

University of Mississippi

eGrove

Honors Theses

Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale
Honors College)

Spring 4-22-2022

How to Combat the Negative Effects of Punishment Drift on Children

Madison Alliston
University of Mississippi

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis



Part of the [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#), [Political Theory Commons](#), and the [Social Justice Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Alliston, Madison, "How to Combat the Negative Effects of Punishment Drift on Children" (2022). *Honors Theses*. 2695.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis/2695

This Undergraduate Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College) at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

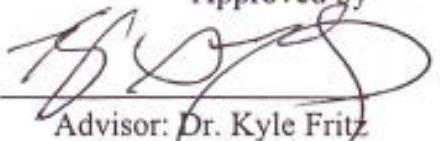
HOW TO COMBAT THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF PUNISHMENT DRIFT ON CHILDREN

Madison Alliston

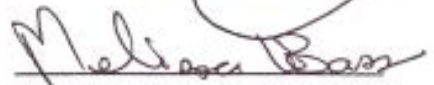
A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

Oxford
May 2022

Approved by



Advisor: Dr. Kyle Fritz



Reader: Dr. Melissa Bass

Reader: Dr. Timothy Yenter

© 2022
Madison Alliston
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Approximately 2.7 million children have a parent that is currently incarcerated in the United States. Despite the fact that these children are innocent, they face a myriad of negative consequences due to the separation from their parents. The negative effect of incarceration on children is known as *punishment drift*. Because the effects of incarceration tend to “drift” onto children, these individuals typically face psychological impacts (e.g., social anxiety and depression), economic impacts (e.g., poverty and food insecurity), and environmental impacts (e.g., foster care) from punishment drift. Despite all of the detrimental effects, there have been very few policy solutions implemented and seriously considered that directly combat punishment drift on children. This study investigates the impact of punishment drift on children and provides recommendations of how to develop efficient, feasible, and ethical policies that mitigate these various impacts. Policymakers should use this thesis for future research in determining policies to implement to decrease the consequences of parental incarceration faced by children.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	v
CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM OF PUNISHMENT DRIFT	1
CHAPTER 2: IMPACTS OF PUNISHMENT DRIFT ON CHILDREN.....	6
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	19
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS & DISCUSSION.....	31
CHAPTER 5: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	65

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Results of Evaluation for Policies Reducing the Psychological Effects of Punishment	
Drift.....	43
TABLE 2: Results of Evaluation for Policies Reducing the Economic Effects of Punishment	
Drift.....	52
TABLE 3: Results of Evaluation for Policies Reducing the Environmental Effects of Punishment	
Drift.....	59

CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM OF PUNISHMENT DRIFT

“I had to take care of myself for almost six months while she was in jail. I cooked, cleaned, went to school. Stayed out of trouble. I never liked being in my house by myself all the time. It got lonely and it got scary.” - Terrance (San Francisco Children of Incarcerated Parents, 2005)

“I was nine when my mom got arrested. They arrested her and just left us there. For two to three weeks, I took care of my one-year-old brother and myself.” - Dave (San Francisco Children of Incarcerated Parents, 2005)

After his mother was arrested for possession, sixteen-year-old Terrance struggled to survive. Not only did he lose financial and economic stability when his mother was arrested, but he also suffered from a lack of emotional and development support. After months on his own, Terrance was separated from his friends and wound up in the foster care system. At nine years old, Dave also suffered after his mother was arrested in front of him. Dave had to take care of his younger brother with no support. After a few weeks on his own, he was put into the foster care system where he lived for the next eight years. Unfortunately, Terrance and Dave are only two of the 2.7 million children impacted by parental incarceration each year in the United States (National Resource Center on Children and Families of the Incarcerated, 2014).

Mass incarceration is a serious and devastating problem in the United States.

Approximately 2.3 million people in the United States are incarcerated and living in prisons each year (Sawyer & Wagner, 2020). In fact, the American criminal justice system imprisons more individuals than any other nation (San Francisco Children of Incarcerated Parents, 2005).

Offenders who are sentenced to prison often face personal challenges, psychological effects, and physical harms. While individuals often disagree on whether or not offenders deserve those effects, one issue that many individuals would agree on is that innocent people should not have to face the negative consequences created by someone else's actions. However, the detrimental and devastating effects of incarceration extend beyond convicted individuals. Evidence shows that the effects of imprisonment tend to drift onto family members, friends, and the communities of convicted felons.

Although they are innocent and did not commit any crime, the family members, friends, and community members of offenders become unacknowledged victims of the criminal justice system. The effects of incarceration negatively impact others who are subjected to stigmas and harsh treatment associated with legal punishment. Oftentimes, the spouses or partners of incarcerated individuals will suffer either from loss of intimacy, emotional support, or income (Lippke, 2016). Similarly, the parents, siblings, and friends of offenders face social stigmatization and emotional burdens.

However, as evident with Terrance and Dave, the children of incarcerated individuals, in particular, face a variety of unique consequences due to the lack of parental support in their lives (Martin, 2017). In particular, children face dire consequences as a result of incarceration. For example, children living in single-parent households may end up living with grandparents, or in the foster care system due to their parent's imprisonment (Davis & Shafer, 2017). Although

studies vary on determining the number of children with incarcerated parents, on average the amount of children who have experienced parental incarceration during their lifetime range from 1.7 million to 2.7 million (Martin, 2017). This is estimated to be about 11% of children in the U.S. Given the absence of a parent, children's behavior can be altered due to the drastic changes in their environment.

The impact of imprisonment not only disrupts family dynamics, but it causes financial, physical, and emotional suffering to spouses, parents, friends, and children. One of the main types of consequences faced by parental incarceration on children is development of psychological and/or social problems. Unfortunately, children suffer from antisocial behavior and depression after being separated from a parent (Martin, 2017). Additionally, the social stigma associated with having a parent incarcerated creates emotional and psychological burdens on children (Lippke, 2016). Another example of consequences faced by children due to parental incarceration is economic instability. Many children who have experience with the criminal justice system have restricted or limited economic resources to support them (Martin, 2017).

The detrimental effects that children of offenders face has been referred to as the phenomenon of punishment drift. Punishment drift, first coined by Richard L. Lippke, describes the devastating effects legal punishment has on family members, friends, and the communities of convicted felons. Punishment drift is a significant problem and consequence of the American justice system that needs to be addressed. However, current prison reform policies and other initiatives directed at reforming the criminal justice system fail to sufficiently consider the impact that incarceration has on loved ones of offenders. For instance, policies such as the development and increase of private prisons were created with hopes of increasing the prison system's capacities, reducing overcrowding in prisons, and positively impacting the quality of

life of offenders (Mumford et al, 2016). However, these policies have little effect on the lives of children outside of prison and often do not benefit them. Prison reform policies, such as development of private prisons, are just one example of how incarceration can have negative consequences on family members. The concept of punishment drift illustrates that individuals considered innocent in society are being subjected to harsh penalties and consequences for a crime they did not commit.

Unfortunately, the needs of family members of offenders in prison are rarely addressed and evaluated. This is due to the fact that many individuals are unaware of the negative implications of incarceration on family members, particularly children, or that individuals are more focused on the impacts of punishment on offenders instead. While there is a significant amount of evidence that punishment drift exists, some individuals believe that the suffering families face due to imprisonment is only emotional and thus cannot be treated (Lippke, 2016). Furthermore, evidence supports the belief that some individuals who are imprisoned for physical, emotional, or substance abuse leave families “better off” during their incarceration (Gaston, 2016).

Nonetheless, the overall negative effects of punishment drift are large and feature a myriad of factors. Because of these factors, policymakers should not be dismissive of the consequences of punishment drift. Despite popular opinion, the effects of punishment drift are foreseeable and worth policymakers’ attention. The statistics regarding the negative consequences of punishment drift on children are extremely clear. There is substantial research on the consequences children face due to parental incarceration. Thus, it is vital that policies be implemented to reduce and limit the effects of punishment drift on children.

I believe that punishment is a relevant, significant problem caused by the American criminal justice system that can be mitigated. Because there is ample evidence that punishment drift exists and negatively impacts children every day, I argue that failing to take steps to limit the effects of punishment drift is unjustified. While it can seem overwhelming and unsolvable to reduce all the effects of punishment drift, I believe that policymakers can start to mitigate the negative effects children face through the policy solutions suggested in this thesis. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to evaluate the effects of punishment drift on children in the United States and determine what policies can be implemented to mitigate the current detrimental effects of punishment drift. This thesis's main purpose is to help individuals understand that the effects of parental incarceration are a serious problem that is worth addressing.

