Consequences of Partner Incarceration for Women's Employment

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A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2017

Reading Committee:

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Sociology

University of Washington

Abstract

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Social scientists have amassed considerable evidence that incarceration has detrimental consequences for employment. Incarceration pushes inmates out of jobs, reduces employment prospects upon release, and confines former inmates to low-paying jobs. The exclusive focus on employment outcomes of individuals who come into "direct" contact with the penal system means we may have underestimated the impact of incarceration on labor market outcomes. Incarcerated men are connected to girlfriends, wives, mothers and children who "do time" along with them. Indeed, several studies have documented the reduced income and substantial expenses associated with the incarceration of a family member, but we know little about how the predominantly poor, racial/ethnic minority women heading these families respond to the economic difficulties they face. Using data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, this dissertation investigates whether and under what circumstances women with

incarcerated partners use formal, paid labor or other strategies to address the costs associated with incarceration. The first empirical chapter shows that partner incarceration is not associated with the number of hours women work at their primary jobs, except among relatively small groups of more advantaged women (e.g., white women and married women). This chapter adds to a growing body of research documenting heterogeneity in the consequences of incarceration for families. Expanding on these findings, the second empirical chapter shows that women with incarcerated partners are more likely to work multiple concurrent jobs than women in otherwise similar circumstances. That changes in women's employment are constrained, by and large, to multiple job holding suggests women with incarcerated partners shoulder a heavy burden to meet the needs of their families. The third empirical chapter builds on analyses in the preceding chapters to consider how women's employment changes in tandem with other financial resources. Increases in hours at their main jobs, coupled with few other resources, are most common. However, hours reductions and persistent unemployment, paired with public assistance receipt, are not unusual. These results further illustrate heterogeneity in women's employment response and draw attention to the additional resources on which women rely. Overall, this dissertation advances knowledge about not only the collateral consequences of mass incarceration but also the social and economic context shaping the employment of disadvantaged women.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to many people whose support, encouragement and advice have been integral to the completion of this dissertation. I am especially indebted to my committee chair, Dr. Hedwig Lee, who guided me through the last several years of graduate school with great skill and insight. I am thankful for her generosity – with time, praise, and opportunities – and for her commitment to my development as a scholar. I am also fortunate to have received guidance from an exceptional dissertation committee. Drs. Julie Brines, Kyle Crowder, and Jennifer Romich provided critical feedback and sage advice that has undoubtedly made this dissertation better.

Thank you as well to Drs. Becky Pettit and Heather D. Hill who have taken me under their wings and become trusted mentors. I would also like to thank my graduate school colleagues, especially those in the 2010 cohort, for their emotional support and unwavering friendship. Thank you to the University of Washington Graduate School and the Graduate Opportunities and Minority Achievement Program, for generously supporting this dissertation.

Finally, thank you to my partner, Nathan Wallace, for all he has done to keep our family afloat over the last several years and, especially, for his willingness to follow me around the country in the pursuit of my dreams.

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Mass Incarceration and Family Life

Over the past four decades, the United States has experienced a rapid and unprecedented growth in the incarceration rate. In 1973, one in 500 American adults was in prison; by 2009 this number had risen to 1 in 130 (West, 2010). The expansion of incarceration has disproportionately affected disadvantaged individuals and communities (Clear, 2007; Roberts, 2004). Black men comprise more than 40 percent of inmates and are incarcerated at a rate nine times that of non-Hispanic whites (Mechoulan, 2011). For black men with low levels of education, incarceration has become a common life course event (Pettit & Western, 2004). The increasing proportion of men who spend time in jail and prison coupled with the uneven distribution of this experience across the population has led researchers to investigate the consequences for men's life chances and the implications for inequality. This research has shown that men with criminal records struggle to find work (Pager, 2003; Western, 2006), face increased risk of health problems (Massoglia, 2008b); and have lower rates of civic participation (Manza & Uggen, 2006).

In recent years, scholars have become interested in the spillover effects of incarceration on families. Incarcerated men are connected to girlfriends, wives, mothers and children who, research suggests, "do time" along with them (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008). Although marriage rates of men involved in the penal system are low – about 20 percent or less (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1997; Western, 2006) – half of incarcerated men consider themselves to be in romantic relationships with women, and more than two-thirds are fathers (Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Grinstead, Zack, Faigeles, Grossman, & Blea, 1999; Jorgensen, Hernandez, & Warren, 1986; Western, 2006). Studies have linked paternal incarceration to a number of deleterious

consequences for families, including economic instability and material hardship (Geller & Franklin, 2014; Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, & Garfinkel, 2011), children's behavioral and school problems (Haskins, 2014; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011), diminished psychological well-being among children and mothers (Fishman, 1990; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2013; Wildeman, Schnittker, & Turney, 2012), and weakened intergenerational family ties (Turney, 2014b). Incarceration also damages the quality of couples' relationships and hastens relationship dissolution (Lopoo & Western, 2005; Turney, 2015a, 2015b).

Incarceration affects family functioning and individual well-being in a number of ways, suggesting the arms of the carceral system reach far beyond the prison walls in both time and space. This dissertation is concerned primarily with the economic consequences of incarceration for families – and the ways in which those economic consequences intersect with the burdens disadvantaged women already face. A wealth of scholarship underscores the consequences of imprisonment for men's labor market outcomes and the economic stability of the families they leave behind (Freeman, 1992; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Pager, 2003; Raphael, 2007; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011; Western, 2006). We know little about how the predominantly poor, racial/ethnic minority women heading families of incarcerated men respond to the economic difficulties they face. This dissertation focuses on whether and under what circumstances women attached to incarcerated men turn to formal, paid labor or use other strategies to address the costs associated with incarceration. This first chapter offers a broad introduction to the conceptual frameworks and empirical evidence driving this study in addition to a brief overview of the three empirical questions around which the remainder of this dissertation is structured.

1.2 WHY WOMEN?

Despite growing attention to the families of incarcerated individuals, far too little research has considered the outcomes of adult women. Much of the research on the consequences of incarceration for families focuses on children as subjects of this instability (for exceptions see Comfort, 2008; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Turney, 2015a; Wildeman et al., 2012). The inattention to romantic partners and other women connected to incarcerated men is unfortunate for at least three reasons. First, women often bear the brunt of responsibility for moderating the impact of incarceration on children and families (deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015; Roberts, 2004). How women respond to the incarceration of a loved one has consequences for inmates' children.

Second, scholars have explored the role of incarceration in fostering racial and economic inequality (for reviews see Wakefield & Uggen, 2010; Wildeman & Muller, 2012) but, with a few exceptions (Davis, 2003), little research has considered its role in reproducing gender inequality. Incarceration intensifies the marginalization of disadvantaged families and communities, and the burden of shouldering these hardships falls primarily to women (Christian & Thomas, 2009; Roberts, 2004). Prisons, jails and justice system processes reproduce gender inequality by removing men from marriages and relationships, which discourages shared responsibility for children, the home, and the household economy. Placing female family members at the center of analysis expands our understanding of incarceration as a gendered institution that "reflects and further entrenches the gendered structure of the larger society" (Davis, 2003, p. 61). If we ignore the ways in which incarceration constrains not only disadvantaged men and their children but also disadvantaged women we fail to consider a potentially significant, and for some women, dominant institution in their lives (Comfort, 2008).

Finally, a wealth of research has investigated the consequences of imprisonment for former inmate's employment. Incarceration pushes inmates out of jobs, reduces employment prospects upon release, and confines those with a criminal record to low-wage work (Freeman, 1992; Pager, 2003; Raphael, 2007; Western, 2006). The exclusive focus on the employment outcomes of individuals who come into "direct" contact with the penal system means that we may have underestimated the impact of incarceration on labor force outcomes. By placing women and their employment at the center of analysis, this dissertation elucidates consequences of mass incarceration that have been concealed by the predominant focus on men.

1.3 Linking Partner Incarceration and Women's Employment

There are both empirical and conceptual reasons to believe that women's employment is linked to the incarceration of their partners. For one, the life course concept of linked lives draws attention to an individual's embeddedness in a network of shared relationships. It emphasizes the interdependence of human lives and the ways individuals are reciprocally connected to each other (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003). In the sections below I describe how women's paid and unpaid labor may be linked to the fate of the men to whom they are connected.

1.3.1 *Women, Work and Family*

Family circumstances are a widely studied determinant of women's employment. Marriage, child birth, husband unemployment and divorce – family events that alter economic resources and caregiving responsibilities – shape women's employment, particularly for white and higher-income women (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Cohen & Bianchi, 1999; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Reid, 2002; van Damme, Kalmijn, & Uunk, 2009). Gendered norms that place childcare and household responsibilities primarily on women's

shoulders tie their supply of labor outside the home to their supply of labor inside the home. Women are less likely than men to be employed (U.S. Department of Labor, n.d.) and having young children, particularly in combination with marriage, plays an important role in the suppression of women's employment (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2002; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Cohen & Bianchi, 1999; Percheski, 2008).

Women's labor force participation is highly responsive to transitions in the family, perhaps more so than men's. Childbirth and marriage are only two examples. When a family crisis occurs, such as illness or disability, it is typically women who reconsider their labor force participation and make adjustments in order to provide more care (Collins & Mayer, 2010; Moen, Robison, & Fields, 1997). Women faced with caregiving for elderly relatives, for example, often quit their jobs, work fewer hours, rearrange their schedule or take time off without pay (Stone & Short, 1990). Conversely, both divorce and husband unemployment lead to substantial reductions in household income, and these events have been shown to increase women's labor supply (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Moehling, 2001; van Damme et al., 2009). We know little about the impact of partner incarceration on women's employment compared to other life transitions. Yet, like other family transitions, incarceration alters economic resources and caregiving responsibilities (Arditti, Lamber-Shute, & Joest, 2003; Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller, Garfinkel, & Western, 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). This dissertation is among the first to examine the relationship between partner incarceration and women's employment and the first to do so systematically with a large, longitudinal dataset.

1.3.2 *Economic Consequences of Incarceration*

The economic instability associated with incarceration is a primary reason to believe that this family event influences women's employment – and that it influences it positively. When a man goes to prison, his family experiences an immediate reduction in financial resources (Arditti et al., 2003; Johnson, 2008). Most men are employed before incarceration and cite wages and salary as their main source of income (Mumola, 2000). Although these men's incomes may be modest, they do report providing primary financial support for their families (Braman, 2004; Glaze & Maruschak, 2010), and their capacity to continue providing such support while in prison is slim. The loss of a prisoner's earnings creates a need for additional household income, and a woman may attempt to replace his earnings by increasing her labor supply (Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Western, Bloome, Sosnaud, & Tach, 2012). In addition to reducing income, ethnographic research shows that incarceration is associated with a number of financial costs for families if women wish to maintain connections to incarcerated men (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; Grinstead, Faigeles, Bancroft, & Zack, 2001). Men's incarceration may require additional income to cover the cost of traveling for prison visits, taking collect calls, sending packages, and putting money in commissary. The costs of caring for a man while in prison or helping him manage legal debt associated with his imprisonment (Harris, 2016; Harris, Evans, & Beckett, 2010) may also encourage women to increase their employment.

To be sure, employment is not the only way to cushion income loss. Women may forego employment changes in favor of other options or combine employment with other income generating strategies. Decisions regarding the balancing of household budgets may be influenced by a variety of factors including access to certain resources, which is likely shaped by race and class, family circumstances and the conditions of incarceration. For instance, economic theory

suggests that persistent reductions in family income lead to alternative strategies, such as reducing expenses (Lundberg, 1985). Women whose partners are incarcerated for long periods of time or have criminal records that consistently impede gainful employment may be inclined to seek out alternatives to additional employment. They may cut back on consumption (Comfort, 2008; Fishman, 1988) and participate in public assistance programs that reduce out-of-pocket expenses (Sugie, 2012). Women may opt to work in the informal labor market which can provide flexibility for meeting the care needs of their families (Edin & Lein, 1997; Harris, 1993). In addition, women may move to their parents' home to reduce costs, and cohabiting with a new, employed partner may limit women's need to increase employment (van Damme et al., 2009).

1.3.3 *Incarceration and Caregiving*

Incarceration alters women's caregiving responsibilities by placing men in institutions that jeopardize their mental and physical health (Houle, 2014; Massoglia, 2008a, 2008b; Massoglia & Pridemore, 2015; Pridemore, 2014; Schnittker & John, 2007) and circumscribe their ability to participate in family life. These care demands may limit women's ability to respond to the costs of incarceration through increased labor supply. Filling the care gap left by prisons – making sure inmates' basic needs are met, and they remain connected to the outside world – is time consuming. Women often worry about their incarcerated partners' safety and access to healthy food, toiletries, shoes and medication. Addressing these concerns requires preparing packages to the correctional institution's specifications, navigating complicated systems for purchasing music, books and food, coordinating family member visits, and traveling long distances themselves, as prisons are often far from families' homes (Comfort, 2008; Lee & Bruns, 2016).

In addition to caring for inmates, women often care for their children. Prior to incarceration, men often take part in childrearing (Nurse, 2002), and their absence, even for short

spells of imprisonment, leaves women to shoulder this burden. Sole responsibility for childcare, particularly when children are struggling with the absence of their fathers (Geller, Cooper, Garfinkel, Schwartz-Soicher, & Mincy, 2012; Haskins, 2014; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011), may make additional work challenging. Although women may turn to family members and friends to help with childcare, maintaining these relationships is sometimes difficult because of stigma, time constraints, and the emotional impact of having a family member imprisoned (Braman, 2004; Wildeman et al., 2012). Research shows that partner incarceration diminishes perceived instrumental support, which suggests that women with incarcerated partners feel they have only themselves to rely on if their children are sick or their primary childcare falls through (Turney, Schnittker, & Wildeman, 2012).

The removal of prisoners from family life and the additional caregiving responsibilities faced by their partners may limit women's ability to respond to income loss by increasing their labor supply. A previous study suggests this is the case. Arditti, Lambert-Shute and Joest (2003) showed that prison visitors who provided primary care for inmates' children experienced a reduction in employment, despite substantial financial strain during the imprisonment. The authors suggested that the incapacitation of the child's father may increase work-family conflict for the primary caregiver – often the child's mother – and lead to a retreat from the labor market (Arditti et al., 2003).

1.4 Research Overview

1.4.1 *Data Source*

The three empirical chapters build on the conceptual frameworks and empirical evidence discussed above to examine the consequences of partner incarceration for women's employment and other economic outcomes as well as heterogeneity in these outcomes. Data for all three

studies are drawn from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS). FFCWS is a longitudinal survey that follows a cohort of nearly 5,000 new and mostly unmarried parents. FFCWS is based on a stratified, multi-stage, probability sample of children born in U.S. cities with populations over 200,000. Non-marital births were oversampled (Reichman, Teitler, Garfinkel, & McLanahan, 2001). Baseline interviews, conducted between February 1998 and September 2000, consisted of 30- to 40- min in-person interviews with mothers at the hospital after the birth of their child. Fathers' baseline interviewers were conducted as soon as possible thereafter. The baseline response rate was high; about 86 percent of mothers participated. Subsequent interviews were conducted by telephone one, three, five, nine, and fifteen years later. Of mothers who completed baseline interviews, 89 percent, 96 percent, 85 percent, and 74 percent participated in the one-, three-, five-, and nine-year surveys, respectively. The fifteen-year interviews are still in progress.

These data are particularly suitable for studying the impact of partner incarceration on women's employment outcomes because of both structure and content. Because the FFCWS data include an oversample of unmarried parents in large cities, the sample is economically disadvantaged and includes a substantial number of incarcerated men. The study's focus on the focal child and the child's parents rather than a single individual or household gives us information about the lives of families, defined broadly to include married and cohabiting couples as well as nonresidential partnerships and separated couples who share children. This feature of the data allows examination of the impact of incarceration for different types of families. FFCWS also provides substantial information about respondents' family life and economic activity as well as factors (e.g., demographic and human capital characteristics) that may influence the likelihood of both partner incarceration and dependent variables. The

longitudinal nature of the data allows for the comparison of outcomes before and after women's partners are imprisoned.

1.4.2 *Chapter 2*

The first empirical chapter (Chapter 2) investigates how partner incarceration is associated with the number of hours women work each week at their primary, formal sector jobs. Chapter 2 also examines whether the association between partner incarceration and weekly work hours varies by race/ethnicity, family composition, and conditions of the incarceration. The chapter beings by reviewing in more detail the economic consequences of incarceration for families as the primary mechanism through which partner incarceration may influence women's employment. The chapter goes on to discuss the differences and similarities between incarceration and other family transitions, such as divorce and partner unemployment. Following this discussion, data on 3,780 women who completed the three- and five-year surveys and provided information on work hours is used to fit a series of ordinary least squares regression models. Results show no statistically significant relationship between partner incarceration and women's hours of work, but attention solely to the "average effects" of incarceration masks heterogeneity. A significant, positive association is evident among women who are relatively advantaged in terms of family composition and social group membership: white women, married women, women who have children with one partner, and women whose partners had not been incarcerated previously. Among these groups, women with recently incarcerated partners work more hours than their counterparts, even when accounting for the number of hours they worked prior to incarceration. In addition, there is a significant, positive association between partner incarceration lasting less than three months and the number of hours women work. The chapter concludes that a large proportion of the disadvantaged women whose partners are removed from their family systems

are not using employment as an modifiable resource during a time that both qualitative and quantitative research have characterized as financially destabilizing, but heterogeneity does exist.

1.4.3 *Chapter 3*

Having found a null relationship between partner incarceration and women's weekly work hours at their primary jobs, the second empirical chapter (Chapter 3) examines how partner incarceration is associated with working multiple concurrent jobs. The chapter begins by reviewing the economic consequences of incarceration for families and why working a second job may be an important strategy for earning additional income, especially for the partners of incarcerated men. The chapter goes on to describe motivations for multiple job holding as theorized in the labor economics literature and what we know about the consequences (both positive and negative) of multiple job holding for individuals and families. Following this discussion, data on 3,835 women who completed the three- and five-year surveys and provided information on multiple job holding is used in multinomial logistic regression models to estimate the likelihood of working multiple jobs as a function of partner incarceration. Results show a robust, positive relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding. Models that examine moderators of the relationship show that the association is concentrated among women living with their partners and women whose partners serve relatively short sentences. The chapter concludes that the removal of men from family life and wage earning via incarceration exacerbates women's responsibility for balancing work and family – just not in the ways we might initially expect. Although women with incarceration partners do not necessarily work more hours at their main jobs, they are likely to work additional jobs. Thus, while women deal with forced separation from their partners, worries about their partners' well-being, and the

consequences of paternal absence for their children, they are also working – and working enough to support family members both inside and outside prison means working multiple jobs.

1.4.4 *Chapter 4*

The third empirical chapter (Chapter 4) builds on analyses of the relationship between partner incarceration and women's employment to consider the diverse strategies women use to make ends meet. It is likely that women's response to economic instability associated with partner incarceration is not limited to changes in employment. A slight increase in labor supply may not produce enough additional income to replace men's pre-incarceration contributions and address the financial costs of his imprisonment. Using latent class regression analysis, Chapter 4 investigates not only how the incarceration of a partner changes women's employment but also how it changes, in tandem, their participation in other income generating activities. Strategies such as the uptake of public assistance, receipt of cash assistance from family and friends, and changes in shared residence are considered. The latent class regression models (Linzer & Lewis, 2011) simultaneously estimate important determinants of the utilization of these sets of strategies, focusing primarily on the demographic characteristics of women and their family lives. Results indicate that women modify their strategies in diverse ways, and the types of changes women make to these strategies are determined largely by factors indicating social class: women's educational attainment and pre-incarceration household income. Even the most advantaged women are not insulated from the need to alter their strategies for making ends meet.

1.4.5 *Chapter 5*

The dissertation concludes with a discussion of findings from each empirical analysis in relationship to one another and the implications of these findings for social inequality and public

policy. Study limitations, remaining gaps in the literature, and suggestions for future research are also discussed. Overall, this dissertation advances knowledge about not only the collateral consequences of mass incarceration for families but also the social and economic context shaping the employment of disadvantaged women.

Chapter 2. MAKING IT WORK? PARTNER INCARCERATION AND WOMEN'S WORK HOURS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The rapid expansion of incarceration in the United States (U.S.) has continued, mostly unabated, since the mid-1970s. The growing number of men who spend time in penal institutions as well as the uneven distribution of this experience across the population have lead researchers to investigate the impact of incarceration on the life chances of former inmates and the implications for social and economic inequality (e.g., Manza & Uggen, 2006; Massoglia, 2008; Western, 2006; Wildeman & Muller, 2012). A particularly important area of this research has focused on the influence of incarceration on labor market outcomes. Social scientists have amassed considerable evidence that incarceration not only pushes inmates out of jobs but also reduces employment prospects upon release (Freeman, 1992; Pager, 2003; Raphael, 2007; Western, 2006). Moreover, research suggests that black men pay an even higher penalty than similar white men for having a criminal record. Employer discrimination against former inmates is more pronounced for black men, and the effect of incarceration on wages and earnings is stronger (Pager, 2003, 2007; Western, 2006).

Although we know that incarceration has detrimental consequences for the employment of currently and formerly incarcerated individuals, we know little about how incarceration impacts the employment of their family members. Many incarcerated men are members of families and households that are subjected to the ramifications of their incarceration and ex-offender status (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1997; Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Grinstead, Zack, Faigeles, Grossman, & Blea, 1999; Jorgensen, Hernandez, & Warren, 1986; Western, 2006). Indeed, several studies have documented the reduced income and substantial costs associated

with incarceration (Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Grinstead et al., 2001; Johnson, 2008). In response to instability, households and families often engage in activities that attempt to smooth income fluctuation and stabilize economic well-being. Economic theory has suggested that a common strategy to address income loss from one family member's reduced labor supply is for another family member to increase their labor supply (Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Western, Bloome, Sosnaud, & Tach, 2012). This leads to the question: does the erosion of men's labor force participation due to mass incarceration have its counterweight in their female partners' increased employment?

Using data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, this paper is among the first to empirically evaluate the relationship between the incarceration of women's romantic partners and their employment. It pursues two research questions. First, how is men's incarceration associated with the number of hours their female partners, or women with whom they share children, work? Drawing on theory and recent research (Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, & Bontrager, 2007; Massoglia, Firebaugh, & Warner, 2013; Swisher & Waller, 2008; Turney & Wildeman, 2015; Wildeman, Turney, & Yi, 2016), this paper also examines whether the association between partner incarceration and work hours varies by race/ethnicity, family composition, and conditions of the incarceration.

