Parke, R. D., & Stewart, K. (2003). The effects of parental incarceration on children: Perspectives, promises, and policies. In J. Travis & M. Waul (Eds.), *Prisoners once removed: The impact of incarceration and re-entry on children, families, and communities* (pp. 189–232). Washington, DC: The Urban Press Institute.
- Patterson, G. R., Forgatch, M. S., & Degarmo, D. S. (2010). Cascading effects following intervention. *Development and Psychopathology*, *22*, 949–970. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0954579410000568>
- Patterson, J. M. (2002). Integrating family resilience and family stress theory. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *64*, 349–360. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00349.x>
- Pearlin, L. I., Schieman, S., Fazio, E. M., & Meersman, S. C. (2005). Stress, health, and the life course: Some conceptual perspectives. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *46*, 205–219. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002214650504600206>
- Pettit, B., & Western, B. (2004). Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in U.S. incarceration. *American Sociological Review*, *69*, 151–169. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/000312240406900201>
- Phillips, S. D., Burns, B. J., Wagner, H. R., & Barth, R. P. (2004). Parental arrest and children involved with child welfare services agencies. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *74*, 174–186. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.74.2.174>
- Phillips, S., Erkanli, A., Keeler, G., Costello, J., & Angold, A. (2006). Disentangling the risks: Parent criminal justice involvement and children's exposure to family risks. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *5*, 677–702. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2006.00404.x>
- Phillips, S., & Gates, T. (2011). A conceptual framework for understanding the stigmatization of children of incarcerated parents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *20*, 286–294. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-010-9391-6>
- Phillips, S. D., & O'Brien, P. (2012). Learning from the ground up: Responding to children affected by parental incarceration. *Social Work in Public Health*, *27*, 29–44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2012.629914>
- Pisula, E. (2011). Parenting stress in mothers and fathers of children with Autism Spectrum Disorders. In M. Mohammadi (Ed.), *A comprehensive book on autism spectrum disorders* (pp. 87–107). Open Access chap. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5772/18507>
- Poehlman, J., & Eddy, J. M. (2010). A research and intervention agenda for children and incarcerated parents. In J. Poehlmann & M. Eddy (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: A handbook for researchers and practitioners* (pp. 311–341). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Poehlmann, J. (2003). An attachment perspective on grandparents raising their very young grandchildren: Implications for intervention and research. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *24*, 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/imhj.10047>