In order to achieve this goal, I will first examine the physical, psychological, and economic impacts of incarceration on children to comprehend the magnitude of punishment drift and illustrate how punishment drift is a significant and prevalent problem in the United States. Next, I will examine current policy initiatives and options that have been suggested to limit and mitigate the effects of punishment drift on children, including reshaping prison sentences, welfare support, and more prison accessibility. The policy initiatives and options suggested were narrowed down based upon previous suggestions examined in the literature review. Because of the range of policy options, I will analyze the different policy options based upon their feasibility, efficiency, and ethicality to determine what considerations are best suited to ameliorate the effects of punishment drift. Lastly, I will determine what policy option should be implemented to reduce the detrimental effects, while saving money, resources, and maintaining safety.

CHAPTER 2: IMPACTS OF PUNISHMENT DRIFT ON CHILDREN

The History of the U.S. Penal System

In order to understand the detrimental effects of punishment drift and learn ways to mitigate those effects, individuals first need to understand the history of mass incarceration in the United States. For the past 50 years, U.S. policymakers have implemented more harsh and radical policies seeking to address and prevent crime. However, while some individuals argue these policies have led to significant decreases in crime rates, these declines in crime have led to an enormous cost on society. For instance, the number of individuals in prison have grown substantially, especially due to longer sentences (Siegler, 2021). The creation of mandatory minimums in the U.S. has led to a staggering increase in the prison population by imposing harsher than necessary sentences on individuals. After implementing mandatory minimums, the state of Florida prison population increased by 50% (Siegler, 2021). Although crime rates have gone down, these unprecedented policies have led to increases in U.S. incarceration rates. In fact, America currently holds more prisoners per capita than any other country in the world (Cullen, 2018). In 1980, only 1.84 million people were living under correctional supervision (Clear & Frost, 2014). This includes incarceration, parole, and probation. However, by 2014, that number had grown over 3 times that amount as the American prison population was around 6.85 million people in 2014 (Census Bureau, n.d.).

Mass incarceration refers to the high number of individuals currently incarcerated in U.S. federal and state prisons. These high incarceration rates can be traced back to the 1970s when “tough on crime” punitive punishment policies began to take root. The “tough on crime” trend began during former President Richard Nixon’s time in office when he sparked the “war on drugs” movement (Cullen, 2018). However, it was not until former President Ronald Reagan’s time in office that incarceration rates skyrocketed. In 1980, the U.S. federal prison population was only 329,000 individuals, however eight years later, when Reagan’s presidency ended, incarceration rates had doubled to 627,000 people (Cullen, 2018).

Although Democrats and Republicans competed and disagreed with one another regarding crime policies for decades, during the 1990s, large public support for crime reduction led both Republican and Democratic officials and legislators to create policies that focused on prison growth. Despite the geographic region, incarceration rates expanded in each state. This is evident through the creation of the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. This legislation allowed states to increase the number of prisoners by giving prisons more money (Dhondt, 2018). While this bill was created to control and monitor violent crime, it somehow led to the increase and acceptance of incarcerating individuals for non-violent crimes such as drug code violations (Dhondt, 2018).

The focus on crime and punishment legislation continued to grow throughout the 1990s until 2010 as elected officials continued to compete with one another on how far they were willing to go to punish people who break the law. While implementation of policies, such as the 2nd Chance Act, were created with hopes of reducing recidivism and improving the quality of life for incarcerated individuals after leaving prison facilities, the effects of crime reduction are still seen today (Cullen, 2018). Unfortunately, the “harsh” crime policies have led to the U.S.

population being disproportionately incarcerated compared to other countries around the world. For instance, U.S. incarceration rates are nine times higher than in Germany, eight times higher than Italy and 15 times higher than Japan (Cullen, 2018).

Currently, legislators and lawmakers have sought to reduce mass incarceration. In fact, in the last 10 years state and federal prison populations have declined by approximately 10% (Cullen, 2018). Luckily, lawmakers have understood and accepted the fact that mass incarceration is an ineffective and expensive way to fight all forms of crime. However, despite the efforts made to reduce U.S. incarceration rates, it will still take decades to reduce incarceration rates and make the U.S. comparable with other countries. Additionally, at the current rate, it will take years to alleviate the negative effects of incarceration on children. While, mass incarceration provides a clear picture of how large of a problem punishment drift has become, this thesis advocates for significant and quicker action on reducing the consequences children face due to incarceration.

As incarceration rates increased, negative consequences have been created for the children and families of incarcerated individuals. This is primarily due to the fact that many people in prison are also parents. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, approximately 45% of inmates were living with children under their care when they were imprisoned (Scommenga, 2014). Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of children who have been impacted by incarceration, several studies make the impact of incarceration clear. For instance, the number of children living in the U.S. with an incarcerated parent grew from 500,000 to 2.6 million from 1980-2012– a fivefold increase (Scommenga, 2014). Due to poor policy decisions, it is evident that parental incarceration has become increasingly more common and needs to be addressed.

The Devastating Effects of Incarceration on Children

As incarceration rates increased in the US, the negative effects of imprisonment have expanded from prisoners onto families and the outer community. While the term “punishment drift” is not widely used by policymakers, historians, and psychologists, the negative implications of incarceration on children has been well documented and researched for years. Despite the fact that individuals have been aware of this issue, very few solutions have been implemented and seriously considered to directly reduce the effects of parental incarceration on children.

Devastatingly, when a parent is incarcerated, it can have a wide variety of negative effects and create risk factors for children. Unfortunately, the impact of incarceration on children is often large and hidden from the public eye. These effects vary greatly and have a wide range of characteristics. Therefore in order to understand and grasp the overall impact of punishment drift on children, these negative consequences need to be separated into three different categories. These categories include psychological impacts, economic impacts, and environmental impacts. Many of the consequences discussed in these categories overlap, but it is important to break them up to fully understand the effects of punishment drift on children.

Before evaluating all of the impacts that punishment drifts creates for children, one must first understand that the risk factors and experiences will vary based on the particular child and the circumstances they find themselves in. Since no two individuals are alike, children will have different responses to a parental figure becoming incarcerated (McBride, Solomon & Travis, 2005). Additionally, resources, services, and support systems will vary. Although these differences may limit researchers’ ability to fully understand the risk factors associated with incarceration, there are several studies and surveys that help us to understand the variety of ways

in which children are affected. Despite the reason why a parent becomes incarcerated, whether it be due to a violent crime, nonviolent crimes, or drug offenses, the evidence is clear that the negative consequences of parental incarceration are significant.

A. Psychological Impacts:

The first and most documented negative impacts of punishment drift on children are psychological and social impacts. When a parent is incarcerated, it disrupts a child's family dynamic. Incarceration uproots a parental figure from a child's life. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, approximately 1.9 children (i.e. individuals under the legal age of 18) had a parent currently incarcerated in 2010 (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2018). Unfortunately, on average, these children must learn to accept a new system of care without parental figures. Children, especially those living in single-parent households, often receive a new legal guardian without any say or opinion (Wright & Seymour, 2000). In many situations, children will go live with another family member, such as their grandparent. Additionally, as seen with the case of Terrance, children themselves can be separated from their homes and moved into the foster care system. This often causes a child to become vulnerable to a wide array of psychological impacts.

Parental incarceration creates unnecessary emotional burdens for children. This in turn leads to negative psychological impacts, such as mental health problems, on the child. Parental incarceration can have a range of negative effects on children, effects that are similar to what one might expect in terms of the impact of any traumatic event on child development. It is important to understand that the negative effects of incarceration and the reactions children may have to parental incarceration vary over time. Similar to grief, individuals experience the separation of a parent differently. Because of these differences, children may experience posttraumatic stress reactions long after the traumatic event has occurred (Wright & Seymour, 2000.).

Some of the psychological effects of parental incarceration are immediate and can be clearly evaluated in children. These include shame, increased delinquency, and antisocial behavior (McBride, Solomon & Travis, 2005). One of the first psychological effects of parental incarceration that develops right after a parent becomes incarcerated is shame. This is due to the fact that the child will have to endure the social stigma of having a parent who is a convicted offender (Lippke, 2016). For most children, the stigma of parental incarceration is found throughout their community, within their friends and peers, and sometimes seen in their own family (Wright & Seymour, 2000). These children also can experience low self-esteem as a result of the negative implications of having an incarcerated parent.