This study contributes to social science research in a number of ways. First, the exclusive focus on the employment and earnings of formerly incarcerated individuals means that we may have underestimated the impact of incarceration on labor market outcomes. Additionally, we may have underestimated its impact on social inequality. Although scholars have explored the role of incarceration in fostering racial and economic inequality (Manza & Uggen, 2006; Massoglia, 2008b; Western, 2006; Wildeman & Muller, 2012), little research has considered its

role in reproducing gender inequality (see Davis, 2003 for an exception). An examination of women's employment does exactly that. Incarceration is a gendered institution – it "reflects and further entrenches the gendered structure of the larger society" (Davis, 2003, p. 61). Incarceration intensifies the marginalization of disadvantaged families and communities, and the burden of these hardships is shouldered primarily by women (Christian & Thomas, 2009; Roberts, 2004). By removing men from marriages and relationships – which discourages shared responsibility for children, the home, and the household economy – prisons, jails and justice system processes reproduce gender inequality. Women have long shouldered responsibility for balancing work and family, but incarceration may exacerbate this responsibility or, at the very least, maintain it. If we ignore the ways in which incarceration constrains not only disadvantaged men but also disadvantaged women we fail to consider a potentially significant, and for some women, dominant institution in their lives (Comfort, 2008).

2.2 Background

The primary reason to expect that men's incarceration will increase their female partners' employment lies in what is known about the adverse consequences of incarceration for family income. Most men are employed before incarceration and cite wages and salary as their main source of income (Mumola, 2000). Although these men's incomes may be modest, they do report providing primary financial support for their families (Braman, 2004; Glaze & Maruschak, 2010). Thus, when a man is removed from household wage earning via incarceration, his family experiences an immediate reduction in economic resources (Arditti et al., 2003; Geller et al., 2011; Johnson, 2008). The effects on employment are not limited to periods of incarceration; they continue after release (Holzer, 2009; Kling, 2006; Pager, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009; Pager, Western, & Sugie, 2009; Western, 2006). About two-thirds of former

prison inmates, mostly young men without a college education, remain out of work a year after release (Langan & Levin, 2002; Pager, Western, et al., 2009; Petersilia, 2003; Travis, 2005). Although usually much shorter in duration, jail stays also have consequences for job attainment and maintenance. By preventing individuals from attending work, the incapacitating effect of even a night or a few weeks in jail can jeopardize employment (Fernandes, 2015; Grogger, 1995; Sullivan, 1989).

In addition to reducing resources, ethnographic research has shown that incarceration is associated with a number of financial costs for families derived from replacing in-kind contributions to household labor, maintaining contact with prisoners, and supporting them financially (Arditti et al., 2003; Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; Grinstead et al., 2001). The amount of money family members spend on travel for prison visits, phone calls, quarterly packages, and commissary has received the most attention (Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001), but families often take responsibility for attorney fees, fines, and legal debt associated with involvement in the criminal justice system (Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Harris, 2016; Harris, Evans, & Beckett, 2010). Monetary sanctions are imposed by judges across felony and misdemeanor offenses in amounts much higher than the expected earnings of people who come into contact with the criminal justice system. Thus, for disadvantaged families, even minimal criminal justice involvement (i.e., short jail stays) can create long-term expenses (Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010).

The incarceration of women's partners alters the economic resources available to them and may shift responsibility for wage earning. Incarceration, then, is not unlike other family transitions that reduce household resources. Both divorced women and women's whose husbands have become unemployed face substantial reductions in household income, and these events,

under certain circumstances, have been shown to increase women's labor supply (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Moehling, 2001; van Damme et al., 2009). In the case of husband unemployment, wives labor market response has been termed the "added worker effect." The basic premise is that wives enter the labor market or increase the hours they spend working in order to smooth out fluctuation in family income (Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Moehling, 2001). Although incarceration has in common with divorce and husband unemployment a potential to reduce economic resources, incarceration is distinct for a few reasons. First, the families of incarcerated men are extremely disadvantaged – even more so than families likely to experience divorce and unemployment. The poverty and racial inequality these families already face may limit the applicability of an economic model that balances one wage-earner's income loss with gains of another. Even when the added worker response was directly tested, Lundberg (1985) found only a small effect for white women from low-income households and none at all for low-income black women.

Second, incarceration is incapacitating; it not only removes individuals from household wage earning, it also places them in institutions that circumscribe their ability to participate in family life (Western, 2006). Men often share childrearing responsibilities with the mothers of their children prior to incarceration (Nurse, 2002), and the loss of this support, whether it be for a jail stay of a few weeks or a prison sentence of several years, puts constraints on the time women can devote to work activities. Furthermore, maintaining connections between children and incarcerated fathers is time consuming; prisons in particular are often a distance from families' homes, and the responsibility for child-father visits rests on women's shoulders. The incapacitation of prisoners and the additional caregiving responsibilities faced by their partners, may limit women's ability to respond to income loss by increasing their labor supply. Previous

findings, although limited, regarding the relationship between women's employment and family member incarceration suggest this is the case. Interviews with prison visitors providing primary care for inmates' children indicated a reduction in employment, despite substantial financial strain resulting from family member absence. The authors suggested that the unavailability of the incarcerated individual for childcare may increase work-family conflict and lead to labor market exits (Arditti et al., 2003).

It is also possible that partner incarceration does not increase women's employment simply because employment is not the only way to cushion income loss. Families can respond to financial strain by cutting back on expenditures, and ethnographic research has shown that partners of incarcerated men sometimes forfeit their own consumption (e.g., tightening their personal food budgets) in order to cover the costs of maintaining contact with an inmate and providing him with basic comforts (Comfort, 2008; Fishman, 1988). Families of incarcerated men also generate near-cash income through participation in public assistance programs such as food stamps and Medicaid (Sugie, 2012). They may rely on work in the informal labor market – such as cleaning houses, babysitting, and doing hair – which can offer flexibility to meet the care needs of their families (Edin & Lein, 1997; Harris, 1993). Additionally, re-partnering and living with other family members can be sources of income as well. Women may move to their parents' home to reduce costs, and cohabiting with a new, employed partner may limit women's need to increase employment (van Damme et al., 2009).

2.2.1 *Variation in the Association between Partner Incarceration and Work Hours*

It is possible that incarceration will increase employment for some women but not others. For one, the association between the incarceration of women's partners and their employment may depend on race/ethnicity. Previous research has suggested that the consequences of incarceration

may be relatively minor for racial/ethnic minority women given pre-existing disparities in the economic outcomes and exposure to incarceration (Chiricos et al., 2007; Massoglia et al., 2013; Swisher & Waller, 2008; Turney & Wildeman, 2015). Massoglia and colleagues (2013), who found a significant negative effect of incarceration on neighborhood attainment for white men but not black men, argued that because black inmates come from such disadvantaged neighborhoods they have much less to lose than white inmates. Blacks experience what has been referred to as a "floor effect." Turney and Wildeman (2015) used a similar explanation for heterogeneity in the effect of maternal incarceration on child well-being. The authors reasoned that incarceration may be least consequential for children most likely to experience incarceration because these children, who already face significant disadvantages, cannot accumulate additional adverse consequences; they have reached a point of saturation.

The concept of a "floor effect" or "reaching saturation" can be applied to women with incarcerated partners in two ways. First, racial/ethnic minority women must contend with economic barriers due to racial discrimination even if their partners never go to prison. Thus, incarceration may do little to change their economic situation. They may have reached saturation, in terms of accumulation of economic disadvantage. Second, racial/ethnic minority women face disadvantages not only in general economic terms but specifically in the labor market. Black and Hispanic women are often relegated to low-wage service sector and caregiving jobs that provide few flexibilities when family circumstances change and women need more hours (Burton & Tucker, 2009; Golden, 2005; Lambert, Haley-Lock, & Henly, 2012; Reid, 2002; Reskin, 1999; Swanberg, Catsouphes, & Drescher-Burke, 2005). It may be that racial/ethnic minority women are "at capacity" – they are working as much as they can at their current jobs, given the structure of low-wage work. Additionally, the compensatory effect of

women's employment may be smaller for black women whose labor force attachment has been high relative to white women's for decades (Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Casper & Bianchi, 2002). The household economies of black families have long depended on women's employment (Collins, 2011; Furstenburg, 2007; Glenn, 1994), and perhaps loss of income due to incarceration cannot easily be balanced with additional labor supply of an already employed woman. Finally, disadvantaged families make decisions about employment in the context of public assistance receipt. Potential reductions in these benefits when earnings increase (i.e., marginal tax rates) may keep highly disadvantaged women from increasing their hours (Harris, 1993).

Variation in the association between partner incarceration and employment may also derive from conditions of the incarceration itself, such as the length of the incarceration spell. Returning to the concept of the added worker effect, one of the most important attributes of this model is that changes in wives' employment are timed to smooth out fluctuation in household income – they are a response to temporary loss of income, rather than long-term loss. Permanent decreases in income are expected to cause an adjustment in consumption which takes the place of an employment response (Lundberg, 1985). In this study, I measured permanence versus transience of incarceration in two ways. The first and most straightforward approach used information on the duration of the incarceration spell. Following the assumptions of the added worker effect, short spells of incarceration will be associated with higher employment, but longer spells will not. We can think about permanence and transience in a second way. Suppose the first time incarceration of a woman's partner is more likely to represent a transitory income reduction, while a second or third incarceration is a signal of a reoccurring or long-term problem associated with permanent low income. Then, women will respond to first time incarcerations with an employment increase but will adjust in other ways to a repeat occurrence.

Finally, the impact of partner incarceration on women's employment may depend on family composition. Economic models regarding family labor supply decisions tend to focus on households headed by married couples, but families have become increasing complex, and divergence from the married bio-parent family model is particularly common among some disadvantaged groups (Bumpass & Lu, 2000; Cancian & Haskins, 2014; Carlson & Furstenberg, 2006; Guzzo & Furstenberg, 2007; Raley, Sweeney, & Wondra, 2015; Sykes & Pettit, 2014). Family composition may affect the degree of the economic instability families of incarcerated men experience, the resources available in times of need, and, in turn, how women use their employment as a resource to manage financial strain. In this study, I captured family composition in two ways: the status of women's relationship with her child's father and multiple-partner fertility. When a man's economic resources are concentrated on a single household – perhaps when he is married and/or has fathered children with only one woman – the loss of those resources during a period of incarceration may be particularly challenging. The economic consequences of men's incarceration likely reverberate in more complex families – families characterized by multiple partner fertility, cohabitation or non-residential relationships – because they too receive formal and informal financial support (Geller et al., 2011). However, family complexity may mean that men's economic resources are diffused across households (Cancian & Meyer, 2011; Carlson & Meyer, 2014; Sinkewicz & Garfinkel, 2009), and incarceration is less consequential for each family's economic well-being. In addition, women whose families are complex may have structures in place, such as new partners and female kin, to support fluctuations in the contributions of their children's fathers (Edin & Lein, 1997; Kalil & Ryan, 2010; Patillo-McCoy, 1999; Stack, 1974). For example, women who have children with multiple fathers may call on other fathers to step in when one father is unable to provide support.

In sum, the incarceration of women's partners creates a need for income from employment by removing men from household wage earning, creating barriers to men's employment post-release, and exacerbating economic instability for their families. However, women's ability to increase employment may be constrained if women's time is consumed by childcare responsibilities and efforts to keep their families intact despite separation. In addition, they may find other ways to make ends meet. Theory and recent research also suggests that the association between partner incarceration and women's employment may depend on how factors such as race/ethnicity, conditions of incarceration and family composition structure the degree of economic loss and resources available to women in times of need.

2.2.2 *Additional Characteristics Associated with Partner Incarceration and Work Hours*

The multivariate models include a number of control variables that are related to incarceration and women's employment. Immigrants are less likely than individuals born in the U.S. to be incarcerated (Butcher & Piehl, 1998), and immigrant women are less likely to be employed (MacPherson & Stewart, 1989; Schoeni, 1998). Age is associated with incarceration (Pettit & Western, 2004). Childhood family structure is also associated with incarceration (Harper & McLanahan, 2004), and it is an important mechanism for the reproduction of economic inequality which may impact adult resources and employment (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). Human capital is an key determinant of women's employment, and education is considered one of the most important indicators of human capital (Becker, 1981; Percheski, 2008; Reid, 2002). Education is also associated with incarceration (Carson, 2015). Other dimensions of human capital include hourly wages, cognitive skills, and impulsivity (Percheski, 2008; Reid, 2002). Intimate partner violence impedes a woman's ability to hold a steady job (Riger, Staggs, & Schewe, 2004; Tolman & Wang, 2005), as might having a drug or alcohol problem, or a history

of incarceration (Blitz, 2006; Rose, Michalsen, Wiest, & Fabian, 2008; Tonkin, Dickie, Alemagno, & Grove, 2004). These characteristics are also correlated with incarceration (Mumola & Karberg, 2006; Western, 2006).

2.3 Data, Measures, and Analytic Strategy

2.3.1 *Data*

I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), a longitudinal survey that follows a cohort of new and mostly unmarried parents living in 20 large U.S. cities. The study began with interviews of nearly 5,000 parents, conducted between February 1998 and September 2000 (Reichman et al., 2001). Mothers were interviewed in the hospital following the birth of their child, and fathers were interviewed in the hospital or shortly thereafter. Subsequent interviews were conducted by phone one, three, five, nine, and fifteen years later. FFCWS oversampled unmarried parents, which means the sample is economically disadvantaged and includes a substantial number of men who came into contact with the penal system prior to or during the course of the study. These data are particularly suitable for studying the impact of partner incarceration on women's employment because they include substantial information about respondents' family life and economic activity as well as factors that may affect the likelihood of both partner incarceration and employment.

The final analytic sample for this paper consists of 3,780 observations. I rely on data primarily from the three- and five-year surveys because men's incarceration is most accurately measured between these two surveys. Thus, of the 4,898 observations in the baseline sample, I dropped 1,051 (21%) women who did not participate in both the three- and five-year surveys. I dropped an additional 30 (<1%) observations in which the child's father was no longer living at the three-year survey. I excluded an additional 37 (1%) observations missing data on outcome

variables. I used multiple imputation by chained equations to preserve observations missing values for other variables (White, Royston, & Wood, 2009). Few observations were missing data on the independent variables. About 9 percent of observations were missing values for men's incarceration. All other control variables were missing for one percent or fewer of the observations, with the exception of women's most recent hourly wage and men's pre-incarceration financial contribution. Models using complete cases show nearly identical results.

2.3.2 *Measures*

Women's employment. Women participating in the FFCWS study were asked whether they did any regular work for pay in the week prior to the survey as well as the number of hours per week they usually worked at their most recent job. Because a most recent job is not necessarily a current job, I use information from both survey items regarding employment to construct an outcome variable, *hours of work*, that represents the number of hours a woman works per week in her current, formal sector job. Some analyses include a lagged measure of the dependent variable.

Explanatory variable. My primary explanatory variable is *recent partner incarceration*. A woman experienced the recent incarceration of her partner if the father of her child was incarcerated between the three- and five-year surveys, including incarceration at the five-year survey. Incarceration was captured in the FFCWS survey in three ways: through women's direct reports; through administration of men's survey in prison or jail; and from indirect reports that a woman's partner is or was incarcerated (e.g., reports incarceration as a reason the man was unable to find a job) (Turney & Wildeman, 2013). Consistent with other research in the area, I use both men's and women's reports of incarceration at and between surveys to construct the measure of recent partner incarceration.

The inclusion of multiple measures of incarceration in the survey means that the data provide an excellent opportunity to investigate the consequences of men's incarceration for their families; however, the measure of recent incarceration is subject to limitations. The data do not include information about whether a woman's partner was incarcerated in jail or prison, and these two types of incarceration may differentially impact women's employment. As with many longitudinal studies, the precise timing of events that occurred between surveys is a problem across variables. Thus, information regarding the exact timing of incarceration between the three- and five-year surveys is not available. In addition, information about the duration of incarceration is available for only 81 percent of observations in which women experience the recent incarceration of their partner, and this information is not missing at random. Because the duration of an incarceration spell may shape the economic impact on a family and thus, women's employment response, I use this information in supplemental analyses which are described below. Further data collection efforts should attend to duration more thoroughly so that stronger conclusions can be drawn.

Control variables. The analyses adjust for several individual-level characteristics associated with women's employment and attachment to incarcerated men. These variables are measured at or before the three-year survey, prior to the measurement of recent incarceration. Demographic controls include women's *race/ethnicity* (non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, non-Hispanic other race) and two dichotomous variables indicating a woman was born outside the United States and the woman *lived with both parents* at age 15. All are measured at the baseline interview. *Age* is a continuous variable measured at the three-year survey. The analyses also control for several measures of human capital. *Educational attainment* is a categorical variable with four mutually exclusive categories (less than high school diploma,

high school diploma or GED, some college, and college degree) measured at the three-year survey. *Hourly wage* is a continuous variable indicating a woman's hourly wage at her current or most recent job. Women's *cognitive scores* are derived from a set of eight questions taken from the Similarities Subtest of the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale – Revised (WAIS-R). *Impulsivity* is based on an average of each woman's responses (1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*) to an abbreviated form of Dickman's (1990) impulsivity scale. The six questions included in the scale are: "I will often say whatever comes into my head without thinking first;" "Often, I don't spend enough time thinking over a situation before I act;" "I often say and do things without considering the consequences;" "I often get into trouble because I don't think before I act;" "Many times, the plans I make don't work out because I haven't gone over them carefully enough in advance;" and "I often make up my mind without taking the time to consider the situation from all angles" ($\alpha = .84$) (Wildeman et al., 2012). A dichotomous variable indicates whether the respondent reported she was in *fair or poor health*. *Depression* and *drug or alcohol problem* are both assessed using women's responses to the Composite International Diagnostic Interview - Short Form (CIDI-SF) (Kessler, Andrews, Mroczek, Ustun, & Wittchen, 1998). *Own incarceration history* is based on the woman's report that she has spent time in a correctional institution as of the three-year survey.

An array of variables measuring family economic resources are also included. *Earnings from informal work* measures women's total previous year earnings from "off the books" work, work in the illicit labor market, and work in her own business that she does not report as regular work. *Household income* is a measure representing household income in relation to the poverty line, which is established by the Census Bureau and based on household size and composition. The measure corresponds to the year prior to the three-year survey and is included in models as a

series of five dummy variables: *less than 50 percent of the poverty line*, *50-99 percent of the poverty line*, *100-199 percent of the poverty line*, *200-299 percent of the poverty line*, and *300 percent of the poverty line or higher*. Use of *public assistance* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether a woman received TANF, Food Stamps, Medicaid, or Social Security Income (SSI) in the year prior to the three-year interview. *Partner financial support* is a dichotomous variable that measures whether or not the partner provided financial support to the woman in the 12 months leading up to the three-year survey. A partner is considered to have provided financial support if he was living with the woman and employed in either the formal or informal labor market, or he was not living with the woman but provided formal or informal child support (Geller et al., 2011). Although researchers have calculated the amount of partners' financial contribution at the five-year survey, it is not possible to construct the same continuous measure at the three-year survey due to an inconsistency in survey questions. *Partner prior incarceration* indicates whether or not a woman's partner was incarcerated at some point before the three-year survey. This measure is distinct from recent incarceration; each measure refers to a separate time period in which incarceration occurred. Some women have partners who experience both recent and prior incarceration.

Other household and family characteristics include *number of children* under the age of five in the household at year three. *Relationship status* is a categorical variable indicating women's relationship with her child's father. Four mutually exclusive categories (separated, married, cohabiting, non-residential romantic relationship) make up the measure. *Involved with a new partner* is a binary measure indicating whether a woman was in a romantic relationship with a partner other than the father of the focal child at the three-year survey. *Own multiple partner fertility* indicates whether a woman has children with men other than the partner/focal child's

father, and *partner multiple partner fertility* indicates whether the child's father has children with other women. Finally, *intimate partner violence* is based on the woman's report that her partner at the time of the three-year interview (either her child's father if she was romantically involved with him or a new partner) tried to keep her from seeing or talking to friends and family, tried to prevent her from going to work or school, withheld money, slapped, kicked or hit her, or tried to make her have sex or do sexual things she did not want to do (McLanahan et al., 2014).

Moderators. In some analyses, I consider five moderators of the association between recent partner incarceration and women's hours of work: *race/ethnicity*, *partner prior incarceration, relationship status,* women's *own multiple partner fertility,* and *partner's multiple partner fertility*. All are measured as stated above.

2.3.3 *Analytic Strategy*

In the first analytic stage, I estimate women's hours of work as a function of recent partner incarceration. Hours of work is a continuous dependent variable, so I use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Hours of work is not normally distributed, (a large number of women worked zero hours last week); thus, I also performed a Tobit analysis, which yielded substantively similar results. Results from OLS models are presented because they are more easily interpretable. Model 1 includes recent partner incarceration, the key explanatory variable, and partner's prior incarceration as a control. Model 2 adds a wide range of control variables measuring women's individual and family circumstances as described above. In Model 3, I add a lagged measure of the dependent variable. Thus, any persistent association between partner incarceration and women's hours of work at the five-year survey is net of work hours at the three-year survey, or before the start of the most recent incarceration. Although the inclusion of a lagged dependent variable cannot fully rule out the possibility that an association between

partner incarceration and hours of work is spurious, considered in conjunction with a rich set of controls, a significant association between incarceration and hours of work in this model would provide more convincing evidence of a causal effect (Finkel, 1995).

In the second analytic stage, I consider five potential moderators of the association between recent partner incarceration and women's hours of work: race/ethnicity, partner prior incarceration, relationship status, women's multiple partner fertility, and their partners' multiple partner fertility. In the third and final analytic stage, I consider the relationship between duration of incarceration and women's hours of work. To do so, I utilize an alternative specification of the explanatory variable, *recent partner incarceration*, that includes information about length of the incarceration spell (see Table 2.4). This variable consists of four categories: recent incarceration less than three months (6 percent), recent incarceration three months or greater (12 percent), duration missing (5 percent), and no recent incarceration (77 percent).