- Poehlmann, J. (2005a). Representations of attachment relationships in children of incarcerated mothers. *Child Development, 76*, 679–696. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00871.x>
- Poehlmann, J. (2005b). Children's family environments and intellectual outcomes during maternal incarceration. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*, 1275–1285. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00216.x>
- Poehlmann, J. (2010). Attachment in infants and children of incarcerated parents. In J. Eddy & J. Poehlmann (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: A handbook for researchers and practitioners* (pp. 75–100). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Poehlmann, J. (2012). Jail-prison observation checklist. In J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Ed.), *Children's contact with incarcerated parents: Implications for policy and intervention* (Advances in child and family policy and practice). New York, NY: Springer.
- Poehlmann, J., Dallaire, D., Loper, A. B., & Shear, L. D. (2010). Children's contact with their incarcerated parents: Research findings and recommendations. *American Psychologist, 65*, 575–598. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020279>
- Poehlmann, J., & Eddy, J. M. (2013). Introduction and conceptual overview. In J. Poehlmann & J. Eddy (Eds.), *Relationship processes and resilience in children with incarcerated parents. Monographs of the society for research in child development* (pp. 1–6), Serial No. 308. Chichester, England: Wiley.
- Poehlmann, J., Park, J., Bouffiou, L., Abrahams, J., Shlafer, R., & Hahn, E. (2008). Representations of family relationships in children living with custodial grandparents. *Attachment & Human Development, 10*, 165–188. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616730802113695>
- Poehlmann, J., Shlafer, R., & Maes, E. (2006). *Parent-child relationships in families of incarcerated mothers*. Symposium presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Poehlmann-Tynan, J., Runion, H., Burnson, C., Maleck, S., Weymouth, L., Pettit, K., & Huser, M. (2015). Young children's behavioral and emotional reactions to plexiglas and video visits with jailed parents. In J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Ed.), *Children's contact with incarcerated parents: Implications for policy and intervention* (pp. 39–58). New York, NY: Springer. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16625-4\\_3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16625-4_3)
- Putnick, D. L., Bornstein, M. H., Hendricks, C., Painter, K. M., Suwalsky, J. T., & Collins, W. A. (2008). Parenting stress, perceived parenting behaviors, and adolescent self-concept in European American families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 22*, 752–762. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0013177>
- Pynoos, R. S. (1993). Traumatic stress and developmental psychopathology in children and adolescents. In J. M. Oldham, M. B. Riba, & A. Tasman (Eds.), *Review of psychiatry* (pp. 205–238). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.
- Reitman, D., Currier, R. O., & Stickle, T. R. (2002). A critical evaluation of the Parenting Stress Index-Short Form (PSI-SF) in a head start population. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 31*, 384–392. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP3103\\_10](http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP3103_10)
- Robbins, M. S., Szapocznik, J., Santisteban, D. A., Hervis, O. E., Mitrani, V. B., & Schwartz, S. J. (2003). Brief strategic family therapy for Hispanic youth. In A. Kazdin & J. Weisz (Eds.), *Evidence-based psychotherapies for children and adolescents* (pp. 407–424). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Rodriguez, M., & Emsellen, M. (2011). *65 million "need not apply": The case for reforming criminal background checks for employment*. The National Employment Law Project. Retrieved from [http://www.nelp.org/content/uploads/2015/03/65\\_Million\\_Need\\_Not\\_Apply.pdf](http://www.nelp.org/content/uploads/2015/03/65_Million_Need_Not_Apply.pdf)
- Rogers, J., & Kelly, U. A. (2011). Feminist intersectionality: Bringing social justice to health disparities research. *Nursing Ethics, 18*, 397–407. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0969733011398094>
- Roxburgh, S., & Fitch, C. (2014). Parental status, child contact, and well-being among incarcerated men and women. *Journal of Family Issues, 35*, 1394–1412. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513X13498593>
- Runtz, M. G., & Schallow, J. R. (1997). Social support and coping strategies as mediators of adult adjustment following childhood maltreatment. *Child Abuse and Neglect: The International Journal, 21*, 211–226. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(96\)00147-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(96)00147-0)
- Sampson, R. J. (1997). The embeddedness of child and adolescent development: A community-level perspective on urban violence. In J. McCord (Ed.), *Childhood and violence in the inner city* (pp. 31–77). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511571015.003>
- Sands, R. G., Goldberg-Glen, R. S., & Shin, H. (2009). The voices of grandchildren of grandparent caregivers: A strengths-resilience perspective. *Child Welfare: Journal of Policy, Practice, and Program, 88*, 25–45.
- Scaramella, L., Sohr-Preston, S., Callahan, K., & Mirabile, S. (2008). A test of the family stress model on toddler-aged children's adjustment among Hurricane Katrina impacted and nonimpacted low-income families. *Journal of Clinical Child Adolescent Psychology, 37*, 530–541. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15374410802148202>