The second and most common immediate psychological effect of parental incarceration are antisocial behaviors. In fact, an analysis of over 40 different studies on children with incarcerated parents found that antisocial behaviors were the most prevalent and consistent consequence in children (Martin, 2017). Another study found that on average, children with incarcerated parents are at a significantly higher risk for developing antisocial behavior compared to their peers (Murray et al, 2012). This consequence describes a wide range of harmful behaviors that children experience that go against social norms. These behaviors include lying, stealing, isolated behavioral disorders, and conduct disorders (Wright & Seymour, 2000). Tragically, the development of antisocial behavior in children during adolescence due to parental incarceration can limit their ability to endure challenges and be resilient when faced with negative experiences. This in turn can expose children to a variety of long-term consequences and negative effects such as violence, substance misuse, truancy, and sexual promiscuity, which all contribute to health risks (Shepherd & Farrington, 2003).

While some psychological effects of parental incarceration appear quickly, some effects develop more slowly and last longer. These include impaired ability to cope with future stress or trauma, mental problems like depression, and intergenerational patterns of criminal behavior (McBride, Solomon & Travis, 2005). The negative effects of punishment drift can lead to children developing delinquency issues. Studies have shown that older children impacted by parental incarceration tend to engage in delinquent behavior including sexual misconduct, truancy, substance abuse, and gang activity (Wright & Seymour, 2000). Unfortunately, there is a link between parental incarceration and a child exhibiting violent or aggressive behavior. A 2009 study by the University of Illinois found that 20% of the children they sampled experienced an increase in aggressive behavior. Additionally, the study found that boys, in particular, tended to lean toward delinquent behavior and violence after being impacted by parental incarceration (Martin, 2017). This illustrates that the effects of punishment drift disproportionately lead to significant consequences and changes in children's behavior. One of the primary reasons that children begin to act out is due to the lack of parental support in their lives. A study of 5,000 urban children impacted by parental incarceration found that children who lose a father figure are more likely to develop behavioral problems, including acting out, breaking rules, and/or having attention difficulties (Haskins & Turney, 2014). These studies highlight how significant the loss of a parental figure can be on young children, especially regarding their behavior.

The last prominent long-term psychological effect of parental incarceration exhibited in children is depression. Because these children are experiencing a loss, it can put a strain on their mental well-being. According to a 2013 study by researchers at the University of Minnesota, early exposure to the criminal justice system tends to make children more vulnerable to depression, substance abuse, and suicide (Martin, 2017). Due to lack of parental support, a

child's mood dampers. They are unable to deal with their emotions and the thought that their parent is no longer in their life leading them to act out. To fully understand the extent of the impact parental incarceration has on a child's well-being, the National Council on Family Relations conducted a series of analyses. They found that after experiencing parental incarceration, children's depression and anxiety increased by 5%- 6%, and aggressive behavior increased by 18%-33% (Wakefield & Wildman, 2018).

B. Economic Impacts

Punishment drift can also negatively impact the development and growth of children. This is primarily due to the fact that parental incarceration can worsen and increase numerous economic disadvantages already present to children. Unfortunately, children suffering from parental incarceration often already face socioeconomic disadvantages, such as poverty and financial instabilities, prior to parental incarceration (Wright & Seymour, 2000). However, after they experience parental incarceration, these disadvantages tend to increase dramatically.

The first and most glaring economic impact of parental incarceration is children's socio-economic well-being. Children often have to endure financial burdens in the absence of one of their parents. In fact, on average, a family's income is reduced by 22% during parental incarceration (Martin, 2017). Because children are now either living in a single parent household, with a grandparent, or in the foster care system, they often experience economic hardship. The burden of caring for and supporting that child becomes increasingly more difficult as the economic resources available dwindle. A 2009 study on the effects of parental incarceration on children in urban families found that children impacted by parental incarceration face monetary hardships and were less likely to live in a two-parent household and were more likely to have unstable housing (Cooper et al, 2009). Unfortunately, parental incarceration can negatively

impact children by drastically reducing household income, increasing instability in a home, and creating a higher risk of childhood homelessness.

The effects of punishment drift often lead to increases in poverty or homelessness. It is no secret that when a parent is incarcerated, there is a loss of income for a household. Therefore, families may struggle financially and may be unable to provide basic necessities for their children. The rates of poverty can increase for families that were previously struggling to make ends meet before incarceration. Additionally, after incarceration poverty tends to continue due to the lack of parental job options. At the very least, families' income is diminished, and they typically have a lower quality of life (Cooper et al, 2009). The economic impacts children face, including poverty, are often tied to the psychological impacts. For instance, the economic hardships faced by children with incarcerated parents can create or reinforce psychological harms like shame, depression, and anxiety. Nonetheless, these harms are distinct ideas, and thus need to be separated into two different categories for clarification.

C. Environmental Impacts:

The effects of poverty not only negatively impact children financially, but it can also lead to child maltreatment. Unfortunately, children can become abused or neglected as a result of one or more of their parents becoming incarcerated (Wright & Seymour, 2000). This directly correlates to the psychological and behavioral impacts that children may face, but they are still important factors to understand and discuss. One major way this can occur is through the disruption of a child's home environment. Children with incarcerated mothers often face more negative outcomes and instability than other children (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Because mothers are often the primary caregivers of their children, their incarceration is overwhelmingly disruptive to the child's life. For instance, in the majority of maternal incarceration cases,

children were taken out of their homes and either placed with a grandparent or put in a foster care home (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). This change in environment can lead children to feel out of place, neglected, and in turn act out.

Unfortunately, not all children can be placed with family members when a parent is incarcerated, as was the case for Terrance and Dave. If a child is taken out of the home and put into the foster care system, they often face negative consequences. These negative consequences include physical violence, mental and physical abuse, and neglect. According to the adoption and foster care analysis and reporting system in 2019 approximately 7% of children entered the foster care system as a result of their parents being incarcerated (Children's Bureau, 2021). One primary example of how foster care can lead to these negative physical impacts is through a 2017 study in Atlanta. This study found that over 15% of the children who recently entered the system experienced abuse, neglect, or other harmful conditions in the course of one year in the system (Wexler, 2017). These statistics highlight that children can face malnutrition, abuse, and neglect due to punishment drift. The abuse and neglect these children face are not always intentional by the caregivers. Nonetheless, when a child loses a parent, they often fail to receive the attention they need leading them to get in trouble, fall in with a bad crowd, and/or do worse in school.

The effects of poverty will not only negatively impact children financially, but it can also lead to problems in education. Unfortunately, research has frequently found a correlation between children's low educational attainment and parental incarceration. A study by the Pew Research Center found that children whose parents were incarcerated had a higher chance of being suspended or expelled from school (Martin, 2017). Incarceration can create a wide variety of risk factors for children's education. For example, it increases mental health and behavioral problems in children, reducing school performance and leading to grade retention (Wakefield &

Wildman, 2018). According to a study by Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing, children who face parental incarceration are often held back a grade in elementary school due to low test scores, behavioral problems, and teacher's overall assessments (Scommegna, 2014). The lack of parental involvement not only causes behavioral problems, but it can also cause children to feel isolated and not reach their full potential in schools. Children in some extreme circumstances may stop coming to school altogether due to the new home environment they find themselves in.

Solutions

Although there has been a substantial amount of research evaluating the negative effects of punishment drift on children, there is little research exploring solutions to mitigate the negative impact incarceration has on children. Richard Lippke, the same individual who coined the term punishment drift, is one of the only people to provide a list of solutions to directly limit the negative effects of punishment drift on families. Lippke provides three different solutions that policymakers need to implement to protect and help children, family members, and incarcerated individuals who are all impacted by punishment drift. It is important to note that despite the solutions suggested by Lippke and others, policymakers have yet to implement any sufficient solutions to directly reduce these negative effects on a high level. Furthermore, Lippke is only offering generalized ideas and is not concerned with how to develop and implement his ideas on a large scale. Instead, his suggestions are not fully researched and fairly short.

The first and most obvious way to reduce the negative impacts of punishment drift is by reducing or limiting prison sentences. Similar to children, offenders who remain incarcerated for long periods of time face a variety of psychological and negative effects, such as isolation. Additionally, even when these previously incarcerated individuals are released, they are less likely to find work, are likely to be psychologically damaged by imprisonment, and their skills

and education are likely to be outdated (Lippke, 2016). This in turn negatively impacts children who lack the support from these parents. Although reducing prison sentences appears to be an efficient response to the negative effects of punishment drift, this particular solution has not been heavily evaluated by policymakers for reducing the effects of punishment drift (Lippke, 2016). There are various ways to reduce and reshape prison sentences such as reducing mandatory minimums or limiting prison sentences for nonviolent crimes.