2.3.4 *Sample Description*

Table 2.1 shows descriptive statistics for all variables. Including those who did not work, women in the sample worked, on average, 22 hours per week at the five-year survey. The sample is relatively disadvantaged across a range of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Recent incarceration of women's partners is common; 23 percent of women are attached to incarcerated men. About 78 percent of women are racial/ethnic minorities, and nearly 15 percent are born outside the U.S. More than half (57 percent) of women had no more than a high school diploma or GED. At the three-year survey, about 13 percent of women report fair or poor health, and 14 percent report depression. More than half are in a romantic relationship with their partner/child's father, and 18 percent are involved with a new partner. About 42 percent of

women's household incomes are below the poverty line, and nearly two-thirds receive some form of public assistance.

2.4 RESULTS

2.4.1 *Estimating Women's Work Hours*

Table 2.2 shows multivariate results from OLS models estimating women's hours of work as a function of recent partner incarceration. Model 1, which adjusts only for partner's prior incarceration, shows no statistically significant relationship between recent partner incarceration and women's hours of work. Model 2 adjusts for the full set of control variables, and recent partner incarceration is associated with about two additional hours of work per week ($p < .10$). The increase in magnitude of the relationship between recent incarceration and hours of work suggests that some control variables act as suppressors. For example, recent incarceration is positively associated with hours of work (see Model 1), but recent incarceration is negatively associated with women's education, and education is positively associated with hours of work. When I adjust for the lagged dependent variable in Model 3, the size of the coefficient for recent incarceration decreases and is not statistically significant, even at the .10 level.

2.4.2 *Variation in the Association between Partner Incarceration and Work Hours*

In the second analytic stage I consider how the association between recent partner incarceration and women's hours of work varies by individual and partner characteristics. Figure 2.1 shows predicted hours of work based on five models that include separately: 1) recent partner incarceration X race/ethnicity, 2) recent partner incarceration X partner prior incarceration, 3) recent partner incarceration X relationship status, 4) recent partner incarceration X multiple partner fertility, and 5) recent partner incarceration X partner's multiple partner fertility.

Statistically significant differences (at $p < .05$), indicated by open markers, are determined by estimating first differences (or the effect of changing an average observation from no recent incarceration to recent incarceration) rather than by confidence intervals (see Figure A2.1). Table 2.3 presents coefficients for the variables of interest and their interaction terms.

Turning first to variation by race/ethnicity. Panel A in Figure 2.1 shows that white women who have recently incarcerated partners work significantly more hours than white women who do not have recently incarcerated partners ($p < .05$). White women with recently incarcerated partners work about 24.3 hours, and white women whose partners have not been recently incarcerated work about 19.2 hours. Panel B shows predicted hours of work from a model that includes the interaction between recent and prior incarceration. Among women whose partners have no history of incarceration, women whose partners are incarcerated for the first time work about 26.7 hours, and women whose partners are not incarcerated work about 21.7 hours. There is no statistically significant relationship between recent incarceration and hours of work for women whose partner have a history of incarceration.

Panels C through E in Figure 2.1 show variation in the relationship between partner incarceration and hours of work by three measures of family complexity. Regarding relationship status, a significant difference in predicted hours of work is found only among women married to the incarcerated man at the three-year survey ($p < .01$). Married women with recently incarcerated partners work about 26.7 hours, and married women whose partners have not been recently incarcerated work about 19.6 hours. In addition, women who have children only with a recently incarcerated partner work 24.2 hours, while other women who have children with one father work 21.7 hours. There is no statistically significant variation by partner's multiple partner fertility.

To further explore variation by conditions of the incarceration, I consider an alternative specification of the recent partner incarceration variable that includes information on duration (see Table 2.4). Incarceration spells lasting less than three months are more strongly associated with increases in women's employment than spells last three months or more. In Model 6, which includes all control variables and a lagged measure of the dependent variable, the coefficient for incarceration lasting less than three months is 3.7. Thus, women whose partners are incarcerated for less than three months work nearly four hours more than women whose partners are not incarcerated ($p < .01$). The coefficient for incarceration lasting three months or longer is -.15 and statistically different from the coefficient for incarceration lasting less than 3 months ($p < .05$). Because a large number of observations are missing information on duration, and the nature of missingness is non-random, these results should be considered preliminary.

2.5 Discussion

Research has documented the diminished employment opportunities and earnings associated with a having a criminal record (Holzer, 2009; Pager, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pager, Western, et al., 2009) as well as the economic consequences of men's incarceration for their families (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). Yet, little research has considered how men's incarceration is associated with the employment of the women they leave behind. This is an unfortunate oversight; given the loss of household income and costs associated with imprisonment (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001; Johnson, 2008), incarceration has the potential to alter the employment of not only incarcerated individuals but also the women to whom they are connected. In addition, this omission leaves the gendered consequences of incarceration for employment unexplored.

I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study to investigate the relationship between men's imprisonment and their partners' employment as well as variation in the association. I find no statistically significant relationship between partner incarceration and women's hours of work, but, consistent with previous research (Chiricos et al., 2007; Massoglia et al., 2013; Swisher & Waller, 2008; Turney & Wildeman, 2015), attention solely to the "average effects" of incarceration masks heterogeneity. A significant, positive association is evident among white women, married women, women who have children only with the incarcerated partner, women experiencing their partners' first incarcerations and women whose partners are incarcerated for less than three months. Among these groups, women whose partners had been recently incarcerated work more hours than their counterparts, even when accounting for the number of hours they worked prior to incarceration.

It is notable that women most impacted by the incarceration of their partners tend to belong to more socially and economically advantaged groups – and the groups least likely to experience the incarceration of their partners. There are several possible explanations for these results. First, women with economic advantages, relative to other women who experience partner incarceration, may have more to lose when their partners are imprisoned (Chiricos et al., 2007; Massoglia et al., 2013). Men's pre-incarceration financial contributions among the recently incarcerated group suggests this may be the case. Receipt of financial support from their partners is more common among groups of women where the effects of incarceration are strongest (i.e., whites, married women, women who share children with only one father, and women whose partners have no history of incarceration) (see Table A2.1). Women in more advantaged groups may be more likely to lose not only the contributions of their incarcerated partners but also a set of economic resources concentrated on them. For example, a married man or a father who shares

children with only one mother likely focuses his economic resources on a single household. Because his resources are not dispersed, the actual amount of his financial contribution and the resultant loss due to incarceration may be greater. A second possibility is that women from more advantaged groups may have been working fewer hours than possible at their current employers. Because wives have the advantage of sharing resources with their partners, they may have worked fewer hours than their jobs allowed. If their employment was not "at capacity," there may have been "room to grow" in the wake of their partners' incarceration. Similarly, white women's labor market positioning relative to other women who have incarcerated partners may mean that they were working better jobs where their hours can be expanded.

That partner incarceration and employment are not linked for women most likely to experience the incarceration of their partners suggests that their employment was driven by other factors. Incarceration is a racialized phenomenon. For black women, involvement with the penal system via the fathers of their children creates a marginalized status that intersects with their other marginalized statuses (Christian & Thomas, 2009). Thus, black women with incarcerated partners comprise a highly disadvantaged group. Fewer black women in the analytic sample are employed in either the formal or informal labor market prior to their partner's most recent incarceration. In addition, more black women live in poverty and receive public assistance (see Table A2.1). Thus, the economic barriers black women face anyway, including chronic unemployment of the men in their lives, their own positioning in the labor market, and their involvement in means-tested public assistance programs, may attenuate the impact of incarceration on their families' finances and constitute more significant drivers of the amount of time they spend working.

Although similar arguments could be applied to women whose partners are incarcerated for the first time and for relatively short amounts of time, the concept of the added worker effect provides a more straightforward explanation. First-time and shorter incarcerations may represent a temporary reduction in household income that women respond to by increasing their employment. Higher levels of employment, particularly in the absence of a partner, may be more difficult to sustain in the long-term, so women adjust household consumption when incarceration appears more permanent. Women experiencing first-time and short-term incarceration of their partners are likely to have partners incarcerated in jail. Although I am unable to distinguish jail from prison stays in the FFCWS data, these results suggest that future research should investigate how various forms and stages of criminal justice contact differentially impact family economic instability and women's employment response. The temporary versus permanent expectation of the added worker model also lends itself to an explanation regarding positive findings among whites and null findings for blacks and Hispanics. The incarceration of white men may be more likely to represent a short-term reduction in family income, but the incarceration of black men may be a signal of low permanent income (Lundberg, 1985). This explanation is supported by what we know about underemployment among racial/ethnic minority men as well as racial/ethnic disparities in sentencing and employment prospects upon release from prison (Malveaux, 1981, 1990, Pager, 2003, 2007; Pager, Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pettit & Western, 2004; Western, 2006).

2.5.1 *Study Limitations*

The FFCWS data set is frequently used to assess the impact of incarceration on children and families; however, it is subject to some important limitations. First, the study was not originally intended for use in examining the effects of incarceration on families; thus it is limited in how

much information it contains about the conditions of incarceration. For example, information about the type of facility in which the partner is incarcerated is not available in the public release data, although it was gathered at the one-, three-, and five-year surveys. Researchers have gained access to this information, but a great deal of the data is missing and has been used cautiously (Wildeman et al., 2016). Information about the duration of incarceration is more readily available but still incomplete. This is particularly important for the current study, which incorporates duration of incarceration into the analysis. The results from these models should be considered preliminary, as additional data is needed for confirmation. Other information such as whether and how often women visit their partners as well as the distance of correctional facilities from families is simply unavailable. These factors likely have important consequences for the economic impact of incarceration on families and, in turn, how women use employment as a resource. Without additional information about the conditions surrounding the incarceration, and particularly costs incurred by families, the mechanisms linking partner incarceration to employment for certain groups remain unclear. To be sure, our understanding of the collateral consequences of incarceration for families would be enhanced by the collection of more reliable data on the conditions of incarceration.

Additionally, the FFCWS sample is relatively small when compared to other longitudinal surveys (e.g., the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health), but it is the only dataset suitable for the analyses presented here, as it includes information about both incarcerated men and their female partners. The relatively small sample size means that subdividing the sample to examine moderators of the association between partner incarceration and women's employment results in a small number of cases in the relevant subgroups (see Table A2.1). Therefore, the findings of this study should be interpreted

with caution, but they do provide a consistent signal that the relationship between partner incarceration and women's work hours is evident only among more advantaged groups of women.

Finally, longitudinal data are ideal for identifying causal relationships, but in these analyses threats to causal inference have not been eliminated entirely. I take several steps to reduce concern about such threats, such as appropriately time-ordering variables, controlling for a wide range of potential confounders, and including a lagged measure of the dependent variable. Although lagged dependent variable models bring us one step closer to identifying causal associations, such models do not capture the ongoing process through which women make decisions about their employment in response to their economic resources and family lives. The analyses suggest a link, among some groups, between the incarceration of women's partners and the number of hours they work, but it would be unwise to make causal conclusions about this relationship.

2.5.2 *Conclusion*

The results of this paper indicate a null average association between partner incarceration and the number of hours women work. This suggests that a large proportion of the disadvantaged women whose partners are removed from their family systems via incarceration do not use employment as an modifiable resource during a time that both qualitative and quantitative research have characterized as financially destabilizing. Thus, for the most part, it appears that the reduction in men's employment due to incarceration does not have its counterweight in their female partners' increased employment. Nonetheless, consideration of heterogeneity in the impact of incarceration shows that women in more advantaged positions – women for whom incarceration may be less common and a more notable economic and social shock – do work additional hours

when their partners are imprisoned. Thus, the findings of this study contribute conceptually to scholarship on the collateral consequences of incarceration by providing additional evidence that the impact of incarceration on family outcomes is shaped, in part, by the conditions of confinement and by the array of advantages and disadvantages conferred by racial/ethnic group membership and family composition – two predictors of a wide variety of family and individual outcomes. This has important implications for the reproduction of inequality. That women who have some economic advantages (e.g., white women, married women) may respond to partner incarceration with more hours at work, and women who have fewer economic advantages (e.g., black women, unmarried women) may not, suggests at least a maintenance, if not a deepening, of economic inequality. Because women most at risk of partner incarceration are an extremely disadvantaged group, and the disadvantages they face regardless of their partners' incarceration may be the more significant drivers of their labor force participation, efforts to support such women may require greater attention to poverty and the conditions of low-wage employment.

It may be that most women cannot increase their work hours in response to changes in income and expenses associated with their partners' incarceration simply because they already have too much to do. They already shoulder the burden of balancing their families' economic and caregiving needs. Partner incarceration may increase the need for additional income from employment, but it strips families of the human resources that can make meeting both the financial needs and the caregiving needs of their families easier. Future research should examine more directly the consequences of family member incarceration for the work-family interface. This study contributes to a growing body of literature that has documented the consequences of mass incarceration for families. It highlights racial inequalities, gender inequalities and inequalities between families. Given the predominant focus on former prisoners' employment in

previous research and the importance of employment for making ends meet in the context of diminishing public safety nets, understanding the consequences, or lack thereof, of men's incarceration for women's employment, adds a new dimension to our understanding of the collateral consequences of incarceration.

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics of All Variables Included in Analysis

	Full Sample	
	Mean or Percent	*SD*
Dependent variable		
Hours of work (y5)	21.94	20.12
Key independent variable		
Partner recent incarceration (y5)	22.7	
Control Variables		
Race/Ethnicity (b)		
non-Hispanic White	21.7	
non-Hispanic Black	48.7	
Hispanic	26.1	
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity	3.6	
Age (y3)	28.17	6.05
Education (y3)		
Less than High School	27.9	
HS Diploma or GED	29.5	
Some college	30.3	
Bachelors degree or higher	12.3	
Lived with both parents at age 15 (b)	43.0	
Immigrant (b)	14.6	
Hourly wage at most recent job (y3)	11.19	6.91
Earnings from informal work (y3)	595.95	5,504.38
Cognitive score (y3)	6.77	2.65
Impulsivity (y3)	2.03	.61
Fair or poor health (y3)	13.4	
Depression (y3)	14.1	
Drug or alcohol problem (y3)	.9	
Own incarceration history (y3)	2.9	
Intimate partner violence (y3)	12.3	
No. of children <age 5 in household (y3)	1.61	.81
Relationship status (with partner) (y3)		
Separated	42.2	
Married	32.3	
Cohabiting	22.2	
Non-residential romantic	3.3	
Involved with new partner (y3)	18.4	
Own multiple partner fertility (y3)	39.3	
Partner multiple partner fertility (y3)	40.6	
Household income (y3)		
<50% of poverty line	22.2	
50-99% of poverty line	19.5	
100-199% of poverty line	25.2	
200-299% of poverty line	13.8	
300+% of poverty line	19.3	
Public assistance (y3)	62.5	
Partner provides financial support (y3)	73.9	
Partner prior incarceration (y3)	43.4	
N	3,780	

Note: b = measured at baseline survey; y3 = measured at 3-year survey; y5 = measured at 5-year survey

Table 2.2. Regression Models Estimating Women's Hours of Work

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted	+ Controls	+ Lagged DV
Recent partner incarceration	0.659	1.735†	1.191
	(0.931)	(0.945)	(0.879)
Race/Ethnicity (ref. Non-Hispanic white)			
Non-Hispanic Black		4.956***	2.491**
		(0.920)	(0.864)
Hispanic		3.474**	1.836†
		(1.051)	(0.983)
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity		2.863	1.502
		(1.891)	(1.765)
Age		-0.075	-0.088
		(0.063)	(0.059)
Education (ref. Less than High School)			
HS Diploma or GED		4.220***	2.471**
		(0.867)	(0.813)
Some college		4.841***	2.324**
		(0.930)	(0.875)
Bachelors degree or higher		3.775*	1.365
		(1.459)	(1.370)
Lived with both parents at age 15		-0.071	-0.110
		(0.697)	(0.652)
Immigrant		-0.754	-0.582
		(1.091)	(1.020)
Hourly wage at most recent job		0.142*	0.156**
		(0.055)	(0.049)
Earnings from informal work		0.00006	0.00007
		(0.00006)	(0.00005)
Cognitive score		0.127	0.174
		(0.133)	(0.125)
Impulsivity		-1.074*	-0.710
		(0.542)	(0.505)
Fair or poor health		-2.121*	-1.345
		(0.962)	(0.899)
Depression		-1.537	-0.705
		(0.944)	(0.882)
Drug or alcohol problem		-7.905*	-5.315†
		(3.364)	(3.150)
Own Incarceration history		-4.536*	-3.303†
		(1.920)	(1.789)
Intimate partner violence		1.008	1.027
		(1.014)	(0.946)

Table 2.2. *(continued)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted	+ Controls	+ Lagged DV
No. of children <age 5 in household		-0.671	-0.254
		(0.410)	(0.383)
Relationship status (ref. Separated)			
Married		-6.028***	-2.600*
		(1.065)	(1.004)
Cohabiting		-1.721†	-0.846
		(0.993)	(0.927)
Non-residential romantic		1.397	1.278
		(1.851)	(1.728)
Involved with new partner		-0.828	-0.576
		(0.989)	(0.923)
Own multiple partner fertility		-0.620	-0.740
		(0.741)	(0.692)
Partner multiple partner fertility		1.548*	1.239†
		(0.730)	(0.679)
Household income (ref. <50% of poverty line)			
50-99% of poverty line		5.322***	2.560**
		(0.982)	(0.924)
100-199% of poverty line		7.400***	2.928**
		(0.979)	(0.933)
200-299% of poverty line		12.023***	6.023***
		(1.247)	(1.190)
300+% of poverty line		11.167***	5.023***
		(1.356)	(1.289)
Public assistance		-1.151	0.624
		(0.842)	(0.790)
Partner provides financial support		1.820*	1.325†
		(0.826)	(0.767)
Partner prior incarceration	-1.496	-0.429	-0.595
	(0.755)	(0.780)	(0.728)
Hours of work (y3)			0.380***
			(0.016)
Constant	22.441	13.440	8.964**
Adjusted R-squared	0.0006	0.096	0.213
N	3,780	3,780	3,780

*†p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*
y3 = measured at 3-year survey.

Table 2.3. OLS Regression Models Estimating Women's Hours of Work with Interactions

	Model 3		Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11	
	All controls and LDV		+ Race/ethnicity interaction		+ Incarceration history interaction		+ Relationship status interaction		+ Own multiple partner fertility interaction		+ Partner multiple partner fertility inter.	
	β	*SE*	*β*	*SE*	*β*	*SE*	*β*	*SE*	*β*	*SE*	*β*	*SE*
Recent partner incarceration	1.191	(.879)	5.077	(1.978)	5.073	(1.787)	1.106	(1.110)	2.425	(1.146)	2.309	(1.235)
Race/ethnicity (ref. Non-Hispanic white)												
Non-Hispanic Black			3.325	(0.978)								
Hispanic			2.894	(1.092)								
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity			2.126	(1.923)								
Race/ethnicity x recent partner incarceration												
Non-Hispanic Black x recent partner inc.			-4.258	(2.187)								
Hispanic x recent partner incarceration			-5.557	(2.504)								
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity			-3.345	(5.035)								
Incarceration history					0.200	(0.787)						
Incarceration history x recent partner inc.					-5.007	(2.010)						
Residential Status (ref. is separated)												
Married							-3.156	(1.055)				
Cohabiting							-0.429	(1.014)				
Non-residential romantic							1.313	(2.136)				
Residential Status x recent incarceration												
Married							5.966	(2.524)				
Cohabiting							-2.740	(2.004)				
Non-residential romantic							-0.046	(3.534)				
Own multiple partner fertility									-0.122	(0.795)		
Own multiple partner fertility x recent partner inc.									-2.413	(1.536)		
Partner multiple partner fertility											1.761	(0.785)
Partner multiple partner fertility x recent inc.											-2.027	(1.616)
Constant	8.964		8.075		8.490		9.048		8.647		8.731	
Adjusted R-squared	0.213		0.213		0.214		0.214		0.213		0.213	
N	3,780		3,780		3,780		3,780		3,780		3,780	

Table 2.4. OLS Regression Models Estimating Women's Hours of Work with Alternative Specification of Recent Partner Incarceration: Duration