- Schnitker, J., & John, A. (2007). Enduring stigma: The long-term effects of incarceration on health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *48*, 115–130. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002214650704800202>
- Shlafer, R. J., Loper, A. B., & Schillmoeller, L. (2015). Introduction and literature review: Is parent-child contact during parental incarceration beneficial? In J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Ed.), *Children's contact with incarcerated parents: Implications for policy and intervention: Advances in child and family policy and practice*. New York, NY: Springer. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16625-4\\_1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16625-4_1)
- Shlafer, R. J., & Poehlmann, J. (2010). Attachment and caregiving relationships in families affected by parental incarceration. *Attachment and Human Development*, *12*, 395–415. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616730903417052>
- Skinner, M. L., Mackenzie, E. P., Haggerty, K. P., Hill, K. G., & Roberson, K. C. (2011). Observed parenting behavior with teens: Measurement invariance and predictive validity across race. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*, 252–260. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0024730>
- Sobolewski, J., & Amato, P. (2005). Economic hardship in the family of origin and children's psychological well-being in adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *67*, 141–156. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2005.00011.x>
- Stanton, M. (1999). Family psychology. In D. Benner & P. Hill (Eds.), *Baker encyclopedia of psychology and counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 438–439). Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Stanton, M. (2009). The systemic epistemology of the specialty of family psychology. In J. Bray & M. Stanton (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell handbook of family psychology* (pp. 5–20). New York, NY: Blackwell.
- Stern, S. B., Smith, C. A., & Jang, S. J. (1999). Urban families and adolescent mental health. *Social Work Research*, *23*, 15–27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/swr/23.1.15>
- Sudnow, D. (1967). *Passing on: The social organization of dying*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Swisher, R., & Waller, M. (2008). Confining fatherhood: Incarceration and paternal involvement among nonresidential White, African American, and Latino fathers. *Journal of Family Issues*, *29*, 1067–1088. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513X08316273>
- Tewksbury, R., & DeMichele, M. (2005). Going to prison: A prison visitation program. *The Prison Journal*, *85*, 292–310. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885505279525>
- Theule, J., Wiener, J., Rogers, M., & Marton, I. (2011). Predicting parenting stress in families of children with ADHD: Parent and contextual factors. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *20*, 640–647. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-010-9439-7>
- Thorsteinsson, E. B., Ryan, S. M., & Sveinbjornsdottir, S. (2013). The mediating effects of social support and coping on the stress-depression relationship in rural and urban adolescents. *Open Journal of Depression*, *2*, 1–6. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojd.2013.21001>
- Trahan, A. (2011). Qualitative research and intersectionality. *Critical Criminology*, *19*, 1–14. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10612-010-9101-0>
- Trice, A., & Brewster, J. (2004). The effects of maternal incarceration on adolescent children. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *19*, 27–35. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF02802572>
- Turanovic, J. J., Rodriguez, N., & Pratt, T. C. (2012). The collateral consequences of incarceration revisited: A qualitative analysis of the effects on caregivers of children of incarcerated parents. *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *50*, 913–959. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2012.00283.x>
- Turney, K. (2014). Stress proliferation across generations? Examining the relationship between parental incarceration and childhood health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *55*, 302–319. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022146514544173>
- Turney, K., & Wildeman, C. (2013). Redefining relationships: Explaining the countervailing consequences of paternal incarceration for parenting. *American Sociological Review*, *78*, 949–979. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0003122413505589>
- Valentino, K., Berkowitz, S., & Stover, C. S. (2010). Parenting behaviors and posttraumatic symptoms in relation to children's symptomatology following a traumatic event. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *23*, 403–407. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jts.20525>
- Visher, C. A. (2013). Incarcerated fathers: Pathways from prison to home. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *24*, 9–26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0887403411418105>
- Wakefield, S., & Wildeman, C. (2014). *Children of the prison boom: Mass incarceration and the future of American inequality*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Western, B. (2002). The impact of incarceration on wage mobility and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, *67*, 526–546. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3088944>
- Western, B., Loopoo, L., & McLanahan, S. (2004). Incarceration and the bonds between parents in fragile families. In M. Patillo, D. Weiman, & B. Western (Eds.), *Imprisoning America: The social effects of mass incarceration* (pp. 21–45). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Western, B., & McLanahan, S. (2000). Fathers behind bars: The impact of incarceration on family

- formation. *Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research*, 2, 309–324. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1530-3535\(00\)80017-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1530-3535(00)80017-5)
- Western, B., & Pettit, B. (2010). Fathers behind bars: The impact of incarceration on family formation. *Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research*, 2, 309–324. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/DAED\\_a\\_00019](http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00019)
- Wildeman, C. (2009). Parental imprisonment, the prison boom, and the concentration of childhood disadvantage. *Demography*, 46, 265–280. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0052>
- Wildeman, C. (2010). Paternal incarceration and children's physically aggressive behaviors: Evidence from the fragile families and child wellbeing study. *Social Forces*, 89, 285–309. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/sof.2010.0055>
- Will, J., Whalen, M., & Loper, A. (2014). From one generation to the next: Childhood experiences of antisocial behavior and parental incarceration among adult inmates. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 53, 190–210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509674.2014.887606>
- Woodman, A. C., Mawdsley, H. P., & Hauser-Cram, P. (2015). Parenting stress and child behavior problems within families of children with developmental disabilities: Transactional relations across 15 years. *Research in Developmental Disabilities*, 36, 264–276.
- Wright, M. O., Masten, A. S., & Narayan, A. J. (2013). Resilience processes in development: Four waves of research on positive adaptation in the context of adversity. In S. Goldstein & R. B. Brooks (Eds.), *Handbook of resilience in children* (2nd ed., pp. 15–37). Salt Lake City, UT: Springer. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-3661-4\\_2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-3661-4_2)
- Zolkoski, S. M., & Bullock, L. M. (2012). Resilience in children and youth: A review. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34, 2295–2303. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.08.009>
- Zwiebach, L., Rhodes, J. E., & Dun Rappaport, C. (2010). Mentoring interventions for children of incarcerated parents. In J. M. Eddy & J. Poehlmann (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents: A handbook for researchers and practitioners* (pp. 217–236). Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Received June 12, 2015

Revision received February 27, 2016

Accepted March 18, 2016 ■