The second way that Lippke believes that punishment drift can be addressed is by making prisons more accessible to children and families. Because children have done nothing wrong, they should not have to endure social isolation caused by the lack of prison visitation rights. In the United States, visiting hours are short (typically only 4 hours a day are available for visitation) and prisons are difficult to travel to (Boudin et al, 2013). Although the U.S. has very few policies implemented to make prisons more accessible, some world regions such as Scandinavia emphasize the importance of prison visitation rights (Lippke, 2016). Scandinavian prison systems have implemented open prison systems. For instance, Suomenlinna Island has utilized an open prison system since 1971 (Larson, 2013). These prison systems allow for individuals who are convicted of less serious crimes to come and go from the prison during the day as they please. In Suomenlinna Island, on average 95 inmates leave the prison grounds each day to visit their family members, do the township's general maintenance, work and study in the outside world, and make profits for their families. By implementing open prison systems, like in regions like Scandinavia, Lippke believes that the negative impact of punishment drift will drastically decrease (Lippke, 2016). Similar to reducing prison sentences, there are different ways to make prisons more accessible to families.

The last way that Lippke argued that punishment drift could be reduced is by providing generous welfare support to families. Because many families face financial instability due to incarceration, one way to mitigate the effects of incarceration on families is by providing them with financial support. This could be through child care subsidies, housing subsidies, food stamps, or ensuring prisoners the right to work. Additionally, policies could be implemented to expunge the records for certain types of offenders after they have served their sentences (Lippke, 2017). This would make it easier for them to find jobs and other ways to support their families. However, policies regarding welfare support are few and far between.

Although individuals do recognize the problem of punishment drift and the negative effects that parental incarceration does have on children, the solutions to these issues are scarce, vague, and underdeveloped. While there have been some suggestions, primarily by philosophers such as Lippke, there have been very few policies implemented in the United States to solve all of the negative effects of punishment drift on children. In fact, the U.S. lags behind other countries in providing solutions to reduce effects of punishment drift (Lippke, 2017). Throughout the remainder of this thesis I will develop and evaluate these potential solutions in more detail to mitigate the impact of punishment drift on children.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Policy Analysis Overview

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the negative effects of punishment drift on children and find ways to mitigate those effects. Throughout the literature review, I listed and described the impacts of punishment drift by categorizing them into three distinct categories. These categories included psychological impacts, economic impacts, and environmental impacts. The literature review also illustrated that very few policies have been suggested that directly hinder the detrimental effects of punishment drift on families. While there is a substantial amount of research highlighting the negative effects of punishment drift, no serious and developed policy proposals have been suggested. Additionally no policy proposals have been evaluated in a reasonable way with goals of limiting the negative implications that punishment drift has on children and other family members of incarcerated individuals. It is vital for policymakers to have a comprehensive solution that addresses all of the negative effects of punishment drift discussed in chapter 2.

Due to the sensitive nature of punishment drift, no children or family members were interviewed for this thesis. For the purpose of this thesis, interviewing families would be redundant as we are aware of the negative effects of punishment drift, and now policymakers need to focus on finding solutions. Instead, this thesis will: 1). Examine how the solutions

Lippke recommended for mitigating the negative effects of incarceration on children can be developed into policy proposals and 2). Evaluate the developed proposals according to three specific criteria. The three criteria used in this thesis are feasibility, efficiency, and ethicality. By utilizing these three criteria, this thesis will help policy analysts establish the most promising alternative to end the negative effects of parental incarceration. Additionally, these solutions were chosen to address each of the categories regarding the negative effects of punishment drift on children discussed in chapter 2.

There are a number of evaluated criteria used today by policy analysts to determine which policy should be employed and which policies the government should spend money on. Criteria are important to utilize when evaluating any policy because they serve as standards that help to guide the process of decision making (Anderson, 1979). These three evaluative criteria serve as justifications or rationales for determining the most comprehensive and beneficial solution to mitigate these negative effects. Due to cost and time constraints it is unreasonable to expect policy analysis to account for more than a few criteria for any specific project or policy. In particular, efficiency, feasibility, and ethicality were selected because if a policy is not efficient, there is no point in implementing it. If a policy is not feasible, there is little to no point in advocating and pushing for it to be implemented. Additionally, if a policy is not ethical, then policymakers should not use it to address punishment drift, which is an ethical issue of unjustified harm to children.

Therefore, my chosen methodology is to conduct a policy analysis on several proposed solutions to punishment drift because this allows solutions to go through a systematic process and determine the policy option that best reduces the negative effects of parental incarceration on children. Only by identifying the potential solutions to reduce the psychological, economic, and

environmental impacts of punishment drift on children, and comparing those options to find the most efficient, feasible and ethical solutions, will we be able to mitigate this issue. Although evaluating any criteria for a policy is generally not dichotomous, due to the possibility of tradeoffs, this thesis is primarily focused on helping aid policymakers for future research.

In the future, if more individuals provide solutions and are discussing this topic, policy proposals can be scored and compared on a larger scale than the ones in this thesis. However, for the purpose of this thesis, each of the three criteria utilized will be measured as a series of levels. In order for a potential solution to move on to the next level, it must answer a series of questions to determine whether the policy is able to pass through the gate and onto the next level. The questions will determine if the proposed solutions actually address the psychological, economic, and environmental impacts previously discussed. By finding a solution that meets all three of those categories, I will hopefully take the first step towards helping policymakers actually reduce the negative effects of incarceration on children.

A. Efficiency:

The first evaluative criteria that will be utilized in this thesis is how efficient a policy is. Efficiency refers to how successful the policy proposal is at achieving the program's goals or providing benefits to individuals in relation to the amount of costs (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). Efficiency is a highly valued criteria because it utilizes economic concepts to assess the cost of a policy in relation to its effectiveness (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). It is understood that effectiveness is how successful a policy is at addressing the problem. One of the pre-conditions for this thesis is effectiveness because all of the solutions considered are policies we want to work. None of the policy solutions suggested in chapter 4 would be offered if it did not have the potential to address one of the problems associated with punishment drift.

Efficient policies allow policy analysts to consider all positive alternatives of labor, capital, and materials that may become lost if a program's cost exceeds the anticipated benefits. Efficiency refers to the ratio of inputs and outputs of a policy (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). When policies achieve more of the desired outcome at a lower cost, they are more economically more efficient than policies that achieve the same outcome at a greater cost. It is important to consider how efficient a policy is because the government's fiscal resources are used to increase the well-being of members of society. However, when the cost of programs are greater than the benefits received from those programs, policies are typically not enacted because they deprive society of their value. Unfortunately, weighing the cost and benefits of a policy expenditure can become problematic as it is not easy or always possible to measure all the policy costs and benefits. When looking at the following policies for this thesis, the potential cost and benefits will be considered and understandable so that the public at large and policymakers can be informed.

Because efficiency considers the inputs and outputs of a policy, oftentimes policymakers draw upon a cost-benefit analysis when determining the efficiency of a policy. A cost-benefit analysis is the process of measuring the benefits of a decision minus the cost associated with taking that action (Hayes, 2021). A cost-benefit analysis evaluates all the potential costs and revenues of a policy to the costs saved to an individual, community, and/or society as a whole that might generate from a policy. For this thesis, the questions used to determine efficiency are influenced by the notion of a cost-benefit analysis. The questions will consider the costs implementing this policy would create on children, the government, prisons, and incarcerated parents. Therefore, by looking at the costs and benefits of a policy, I will determine whether or not one of the solutions I am evaluating is efficient or if another alternative should be pursued instead. In order for the criteria of efficiency to be clear and self-evident it is important to

consider the following questions when determining whether or not a policy is efficient. The questions below will be used throughout the next chapter when analyzing the different policy solutions. By answering all of the questions affirmatively, a policy will be considered efficient. All of the questions asked are clear, straightforward, and understandable. Additionally, some of the policy solutions suggested to reduce the negative effects of punishment drift on children may meet the questions and fall under the categories, however, they still may be the most comprehensive, reasonable, and best of the options suggested to mitigate this issue. That is why, I will be providing several different variations of Lippke's suggestions to determine what policy would be most reasonable and capable of reducing the consequences of punishment drift.

Questions:

1. What are the costs of implementing this policy?
 - a. How much money would it cost for the policy to be implemented?
 - b. How long will it take for the policy to be implemented?
 - c. Will anyone be negatively impacted by this policy?
2. What are the benefits of implementing this policy?
 - a. What are the financial benefits from implementing this policy?
 - b. What are the psychological benefits?
 - c. What are the health benefits?
3. To what extent does this policy achieve its goal?
4. Do the benefits outweigh the costs?