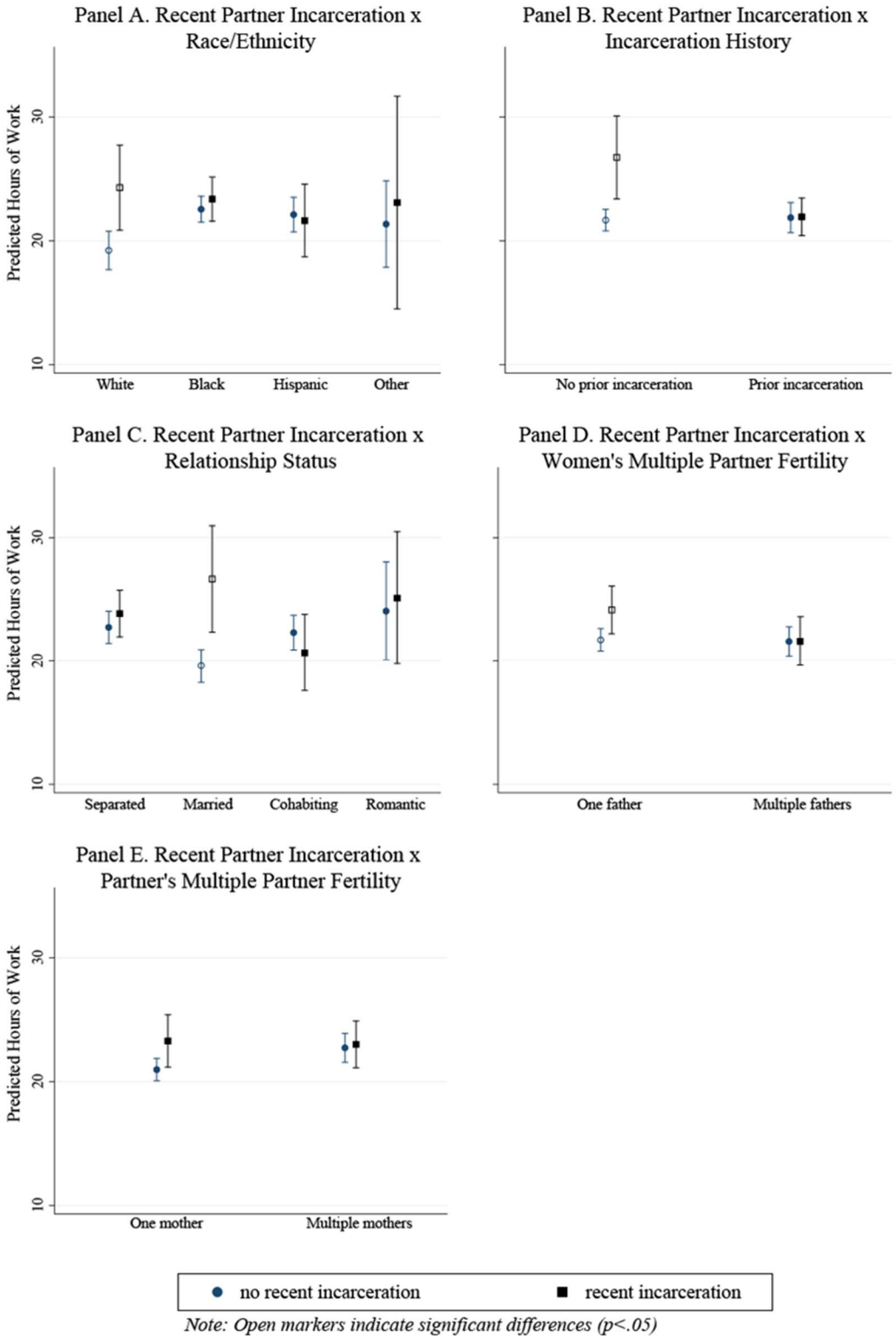
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted	+ Controls	+ Lagged DV
Recent partner incarceration (ref. no incarceration)			
Less than 3 months	4.491**	5.105**	3.716**
	(1.555)	(1.500)	1.420
3 months or greater	-0.733	0.306	-0.152
	(1.186)	(1.174)	1.090
Missing duration	-1.362	0.016	0.608
	(1.779)	(1.746)	(1.640)
Race/Ethnicity (ref. Non-Hispanic white)			
Non-Hispanic Black		5.066***	2.581**
		(0.920)	(0.865)
Hispanic		3.507**	1.857†
		(1.050)	(0.983)
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity		2.902	1.533
		(1.888)	(1.763)
Age		-0.076	-0.091
		(0.063)	(0.059)
Education (ref. Less than High School)			
HS Diploma or GED		4.158***	2.440**
		(0.866)	(0.813)
Some college		4.696***	2.236*
		(0.930)	(0.875)
Bachelors degree or higher		3.710*	1.344
		(1.459)	(1.370)
Lived with both parents at age 15		-0.061	-0.098
		(0.697)	(0.651)
Immigrant		-0.813	-0.625
		(1.091)	(1.020)
Hourly wage at most recent job		0.144**	0.157**
		(0.055)	(0.049)
Earnings from informal work		0.00006	0.00007
		(0.00006)	(0.00005)
Cognitive score		0.125	0.173
		(0.133)	(0.125)
Impulsivity		-1.055†	-0.683
		(0.542)	(0.505)
Fair or poor health		-2.166*	-1.378
		(0.961)	(0.898)
Depression		-1.600†	-0.767
		(0.944)	(0.882)

Table 2.4. *(continued)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted	+ Controls	+ Lagged DV
Drug or alcohol problem		-8.045*	-5.482†
		(3.368)	(3.152)
Own Incarceration history		-4.473*	-3.251†
		(1.919)	(1.788)
Intimate partner violence		0.814	0.888
		(1.016)	(0.948)
No. of children <age 5 in household		-0.709†	-0.283
		(0.410)	(0.383)
Relationship status (ref. Separated)			
Married		-6.118***	-2.671**
		(1.064)	(1.004)
Cohabiting		-1.943†	-1.009
		(0.994)	(0.929)
Non-residential romantic		1.285	1.214
		(1.849)	(1.728)
Involved with new partner		-0.944	-0.672
		(0.989)	(0.923)
Own multiple partner fertility		-0.568	-0.706
		(0.741)	(0.692)
Partner multiple partner fertility		1.519*	1.212†
		(0.730)	(0.679)
Household income (ref. <50% of poverty line)			
50-99% of poverty line		5.169***	2.458**
		(0.983)	(0.925)
100-199% of poverty line		7.284***	2.864**
		(0.979)	(0.933)
200-299% of poverty line		11.888***	5.944***
		(1.246)	(1.190)
300+% of poverty line		11.165***	5.038***
		(1.355)	(1.289)
Public assistance		-1.141	0.635
		(0.842)	(0.790)
Partner provides financial support		1.599†	1.178
		(0.834)	(0.773)
Partner prior incarceration	-1.261†	-0.263	-0.455
	(0.757)	(0.781)	(0.729)
Hours of work (y3)			0.378***
			(0.016)
Constant	22.367***	13.861	9.259**
Adjusted R-squared	0.003	0.098	0.214
N	3,780	3,780	3,780

*†p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).* y3 = measured at 3-year survey.

Figure 2.1. Predicted Hours of Work as a Function of Recent Partner Incarceration and Interaction Terms



Note: Open markers indicate significant differences (p<.05)

Chapter 3. THE THIRD SHIFT: MULTIPLE JOB HOLDING AND THE INCARCERATION OF WOMEN'S ROMANTIC PARTNERS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The dramatic rise in women's labor force participation has been one of the most substantial changes in the family over the past half-century. Women's increasing responsibility for wage-earning and continued responsibility for housework and childcare means that many women work a double-day, with motherhood and household duties constituting a "second shift" (Hochschild, 2003). Although many working women struggle to balance their first and second shifts, work-family issues for women at the top and bottom of the income distribution are quite different. For professional-managerial women – who have often been at the center of work-family research – the central problem is how to spend time with their families when their jobs require long, rigid work hours. For women working low-wage jobs, the work-family dilemma centers on how to work enough hours to support their families financially while still providing sufficient care (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Blair-Loy, 2003; Collins & Mayer, 2010; Reynolds, 2005; Taylor, Funk, & Clark, 2007). The dilemma for low-income women is compounded by the underemployment of the men in their lives. Low-income women often shoulder the burden of supporting families without adequate contributions from their partners and children's fathers – men who face structural barriers to employment and involvement in their children's lives. These circumstances characterize what race and poverty scholars have described (directly or indirectly) as the "the third burden:" socially disadvantaged women, particularly black women, must contend with not only their own positioning within race or class and gender structures but also

the fate of the men to whom they are connected (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Malveaux, 1990; Roberts, 2004).

The fate of disadvantaged men is not limited to underemployment. The expansion of mass incarceration over the past 50 years coupled with inequalities embedded in the system means that incarceration has become a common experience for black men, who are incarcerated at a rate nine times that of non-Hispanic whites (Mechoulan, 2011), and other racially and socioeconomically disadvantaged men (Carson, 2015; Glaze & Kaeble, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Pettit & Western, 2004). Consequentially, the removal of men from family systems has become a common event for disadvantaged women (Lee, McCormick, Hicken, & Wildeman, 2015). If, as research suggests, the conditions of low-wage jobs make balancing work and family difficult (Henly & Lambert, 2014; Williams, 2010), then the predominance of family member incarceration in the same women's lives may create additional complications. We know that women's family obligations often structure their labor force participation. Marriage, child birth, husband unemployment and divorce – family events that alter caregiving responsibilities and economic resources – shape women's employment, particularly for white and higher-income women (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Cohen & Bianchi, 1999; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Reid, 2002; van Damme et al., 2009). Incarceration of women's partners – which also alters caregiving responsibilities and economic resources (Arditti, Lamber-Shute, & Joest, 2003; Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015; Geller, Garfinkel, & Western, 2011; Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, & Garfinkel, 2011) – may be an important family event for low-income and racial/ethnic minority women and their employment.

In this paper, I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study (FFCWS), a longitudinal study of mostly unmarried parents who gave birth to a child between 1998 and 2000,

to examine how men's incarceration is associated with multiple job holding among their female partners. In an unstable low-wage labor market where employers often rely on part-time staff (Kalleberg, 2000; Tilly, 1996), multiple job holding may be one way that low-skill women work enough hours to support their families financially. Chapter 2 showed that the incarceration of a woman's partner is not, on average, associated with the number of hours she works at her main job. If, instead, partner incarceration increases the likelihood that a woman takes on a second job, it would suggest that these circumstances not only constitute a third burden but literally lead to a "third shift" – to additional employment necessary for meeting the needs of family members both inside and outside of prison.

3.2 BACKGROUND

3.2.1 *Linking Partner Incarceration and Women's Employment*

There are several reasons to expect that men's incarceration will prompt their female partners to take on second jobs. Men often provide a primary source of income to their families prior to incarceration (Braman, 2004; Glaze & Maruschak, 2010; Travis, McBride, & Solomon, 2005). Although their pre-incarceration wages may be modest, men's removal from household wage earning can be financially destabilizing for families (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Johnson, 2008; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). Even women who do not live with their children's fathers may lose important financial resources when their children's fathers are incarcerated, as non-residential fathers often make contributions in the form of child support (Geller et al., 2011; Nepomnyaschy & Garfinkel, 2007). The incapacitation effect of incarceration on men's employment can deprive families of income in the short- and long-term, and release from prison does not ensure a return to wage earning. Men with criminal records often struggle to find work and earn low wages when they do find work (Holzer, 2009; Kling, 2006; Pager, 2003; Pager,

Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pager, Western, et al., 2009; Western, 2006). Even an arrest or jail stay can jeopardize employment by interrupting work attendance (Fernandes, 2015; Grogger, 1995; Sullivan, 1989). The loss of one job, even temporarily, may compel a woman to work an extra job herself.

In addition to lost income, families also face a host of expenses associated with incarceration. Those who wish to maintain contact with individuals during their imprisonment must pay for phone calls, emails, packages, and travel to jails and prisons (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001). In addition, families often serve as primary financial support for inmates and take responsibility for attorney fees, fines, and legal debt associated with involvement in the criminal justice system (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010). A participant in a study conducted by the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights and coordinating organizations (deVuono-powell et al., 2015) described the financial burden of having a family member involved in the criminal justice system:

> Money you spent for lawyers, money you spent for trying to find investigators and whatever you need to try to help your loved ones, so they don't have to do serious jail time. Then when they're in jail you try to make sure you take care of the commissary and you take care of their children. You almost have to have another part time job. (p. 13)

There are several ways to use paid labor to generate additional income when a family member is incarcerated. Women may get a second job, but they also may work more hours at a single job or find a job that pays more per hour. If, as Chapter 2 suggests, partner incarceration does not lead to an increase in the number of hours women work at their primary jobs, working a second job may be how women earn additional income when their partners are incarcerated. Indeed, multiple job holding may be particularly important strategy given the constraints

disadvantaged women often face in the labor market. Less-educated and racial/ethnic minority women – women for whom family member incarceration is most common (Lee et al., 2015) – are often relegated to low-wage work and service sector jobs (Burton & Tucker, 2009; Malveaux, 1981; Presser, 2003; Reid, 2002; Reskin, 1999). The number of hours a woman can work at a low-wage job may be limited by her employer's efforts to keep cost low by maintaining a part-time staff (Kalleberg, 2000; Tilly, 1996), and the low pay may mean that working even 40 hours per week does not result in enough earnings to support a family (Ehrenreich, 2001). Labor economists refer to insufficient work hours as the "hours constraint" motivation for multiple job holding (Averett, 2001; Renna, 2006). Individuals work second jobs because their primary jobs do not offer as many hours as they would like – or need – to work. Although economic theory suggests that some individuals work multiple jobs in order to participate in activities that interest them (Averett, 2001), survey data show that economic reasons predominate, particularly for racial/ethnic minorities and individuals with less education (Hipple, 2010; Martel, 2000). Additionally, research suggests that workers often choose to work second jobs because of family or economic circumstances that temporarily reduce economic resources (Guariglia & Kim, 2004; Krishnan, 1990). For example, Krishnan (1990) found that husbands often hold second jobs to substitute for their wives' labor force participation, perhaps in cases where women stay home to care for young children. It is possible that women do the same: work multiple jobs when their male partners are unable to participate in paid labor.

The link between incarceration and multiple job holding is an important one. Working multiple jobs may alleviate financial burdens by allowing women to earn the money they need to support their families while also diversifying risk in an unstable labor market. Nonetheless, multiple job holding can have negative consequences for individuals and families. Studies have shown that multiple job holders sleep less than single job holders, have a heightened risk of

work- and non-work-related injury, and experience significantly more work-family conflict and higher perceived stress (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009; Henly & Lambert, 2014; Marucci-Wellman, Lin, Willetts, Brennan, & Verma, 2014; Marucci-Wellman, Lombardi, & Willetts, 2016; Marucci-Wellman, Willetts, Lin, Brennan, & Verma, 2013). Working multiple jobs takes time and energy – to not only work the second job, but also commute from one job to another. This added expenditure of time and effort and associated strain may interfere with family time, limit time for self-care, and make it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009; Henly & Lambert, 2014; Marucci-Wellman et al., 2014, 2016; Zeytinoglu, Lillevik, Seaton, & Moruz, 2004). For women connected to incarcerated men, working multiple jobs may compound the stress they already experience – stress related to managing already limited time and resources, worrying about inmates' well-being, tension among family members, and coping with shame and stigma (Braman, 2004; Daniel & Barrett, 1981; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Fishman, 1990).

3.2.2 *Variation in the Association between Partner Incarceration and Multiple Job Holding*

The extent to which family life is disrupted by incarceration may differ based on the context in which the event occurs. Thus, partner incarceration may increase multiple job holding for some women while not altering (or decreasing) the number of jobs worked by other women. Prior research has found stronger adverse effects of incarceration among families living together before the prison or jail spell (Geller et al., 2012; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Turney, 2014b). It is plausible that women who have partners removed from their homes feel the financial impact of incarceration most acutely, leading to a stronger impact on their employment decisions. We may expect to see a weaker (or null) association between multiple job holding and incarceration for women who do not live with their partners – women who are connected to incarcerated men

primarily through their shared children. Women in non-residential and co-parenting relationships will likely feel the financial impact too, since they often receive formal and informal child support (Geller et al., 2011; Nepomnyaschy & Garfinkel, 2007), but these women may have structures in place to support fluctuation in the contributions of their children's fathers. They may have re-partnered or rely more heavily on female kin and others in their networks (Edin & Lein, 1997; Kalil & Ryan, 2010; Patillo-McCoy, 1999; Stack, 1974), which may make the economic shock less profound.

Additionally, the association between partner incarceration and multiple job holding may vary by conditions of the incarceration itself. For instance, the amount of time a woman's partner spends in jail or prison may shape the financial impact it has on families as well as women's employment decisions. On the one hand, imprisonments of a few months or less may compel women to maintain their levels of employment since their partners' financial contributions may be missing for only a short period of time. Longer imprisonments ensure greater lengths of time without men's contributions and a potentially heightened need to take on a second job to make up for the lost income. Evidence suggests that longer jail and prison stays are more detrimental to families than shorter stays, reducing fathers' involvement with their children and children's contact with paternal grandparents (Turney, 2014b; Turney & Wildeman, 2013). Thus, long spells of incarceration may diminish family resources by incapacitating men during their imprisonment and by weakening family ties. On the other hand, economic theory suggests that women alter their employment in response to temporary, rather than long-term, losses of household income. Long-term losses are expected to lead to an adjustment in consumption (Lundberg, 1985). For women balancing work and family, multiple job holding may be a more feasible short-term response to partner incarceration than long-term response.

Women face many demands for their time and energy, and the incarceration of their partners may increase those demands. Incarceration adds to women's wage-earning responsibilities by removing men from jobs, establishing barriers to men's employment post-release, and creating additional expenses for their families. Indeed, managing the financial consequences of the incarceration of a partner may literally lead to a "third shift" – an additional job on top of the paid work and caregiving they already do. Moreover, the relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding may be heterogeneous, varying by the extent to which family life and household finances are disrupted and the conditions under which the event occurs.

3.3 Data, Measures, and Analytic Strategy

3.3.1 *Data*

To examine the relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding, I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS). This longitudinal study follows a sample of nearly 5,000 parents living in 20 large U.S. cities with children born between the years 1998 and 2000 (Reichman et al., 2001). Initial surveys were conducted with both mothers and fathers shortly following the birth of their child, and subsequent interviews were conducted one, three, five, nine, and fifteen years later. The FFCWS oversampled unmarried parents, resulting in a racially/ethnically diverse sample of socioeconomically disadvantaged families, many of whom have experienced incarceration. Nearly half of fathers have spent time in jail or prison by the five year survey. Although men who have been incarcerated are a highly disadvantaged group, FFCWS sample members with no incarceration history have relatively low incomes and educational attainment as well, making them and their families a valuable comparison group in the examination of incarceration's unique impact on family life. These data

are well-suited to study the consequences of partner incarceration for at least two other reasons. First, the study interviewers both mothers and fathers; information from both incarcerated men and their partners is a rare feature of datasets used to study incarceration's impact on individuals. Second, the survey asks respondents to report on a variety of individual and family characteristics, such as social and material well-being and father involvement, which allows for the inclusion of a wide range of control variables that may affect the likelihood of both partner incarceration and employment.

The analytic sample for this paper contains 3,835 of the 4,898 families in the baseline sample. I rely on data primarily from the three- and five-year surveys because men's incarceration is most accurately measured between these two surveys (for details, see below). Thus, I initially dropped 1,051 (21%) women who did not participate in both the three- and five-year surveys. I dropped an additional 12 (0.3%) observations missing data on the outcome variable. In the remaining analytic sample, about 8 percent of observations were missing values for incarceration, and between .1 percent and 13 percent were missing values for other covariates (most control variables are missing for 2 percent or fewer of the observations). It is unlikely that the propensity for missing data on key predictors of women's employment is independent of both the observed data and the unobserved data (the only circumstance under which analysis using only complete cases produces unbiased results), and assessment of the pattern of missingness suggests this is the case. Thus, to strengthen confidence in results by preserving observations missing values for covariates, I used multiple imputation by chained equations (White et al., 2009). I assess the sensitivity of findings to this missing data approach by also estimating models using complete cases, which show nearly identical results to models using imputed data.

3.3.2 *Measures*

The key outcome variable, *multiple job holding*, is derived from women's responses to the question, asked at the five-year survey, "was there a time in the past 12 months that you worked more than one regular job at the same time." When reporting information on "regular jobs" FFCWS asked respondents to consider any work, including self-employment, for which they received a regular paycheck. Using responses to this question, I create a categorical measure that indicates whether a woman "worked no jobs," "worked only one job at a time" or "worked multiple jobs at the same time" in the 12 months prior to the five-year survey. "Worked no jobs" and "worked only one job at a time" are alternately set as the reference category in the models in order to compare multiple job holding to the other outcome categories. Some analyses include a lagged measure of this dependent variable. This particular measure of multiple job holding provides an important piece of information about women's employment. However, we do not know precisely when in the past 12 months women worked multiple jobs or for how long.[1]

The primary explanatory variable is *recent partner incarceration*. A woman experienced a recent partner incarceration if her partner, the father of the child at the center of the FFCWS survey, was incarcerated between the three- and five-year surveys, including incarceration at the five-year survey. Incarceration during this time period was captured in three ways: through men's reports of being incarcerated in the past two years, through women's reports, and through administration of men's five-year survey in prison or jail. Consistent with other research in the

[1] A variable representing total weekly work hours at all "regular" jobs – including both primary and secondary jobs – would make a strong addition to this study. However, the structure of the FFCWS survey limits the construction of a suitable measure. The only measure of weekly work hours for single job holders reflects the number of hours they usually work at their *current* primary job. The measure of weekly work hours for multiple job holders represents the total number of hours per week worked by multiple job holders *when they worked multiple jobs*, which may not be currently. The different time periods referenced in the work hours questions for the two groups of workers – currently and an unspecified time in the past 12 months – makes work hours for multiple job holders and single job holders incomparable.

area, I use both men's and women's reports of incarceration at and between surveys to construct the measure of recent partner incarceration. Recent partner incarceration is measured between the three- and five-year surveys because it is during this time period that the FFCWS collected the most accurate information regarding incarceration. The five-year survey asked women not only if the father of the focal child was currently in jail or prison but also if he had been incarcerated since the three-year survey. The latter question, which was not asked at prior waves, allows the construction of an incarceration measure without any time gaps. Identifying between-survey incarceration is important since some prison and jail stays last less than a year but still have a relevant impact on women and families.

Although the FFCWS provides the best measure of partner incarceration available from survey data, the measure is subject to limitations. The data do not include complete information about the conditions of incarceration, such as whether the partner was incarcerated in jail or prison and the length of sentence. Variation along these lines may result in differential impacts of incarceration on women's employment and other individual and family outcomes. That said, in a recent article, Wildeman, Turney and Yi (2016) used the incomplete FFCWS information regarding facility type (i.e., jail, state prison, federal prison) and found only two significant associations in an analysis of seven outcomes for female partners of incarcerated men (i.e., relationship dissolution, parenting engagement, parenting stress, depression). This suggests the impact of partner incarceration on women varies little by the type of facility in which their partner is housed. Although information about the duration of incarceration is available for only 81 percent of incarcerated men, preliminary research using this information does indicate that family outcomes vary by length of sentence (Turney, 2014b; Turney & Wildeman, 2013). Because the length of stay may shape the economic consequences of incarceration for families

and thus, women's employment response, I use this information in supplemental analyses which are described below.

Women connected to incarcerated men presumably differ from other women in ways that influence their employment outcomes. Thus, the analyses adjust for several individual-level characteristics – such as human capital, family structure and economic resources – that may confound the relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding. These variables were measured at or before the three-year survey, prior to the measurement of recent partner incarceration. Demographic controls include: race/ethnicity (*non-Hispanic white* (reference category)*, non-Hispanic black, Hispanic*, and *other*), foreign-born, age, and lived with both parents at age 15. The analyses also control for several measures of human capital, a key determinant of women's employment. These include educational attainment (*less than high school* (reference category)*, high school diploma or GED, some college,* and *bachelor's degree*), hourly wage at current or most recent job, cognitive scores (derived from the Similarities Subtest of the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale – Revised [WAIS-R]), and impulsivity (derived from an abbreviated form of (Dickman, 1990) impulsivity scale). Models also adjust for a categorical measure of weekly work hours at women's primary formal sector jobs (*part-time: 1-34 hours* (reference category)*, full-time: 35+ hours,* and *did not work*), and whether they participated in the informal labor market in the 12 months leading up to the three-year survey. The number of hours available to them at their main jobs and the availability of informal work may influence women's decisions to work second, formal sector jobs. Self-reported fair or poor health and drug use, factors that may impede women's ability to hold more than one steady job, are also included. The measure of drug use indicates whether a woman used a nonprescription drug or misused a prescription drug in the past 12 months. The series of survey items concerning drug use follows the CIDI-SF list of substances.

Several variables measuring family economic resources are also included. Receipt of public assistance indicates whether a woman received TANF, Food Stamps, Medicaid, or Social Security Income (SSI) in the year prior to the three-year interview. Models also adjust for whether the partner was employed at the three-year survey and perceived financial support, or whether the respondent thinks she could count on someone to loan her $1000 or co-sign a $1000 bank loan. Other household and family characteristics include: number of children under the age of five in the household, number of other adults (excluding partners) living in the household, and residential status (*living with partner, living with a new partner,* and *living with no partner* (reference category)). Finally, a measure of partner's prior incarceration indicates whether a woman's partner was incarcerated at or before the three-year survey. This variable is distinct from recent incarceration; each measure refers to a separate time period in which incarceration occurred. However, the two are not mutually exclusive; in fact, there is considerable overlap between the two variables. About 85 percent of partners who were recently incarcerated were also incarcerated at some point in the past. In sensitivity analyses, I estimate multiple job holding using an incarceration variable that combines information from recent and prior incarceration into a single variable. Results are similar across specifications (see Table A3.1).

3.3.3 *Analytic Strategy*

In the first analytic stage, multinomial logistic regression models estimate women's multiple job holding as a function of their partners' incarceration. Model 1 includes recent partner incarceration, the key explanatory variable, and an indicator of partner's prior incarceration. Model 2 adds control variables in order to isolate the predictive role of recent partner incarceration from other factors that may influence multiple job holding. Model 3 adds a lagged measure of the dependent variable, which explicitly assesses change in multiple job holding over

time. Thus, a significant association between incarceration and multiple job holding in this model would represent more direct evidence of a causal association (Finkel, 1995). In Model 4, I restrict the sample to women whose partners were incarcerated at or prior to the three-year survey. In doing so, I diminish some concern about unobserved heterogeneity because the women who remain are connected to men who have a high risk of experiencing incarceration between the three- and five- year surveys. Although this strategy does not eliminate the possibility that any association between partner incarceration and multiple job holding is spurious, it does provide more conservative estimates of the association and is consistent with the literature (Turney et al., 2012; Turney & Wildeman, 2013). Fixed-effects models are another common strategy for reducing bias from unobserved heterogeneity, but limitations regarding the measurement of incarceration and multiple job holding in the FFCWS prohibit adequate specification of these models.

In the second analytic stage, I consider how the association between recent partner incarceration and multiple job holding may be moderated by pre-incarceration residential status. This model includes women's year three residential status (i.e., living with their partner, alone, or with a new partner) and the interaction between year three residential status and subsequent partner incarceration. In the third analytic stage, I consider the relationship between duration of partner incarceration and multiple job holding using an alternative specification of the explanatory variable (see Table 3.3). This variable consists of four categories: recent incarceration less than three months (5 percent), recent incarceration three months or greater (10 percent), duration missing (7 percent), and no recent incarceration (77 percent).

In the final analytic stage, I assess the extent to which the impact of partner incarceration on women's multiple job holding differs from the impact of another form of partner separation: relationship dissolution. Following a strategy similar to that used by Geller and colleagues

(2012), I re-estimate Model 3 and include an indicator for women whose partners are *not* incarcerated between the three- and five-year surveys but end their relationship with their partner during this same time period. I consider a dissolution to have occurred if a woman reports being in a romantic relationship with her partner at the three-year survey but not at the five-year survey. In addition to the 863 women whose partners were incarcerated between the three- and five-year surveys, there are 308 women who ended their relationships with their partner. The reference group consists of women who experienced neither partner incarceration nor relationship dissolution between the three- and five-year surveys. These are mainly women married to or cohabiting with their partner at both the three- and five-year surveys, yet 30 percent of the comparison group ended their romantic involvement prior to the three-year survey.

3.3.4 *Sample Description*

Table 3.1 shows descriptive statistics for all variables included in the analysis. Ten percent of women in the sample report working multiple jobs at the five-year survey. Multiple job holders work about 60 hours per week across all jobs, and 61 percent of multiple job holders work primary jobs in service or administration (not shown). With respect to the key independent variable, 22 percent of women experienced the incarceration of their partners at some point between the three- and five-year surveys. As we would expect based on FFCWS's strategy of sampling mainly births to urban, unwed parents, the sample as a whole is relatively disadvantaged across a wide range of other characteristics. Nearly half of the sample is non-Hispanic Black, and 26 percent is Hispanic. Two-thirds of women had no education beyond a high school diploma or GED when their child was born, and more than one-third were living without a romantic partner in the household at the three-year interview. More than 60 percent of

women received some form of public assistance, and 44 percent have partners who had been incarcerated by the time the three-year survey was administered.

3.4 RESULTS

3.4.1 *Estimating Women's Multiple Job Holding*

Table 3.2 shows results from multinomial logistic regression models estimating multiple job holding as a function of recent partner incarceration. I present only the recent incarceration coefficients. In Model 1, which adjusts only for partners' prior incarceration, there is a strong, significant association between recent partner incarceration and multiple job holding, whether compared to working one job or no jobs. The magnitude of the association decreases but remains statistically significant when control variables and a lagged measure of the dependent variable are added to the model. The coefficient of 0.47 for working multiple jobs (Model 3) versus working one job corresponds to an odds ratio of 1.60 times greater likelihood of working multiple jobs for women with incarcerated partners. In Model 4, which includes all covariates from Model 3 but restricts the sample to women whose partners had been incarcerated previously, recent partner incarceration is associated with an odds ratio of 1.70 times greater likelihood of working multiple jobs (versus working one job) for women with incarcerated partners.

To conserve space, coefficients for control variables are not included in Table 3.2, but because of limited research on multiple job holding, a table containing full results can be found in the Appendix (see Table A3.2). I summarize those results here. Age is negatively associated with multiple holding. Women with some college experience are more likely than their less educated counterparts to work multiple jobs (compared to no job). Higher cognitive scores, another measure of human capital, are also positively associated with multiple job holding. Both

weekly work hours at primary jobs and participation in the informal labor market at the three-year survey are positivity associated with multiple job holding as measured at the five-year survey. Women who did not work at the three-year survey are less likely to report working multiple jobs at year five. Women who worked full-time hours at year three are more likely than women who worked part-time hours to report multiple job holding (vs. not working) at year five. Women who report poor health are less likely to work multiple jobs than to work no jobs, but drug use is positively associated with multiple job holding. Women who lived with both parents at age 15, a common measure of childhood advantage, are less likely to work multiple jobs. Finally, more adults (i.e., extended family, roommates) living in the household and perceived financial support reduce the chances that a woman works multiple jobs.

3.4.2 *Variation in the Association between Partner Incarceration and Women's Multiple Job Holding*

Having estimated the association between partner incarceration and multiple job holding, I turn to a potential moderator of the relationship: residential status. Figure 3.1 shows the difference in predicted probability of working multiple jobs for women with incarcerated partners versus women without incarcerated partners, across three residential statuses.[2] There is a significant difference among only one group: women living with their partners at the three-year survey. Among these residential couples, women with incarcerated partners have a higher probability of working multiple jobs than women whose partners have not been recently incarcerated.

[2] Predicted probabilities shown in Figure 3.1 are based on a multinomial logistic regression model estimating multiple job holding that includes an interaction between incarceration and residential status along with all controls and a lagged measure of multiple job holding. Table A3.3 in the Appendix presents log odds coefficients from these models. The differences in differences of predicted probabilities are presented in Figure 3.1 because, for non-linear models, the significance test of the interaction effect cannot be based on the coefficient of the interaction term. Instead we must base our significance tests on the cross derivative of the expected value of the dependent variable (Norton, Wang, & Ai, 2004).

In Table 3.3, I present results from analyses that consider how incarceration duration is related to women's multiple job holding. In Model 3, which includes all control variables and a lagged measure of the dependent variable, incarceration spells lasting less than three months (compared to no incarceration) are positively associated with multiple job holding. Longer spells, those lasting three months or more, are not significantly associated with multiple job holding once a lagged measure of the dependent variable is included in the model. Because a large number of observations were missing information on duration, and the nature of missingness was non-random, these results should be considered preliminary.

3.4.3 *Comparing Incarceration and Relationship Dissolution*

Table 3.4 compares the estimated association between recent partner incarceration and multiple job holding with the association between relationship dissolution and multiple job holding (Model 3). Like results from previous models, Model 3 shows a strong, significant association between recent partner incarceration and working multiple jobs.[3] Relationship dissolution is also strongly associated with multiple job holding. Comparing these two groups of women suggests no significant difference in the impact of incarceration and dissolution on working multiple jobs (versus working one job). However, Model 3 suggests the impact of partner incarceration on working multiple jobs versus working no jobs differs significantly from the impact of relationship dissolution. Women who end their relationships are more likely than women whose partners are incarcerated to work multiple jobs versus no job.

[3] The reference group is somewhat less disadvantaged than in previous models because it consists of women who do not experience either the incarceration of their partner or relationship dissolution between the three- and five-year surveys. Therefore it is not surprising that the coefficient for recent incarceration is larger than in previous models.

3.5 Discussion

A large body of literature documents the sensitivity of women's employment to changing family circumstances (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Moen et al., 1994; Stone & Short, 1990; van Damme et al., 2009), but we know little about the relationship between partner incarceration – a common family transition in the lives of disadvantaged women (Lee et al., 2015) – and employment. Despite reasons to suspect that changes in resources associated with the incarceration have consequences for the employment of family members left behind, Chapter 2 suggests that the incarceration of a woman's partner does not influence the number of hours she works at her main job. In this chapter, I show that partner incarceration does have a significant impact on women's likelihood of working multiple jobs. Across a variety of model specifications, I find a robust, positive relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding. That women's employment response to the incarceration of their partners is constrained, by and large, to multiple jobs holding suggests the economic and employment situations of this population are especially precarious.

There is further evidence that the relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding is heterogeneous. First, the association is concentrated among women living with their partners prior to incarceration. This finding is consistent with previous research which has shown stronger effects of paternal incarceration on several outcomes for children who lived with their fathers before incarceration (Geller et al., 2012; Turney, 2014b). It is likely that partner incarceration is particularly disruptive for women who have romantic partners removed from their homes, as they have the greatest potential of losing a primary source of income. In addition, romantic relationships tend to dissolve following incarceration (Turney, 2015b; Western, 2006), further reducing the chances that men contribute to the households of their children's mothers

(Geller et al., 2011). In another set of analyses I compare women whose partners are incarcerated to women who end their relationships with their partners but do not experience incarceration. Both groups are significantly more likely than otherwise similar women to work multiple jobs during the time period in which they are separated from their partners. However, there is no evidence that incarceration has a stronger impact than relationship dissolution. Instead, these two types of partner separation may operate in a similar manner by increasing the need for additional employment income and consequently women's tendency to seek out a second job.

Finally, the results show that the association between incarceration and multiple job holding is concentrated among women whose partners serve sentences of less than three months, which suggests that women strategize differently depending on the duration of their partner's imprisonment. It stands to reason that a short-term incarceration signifies a temporary reduction in household income, if a former inmate is able to resume contributions to the household upon release. Using a second job to offset lost income and costs may be easier when incarceration spells are shorter, as shortfalls in monthly budgets could accumulate over time. Moreover, working more than one job may be difficult to sustain for a long period of time, given the other responsibilities women with incarcerated partners face. Thus, women whose partners are incarcerated for three months or more may seek alternative strategies to compensate for reductions in resources.

This study advances our knowledge about families, employment and the collateral consequences of mass incarceration in several ways. First, I highlight the consequences of incarceration on adult women's employment. The robust relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding underscores the importance of considering the spillover effects of incarceration into family life and suggests we have thus far underestimated the impact of incarceration on employment by focusing exclusively on former inmates. Second, I broaden

our understanding of the relationship between changing family circumstances and women's employment by showing that incarceration is an important family transition that shapes how disadvantaged women participate in paid labor. In doing so, I highlight men's incarceration as a dimension of the "third burden" experienced by low income and racial/ethnic minority women – a burden that complicates women's efforts to provide both financial stability and adequate care for their families (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Bianchi et al., 2002; Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Malveaux, 1990; Roberts, 2004). Finally, I contribute to the employment literature by focusing on predictors of multiple job holding. Previous studies have indicated that individuals often work multiple jobs to meet regular household expenses and pay off debt (Hipple, 2010; Martel, 2000). The results of this study are consistent with prior research but add to our knowledge by highlighting a source of economic hardship – partner incarceration – that necessitate multiple job holding.

These findings have important implications for both family stability and inequality. When women respond to family transitions and changes in economic resources by taking on a second job, it may be good for their families in that it helps to cover basic expenses. However, second jobs add to the work and caregiving responsibilities women with incarcerated partners already face. Prisons are often far away which makes maintaining a connection to an incarcerated man time consuming. Staying in touch and supporting an inmate – responding to his requests for food, clothing, books and other items, preparing packages to the correctional institution's specifications, coordinating family member visits, and keeping up with legal cases and appeals – can feel like a second job in and of itself (Comfort, 2008). In addition to caring for inmates, women often bear the responsibility of caring for their children. Sole responsibility for childcare, particularly when children are struggling with the absence of their fathers (Geller et al., 2012; Haskins, 2014; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011; Wildeman & Turney,

2014), may make working a second job challenging. Indeed, multiple job holding has been shown to increase stress and work-family conflict (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009; Henly & Lambert, 2014). Moreover, it is unlikely the multiple jobs this population works are "good jobs" that build human capital. Balancing multiple work roles in addition to family member incarceration may keep women from going to school or participating in other activities that improve their socioeconomic standing. Thus, multiple job holding among women with incarcerated partners has the potential to exacerbate socioeconomic inequality or at the very least maintain current levels. It is possible that multiple job holding among high-skill groups helps them get ahead, but multiple job holding among low-skill and other disadvantaged groups puts them further behind. Future research should examine more directly the consequences of multiple job holding and the subsequent implications for family inequality.

3.5.1 *Study Limitations*

Although the FFCWS is a common, and continues to be the most suitable, source of data for answering questions regarding the impact of partner incarceration on women, the data are not without limitations. First, the FFCWS data provide few details about the circumstances of the incarceration. Information about whether the partner was incarcerated in prison or jail, the duration and precise timing of incarceration, the distance of the prison/jail from home, and the frequency of visits is unavailable or incomplete but may have consequences for women's time, energy and financial resources – all of which may influence decisions about whether to work multiple jobs. The measure of multiple job holding is subject to similar uncertainties. We do not know precisely when women worked multiple jobs, for how long, or if they considered working more than one job to be a burden. Because the precise timing of both incarceration and multiple job holding are unknown, it possible that some women worked multiple jobs before the

incarceration began. Consequently, the identified association between incarceration and multiple job holding may be picking up on a relationship between criminal justice system involvement more generally and multiple job holding. A relationship between multiple job holding and earlier stages of criminal justice contact would be consistent with evidence that second jobs are sometimes used as a precautionary strategy when unemployment risk is high and family earnings are uncertain (Boheim & Taylor, 2004; Guariglia & Kim, 2004). A woman may need to take on a second job long before jail or prison incarceration occurs. To be sure, additional information regarding the timing of multiple job holding would allow us to better understand how women prepare for or respond to changes in family circumstance using their employment. Likewise, details about the incarceration would provide an opportunity to consider potentially important nuances in women's experiences of partner incarceration and the ways in which these varied experiences are linked to differences in employment. In the future, the literature would benefit from the collection of more detailed survey data and/or research taking a qualitative approach to explore these mechanisms and moderators.

Additionally, concerns about selection bias and omitted variable bias cannot be dismissed entirely. This study has several features that reduce concerns: variables are appropriately time-ordered; some models compare women with recently incarcerated partners to a reference group at risk of partner incarceration; and all but the baseline model control for a wide range of potential confounders, including a lagged measure of the dependent variable. Lagged dependent variable models assess change in multiple job holding over time, providing more certainty of a causal association. However, lagged models still rely on point-in-time measurements of variables and do not capture the ongoing process through which women make decisions regarding their family lives, economic resources, and employment. This limits our ability to determine true causal effects. The robustness of the findings is noteworthy given the stringent multivariate

analyses, but it is still possible that an unobserved characteristic associated with both incarceration and multiple job holding could render the relationship spurious.

3.5.2 *Conclusion*

Previous research has provided important insights into the work-family issues faced by professional women – women whose jobs require high levels of commitment and long hours that often interfere with family roles and responsibilities (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Blair-Loy, 2003). The focus on professional women in this literature means that we have overlooked what I refer to as the "third shift," the second jobs disadvantaged women work to provide for their families. Working women across the income distribution bear primary responsibility for balancing work and family, but disadvantaged women in particular, often do so with minimal contributions from partners and children's fathers – men who face barriers to employment and high rates of incarceration (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Carson, 2015; Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Glaze & Kaeble, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Malveaux, 1990; Pettit & Western, 2004; Roberts, 2004). The results of this study suggest that the incarceration of these men is particularly challenging. The removal of men from family life and wage earning via incarceration appears to push women to work multiple jobs, distinguishing them even from women in otherwise similar circumstances. Thus, while women deal with forced separation from their partners, worries about their partners' well-being, and the consequences of paternal absence for their children, they are also working – and working enough to support their families while their partners are locked up means working multiple jobs.

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics of All Variables Included in Analysis

	Full Sample	
	Mean or Percent	*SD*
Multiple job holding (y5)		
Worked no jobs	24.7	
Worked only one job	65.3	
Worked multiple jobs	10.0	
Recent partner incarceration (y5)	21.7	
Race/Ethnicity (b)		
Non-Hispanic White	21.6	
Non-Hispanic Black	49.1	
Hispanic	25.8	
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity	3.5	
Age (y3)	28.2	6.0
Education (b)		
Less than high school	32.8	
HS diploma or GED	31.0	
Some college	25.2	
Bachelors degree or higher	11.1	
Lived with both parents at age 15 (b)	42.8	
Immigrant (b)	14.3	
Hourly wage at most recent job (y3)	11.5	8.3
Cognitive score (y3)	6.8	2.6
Impulsivity (y3)	2.0	.6
Weekly work hours at primary job (y3)	20.7	
1 to 34 hours	15.1	
35 hour or more	41.3	
Did not work	43.6	
Worked in the informal labor market (y3)	15.5	
Fair or poor health (y3)	13.3	
Substance use (y3)	6.9	
No. of children <age 5 in household (y3)	1.6	.8
No. of adults other than partners in HH (y3)	.5	.9
Residential Status (y3)		
Living with no partner	36.8	
Living with partner (child's father)	54.0	
Living with new partner	9.1	
Public assistance (y3)	62.6	
Large financial support (y3)	67.1	
Partner's employment status (y3)	75.6	
Partner prior incarceration (y3)	43.6	
N	3,835	

Note: Timing of variable measurement in parentheses (b = baseline survey, y3 = three-year survey, y5 = five year survey).

Table 3.2. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Multiple Job Holding

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Baseline		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV		Restricted Sample	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Recent partner incarceration	.63***	.58***	.51**	.44*	.47**	.34†	.53**	.37†
	(.15)	(.16)	(.15)	(.18)	(.15)	(.18)	(.18)	(.21)
Constant	-2.07	-1.12	-1.72	.25	-2.88	-2.02	-3.38	-1.77
AIC	6534.840		5715.097		5502.515		2613.926	
N	3,835		3,835		3,835		1,669-1,678	

*Note: Standard errors in parentheses. AIC values vary across the five imputed data set and cannot be averaged using Rubin's rules. The highest AIC value for each model is shown. The sample for Model 4 is restricted to women whose partners have a history of incarceration; sample size varies by imputed data set. †<.10;*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Table 3.3. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Multiple Job Holding with Alternative Specification of Recent Partner Incarceration: Duration

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Baseline		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Recent partner incarceration						
Less than 3 months	.92***	1.08***	.77***	.90**	.67**	.71*
	(.20)	(.25)	(.21)	(.28)	(.22)	(.29)
3 months or greater	.51**	.55**	.36†	.39†	.31	.31
	(.18)	(.21)	(.19)	(.23)	(.20)	(.25)
Incarcerated but missing duration	.50*	.18	.39	.06	.49†	.03
	(.24)	(.24)	(.25)	(.27)	(.30)	(.35)
Constant	-2.08	-1.13	-1.68	-.31	-2.59	-1.88
AIC	6004.619		5713.977		5052.976	
N	3,835		3,835		3,835	

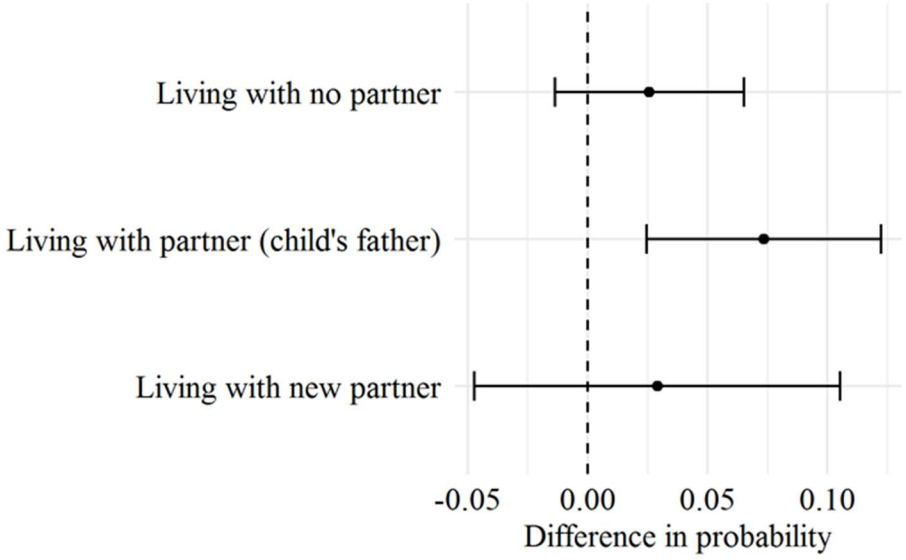
Note: Standard errors in parentheses. AIC values vary across the five imputed data set and cannot be averaged using Rubin's rules. The highest AIC value for each model is shown.
*†<.10;*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Table 3.4. Comparing the Impact of Incarceration and Relationship Dissolution

	Model 3	
	Multiple Job Holding	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Jobs
Partner separation (ref. neither recent incarceration nor recent relationship dissolution)		
Recent partner incarceration	.60***	.51*
	(.16)	(.20)
Recent relationship dissolution	.74***	1.18***
	(.20)	(.26)
Constant	-3.03	-2.87
Coefficient Comparison (*p*-value)	.560	.030
N	3,835	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.
*†<.10;*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Figure 3.1. Difference in Probability of Working Multiple Jobs for Women with Incarcerated Partners versus Women without Incarcerated Partners, by Residential Status



Chapter 4. STABILITY AND CHANGE: INCOME PACKAGING AMONG PARTNERS OF INCARCERATED MEN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The rate of incarceration in the United States has risen dramatically over the last several decades. The consequences of this expansion for current and former prisoners as well as the racial disproportionality of this phenomenon have been well-documented (Pager, 2003; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010; Western, 2006). Researchers have also come to understand that the 2.2 million people currently held in U.S. prisons and jails are not isolated individuals; they are connected in relationships with others. A growing body of literature draws attention to the economic consequences associated with incarceration for the families of imprisoned men. These families already face a high degree of vulnerability; poor and low-income families are more likely to experience the incarceration of a loved one, but their economic instability is exacerbated by involvement with the criminal justice system (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). Many families face an immediate loss of income when a family member is removed from the household, and they struggle to make ends meet while also bearing the costs of maintaining contact with their imprisoned family member and supporting him financially (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001; Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010; Johnson, 2008).