B. Feasibility:

The second evaluative criteria that will be considered is feasibility. Feasibility refers to how easily a solution can be achieved (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). In other words, feasibility is

when a policy analyst asks themselves, can we get this done. There are three main types of feasibility that have been considered as strong criteria when evaluating public policy proposals. These three types of feasibility include political feasibility, administrative feasibility, and technical feasibility. For the purposes of this thesis, the criteria of feasibility will be measured by drawing from all three types of feasibility.

Administrative feasibility refers to the likelihood that a policy will be implemented by a particular department or agency (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). This is an important criteria to consider because it determines the capacity, resources, and behavior of a department or agency. Without understanding the resources available for a department, including money, time, and employees, policy analysts cannot ensure that a policy will actually be implemented. Unfortunately, some solutions will oftentimes not be accepted by administrators if they are too complicated for them to implement. It is important to consider the factors that influence administrative feasibility for this particular thesis because departments favor and support solutions and their benefits that are simple, concise, and easier to understand (Kraft & Furlong, 2020).

Administrative feasibility often is directly related to technical feasibility, another important factor to consider when determining how to best implement a policy solution. Technical feasibility refers to the availability or reliability of technological resources required for the policy solution to be achieved (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). Unfortunately, it is oftentimes difficult for analysts to anticipate all of the technological advancements that would impact the feasibility of a policy. Thus it is important for policy analysts to consider the effect that technological advancements in data collection, storage, and retrieval would have on a policy. In relation to this thesis, technical feasibility advancements are significant when considering how feasible a policy is because policy analysts need to consider the ramifications of new

technologies on incarcerated individuals and their children. For example, how would advancements in prison security impact a child's visitation rights? Or how would the ability to Zoom or Facetime with parents impact visitation rights?

The third type of feasibility, political feasibility, refers to the notion that a solution to a particular policy problem is accepted by the general public, public officials, and other decision makers before being implemented (Rossell, 1993). Unfortunately, some solutions will oftentimes be rejected not because they are not in the public interest and because they are not efficient, effective, or equitable but rather because these policies fail to obtain political support. When a policy fails to achieve political feasibility, this is often attributed to the lack of political support or controversy surrounding the policy solution that is trying to be addressed. Political feasibility is also impacted by the changing economic and political conditions as well as the climate regarding the policy issues being addressed. Thus, it is important to note that since this thesis is dealing with individuals who are incarcerated, public support is crucial for policies to be passed. Political feasibility is an important criteria to consider when evaluating potential solutions, because with public opposition, policies will not be achieved (Kraft & Furlong, 2020).

In order for the criteria of feasibility to be clear and self-evident it is important to consider the following questions when determining whether or not a policy is feasible. The questions below will be used throughout the next chapter when analyzing the different policy solutions. For each of the policy proposals evaluated, I will ask a series of questions to determine if a policy has administrative, technical, and/or political feasibility. Thus, all of the questions asked fall under one of the types of feasibility. For the purposes of this thesis, a policy will be considered feasible if it meets at least two out of the three categories because sometimes technical feasibility is not always applicable to a policy. Yes or no questions were utilized

because it makes interpreting the results of the questions easy, straightforward, and understandable.

Questions

1. Will this policy be accepted by departments, agencies, or an administrator?
 - a. Is it easy for departments, agencies, or an administrator to implement?
2. Is the technology necessary for this policy to be implemented too complex?
 - a. Does the technology required for this policy appear to be too difficult to achieve in its current environment?
3. Can this policy be reasonably expected to garner a sufficient level of public support?
 - a. Who will support this policy? Who won't?
 - b. Which groups of people will approve of this policy?
 - c. Which groups of people will disapprove of this policy?
4. Can this policy be reasonably expected to garner a sufficient level of political support?
 - a. Which policymakers will support this policy? Who won't?

C. Ethics:

The third evaluative criteria utilized in this thesis is ethics and political values. Although this criteria is different from the two other criteria I already mentioned because it is not entirely empirical, this criteria is important to consider especially due to the fundamental considerations it offers. By genuinely listening to stakeholders and understanding their concerns, policy analysts can strive to promote outcomes that are good for society. Ethicality allows policy analysts to understand why we are creating this policy in the first place and who will benefit from it. The negative consequences of punishment drift are an ethical problem because it deals with questions of justice and fairness. Many individuals would agree that it is not fair or just to harm innocent

people. Consequently, any proposals policymakers suggest should be fair and just and not compound the problem. Many policy analysts consider arguments about justice and fairness when determining what policies to enact because these are two accepted values in western civilization (Velasquez et al, 2014).

This thesis will utilize the concepts of social justice and equity in order to determine ethicality and who should benefit from the potential policies. Harvard philosopher, John Rawls, claimed that justice is a part of the central core of morality (Velasquez et al, 2014). He also argued that justice is fairness. Justice refers to giving individuals what they deserve or simply giving each individual his/her due (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). Unfortunately, individuals differ over what they believe should be given to others and how benefits and burdens should be distributed causing questions of justice to be raised. One of the most fundamental principles of justice that has been widely accepted is the idea the individual should be treated equitably. Equity, which is one of the main principles of social justice that Rawls described, refers to fairness or justice regarding the distribution of a policy's cost, benefits, and risks (Kraft & Furlong, 2020). There are two main types of equity; however for the purposes of this thesis we will be focusing on outcome equity and the beliefs of John Rawls. Rawls believed that equity or fairness refers to the distribution of societal goods including wealth, income or political power (Velasquez et al, 2014). Thus the goal of policymakers should be to ensure that the policy does not benefit any particular group of individuals (Wenar, 2017). For instance, if policymakers increase visitation hours, we need to consider that some individuals may not have a car and cannot travel to meet with their loved ones. Considering who is benefiting from a policy and if that policy created further inequities is important. This will ensure that all children are receiving the benefits of these policies.

Rawls understood that societies cannot avoid inequalities among its people as they often result from inherited characteristics, one's social class, luck and personal motivation (Wenar, 2017). However Rawls still claimed that in order to have a just society we should reduce inequalities in areas where we can act (Velasquez et al, 2014). Rawls' view on equity illustrates how society should act to reduce inequalities. He says we should have policies that maximize the improvement or benefits of the least advantageous group in society by taking on a fair equality of opportunity mentality (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2007). Because of this, Rawls agrees that it is not fair or just to punish a person when they have no control, or if they are not compensated for a harm they suffered (Wenar, 2017). This is important because as the literature suggests children whose parents are incarcerated are often negatively impacted for events outside of their control. Rawls has also pointed out that the stability of a society or any group depends upon the extent to which the members of that society feel they are being treated justly. When members of a community feel that they are subject to unequal treatment this causes the foundations of society to lead to social unrest, disturbances and strife (Velasquez et al, 2014).

When considering the evaluative criteria of ethics it's important to consider the following questions to determine if a policy is actually ethical. The questions below will be used throughout the next chapter when analyzing the different policy solutions. For the purposes of this thesis, a policy will be considered ethical if it answers all of the questions below.

Questions:

1. Does this policy exacerbate existing inequities among children of incarcerated individuals?
 - a. Who is benefiting if this policy is enacted?
 - b. How are they benefiting from this policy?

2. Is this policy fair for the group being benefited?
3. Does this policy only benefit certain groups of people?

D. Combination of Criteria

The three evaluative criteria, feasibility, efficiency, and ethicality are important to utilize for this specific thesis because together they will help policy analysts find the most beneficial and acceptable solution for mitigating the negative effects of punishment drift. These criteria relate to one another because each criterion focuses on a different area and complements the others. The efficiency criteria allows us to consider solutions that are more technical and focus on economic costs. The political feasibility criteria allows us to understand how a particular policy will actually be achieved and if it will be accepted by society. Likewise, the ethicality criteria asks us to consider the consequences of a particular policy and who benefits from it. All three of these evaluative criteria will allow us to find the most successful solution for reducing the negative effects of parental incarceration because each one of these criteria focuses on a different aspect of political analysis. Additionally the use of diverse evaluative criteria helps contribute to a better chance of creating a successful policy.