Despite the upsurge in efforts to document these hardships, we know little about how women – who most often bear the responsibility for shoring up families experiencing extreme hardship (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Roberts, 2004) – manage the economic difficulties associated with their family members' incarceration. This is an important oversight because incarceration may have consequences for the economic behaviors of not only incarcerated

individuals but also the women to whom they are connected. Previous research suggests that the incarceration of women's romantic partners prompts them to seek out financial assistance from certain social welfare programs (Sugie, 2012), but it is likely that women's responses to economic instability are not limited to a single strategy. Women may combine public assistance, work and other financial resources to addresses the loss of income and costs associated with the imprisonment of their family members.

In this study, I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a longitudinal survey of parents who share children, to investigate how women modify the sets of strategies they use to make ends meet during the time period in which their partners are incarcerated. The loss of income or child support from their partners may increase their risk of being in an economically precarious position – a position that prompts them to modify how they use certain resources. I apply latent class regression analysis to group women based on changes in their sets of strategies and to examine important social determinants (e.g., race/ethnicity, education) of these changes. Given the uneven distribution of incarceration across the population, with low-income and racial/ethnic minority families most at risk, it is important that we understand how women's involvement with the penal system via the men in their lives impacts their strategies for making ends meet and what this impact might mean for growing inequalities among families.

4.2 Background

4.2.1 *Economic Consequences of Incarceration*

A growing body of research documents the adverse consequences of incarceration for family functioning and well-being. Incarcerated individuals are often connected to romantic partners, mothers and children who continue to be involved in their lives even when they are behind bars

(Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008). About half of incarcerated men are in romantic relationships with women, and more than two-thirds are fathers (Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Grinstead et al., 1999; Jorgensen et al., 1986; Western, 2006). The expansion of the penal system coupled with racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disproportionality in the incarceration rate has made incarceration an inescapable reality for a number of low-income and racial/ethnic minority families (Carson, 2015; Lee et al., 2015; Pettit & Western, 2004). In 2006, one in four women had a family member in state or federal prison; the proportion of black women with incarcerated family members is even higher (1 in 2.5) (Lee et al., 2015).

Research on the collateral consequences of incarceration for families has examined a number of outcomes including children's education, development, behavior, and health and romantic partners' mental health and relationship quality (Comfort, 2008; Geller et al., 2012; Haskins, 2014; Turney, 2014b, 2015a; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011; Wildeman et al., 2012; Wildeman & Turney, 2014). Considerable attention has also been given to the economic consequences of incarceration for families. Incarceration has been shown to reduce family income by removing an important source of income during the jail or prison stay and by reducing the financial support the family receives after incarceration (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Johnson, 2008). Although men's pre-incarceration incomes may be modest, they do report providing primary financial support for their families, and their capacity to continue providing such support while incarcerated and after released is slim (Braman, 2004; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; L. Glaze & Maruschak, 2010; Pager, 2003). Recent research shows that nearly half of inmates contributed 50 percent or more to their families' household income prior to incarceration, and this loss of income resulted in financial instability and difficulty covering basic costs of living such as food, housing, utilities and clothing (deVuono-powell et al., 2015). In addition, ethnographic studies show that men make

in-kind contributions – often in the form of childcare and help around the home – to their families prior to incarceration (Braman, 2004; Fishman, 1990; Nurse, 2002). A man's inability to provide in-kind support while incarcerated may have financial consequences if replacing his contributions requires purchasing services.

Families struggle to meet basic needs as a result of not only lost income but also costs associated with incarceration. Family members who wish to maintain frequent contact with incarcerated individuals face a host of expenses associated with travel for prison visits, collect calls, sending packages, and putting money in commissary (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001). Despite their own hardships, families serve as primary financial support and often take responsibility for attorney fees, fines, and legal debt associated with involvement in the criminal justice system (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010). Research conducted by deVuono-powell and colleagues (2015) estimated that costs for families are often equivalent to one year's worth of household income, and these financial burdens disproportionately fall to women in the family. Increased expenses combined with reduced resources may strain household budgets and lead families to seek out additional income.

4.2.2 *Income Packaging*

We know little about how women manage the economic instability associated with the incarceration of their loved ones. However, it is likely that women with incarcerated partners attempt to balance their household budgets though a variety of strategies. Ethnographic research shows that working poor and low-income individuals often combine paid employment, unreported odd jobs, social services, and other resources in order to make ends meet (Edin & Lein, 1997; Pittman, 2014; Rank, 1994; Stack, 1974; Zippay, 2002; Zucchino, 1998). This

practice, known as "income packaging" in the social welfare literature, has been observed among low-income single mothers, grandmothers providing primary care to their grandchildren, and displaced steelworkers (Edin & Lein, 1997; Pittman, 2014; Zippay, 2002). Edin and Lein's (1997) interviews with unskilled and semiskilled single mothers demonstrated that they relied on three basic strategies to align their income and their expenses. Single mothers worked in the formal or informal labor market; they received cash assistance from boyfriends, family and friends; and they received cash assistance or in-kind help from agencies, community groups or charities. Women in Edin and Lein's study rarely used only one of the basic strategies but instead used them in combination with each other. A single strategy, and sometimes multiple strategies, was often insufficient to make ends meet. Other qualitative studies have also found that poor and low-income households typically draw on a variety of economic sources, including odd jobs, scavenging, bartering, and cash and in-kind assistance from relatives and friends (Rank, 1994; Stack, 1974; Zippay, 2002; Zucchino, 1998).

The literature on income packaging also suggests that strategies for making ends meet are not static. Individuals move between strategies over time; as one strategy "dries up" they find another to replace it (Edin & Lein, 1997). When a woman's partner or other family member is incarcerated, one source of income essentially "dries up," at least temporarily. However, given the long term consequences of incarceration for men's employment, the incarceration of a family member may represent a long term loss of an important resource for making ends meet (Pager, 2003; Western, 2006). The "drying up" of a source of income coupled with the costs associated with conviction and incarceration likely leads women to reconsider their income packages – to rely more or less heavily on some elements or add new elements. Women may manage the need for additional income by increasing the number of hours they work. However, a slight increase in hours of work may not produce enough additional income to replace men's pre-incarceration

wages and address the financial costs of his imprisonment. It is likely they employ other income generating strategies. We know, for example, that men's incarceration increases their families' participation in Food Stamps and Medicaid (Sugie, 2012). Although Medicaid is not a cash or near cash form of public assistance, it does add to income by defraying medical expenses.

In addition to seeking financial assistance from friends and relatives, women who have partners removed from their families via incarceration may cope with economic hardship by combining households with other relatives or non-relatives, or by "doubling up" (Edin & Lein, 1997; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Pilkauskas, Garfinkel, & McLanahan, 2014). Combining households may directly alleviate hardship by dispersing the burden of rent and other household expenses among several individuals. Doubling up may indirectly alleviate hardship if housemates help care for children so that women can concentrate on income generating strategies. Although doubling up generally refers to living with a friend or family member but not a romantic partner (Mykyta & Macartney, 2012; Pilkauskas et al., 2014), I include combining households with a new romantic partner in my measure of doubling up. The motivation for moving in with a romantic partner may differ from the motivation for moving in with a family member, but none of these relationships are purely economic transactions, and doubling up with a new partner may be a more lucrative strategy than others.

4.2.3 *Social Determinants of Income Packaging*

It is likely that women experiencing the incarceration of their partners not only employ a variety of strategies to make ends meet, but also that their access to certain strategies vary. For example, increasing participation in paid labor may be difficult for women facing substantial care demands at home. A prisoner may have provided childcare or other forms of in-kind support prior to incarceration, and the loss of that contribution is not only disruptive but requires attention.

Prisoners themselves also require care; prisons are often far away which makes maintaining a connection to an incarcerated man time consuming, and this care work may leave little room for additional paid labor. Women with multiple children or who face significant losses in in-kind support may modify their strategies in different ways than women who do not face these challenges.

Low-income and poor families are more likely to experience the incarceration of a loved one, and their economic instability is exacerbated by the policies and practices of the criminal justice system. Maintaining contact with a prisoner not only drains the resources of already economically vulnerable families but absorbs a substantial amount of time and energy which can diminish their connections to social institutions outside the prison and social networks that that could provide financial and instrumental support (Comfort, 2008; Turney et al., 2012). Women whose partners have been incarcerated multiple times or for long periods may be at a heightened risk of become embedded in a prison system that consumes daily life in ways that thwart entry and access to other institutions (Comfort, 2008). Prolonged exposure to the correctional system may be associated with diminishing, or already diminished, resources. Families that are better off financially prior to incarceration and those that have not experienced repeated cycles of incarceration may be in a better position to seek out financial support from kin and non-kin and may be more connected to people who can provide such support (Edin & Lein, 1997).

There are reasons to believe that some women will experience stability rather than change in their income packaging. We might expect black women's strategies to be more resilient to partner incarceration than their white counterparts' (e.g., Mineka & Kihlstrom, 1978). Incarceration has become a normative life course experience for racial minority men, especially those with low levels of education (Pettit & Western, 2004). This means that incarceration has become common for their family members as well. In 2006, 44 percent of black women had a

family member currently in state or federal prison, while only 12 percent of white women did (Lee et al., 2015). Black women may plan accordingly so that if men are removed from their households, it is less disruptive to their economic well-being (Edin, 2000; Edin & Kefalas, 2005). In addition, black women living in poverty, and to some extent even the black middle class, face a considerable amount of uncertainty and instability; it may make little sense for them to strategize in response to their partners' incarceration if they feel they have little control over the forces shaping the viability of their strategic plans (Burton & Tucker, 2009).

4.2.4 *Contributions of this Research*

This study improves our understanding of the economic well-being of families who experience the incarceration of a loved one by investigating the varied and changing strategies they use to make ends meet. Previous research has shown that incarceration can be a source of financial strain for families (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011) and that families experiencing incarceration turn to Food Stamps and Medicaid (Sugie, 2012). This study strengthens the existing literature in three ways. First, it assumes that women's strategies for making ends meet are not limited to one strategy and considers the ways in which women attached to incarcerated men modify multiple resources in tandem with one another. Second, this study includes employment as one of these modifiable resources. Although we know that, for women, family circumstances and employment are closely linked, prior research has failed to consider how partner incarceration shapes women's participation in paid labor. Finally, this paper shifts attention to women connected to incarcerated men – women who are often making financial decisions for their families during this time of family separation. With a few exceptions, the literature on the economic consequences of incarceration for families has focused on children as subjects of this instability (e.g, Geller et al., 2011; Turney, 2015c;

Wildeman, 2014), and the research centering on women has documented the costs of maintaining a relationship with an incarcerated individual but offered limited insight into how they get the resources they need (Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001).

4.3 Data, Measures and Analytic Strategy

4.3.1 *Data*

To investigate changes in women's income packaging following the incarceration of their children's fathers, I use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS). FFCWS is a longitudinal survey that follows a cohort of new and mostly unmarried parents in 20 cities with populations over 200,000. It began in 1998 with interviews of a sample of nearly 5,000 parents shortly following the birth of their child, and subsequent interviews were conducted one, three, five, and nine years later (Reichman et al., 2001). These data are particularly suitable for studying women's economic responses to men's incarceration because of structure and content. Because the FFCWS data include an oversample of unmarried parents in large cities, the sample is economically disadvantaged and includes a substantial number of incarcerated men. The study's focus on a child and the child's parents rather than a single individual or household gives us information about the lives of families, defined broadly to include married and cohabiting couples as well as nonresidential partnerships and separated couples who share children. Since family arrangements other than the married bio-parent headed household may be common among those at risk of incarceration, a broad definition of family allows those experiencing incarceration to remain visible in the data. The inclusion of both parents in the survey means the data provide information about incarcerated individuals and their partners, which is unique to this dataset. FFCWS also provides substantial information about respondents' individual characteristics, family history and economic resources. The collection of

such rich data allows me to observe a range of potential economic resources and to examine several potential determinants of resource use.

I rely mainly on information gathered from women during the initial interview and the three- and five-year follow up interviews. I am interested in women's responses to the incarceration of the fathers of their children, so the main analytical sample includes women who experienced men's incarceration between the three- and five-year surveys (n = 784). Analysis is limited to this time frame because men's incarceration is most accurately measured between the three- and five-year surveys. Women were asked at the five-year survey if their child's father was currently incarcerated and if he had been incarcerated since the three-year survey. The latter question is not asked in earlier surveys. I dropped 339 observations in which the child's father was incarcerated at the three-year survey, because I want to compare activities women engaged in before and after men's incarceration. I also dropped observations in which women did not participate in both the three- and five-year surveys (n = 16) and observations in which the child's father is deceased, unknown or has custody of the child (n = 3). I dropped an additional 12 observations in which women's race is reported as "other" and 20 observations missing values on the covariates used in the regression analysis. It is unnecessary to delete observation missing values on the manifest variables, or the observed variables that make up the dependent variable, because the iterative nature of the expectation-maximization algorithm used by the R package (poLCA) emloyed in the analysis makes it possible to estimate the latent class model even with some observations missing (Linzer & Lewis, 2011). Comparison of the sample prior to listwise deletion of observations missing key covariates (n = 414) and the final analytical sample for which deletions have been made (n = 394) shows that they are nearly identical (see Table 4.1). Thus, the deletion of observations should not bias results. The final sample includes 394 women

who experienced a new incarceration of their child's father at some point between the three- and five-year surveys.

4.3.2 *Measures*

Manifest variables. Several self-reported manifest (or observed) variables are used in a latent class regression analysis to determine how changes in women's resource use during the time period in which their partners are incarcerated cluster together into sets of strategies. Following the ethnographic literature on "income packaging" (Edin & Lein, 1997; Zippay, 2002) these manifest variables measure changes between the three- and five- year surveys across a wide array of potential economic responses to partner incarceration: change in women's employment, use of public assistance, receipt of financial help, and doubling up. The data do not contain information about reduction in expenditures.

The manifest variables considered in the latent class analysis are summarized in Table 4.2. Changes in employment activities are represented using two categorical variables. *Change in hours of work* indicates whether a woman increased the number of hours she worked each week in the formal labor market between the three- and five-year surveys, decreased her number of hours, experienced no change and was employed, or experience no change and was unemployed. To better capture true changes in hours rather than incidental changes in hours which may be common in the types of jobs held by low-income women (Haley-Lock, 2015; Henly & Lambert, 2014), small changes in hours of work (less than four) between the three- and five-year surveys have been coded as no change (van Damme et al., 2009). As Table 4.2 shows, the portion of women falling into each category ranges from 17 percent who were employed both years and experienced no change in hours of work to 35 percent who experienced an increase in hours of work.

Change in looking for work is a categorical variable indicating whether a woman started looking for work, stopped looking for work, was looking at both the three- and five- year surveys, or was looking at neither survey. Women were only asked if they were looking for work if they were unemployed at the time of the survey; thus, this variable does not capture looking for better or different work while employed. Most (60%) women were not looking for work either year. In addition to employment in the formal labor market, informal work (e.g., "off the books" work such as cleaning homes, doing hair, or illicit work) may be an important part of women's income generating strategies. However, a variable capturing changes in informal hours of work has not been included in the latent class analysis because of data limitations. FFCWS does collect information about hours of work in informal jobs, but the measurement of informal work is less precise than the measurement of formal work, and the measures differ in the three- and five-year surveys.

Changes in receipt of public assistance are represented using four categorical variables: *change in TANF*, *change in Food Stamps*, *change in SSI/disability*, and *change in Medicaid*. Each variable is comprised of four categories: starts receiving, stops receiving, consistently receives both years, consistently receives neither year. SSI/disability is the least used of the four forms of public assistance, but a sizable proportion did not use TANF either year. The requirements for these forms of public assistance are stringent which may dissuade use. Change in financial assistance a woman receives from non-agency sources is represented by the variable *change in financial help*, which includes financial help from family, friends, and partners (other than the focal child's father). FFCWS asks women for the total amount of financial support they received over the last 12 months. *Change in financial help* includes four categories that indicate whether the amount of the assistance increased or decreased between the three- and five-year surveys, remained steady across the two years, or was not provided either year. Small changes in

financial help (less than $50 for the year) are coded as no change. The portion of women falling into each category ranges from three percent to 40 percent.

I measure change in shared residence with a single categorical variable, *change in doubling up*, which indicates whether an adult (relative, non-relative or romantic partner) moves in, an adult moves out, household composition remains stable over time with other adults in the household, or household composition remains stable over time without other adults in the household. Because some women experience both entry and exit of other adults, the coding of this variable privileges moving in. Thus, the "moves in" category is comprised of women who experienced the entry of an adult household member, but some have also experienced the exit of an adult household member. "Moves out" is comprised of women who experienced only the departure of an adult. "Moves in" and "moves out" are not dependent on a woman residing in the same location at both surveys; thus, the variable could indicate that a woman herself moved into a household with other adults. In total, 31 percent of women experience the entry of an adult; 20 percent experience an exit; 9 percent have other adults in the household both years but do not experience any movement; and 40 percent have no other adults in the household either year.

Covariates. The latent class regression model includes measures of demographic characteristics and family circumstances. *Race/ethnicity* (white, non-Hispanic; black, non-Hispanic; Hispanic) is a categorical variable measured at the baseline interview. *Some college* is a dichotomous variable indicating some college or a college degree vs. no college and is measured at the three-year interview. Education is a dichotomous rather than three- or four-category measure for two reasons. First, only 2 percent of the sample has a bachelor's degree. Second, preliminary analyses using a three-category variable (less than high school, high school diploma/GED, some college) showed no significant differences between women with a high school diploma and those without (results available upon request). *Age* is a continuous variable

measured at the three-year survey. The household income measure is an *income-to-poverty ratio*, which represents household income in relation to the poverty line, which is established by the Census Bureau and based on household size and composition. *Fair or poor health* represents women's reports of their general health. Women who reported fair or poor health are coded as one, and women who reported good, very good or excellent health are coded as zero. I also include a measures that indicate whether a woman is in a *romantic relationship* with her partner (the focal child's father) at the three-year survey. *Number of children* under the age of five in the household is a continuous variable, also measured at year three. *Multiple partner fertility* indicates whether a woman has children with men other than the partner/focal child's father.

The model also includes three variables regarding women's partners: *prior incarceration, financial support,* and *in-kind support*; all are measured at the three-year survey, prior to the most recent incarceration. *Partner prior incarceration* indicates whether or not a woman's partner had been incarcerated at some point before the three-year survey. *Partner financial support* is a dichotomous variable that measures whether or not the partner provided financial support to the woman in the 12 months leading up to the three-year survey. A partner was considered to be providing financial support at the three-year survey if he was living with the woman and employed in either the formal or informal labor market, or he was not living with the woman and the woman reported he provided formal or informal child support. Although researchers have calculated the amount of partners' financial contribution at the five-year survey, it is not possible to construct the same continuous measure at the three-year survey due to an inconsistency in survey questions. *Partner in-kind support* is the average of women's responses to four questions regarding her partner's household contributions: 1) "How often does he look after your child when you need to do things?" 2) "How often does he run errands (for you) like picking up things from the store?" 3) "How often does he fix things around your home, paint, or

help make it look nicer in other ways?" and 4) "How often does he take your child places he/she needs to go, such as to daycare or the doctor?" (1 = *never* to 4 = *often*).

4.3.3 *Analytic Strategy*

I use latent class regression models to identify groups of women whose income packages change in similar ways and to simultaneously estimate the relationship between covariates and probability of group membership. The basic latent class model explains the associations between observed manifest variables in terms of membership in a small number of unobservable, unordered latent classes, which eliminates all confounding between the manifest variables. The model estimates two parameters. First, latent class membership probabilities represent the probability that a randomly selected individual from the population belongs to a particular latent class. Second, the model estimates conditional response probabilities, or the conditional probability that an individual who belongs to a given class provides a particular response on each manifest variable (Bartholomew, Steele, Moustaki, & Galbraith, 2008; Linzer & Lewis, 2011).

The latent class regression model is a generalized version of the basic latent class model which allows the inclusion of covariates to predict individuals' latent class membership (Linzer & Lewis, 2011). The latent class regression model estimates the relationship between covariates and latent class membership at the same time that it estimates the latent class model. An alternate approach would be to estimate the basic latent class model, calculate for each individual the posterior probabilities of membership in each class, and then use these probabilities as the dependent variable in the regression model containing covariates. However, previous research has shown that this approach results in biased coefficient estimates (Bolck, Croon, & Hagenaars, 2004).

The latent class model does not automatically determine the number of latent classes in a given data set; the user must supply the number of latent classes to be estimated. The optimal number of latent classes can be determined though the consecutive fitting of models and comparison of goodness of fit statistics for each model. I fit to the data a series of latent class models specifying between one and four latent classes and use the Akaike information criterion, or AIC, to determine the most parsimonious model. In exploratory analyses I attempted to fit models specifying a greater number of classes, and even with a minimal number of covariates, these models produced extreme coefficient values, which suggested too small a sample size to fit a model with even five or six classes.

4.4 RESULTS

4.4.1 *Definition of the Classes*

Figure 4.1 shows the AIC values for the four latent class models. The AIC value decreases as the number of classes increases with the lowest AIC value corresponding to the four-class solution. Estimated conditional probabilities for the four-class model with their standard errors in parentheses are shown in Table 4.3; these probabilities characterize that likelihood that members of each class experience a change in their use of a particular resources. These probabilities are represented graphically in Figure 4.2, allowing for a visual comparison of the groups on the responses that define them. The employment and public assistance variables (TANF, Food Stamps and Medicaid) emerge as the main variables distinguishing the four groups. The likelihoods of experiencing changes in doubling up and financial support from family and friends are fairly consistent across groups.

Class one is characterized by high probabilities of not looking for work and not receiving TANF and Food Stamps. The high probability of not looking for work at either wave suggests

that women in this group are consistently employed, or, if they are unemployed at one of the waves, report not looking for work at that time. For these women, consistent employment does not necessarily mean stable hours of work. Women in class one are similarly likely to increase, decrease or make no change to their hours of work. The low likelihood of TANF and Food Stamp receipt indicates that class one members rely little on public assistance, particularly in comparison to other class. However, class one does have a .36 probability of starting to use Food Stamps which may be connected to a substantial loss in household income because of a decrease in her own employment or the removal of a wage earner from the household via incarceration. Women in class one have similar probabilities of Medicaid entry, consistent use, and consistent non-use which may correspond to the varied changes in employment this group experiences.

Women in class two experience an increase in hours of work and have high probabilities of receiving Food Stamps and Medicaid, but not TANF, at both waves. A .42 probability of ceasing a job search suggests that for some women in class three, the increase in hours of work represents a movement into the labor force. They have low but not negligible probabilities of ending their use of TANF and Food Stamps which may correspond to the start of a new job.

Class three is characterized by a high probability of decreasing hours of work, not looking for work at either wave, and consistent receipt of both Food Stamps and Medicaid. Women in this group have a .71 probability of reducing their hours and a .23 probability of maintaining their level of employment. The .71 probability that women are looking for work at neither wave indicates that most women in class three remain employed while reducing their hours. However, the .29 probability that women in the group start looking for work suggests that some women's hours of work are reduced to zero. The probability of TANF receipt is also divided. Women in group three have a .60 probability of not using TANF at either wave, a .20 probability of starting TANF use, and a .16 probability of discontinuing their TANF use. Some

of the women who reduce their hours of work turn to TANF to make up the difference; others reduce their hours and simultaneously stop receiving TANF.

Class four is characterized by high probabilities of consistent unemployment and use of Food Stamps and Medicaid. For women in class four, unemployment may not be the preferred status. They have a low but not negligible probability of looking for work at each wave. Their use of TANF is also varied; the group has similar probabilities of consistent receipt and non-receipt of TANF. Although SSI use (at either wave) is low across the sample, women in class four do have somewhat higher probabilities of SSI entry and consistent receipt, compared to other groups. The probability that group four members do not receive financial help from family or friends is slightly higher than other groups, especially groups two and three. A summary of the four classes is shown in Table 4.4.

4.4.2 *Regression Results*

Table 4.5 provides the logit coefficients from the second part of the latent class regression analysis: a multinomial logistic regression model that examines the relationship between a set of covariates and membership in the latent classes. In this model, class one (characterized by consistent employment and little public assistance) is the reference category. The results show that older women are less likely to be in the group of women who increase their hours of work and use public assistance (class two) than in the reference group. Women who have attended college or earned a college degree are less likely to be in the consistently unemployed group (class four) than in the consistently employed and not using public assistance group (class one).

Pre-incarceration household income appears to be the most consistent predictor of class membership – at least when the groups are compared to group one which is characterized by consistent employment and little reliance on other sources of income. Lower household income

is associated with membership in classes two, three and four, the groups who have the most consistent receipt of public assistance. Relationship status and men's incarceration history also distinguish group membership. Women in a romantic relationship with their partner prior to incarceration are more likely to be in the groups that increase (class two) and decrease (class three) their hours of employment while also relying on public assistance than in the group characterized by consistent employment and non-receipt of public assistance (class one). Women whose partners have been imprisoned previously are also more likely to be in the groups of women who increase (class two) and decrease (class three) their hours of work between surveys.

Rearranging the latent classes in the multinomial logistic regression model so that classes two and three are alternately set as the reference category allows a comparison of the three groups that consistently received public assistance but vary in terms of their employment. These results, which are not shown, indicate that older women are less likely to be in the group increasing their hours (class two) than in the groups that decrease their hours (class three) or remain unemployed (class four). Characteristics indicating social class also distinguish membership in the three groups that use public assistance. Women with at least some college education are more likely to increase (class two) and to decrease (class three) their hours of work than to be consistently unemployed (class four). Women with higher pre-incarceration household incomes are more likely to decrease (class three) their hours of work than increase (class two) their hours or remain unemployed (class four). Finally, women who have children with multiple fathers are less likely to decrease their hours of work (class three) than remain consistently unemployed (class four).

4.5 Discussion

A growing literature documents the economic consequences of men's incarceration for the families they leave behind (deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). Many families experience a substantial loss of income, and they struggle to meet basic needs while also absorbing the costs of maintaining contact with their loved ones and supporting them financially during conviction and incarceration (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Grinstead et al., 2001; Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010; Johnson, 2008). We know little, however, about how the women heading these families respond to economic hardships associated with men's incarceration. This is an important oversight because incarceration has the potential to alter the economic behaviors of not only incarcerated individuals but also the women connected to them – women working to shore up the economic hardships their families experience.

In this paper, I use data from the Fragile Families and Wellbeing Study and latent class regression analysis to investigate changes in women's income generating strategies during the time their partners are incarcerated as well as social determinants of these changes. The results suggest two main conclusions. First, women modify their income packages in diverse ways. The latent class regression analysis indicates a division of the sample into four distinct groups of women. Two of the four groups experience changes in employment along with relatively stable use of public assistance. For some of these women, changes in employment represent not merely an adjustment in hours of work but entry into or exit from the workforce. A third group relies relatively little on public assistance. Although they are consistently employed, their hours of work are not stable across waves. A fourth group consists of unemployed women who receive public assistance at both survey waves. This group of women experience the most stability, but

their strategies for making ends meet also suggest a high level of disadvantage. They may have limited access to resources which makes changing income generating strategies more difficult, or they may rely on resources that are not observable in the data, such as employment in the informal economy.

Second, I find the types of changes women with incarcerated partners make to their income packages are determined largely by factors indicating social class: women's educational attainment and household income. Education distinguishes the three employed groups from the group that is consistently unemployed; as we might expect, a higher level of education is associated with employment. Although a higher level of education predicts membership in one of the employed groups, it does not ensure stability in hours of work. Household income operates in a similar way. Although women with higher pre-incarceration household incomes are less likely to use public assistance, which makes sense given that many programs are means-tested, they still adjust their hours of work during the time their partner is incarcerated. Together, these findings suggest that no family is protected from the instability associated with incarceration. Although very few of the women in the sample are highly advantaged in terms of educational attainment or household income (i.e., few have four-year degrees and the average income-to-poverty ratio is just above one), even those in the most advantaged positions have to make changes. But their level of education and income does offer access to flexible resources – to jobs or financial circumstances that allow for adjustment in hours of work. For instance, women with higher pre-incarceration household incomes are more likely to be in the group decreasing their hours than in the group increasing their hours. Both groups adjust their hours, but those with higher pre-incarceration incomes are able to reduce their hours during a time when their families' care needs are high.

It is surprising that men's pre-incarceration contributions, whether in-kind or financial, are not associated with the types of changes women make to their income packages. Perhaps change in the dollar amount of the financial contribution, which I was unable to calculate because of data limitations, would play a stronger role in shaping women's group member. It is also surprising that no differences between black and white women's modifications were detected by the regression analysis. Although it is difficult to draw conclusions from non-significant results, it appears that black women's income packages are not more or less stable than other women's. Black women's familiarity with the imprisonment of men in their families and communities may not lead to more established strategies for getting by in their absence.

4.5.1 *Limitations*

The number of groups that emerges from the latent class analysis speaks to the diversity in women's response to men's incarceration, and the characteristics of those classes suggest that women's modifications of their strategies are complex. The data provide an excellent opportunity to investigate the economic consequences of men's incarceration for their families; however, the data provide limited opportunities to unpack the complexity. I am able to identify important social determinants (e.g., education and household income) of the changes women make to their income packages, but unobserved factors such as the type of incarceration (prison or jail), duration of incarceration, the distance of the prison/jail from home, the frequency of women's visits and their level of involvement with the penal system via their partners may impact the types of adjustment women make. In addition, the two year span between survey waves and the lack of information about timing of incarceration and changes in income generating strategies do not permit analyses that distinguish between changes women make immediately before or after imprisonment and changes they make at a later time. Indeed, such

information would provide an opportunity to consider potentially importance nuances in women's experience of the incarceration of their partners and the ways in which these varied experiences produce different types of adjustments in women's income packages. Although results from this study cannot be interpreted in terms of a causal relationship between men's incarceration and changes or stability in women's income packaging, the results do suggest that this time period is potentially turbulent, even for more advantaged women.

4.5.2 *Conclusion*

This study contributes to a growing body of research that investigates the consequences of incarceration for families. Specifically, the analysis extends research documenting the economic hardships women experience when their partners are incarcerated to consider the multiple strategies women use to make ends meet in the face of these hardships. By showing that women with incarcerated partners are likely to rely on – and make adjustments to – several sources of income – public assistance, their own employment, and financial help from family and friends – these findings are in line with previous research on both consequences of incarceration and how low-income individuals balance strained household budgets (Edin & Lein, 1997; Geller et al., 2011; Pittman, 2014; Sugie, 2012; Zippay, 2002). We must consider these findings in the context of the lives of low-income and racial/ethnic minority families – families that face economic hardships even if their members, who are most at risk of criminal justice involvement, avoid incarceration. The findings of this study and of previous research on the consequences of incarceration for families suggest that incarceration exacerbates economic hardships for already vulnerable families and may contribute to inequality both among low-income families and families more broadly. Understanding the multiple and diverse ways in which women attached to

incarcerated men attempt to cope with economic hardships is important for devising appropriate strategies for reducing the burden of having a family member incarcerated.

Table 4.1. Comparison of Analytical Sample and Complete Case Sample

	Percent/Mean	
	Analytical Sample (n = 394)	Complete Case Sample (n = 414)
Race/ethnicity		
White (non-Hispanic)	17.26	16.91
Black (non-Hispanic)	62.44	61.35
Hispanic	20.30	21.74
Age	25.90	25.87
	(5.47)	(5.53)
Some College	31.22	30.68
Income-to-poverty ratio	1.17	1.16
	(1.10)	(1.09)
Number of children under age 5	1.75	1.73
	(.90)	(.90)

Table 4.2. Manifest Variables and Covariates used in Latent Class Regression Models

Manifest Variables	Proportion	Covariates	Proportion/ Mean
Change in hours of work		Race/Ethnicity	
Increase	.35	White	.17
Decrease	.24	Black, non-Hispanic	.62
No change, employed	.17	Hispanic	.20
No change, unemployed	.23	Age	25.90
Change in looking for work			(5.47)
Start looking for work	.11	Some College	.31
Stop looking for work	.19	Income-to-poverty ratio	1.17
No change, looking both	.09		(1.10)
No change, looking neither	.60	Fair or poor health	.17
Change in TANF		In relationship with partner	.42
Starts receiving	.08	No. of children in household	1.75
Stops receiving	.13		(.90)
Consistently receives	.10	Multiple partner fertility	.45
Consistently does not receive	.68	Partner prior incarceration	.76
Missing	.005	Partner financial support	2.38
Change in Food Stamps			(1.11)
Starts receiving	.19	Partner in-kind support	.67
Stops receiving	.10		
Consistently receives	.50		
Consistently does not receive	.22		
Change in SSI/disability			
Starts receiving	.03		
Stops receiving	.008		
Consistently receives	.03		
Consistently does not receive	.94		
Missing	.005		
Change in Medicaid			
Starts receiving	.12		
Stops receiving	.12		
Consistently receives	.64		
Consistently does not receive	.12		
Change in Financial Help			
Increase	.26		
Decrease	.22		
No change, receiving help	.03		
No change, not receiving help	.40		
Missing	.09		
Change in Doubling Up			
Moves in	.31		
Moves out	.20		
Stable, yes other adults in HH	.09		
Stable, no other adults in HH	.40		
N		394	

Note: Where applicable, standard errors are in parentheses

Table 4.3. Estimated Conditional Response Probabilities and Latent Class Membership Probabilities for the four-class model

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
Change in hours of work				
Increase	.30 (.05)	.93 (.04)	.00 (.00)	.02 (.03)
Decrease	.30 (.05)	.00 (.00)	.71 (.08)	.03 (.03)
No change, employed	.34 (.05)	.05 (.04)	.23 (.07)	.00 (.00)
No change, unemployed	.06 (.03)	.02 (.02)	.06 (.04)	.95 (.04)
Change in looking for work				
Start looking for work	.07 (.03)	.00 (.00)	.29 (.08)	.16 (.05)
Stop looking for work	.10 (.03)	.42 (.06)	.00 (.00)	.22 (.06)
No change, looking both	.01 (.01)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.44 (.08)
No change, looking neither	.82 (.05)	.58 (.06)	.71 (.08)	.18 (.06)
Change in TANF				
Starts receiving	.03 (.02)	.06 (.03)	.20 (.06)	.09 (.04)
Stops receiving	.00 (.00)	.26 (.05)	.16 (.05)	.15 (.05)
Consistently receives	.00 (.00)	.05 (.03)	.04 (.03)	.41 (.07)
Consistently does not receive	.97 (.02)	.63 (.06)	.60 (.07)	.35 (.07)
Change in Food Stamps				
Starts receiving	.36 (.06)	.08 (.04)	.14 (.06)	.09 (.05)
Stops receiving	.02 (.02)	.19 (.05)	.14 (.05)	.06 (.03)
Consistently receives	.00 (.00)	.68 (.06)	.71 (.07)	.85 (.06)
Consistently does not receive	.62 (.06)	.05 (.03)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Change in SSI/disability				
Starts receiving	.00 (.00)	.01 (.01)	.02 (.02)	.10 (.04)
Stops receiving	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.02)
Consistently receives	.02 (.01)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.09 (.05)
Consistently does not receive	.98 (.01)	.99 (.01)	.98 (.02)	.78 (.06)
Change in Medicaid				
Starts receiving	.27 (.05)	.07 (.03)	.04 (.03)	.04 (.03)
Stops receiving	.14 (.04)	.18 (.05)	.13 (.06)	.00 (.00)
Consistently receives	.26 (.05)	.73 (.06)	.83 (.06)	.95 (.03)
Consistently does not receive	.34 (.05)	.02 (.02)	.00 (.00)	.01 (.02)
Change in Financial Help				
Increase	.30 (.05)	.35 (.06)	.28 (.07)	.20 (.06)
Decrease	.18 (.04)	.29 (.06)	.29 (.07)	.22 (.06)
No change, receiving help	.03 (.02)	.04 (.02)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.03)
No change, not receiving help	.50 (.05)	.32 (.06)	.43 (.07)	.54 (.08)
Change in Doubling Up				
Moves in	.37 (.05)	.29 (.05)	.23 (.06)	.33 (.07)
Moves out	.20 (.04)	.21 (.05)	.24 (.06)	.13 (.05)
Stable, yes other adults in HH	.06 (.02)	.13 (.04)	.09 (.04)	.10 (.04)
Stable, no other adults in HH	.37 (.05)	.38 (.06)	.43 (.08)	.44 (.08)
Latent class membership prob.	.33(.03)	.27 (.03)	.20 (.02)	.20 (.02)

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses

Table 4.4. Characteristics of the Latent Classes

Class		Defining Characteristics	%
1	Consistent Employment	Not looking for work but unstable hours of work; consistent non-receipt of TANF and Food Stamps	33
2	Increased employment + stable public assistance	Increase in hours of work which, for some, represents labor force entry; consistent receipt of Food Stamps and Medicaid	27
3	Decreased employment + stable public assistance	Decrease in hours of work; not looking for work; consistent receipt of Food Stamps and Medicaid	20
4	Consistent unemployment + stable public assistance	Consistent unemployment; consistent receipt of Food Stamps and Medicaid	20

Table 4.5. Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis of Class Membership

	Class 2 *Increase Hrs*	Class 3 *Decrease Hrs*	Class 4 *Unemployed*
Race/Ethnicity (ref. is white)			
Black, non-Hispanic	.227	1.125	.643
	(.575)	(.686)	(.694)
Hispanic	-.335	-.349	-.440
	(.624)	(.770)	(.789)
Age	-.085 †	.048	.007
	(.048)	(.049)	(.051)
Some College	-.064	-.311	-1.465 *
	(.450)	(.445)	(.572)
Income-to-poverty ratio	-1.356 ***	-.791 ***	-1.826 ***
	(.248)	(.210)	(.455)
Fair or poor health	.307	-.700	.299
	(.507)	(.674)	(.608)
In relationship with partner	.626	1.231 †	1.157 †
	(.544)	(.625)	(.600)
No. of children in household	.022	.098	.177
	(.230)	(.254)	(.256)
Multiple partner fertility	.258	-.510	.868
	(.476)	(.487)	(.552)
Partner prior incarceration	.819 †	1.866 **	.731
	(.470)	(.666)	(.527)
Partner financial support	.306	.696	-.427
	(.481)	(.564)	(.559)
Partner in-kind support	-.251	-.459	-.097
	(.251)	(.312)	(.293)
Constant	2.903	-2.428	-.140
	(1.492)	(1.739)	(1.718)
N		394	

*†p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Figure 4.1. AIC for Consecutive Latent Class Models

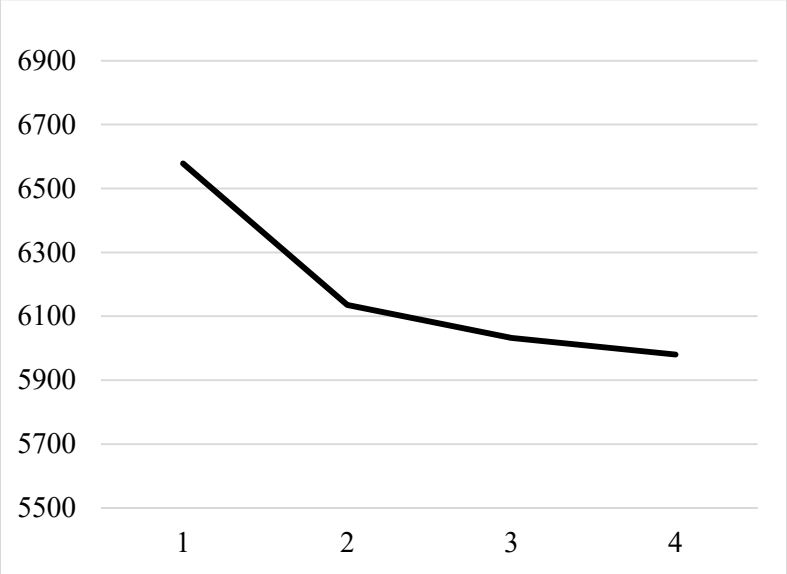
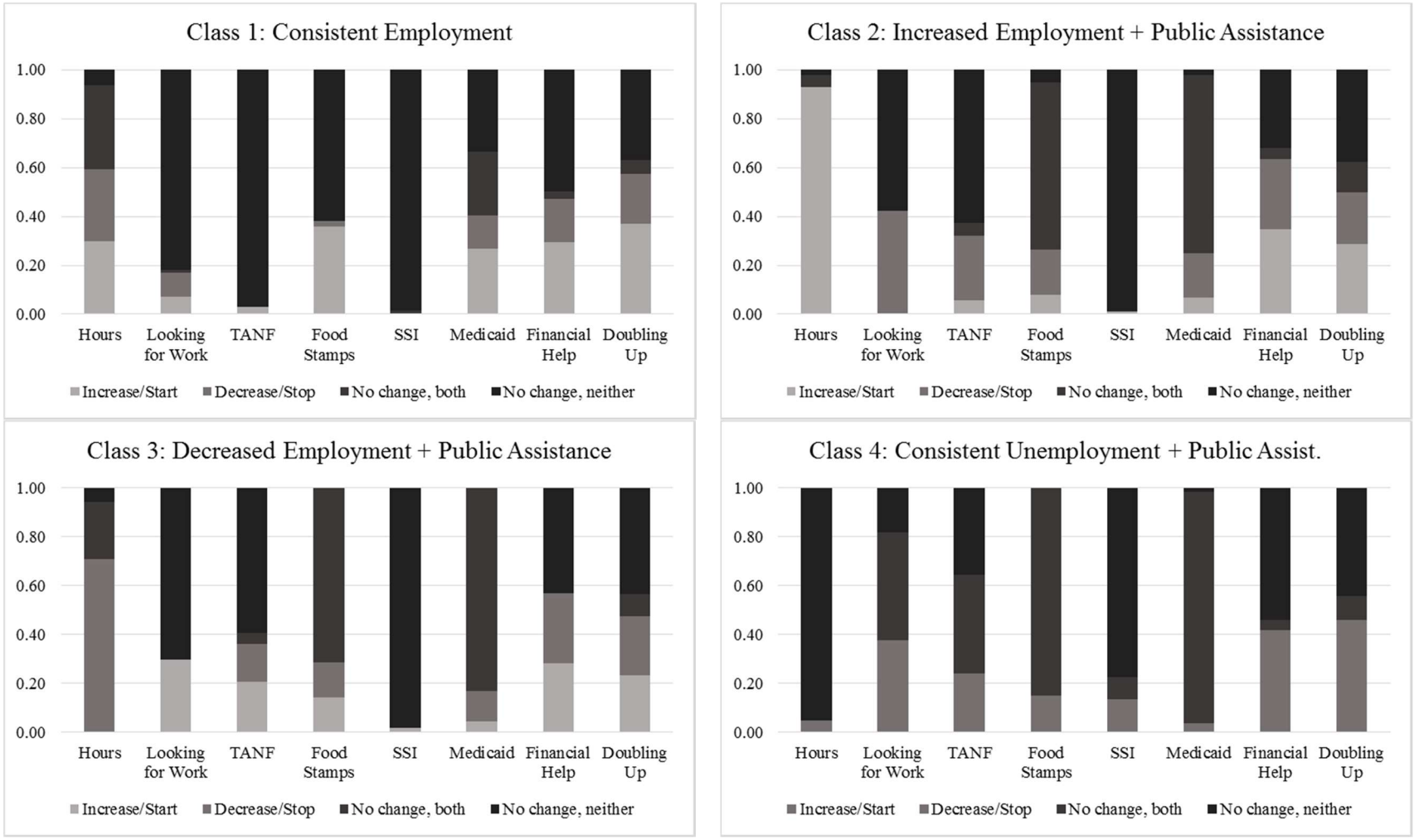


Figure 4.2. Income Packaging by Latent Class: Estimated Conditional Response Probabilities



Chapter 5. CONCLUSION

A well-known body of research documents the sensitivity of women's employment to changing family circumstances – showing that marriage, child birth, husband unemployment and divorce structure women's employment, particularly for white and higher-income women (Bradbury & Katz, 2002; Lundberg, 1985; Mattingly & Smith, 2010; Moen et al., 1994; Stone & Short, 1990; van Damme et al., 2009). A second area of scholarship describes the incarceration of a family member as a form of family instability associated with a host of deleterious consequences, among them economic instability and material hardship (Geller et al., 2011; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011). An overarching aim of this dissertation was to bring together these two literatures in order to better understand how the incarceration of a partner, a family transition that is unevenly distributed across the population, impacts women's employment. The three studies conducted for this dissertation are part of a larger research program that aims to center the work-family experiences of low-income and racial/ethnic minority women. Central to this aim is the premise that work-family issues for women in the upper and lower ends of the income distribution are quite different (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010).