For the purposes of this thesis each of the three criteria are valuable and must work together to find the most acceptable and beneficial solution to reduce the negative effects of punishment drift on children. Each of the criteria is on a different level, starting with efficiency. In order for a policy to even be considered as a potential solution, it has to pass through the gate of efficiency. If a policy is inefficient, there is no reason to consider if it meets the other two criteria. If a policy solution meets the criteria for efficiency, it will pass through the gate and I will determine if it meets the second criterion, feasibility. If it meets the feasibility, it can pass through the second gate, and I will determine if the policy solution is ethical. If it's effective and

feasible, but only helps a few privileged people, it might not be ethical. If a policy solution passes through all three of the gates, it will be considered efficient, feasible, and ethical. Policies that meet all three criteria will be considered as plausible recommendations to reduce the negative impact of parental incarceration on children.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results Overview

In the last chapter, the three evaluative criteria that will be utilized to determine the most beneficial solutions to reduce the negative effects of punishment drift on children were determined and explained. The results regarding that particular methodology and the results of which policy solutions are most efficient, politically feasible, and ethical, are explained below. The possible solutions were inspired by previous policy suggestions, such as those proposed by Lippke. Although there have been ideas that have been suggested, we need to find a plausible solution to reduce the negative effects of parental incarceration that is simple, clear, and will actually mitigate the psychological, economic, and environmental consequences children face. This thesis will examine and expand upon Lippke's proposals in more detail to determine what policies should be implemented. The hope of this thesis is for policy analysts to use my potential policy suggestions as building blocks for future research and implementation of future policies.

Proposed Solutions

A. Prison Accessibility:

As previously discussed, parental incarceration leads to a variety of risk factors for children. Any plausible solution to mitigate the effects of punishment drift needs to directly address the risk factors described in chapter two. One of the main categories of risk factors was

the psychological impact of parental incarceration on children. Unfortunately, loss of parental support can lead to children experiencing shame, antisocial behavior, depression, mental health issues and may eventually lead to behavioral issues at home and in school. It has been previously suggested by Lippke that visitations should help reduce the psychological and behavioral effects of parental incarceration on children because they allow children to maintain their relationships with the family members that have become incarcerated. For example, a 2010 study on children ages 4 to 15 years old found that children who visited and maintained contact with their incarcerated parents reported fewer feelings of alienation towards their parents, as well as reduced effects of depression, and anxiety as compared with children without contact (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). Therefore a solution to reduce the psychological and behavioral effects of incarceration on children would be to require the government to have a federal policy to make prisons more accessible to children and spouses. Even though the majority of prisoners are in state custody, the federal government has the ability to incentivize systemic reforms in state and local criminal justice policies (Eisen & Stroud, 2021).

Prisons need to be more accessible to children and spouses. Unfortunately in our current justice system prisons and jails impose policies that make it unnecessarily difficult to visit family members and maintain the familial ties with them. First, although most prison institutions are open on the weekends and holidays for at least four hours, every institution is different and has varying visitation hours (Boudin et al, 2013). Because there is no federal mandate regarding visitation hours, the days and times you can visit a family member in prison alternates based upon the location, the type of prison someone is visiting, the inmate's visitation needs, and the availability of visiting space (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2021). Additionally there is no reimbursement or government payout for transportation to these facilities. As previously

discussed, one of the negative impacts that children of parents who are incarcerated face is financial instability; therefore, these children are often unable to afford to visit their parents. I will be exploring several ways policymakers can make prisons more accessible below. These potential solutions include implementing open prison systems, extended visitation hours to families, and increasing free telecommunications with children/families. These potential solutions were chosen because these solutions all directly focus on meeting the needs of children.

a. Open Prisons

One way to make prisons more accessible and reduce the effects of punishment drift is to implement an open prison system in the United States. An open prison system, which has been implemented in countries like Finland, Sweden, and Norway, allows offenders to live like regular citizens in a prison without bars (Bhuller et al, 2019). In the Suomenlinna Island, offenders are able to leave the prison grounds to work, study, or visit family, live in cell blocks similar to dorms at a state university, wear their own clothes, and enjoy the gym or dining hall with other prisoners and staff (Larson, 2013). When visiting with family members, prisoners often wear electronic monitoring to ensure compliance (Larson, 2013). Implementation of open prison systems would be based upon the systems created in European countries.

In order to establish if open prison systems are efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing them, the benefits of implementing them and if implementing open prisons would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. One of the major costs of eliminating open prison systems would be the magnitude of prisoners in the United States. Sweden was able to easily adopt an open prison system because its prison population is only 6,900 individuals which is less than half of the population of Rikers Island's 14,000 individuals (Larson, 2013). Reshaping all of the prison systems in the United States to fit the

standards of other countries' open prison systems would be costly. Additionally, it is unclear if prison officials would even be able to reconstruct prisons in the United States to fit the open prison standard. Another significant cost of open prison systems is that it would take years for the government to reshape and reconstruct how prisons should operate and should be designed. Thus, this policy proposal would not address the consequences of punishment drift right now.

However, the benefits of implementing this policy appear to outweigh the costs. First of all, this policy would have financial benefits. A 2019 study comparing open prison systems in Norway to prison systems in the United States found that Norway has a reduction in the criminal justice system's expenditures due to fewer crimes being committed by prisoners after leaving prison (Bhuller et al, 2019). Secondly, the Norwegian open prison system is successful in increasing employment and participating in job training programs for its prisoners (Bhuller et al, 2019). Another benefit of this policy would be that it provides both psychological and health benefits to children and incarcerated individuals who now have the ability to visit with one another with more freedom and responsibility. A 1998 study on children ages 7 to 17 years old found that individuals who visited their mothers in prison had a decrease in behavior and mental health problems (Block & Potthast, 1998). Thus, this policy would achieve its goal of reducing the consequences of punishment drift on children. By answering all of the questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters the gate to feasibility.

In order to establish if open prison systems are feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, implementing open prisons in the United States will not be easy for departments and administrators to enact. Policymakers need to consider the magnitude of incarceration in the

United States. Incarceration rates in the United States are 10 times the amount of those in Scandinavia, a region that utilizes open prisons (Larson, 2013). It would be difficult to reconstruct prisons to fit the social parameters that open prisons have in European countries. Secondly, implementing open prisons in the United States would create unrest, and unease among citizens. There is substantial research that the population perceives crime and criminal behavior negatively, and typically associates negative personality traits with the word criminal (Hererra & MacLin, 2006). Oftentimes individuals will stigmatize all offenders and associate them with violence, drugs, and weapons (Moore et al, 2013). Based upon past perceptions of prisoners, it is reasonable to assume that people will not accept open prisons and therefore this policy solution is not feasible. Because this policy failed to meet two of the three categories of feasibility it is not passing to the final gate of ethicality.

b. Extended Visiting Hours

Due to many of the struggles that children and spouses face when visiting incarcerated family members, implementing extended visiting hours to children is one way to make prisons more accessible and reduce the effects of punishment drift. Many prisons currently offer expanded visitation opportunities to certain classes of visitors including individuals who must travel long distances, spouses, and children (Boudin et al, 2013). However, each state varies on their procedures and there are no consistent lengths of time allotted for these visits. A policy extending visiting hours for all spouses and children of incarcerated individuals would allow family members to visit with an offender in a more natural and less surveilled setting longer than the standard 4 hour time allotment already in place. By extending visiting hours for families into the late afternoon and evening, children would have the opportunity to have moments of normalcy and intimacy with their incarcerated parents that are not typically available during the

average visitation hours (Boudin et al, 2013). Implementation of extended visitation hours would allow children to visit with their families an additional amount of time then the four hours generally allotted to families. Although the number of hours allotted to families varies based upon the state and warden of a prison. Thus, this policy would allow children to have the opportunity to visit their parents from the standard extended time of 3pm to 8pm.

In order to establish if extending visiting hours is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing them, the benefits of implementing them and if implementing extending visiting hours would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. First of all, extending visiting hours in prisons would be costly to both prison administrators and family members traveling to prisons. Prisons would have to stay open for longer periods of time, have to increase the number of security guards working, and increase maintenance and cleaning for family visits (Kopf & Rabury, 2015). Additionally, family members would have to pay to travel to visit these facilities without reimbursement from the government. These fees can become extremely detrimental on some families because a 2015 report found that maintaining physical contact with incarcerated family members lead more than 1 in 3 (34%) families to go into debt (Kopf & Rabuy 2015). Family members may have to pay an intense amount of travel expenses including airfare, train, bus fare, gas, hotels and/or meals in some cases while traveling to visit a loved one in prison (Boudin et al, 2013).

However, the benefits of implementing extended visiting hours appears to outweigh the costs. First of all, extended visitation hours allow prisoners to maintain stronger bonds with friends and family and reduce some of the psychological harms of punishment drift, the cost of extending visiting hours appears to outweigh the benefits created from them (Boudin et al, 2013). By allowing children to visit and socialize with an incarcerated parent in a more natural setting

the many negative psychological effects of punishment drift can be reduced including anxiety, depression, and emotional toll of losing a parent (Boudin et al, 2013). Furthermore, a study examining extended family visits in South Dakota found that long weekend visits between incarcerated mothers and their children alleviated familial stress associated with being incarcerated, created a better understanding of parental roles, and provided opportunities for mothers to maintain a responsibility for care to their children (Boudin et al, 2013). Thus, this policy would achieve its goal of reducing the consequences of punishment drift on children because it would help alleviate the psychological consequences children face including stress, loneliness, and emotional burdens. By answering all of the questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters the gate to feasibility.