The findings presented in this dissertation advance knowledge about families, employment and the collateral consequences of mass incarceration in at least three ways. First, this dissertation highlights the consequences of incarceration for the female partners of incarcerated men. It destabilizes the explicitly gendered association between men and incarceration by theorizing incarceration as a multimodal apparatus of control that extends beyond the literal walls of the prison or jail. It places women at the center of analysis in order to elucidate they ways in which incarceration exacerbates women's work-family burdens and in doing so reproduces gender inequality. Second, the relationships between partner incarceration

and employment documented in the preceding chapters underscores the importance of considering the spillover effects of incarceration into family life and suggests we have thus far underestimated the impact of incarceration on employment by focusing exclusively on former inmates. Finally, this dissertation broadens our understanding of the relationship between changing family circumstances and women's employment. It shows that partner incarceration, a relatively common experience among disadvantaged women, is an important family transition that shapes how women participate in paid labor. In doing so, these studies contribute to a growing body of scholarships that highlights the multiple burdens that complicate low-income and racial/ethnic minority women's efforts to provide both financial stability and adequate care for their families.

5.1 Main Findings

The results presented in the three preceding chapters suggest that incarceration is a family transition that matters for women's employment. Even as women care for incarcerated family members and their children, they also are doing more paid work than women in otherwise similar circumstances – but how they do that additional work varies. Chapter 2 shows that, on average, partner incarceration is not associated with the number of hours women work at their primary jobs; however, Chapter 3 demonstrates that partner incarceration is associated with working multiple concurrent jobs. It appears that a single job is not enough for women to cover the costs associated with incarceration. Together, these results draw attention to the precarious employment situations of women with incarcerated partners. That changes in women's employment are constrained, by and large, to multiple job holding suggests women with incarcerated partners shoulder a heavy burden to meet the needs of their families. Moreover, incarceration has the potential to exacerbate socioeconomic inequality or, at least, maintain

current levels. The multiple jobs women with incarcerated partners work are unlikely to be "good jobs" that build human capital (Kalleberg, 2011), and they may keep women from going to school or participating in other activities that improve their socioeconomic standing.

Additionally, the results highlight heterogeneity in the impact of partner incarceration on women's employment, with family and household composition serving as a key moderator of the association. Among married women and women raising children with one father, those with incarcerated partners work more hours at their primary jobs. Similarly, multiple job holding is concentrated among women residing with their partners prior to incarceration. This heterogeneity suggests that when partners are removed from primary roles in families and households, incarceration is most disruptive and elicits an employment response from women. It is likely the economic consequences – the loss of income and financial support from a resident or involved father coupled with the expense of maintaining contact – are the key motivators for this change.

The results also suggest that the conditions of incarceration are an important factor shaping the impact of incarceration of women and their families. This finding is generally consistent with previous research, but the details are contrary. This dissertation shows that short duration incarcerations are associated with both the number of hours women work and the likelihood of working multiple jobs, whereas previous research has found that long duration incarcerations are more strongly associated with family outcomes (Turney, 2014b; Turney & Wildeman, 2013). This inconsistency can be explained: it is likely that employment is governed by a different set of processes than other outcomes that have been linked to incarceration duration (e.g., children's contact with paternal grandparents and father involvement). The findings of this dissertation are aligned with economic theory which suggests that longer-term incarcerations require a more sustainable response than increases in employment (Lundberg, 1985). Parenting alone and working full-time hours or multiple jobs may be a burden than can

only be borne for a short period of time. Families may turn to other resources and strategies when incarceration spells are long, even if the economic consequences are more severe or permanent.

Chapter 4 further illustrates heterogeneity in women's employment response and draws attention to the additional resources on which women rely. The latent class analysis highlights four ways in which women modify their income packages during partner incarceration. Increases in hours at their main jobs, coupled with few other resources, are most common. However, hours reductions and persistent unemployment, paired with public assistance receipt, are not uncommon. This suggests extreme labor market disadvantage among some women and difficulties maintaining employment for others. Consistent with previous research (Edin & Lein, 1997), the results also suggests that income from employment, perhaps even when coupled with multiple jobs, is not enough for many women to get by during their partner's incarceration.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

Each of the preceding empirical chapters outlines the limitations of that specific study as well as broader limitations of the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study data. Two additional, related limitations are noted here. First, the structure of the data prohibits us from formally testing changes in economic circumstances as the key mechanism linking partner incarceration to women's employment. Other studies have shown that changes in income during the time period in which a partner is incarcerated explain some of the association between incarceration and outcomes of interest (e.g., maternal depression) (Wildeman et al., 2012). Since household income is, in part, made up of women's earnings from employment, and income and employment variables are measured at the same time, it is difficult to discern how one affected the other. Women's income following incarceration may reflect her employment response to

reduced income rather than the true value of the reduction. Thus, discussion of the costs of incarceration for families as the mechanism through which incarceration impacts women's employment is theoretical, not specifically modeled, but grounded in a wealth of research that documents these costs (Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008; deVuono-powell et al., 2015; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Geller et al., 2011; Grinstead et al., 2001; Johnson, 2008; Schwartz-Soicher et al., 2011).

Similarly, our ability to determine causal relationships is limited by the lack of information about economic circumstances between survey waves. When data is collected biennially, or at wider intervals, we lose detailed information about families and the household economy during those intervals. The collection of more frequent household budget, employment and incarceration data would go a long way toward understanding the processes by which women make decisions about their employment in response to changing family circumstances. Such information is particularly important given that research shows that, for low-income families, income can fluctuate dramatically from month to month and that employment can be unstable throughout the year (Morduch, 2015). At the very least, data that utilizes event history calendars and asks respondents at a yearly interview about recent changes in employment and incarceration status and when those events occurred would allow us to better model causal relationships.

5.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

These findings contribute to a growing body of research that documents the instability and economic hardship faced by partners and families of currently and formerly incarcerated men. The findings also provide guidance for policymakers, practitioners, and social service providers interested in alleviating the economic burden of incarceration on families. Specifically, the

robust relationship between partner incarceration and multiple job holding suggests the loss of income associated with men's incarceration is destabilizing enough to warrant a second job. Increasing the consistency of monetary support via public assistance programs could prevent situations in which women must take on second jobs. Altering prison policy to make contact with inmates more affordable has the potential to decrease the financial burden families experience. Some advocacy work has been done to reduce the costs of phone calls, but changes appear to be stalled and uneven, and phone calls are only one of the many expenses families of inmates experience (Federal Communications Commission, 2016). Raising wages for prisoners may allow them to better support themselves while in prison and rely less on family members on the outside. Changes in policy that reduce discrimination faced by formerly incarcerated individuals and improve employment opportunities may help them contribute financially to their families once they are released.

Additionally, the results suggest that the low-wage labor market poses constraints on women's options when family and income instability require additional earnings from employment. Women and their families may be helped by higher wages that make it easier to get by on earnings from one job and by incentives for employers to guarantee hours and offer full-time employment options. Improving the conditions of low-wage work may reduce the need for second jobs and allow women time to attend school or learn new skills that can improve their socioeconomic standing over the long-term. Access to affordable childcare is, of course, important so that women parenting their children alone can work and attend school. In sum, efforts to support women with incarcerated family members may require greater attention to not only criminal justice and penal policy but also the social safety net and the conditions of low-wage employment.

5.4 Future Research

In light of findings regarding the importance of the conditions of confinement in shaping women's employment, future research should seek to better understand how various forms and stages of criminal justice contact impact family finances and women's response to instability in income and expenses. Varying forms of incarceration may lead to varying forms of family instability and uncertainty. Remaining questions include: how do the varying conditions of incarceration (e.g., timing, duration, facility type, facility distance) differentially impact women's participation in employment, education and other social institutions?; what are the consequences of frequent and repeated jail incarcerations versus the consequences of long-term absence from family life and wage earning? In addition, it is unclear the role that women play in covering the cost of bail bonds, legal financial obligations, and debt associated with criminal justice contact as well as the resources women use when they provide these types of financial support.

Additional studies that are able to distinguish the impact of removal from re-entry would add to our understanding of the processes by which incarceration disrupts family life. Questions to consider include: how does the re-entry process alter women's work and family obligations?; how are men reintegrated into families, and what are the implications of this transition for gender relations within the family? Finally, this dissertation reveals how little is known about the nature of multiple job holding, particularly among workers earning low-wages; the positive and negative consequences for individuals and families; and how causes and consequences may vary across the income and education distributions. Future research should examine inequalities in the causes and consequences of multiple job holding and their role in maintaining and exacerbating social and economic inequality.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Incarceration impacts a large number of women by bringing them into close and frequent contact with the prison, by removing people they love from their households and family systems, and by leaving them to negotiate the economic shock and tenuous relationships. Considered alongside prior research on the collateral consequences of incarceration – research that documents the substantial care responsibilities associated with incarceration (Arditti et al., 2003; Braman, 2004; Comfort, 2008), the complication and reconfiguration of key family relationships (Sykes & Pettit, 2014; Turney, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b), and the emotional toll of having a loved one behind bars (Wildeman et al., 2012) – this dissertation provides further evidence of the multiple burdens faced by the primarily low-income and racial/ethnic minority women whose partners are imprisoned. This dissertation adds employment as a dimension of this burden and suggests that, although gendered norms already place the responsibility for reconciling work and family on women, the addition of an incarcerated partner reinforces this persistent gender inequality.

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APPENDIX

Table A2.1. Variation in Employment and Economic Circumstances among Women with Recently Incarcerated Partn*ers*

	Employed in formal labor market	Hourly wages	Employed in informal labor market	Household income below poverty line	Public assistance receipt	Hours of work in formal labor market	Partner provides financial support	
	Mean or Percent							*n*
Race/ethnicity								
Non-Hispanic White	62.83	9.78	25.26	43.28	72.02	23.25	58.02	119
Non-Hispanic Black	52.72	9.39	19.33	63.13	86.11	19.58	48.68	548
Hispanic	54.58	9.10	14.35	60.35	76.64	20.11	51.67	170
Non-Hispanic Other	54.44	14.60	5.31	43.92	69.80	19.61	61.79	19
Partner prior incarceration								
No prior incarceration	57.15	9.89	11.89	51.7	72.58	21.94	66.79	128
Prior incarceration	54.08	9.43	20.08	60.73	83.55	19.9	48.06	728
Relationship Status								
Separated	54.64	9.56	17.82	61.56	82.65	20.26	38.47	600
Married	57.80	10.05	20.20	44.23	66.75	23.06	85.03	72
Cohabiting	54.94	9.20	21.59	52.71	81.49	19.38	81.78	138
Romantic	46.82	8.68	22.25	74.97	97.45	17.40	66.62	45
Own multiple partner fertility								
One father	62.20	9.50	19.04	47.89	76.26	22.86	55.16	399
Multiple fathers	47.84	9.50	18.70	69.45	86.86	17.87	47.09	456
Partner's multiple partner fertility								
One mother	55.66	9.47	19.10	59.29	81.64	20.62	59.20	357
Multiple mothers	53.73	9.52	18.68	59.45	82.10	19.90	44.87	498
Incarceration duration								
Less than 3 months	59.96	9.56	19.70	50.58	74.80	23.12	68.00	228
3 months or greater	54.67	9.48	18.52	61.78	85.67	19.87	47.95	450
Missing duration	47.20	9.46	18.62	64.64	81.51	17.27	36.21	177

Note: all employment and economic circumstances are measured at the three-year survey. The number of observations varies across imputed datasets; the values in the final column are an average across datasets.

Figure A2.1. Difference in Predicted Hours of Work for Women with Incarcerated Partners versus Women without Incarcerated Partners, by Relationship Status, Race/Ethnicity, Partner's Prior Incarceration, and Multiple Partner Fertility

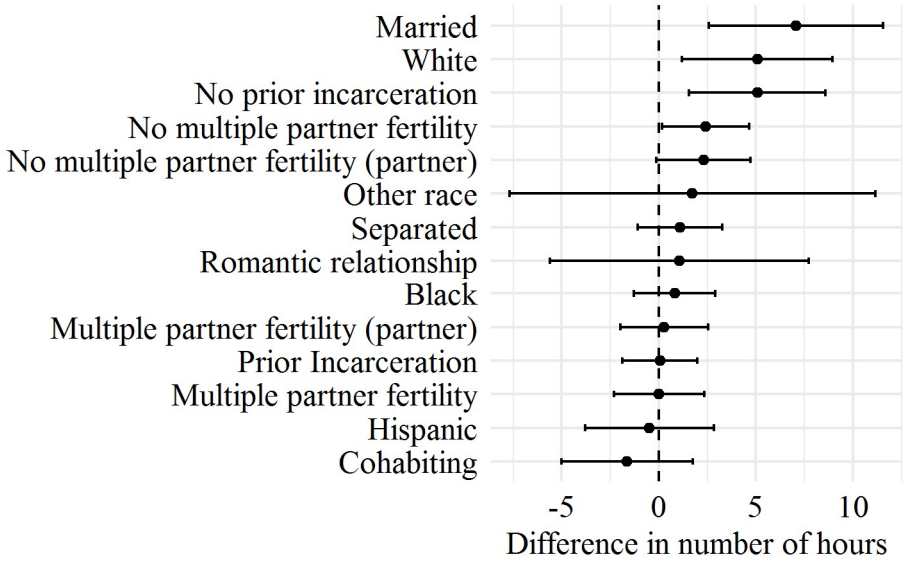

Table A3.1 Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Multiple Job Holding, Alternative Specification of Partner Incarceration

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Baseline		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Partner incarceration (ref. = never)						
Recent only	.81**	1.13**	.77**	1.09**	.61*	.70†
	(.27)	(.34)	(.28)	(.37)	(.29)	(.38)
Prior only	.12	.26†	-.01	.24	.03	.21
	(.14)	(.16)	(.15)	(.18)	(.15)	(.18)
Both recent and prior	.68***	.69***	.40*	.51*	.39*	.45*
	(.14)	(.15)	(.17)	(.21)	(.17)	(.21)
Constant	-2.09	-1.16	-1.75	.20	-2.89	-2.04
AIC	6534.224		5714.836		5505.178	
N	3,835		3,835		3,835	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. AIC values vary across the five imputed data set and cannot be averaged using Rubin's rules. The highest AIC value for each model is shown.
*†<.10;*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Table A3.2. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Multiple Job Holding, All Coefficients

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Unadjusted		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV		Restricted Sample	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Recent partner incarceration	.631***	.581***	.507**	.443*	.469**	.340†	.531**	.370†
	(.145)	(.159)	(.154)	(.180)	(.155)	(.184)	(.185)	(.214)
Race/Ethnicity (ref. Non-Hispanic white)								
Non-Hispanic Black			.008	.420*	-.022	.266	-.227	-.051
			(.161)	(.190)	(.163)	(.196)	(.231)	(.285)
Hispanic			.201	.378†	.179	.326	-.190	-.199
			(.189)	(.219)	(.191)	(.227)	(.282)	(.340)
Non-Hispanic other race/ethnicity			.014	-.007	-.122	-.229	-.128	-.176
			(.374)	(.420)	(.377)	(.432)	(.588)	(.703)
Age			-.021†	-.067***	-.016	-.052***	-.001	-.039†
			(.012)	(.013)	(.012)	(.014)	(.018)	(.021)
Education (ref. Less than high school)								
HS diploma or GED			-.036	.241	-.078	.180	-.154	.009
			(.151)	(.172)	(.153)	(.177)	(.203)	(.236)
Some college			.185	.684***	.117	.586**	.029	.278
			(.165)	(.197)	(.168)	(.203)	(.235)	(.289)
Bachelors degree or higher			.306	.569†	.269	.517	-.162	.848
			(.273)	(.316)	(.275)	(.325)	(.638)	(.986)
Lived with both parents at age 15			-.316*	-.415**	-.318*	-.383*	-.360†	-.499*
			(.129)	(.149)	(.130)	(.154)	(.193)	(.226)
Immigrant			-.371	-.449†	-.249	-.243	-.416	-.311
			(.235)	(.259)	(.237)	(.265)	(.528)	(.556)

Table A3.2. *(continued)*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Unadjusted		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV		Restricted Sample	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Hourly wage at most recent job			-.011	.018	-.012	.013	-.010	-.006
			(.009)	(.011)	(.009)	(.011)	(.017)	(.019)
Cognitive score			.060*	.075**	.060*	.069*	.105**	.123**
			(.024)	(.028)	(.025)	(.029)	(.036)	(.042)
Impulsivity			.115	-.018	.110	-.042	-.022	-.188
			(.095)	(.111)	(.096)	(.114)	(.137)	(.167)
Weekly work hours (ref. 1 to 34 hrs)								
35 hour or more			.045	.904***	.043	.897***	.117	1.095**
			(.155)	(.206)	(.157)	(.209)	(.241)	(.320)
Did not work			-.380*	-1.732***	-.009	-.736**	.138	-.260
			(.174)	(.202)	(.183)	(.216)	(.264)	(.311)
Informal work			.575***	.607**	.462**	.470**	.396*	.226
			(.138)	(.170)	(.142)	(.177)	(.199)	(.248)
Fair or poor health			.069	-.340†	-.050	-.566**	.044	-.369
			(.175)	(.193)	(.179)	(.201)	(.242)	(.270)
Drug use			.468*	.567*	.396*	.415†	.032	.246
			(.193)	(.234)	(.196)	(.244)	(.263)	(.327)
No. of children <age 5 in household			.039	.013	.045	.016	.074	.080
			(.072)	(.082)	(.073)	(.084)	(.098)	(.113)
No. of adults other than partners in HH			-.158*	-.214**	-.146*	-.214**	-.074	-.183
			(.074)	(.082)	(.074)	(.084)	(.102)	(.114)

Table A3.2. *(continued)*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Unadjusted		+ Controls		+ Lagged DV		Restricted Sample	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Residential status (ref. Living with no partner)								
Living with partner (child's father)			-.201	-.299†	-.150	-.234	.216	.118
			(.138)	(.164)	(.138)	(.168)	(.195)	(.231)
Living with new partner			.244	.400†	.224	.306	.416†	.367
			(.182)	(.229)	(.185)	(.237)	(.229)	(.286)
Public assistance			-.104	.094	-.135	.029	-.199	-.368
			(.142)	(.170)	(.143)	(.175)	(.210)	(.274)
Perceived financial support			-.247*	-.184	-.233†	-.186	-.398*	-.324
			(.124)	(.149)	(.125)	(.155)	(.173)	(.204)
Partner's employment status			.089	.391*	.017	.287	-.005	.169
			(.143)	(.168)	(.145)	(.174)	(.180)	(.218)
Partner prior incarceration	.059	.151	-.088	.107	-.069	.133		
	(.129)	(.143)	(.140)	(.164)	(.119)	(.169)		
Multiple job holding (y3)					.954***	1.973***	1.060***	1.924***
					(.140)	(.145)	(.169)	(.205)
Constant	-2.067	-1.123	-1.716	0.253	-2.882	-2.019	-3.375	-1.766
AIC	6534.840		5715.097		5502.515		2613.926	
N	3,835		3,835		3,835		1,669-1,678	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. All covariates are measured at the year three survey with the exception of recent partner incarceration (measured at year five), race/ethnicity, education, lived with both parents at age 15, and immigrant status (measured at baseline). AIC values vary across the five imputed data set and cannot be averaged using Rubin's rules. The highest AIC value for each model is shown. The sample for Model 4 is restricted to women whose partners have a history of incarceration; sample size varies by imputed data set.
*†<.10;*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-sided tests).*

Table A3.3. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Multiple Job Holding with Interactions

	Model 1		Model 2	
	All controls and LDV		+ Interaction with residential status	
	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job	Worked Multiple v. 1 Job	Worked Multiple v. 0 Job
Recent partner incarceration	.47	.34	.29	.22
	(.15)	(.18)	(.21)	(.25)
Residential Status (ref. is living with no partner)				
Live with partner (child's father)	-.150	-.234	-.30	-.38
	(.138)	(.168)	(.16)	(.20)
Live with new partner	.224	.306	.19	.52
	(.185)	(.237)	(.25)	(.32)
Residential Status x recent incarceration				
Live with partner x recent incarceration			.52	.60
			(.29)	(.38)
Live with new partner x recent incarceration			.10	-.56
			(.42)	(.52)
Constant	-2.88	-2.02	-2.77	-1.90
AIC	5502.515		5501.820	
N	3,835		3,835	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. AIC values vary across the five imputed data set and cannot be averaged using Rubin's rules. The highest AIC value for each model is shown.

VITA

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