In order to establish if extended visiting hours are feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, extending visiting hours would not be too difficult on prison administration because nearly all states offer some form of extended daytime visitation hours and some even offer overnight family visits (Boudin et al, 2013). Departments and prison administrators can review policies that other prison systems in their city, state, and county have previously implemented as a basis, making the process quick and simple. Additionally, there would not be any strenuous technologies needed for the implementation of this policy. Administrators would only need to add an online database for families to call and schedule an extended visit in advance.

Finally, this policy would garner both public and political support because people typically would not vote against allowing children to visit their family members in prison, especially if it would reduce harm to them. Additionally, research has shown that individuals

typically reject policies that limit in person visitations. In 2018 the Florida Department of Corrections was forced to withdraw a rule proposal to reduce in person visitation hours in half due to public outcry (Reutter, 2018). At the initial public hearing over 100 people showed up in protest. Furthermore, the vast amount of states that have already implemented extended visiting hours shows that it is reasonable to assume that public officials would accept a proposal to extend visiting hours for children. Because this policy meets all three categories of feasibility it passes through the second gate.

In order to establish if extended visiting hours are ethical, we need to determine if extended visiting hours would exacerbate existing inequities among children, if extended visiting hours are fair for children, and if implementing extended visiting hours would only benefit certain groups of children of incarcerated individuals. Unfortunately, extending visiting hours would not benefit all children of incarcerated individuals because it only aids families who can travel to visit their loved ones. While some advocates of extending visiting hours may argue that implementing this policy would be beneficial as it appears to be an improvement on the current visiting hours put in place and the notion of implementing an open prison system, it fails to pass the gate of ethicality. As the literature has previously suggested, some children whose parents are incarcerated do not have monetary resources to visit their parents. Travel expenses to prisons including airfare, train fare, and hotels are costly. These expenses can increase when traveling with children or letting a child visit their incarcerated parent alone. For instance, airlines typically charge 50 to 150 more dollars for children to fly alone (Boudin et al, 2013). While this policy would help reduce the psychological effects of punishment drift on children who are able to travel to prisons, the aim of this thesis is to find policy solutions that would directly impact all

children impacted by punishment drift. Because this policy failed to answer all of the questions of ethicality, it does not pass through the final gate.

c. Free Telecommunication

Instead of trying to follow visitation rules, family members can use video calling as a way to ensure children get visitation rights with parents. Many prisons prior to the pandemic had begun utilizing phone calls, video calls, and electric messaging on tablets and inside of terminals built by private vendors (Armstrong, 2020). Free telecommunications were implemented in Pennsylvania during the pandemic. This program allowed incarcerated individuals to have 45 minute video calls using zoom per week. Visitors would schedule their calls using email and during their allotted visit use a phone, tablet, or computer to zoom with their loved ones (Armstrong, 2020). During the call, offenders were brought into stations or kiosks within the prison for privacy during their video call. Implementation of free telecommunications would be based upon the system currently in place in Pennsylvania.

In order to establish if free telecommunication is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing it, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing free telecommunication would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. First of all, implementing free telecommunications in prisons would be costly. According to a 2019 report by the Prison Policy Initiative it costs on average \$25 for families to have a 15 minute call from a local jail, \$63 per month for video chatting with loved ones, and \$0.25 to send a 2,000 character email (Armstrong, 2020). All of these costs add up, and if telecommunications are free, they would be placed up to the prison systems and government. Secondly, prisons would need to weigh the potential costs of acquiring, maintaining, managing, and operating a video visiting

system. Potential costs include building video calling stations, buying computers, internet cabling, internet data plans, etc. (Hollihan & Portlock, 2014).

However, the benefits of implementing this policy appear likely to outweigh the costs. First of all, this policy would have financial benefits to both family members and prison administration. Video visiting is convenient, affordable, and reduces the expenses caused by travel fees of family members to prisons by 34% (Kopf & Rabuy 2015). While some individuals may believe that video visiting is not equivalent to visiting a loved one in person, this policy would allow families, especially those who otherwise would not have access, to stay in touch with incarcerated family members and parents. Video visiting is less labor intensive than traditional visiting and therefore allows correctional staff to focus on other duties in the prison. For instance, research shows that fewer staff are needed to monitor in person visits, after implementing video calls allowing prisons to save money. According to the National Institute of Corrections, video visiting may benefit corrections by reducing visitation costs, improving safety and security, and allowing for more flexibility in determining visiting hours (Hollihan & Portlock, 2014). This policy also provides both psychological and health benefits to both the children and the incarcerated individuals who now have the opportunity to spend more time reconnecting with their family members. Especially after the negative effects of the pandemic and isolation these prisoners have felt, video chatting is an easy solution to reduce the effects of punishment drift because it offers an alternative to allow people to connect face to face (Hollihan & Portlock, 2014). According to a research study on video visiting in the Florida Department of Corrections, interviews with over 335 incarcerated mothers showed that their relationship with their children drastically improved after video calls (Hollihan & Portlock, 2014). This illustrates that video visiting can have positive outcomes for children of incarcerated individuals and in

some circumstances reduce the psychological effects of punishment drift by limiting the emotional burdens of parental loss on children. By answering all of these questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters gate 2 of feasibility.

In order to establish if free telecommunication is feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, implementing free telecommunication would not be too difficult on prison administration because many prisons already have the technology in place to allow for video-conferencing and email communication. According to a recent project by UCLA School of Law, approximately 17 state prison systems have already begun to offer free remote access via video visitation and 34 states have offered compensatory access to phone calls due to the impact of the pandemic (Leskin, 2020). Although these policies have been implemented to combat the pandemic, they are important to consider in reducing the effects of punishment drift. Additionally, during the pandemic sheriffs and private companies have started to use video calling to eliminate human contact and to work with in person jails nationwide to allow family members to remain in contact during their prison sentences (Raybuy & Wagner, 2015). Additionally, there would not be any strenuous technologies needed for the implementation of this policy. The technology utilized for the free telecommunications would be Zoom calls or email which have become relatively common practice after the pandemic hit.

Finally, this policy would garner both public and political support because people typically would not vote against allowing children to visit with their family members, especially if it would reduce harm to them. Additionally, research has shown telecommunication among families has been more widely accepted since August 2016 by families, the public, policymakers,

and prison administrators when the American correctional association ratified a policy that declared emerging technologies like video calls could be used to supplement existing in person visitations (Raybuy & Wagner, 2015). Thus, this policy passed through the second gate of feasibility because all three categories of feasibility were met.

In order to establish if extended visiting hours are ethical, we need to determine if free telecommunications would exacerbate existing inequities among children, if they are fair for children, and if implementing them would only benefit certain groups of children of incarcerated individuals. First of all, this policy would not exacerbate existing inequities among children because all family members would have the opportunity to visit and chat with their parents using free telecommunications. No child would not have access to their parents due to financial constraints from traveling to prisons making this policy fair. Video visiting bridges the gap between families and incarcerated individuals who may not be located in the same area or state (Hollihan & Portlock, 2014). While there is concern that children without access to a device or Wi-Fi, would not be able to utilize this policy, it is important to note that these individuals can zoom from free computers at school or at the library. Thus, this policy would not benefit any particular group over another. Therefore, this policy meets the criteria for ethicality and passes through the third gate. By passing through this gate, this policy has met all three criteria and appears to be a plausible solution to reduce the negative psychological effects of punishment drift.

The table below summarizes the results of the three policies for reducing the negative psychological effects of punishment drift on children.

Table 1			
Policy	Efficient	Feasible	Ethical
Open Prisons	Yes	No	N/A
Extended Visiting Hours	Yes	Yes	No
Free Telecommunications	Yes	Yes	Yes

B. Welfare Support:

The second risk factor for children of incarcerated parents discussed in chapter 2 was economic impacts. Unfortunately many families face financial instability due to incarceration by a family member. Therefore, a possible solution to reduce the financial burden on children would be to give children of incarcerated individuals financial assistance. In order to reduce these negative effects on children, children themselves need to be the ones that directly benefit from the welfare support. By implementing child care subsidies, policymakers can help ensure healthy development of children and support to families. Unfortunately, the Child Care and Development Fund, which is a federal and state partnership program that provides financial assistance to low-income families to give them access to child care, only has enough resources to provide funding to a fraction of eligible families (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). Therefore, many families of incarcerated individuals who are struggling financially fail to receive welfare funds (Giannarelli et al, 2019). According to Urban Institute, if child care subsidies are guaranteed to all eligible families up to a proposed income level of \$31,995 a year, it would allow families and children to receive benefits, raise incomes, and reduce poverty (Giannarelli et al, 2019). I will be exploring several ways policymakers can provide financial assistance to children of incarcerated parents below. These potential solutions include

implementing a child allowance, providing housing subsidies to families, and paying inmates a reasonable wage for their work. These potential solutions were chosen because these solutions all directly focus on meeting the needs of children.

a. Child Allowance

Implementing a child allowance to be allotted to any child impacted by parental incarceration is one way to ensure children are receiving welfare support. Implementation of a child allowance would be based upon the proposals currently made for a universal child allowance in the U.S. A recent proposal by the Institute for Research and Poverty on implementing a universal monthly child allowance suggests providing children with a stipend of \$250 each month to help them meet their basic needs (Shafer et al, 2018). This child allowance for children with incarcerated parents would have the same monthly stipend and qualifications. This means any child, under the age of 18, whose parent is incarcerated would be eligible for this allowance. Any guardian would be eligible to claim a child and receive this benefit. This stipend would use the same model as a Child Tax Credit and Earned Income Tax Credit Programs which currently help lift children out of poverty. While those policy programs are successful, they don't benefit all children whose parents may be unable to maintain regular work (Shafer et al, 2018). That is why implementation of a child allowance would be one way of reducing the financial impacts of parental incarceration for families.

In order to establish if a child allowance is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing this program would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. First of all, providing a child allowance to all children impacted by punishment drift would be costly to both taxpayers and the government. Based upon previous suggestions on implementing a universal

child allowance in the United States this program is estimated to cost around \$97 billion (Shafer et al, 2018). Although limiting this policy to impact only children affected by parental incarceration would reduce those costs, due to the high rate of incarceration in the U.S. policymakers can reasonably assume this policy would still be costly. Additionally, implementing this policy would have high added costs to taxpayers as they would be required to pay a higher tax rate. The child allowance would most likely be implemented by increasing the current income tax rates for citizens (Goldin & Kleiman, 2021).

Nonetheless, the benefits of implementing this policy are large, significant, and seem likely to outweigh any costs incurred due to the likelihood this policy has in reducing the effects of punishment drift on children. First off, this policy would meet the basic needs for children by distributing payments on a monthly rather than annual basis. This would help reduce financial instability among low income families and in some cases help families escape poverty (Goldin & Kleiman, 2021). Additionally researchers estimate that if income increases by \$1000 annually it can have a significant positive effect on a child's well-being (Shafer et al, 2018). By having more money children will benefit from both psychological and health benefits including less stress, anxiety, and fear of the unknown (Shafer et al, 2018). By answering all of these questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters the gate of feasibility.

In order to establish if a child allowance is feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, implementing a child allowance in the United States will not be easy for departments and administrators to enact. The government would have to possess a national system for these children and families which would track how many children are in a family, how long a parent

would be incarcerated, and addresses for where this money would go. This information would be difficult to maintain and keep tabs on. Additionally, there are administrative concerns on whether or not the money being supplied is used for necessities or even for the child's benefit.

Implementing a child allowance could potentially lead to backlash from the general public, especially taxpayers. Taxpayers would have to pay extra taxes for a subsidy that would not personally benefit them. According to the Pew Research Center approximately 47% of taxpayers are upset and bothered by the amount they have to pay in taxes (Dunn & Green, 2021). Additionally, 13% expressed frustration that poor individuals don't pay their fair share in taxes despite not having the resources to do so (Dunn & Green, 2021). Based upon these statistics, it is reasonable to assume that people will not accept a child allowance. Because this policy fails to meet two out of the three categories of feasibility, it does not pass into the final gate of ethicality.

b. Housing Voucher

Providing families impacted by incarceration with an entitlement to a housing voucher is another way to reduce the negative effects of punishment drift on children. In the United States, the public housing program was established in order to provide decent and safe rental housing for individuals who are eligible for low income families (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). Under this policy, families with children that have a parent incarcerated would be eligible for a housing voucher. This voucher would assist families with children impacted by punishment drift to afford safe and sanitary housing in the private market (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). This policy would be based upon the current Housing Choice Voucher Program.

In order to establish if a housing voucher is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing this program

would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. Providing a housing voucher to families would be costly to both taxpayers and the government. According to a 2010 study on the Section 8 Housing Subsidy Program, the average cost for an authorized voucher is \$5,686 as the total tax related cost for both taxpayers and society (Carlson et al, 2010). However, the benefits of implementing this policy are likely to outweigh the costs. First of all, this policy would create benefits for society as a whole. According to a cost benefit analysis of the Section 8 Housing Subsidy Program, the total benefits of the program for society as a whole range from \$7700-\$9600 per person (Carlson et al, 2010). This policy would also provide families with social, safety, and health benefits. With the voucher, recipients are able to move to more desirable neighborhoods that positively affect their mental and physical health and improve their access to healthcare facilities and providers (Carlson et al, 2010). Currently, only ¼ of those eligible for housing assistance receive any assistance (Carlson et al, 2010). Thus, this policy would guarantee financial benefits to families with parents who are incarcerated. By answering all of these questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters gate 2 of feasibility.

In order to establish if a housing voucher is feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, implementing a housing voucher would not be too difficult for the federal government and other administrations because the framework on housing voucher programs are already in place. The Department of Housing and Urban Development currently runs and federally funds housing voucher programs (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2021). Additionally, a network of state and local public housing agencies are already familiar with housing vouchers and have

implemented them. Because many of the resources are readily available to the government already, there are no complex technology requirements for the implementation of this voucher program that is not already put into place. This policy has also received both public support and political support as over 5 million people use these vouchers currently without much backlash (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2021). Therefore this policy passes through the second gate of feasibility because all three categories of feasibility are met.

In order to establish if a housing voucher is ethical, we need to determine if a housing voucher would exacerbate existing inequities among children, if it is fair for children, and if implementing it would only benefit certain groups of children of incarcerated individuals. First of all, this policy would not exacerbate existing inequities among children because not all families need a housing voucher nor would being provided with one reduce all of the financial consequences of punishment drift. This policy would not provide benefits to all groups of individuals. For instance, children of incarcerated parents who are considered well-off, meaning their caregivers are able to afford necessities, would not need this benefit. Additionally, implementing a housing voucher would not be equitable because it would not reduce the financial instabilities all children face. In some cases, they may still not be able to have basic necessities and get out of poverty. While this policy does appear to be equitable for children who need financial housing assistance, this policy does not benefit all children of punishment drift or directly reduce all of the financial instabilities faced by children.

c. Paid Labor

Another way to reduce the effects of punishment drift on children is to increase the wages of paid labor for inmates. Currently around 64,000 federal inmates work in prison industries that help produce various goods for sale (Wu & Brady, 2020). Additionally prisoners currently are

engaged in in-house work in facilities including food service, laundry, maintenance, and groundskeeping. Prisoners are paid \$0.14 to \$2 an hour for their labor depending on which state they are incarcerated (Sawyer, 2017). Implementing a policy that allows prisoners with children to work at a rate of \$7.25 an hour (the average minimum wage) is one way to ensure children receive benefits. This would allow offenders to earn more than \$14,000 in gross earnings per year. Children and spouses would receive the offenders' paycheck for support. The federal government would support state prison systems in helping pay these inmates. Additionally any businesses that contract out to prisoners would have to raise their pay rates to support this policy.

In order to establish if paid prison labor is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing this program would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. First of all, paying all offenders with children a minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour would be costly to both prisons, businesses, and the federal government. In 1993, when the Government Accountability Office conducted research into increasing prison wages to only \$4.25 an hour, they found that increasing pay for inmates would require the federal government to pay hundreds of millions of dollars each year in inmate labor (United States General Accounting Office, 1993). While some prisoners may be contracted out to private companies, others would still be working within the prison. The Government Accountability Office also found that many prison systems regarded minimum wage as unaffordable and unrealistic. There were concerns that if pay rates were increased to the minimum wage there would be large-scale cutbacks in inmate labor (United States General Accounting Office, 1993).

However, the benefits of implementing this policy seems likely to outweigh the costs. First of all, this policy would allow inmates to save money to benefit them upon parole or the

end of their sentencing. This money would help them support themselves until they find another job upon release. Another benefit of paid labor is that it has economic benefits for society. Many prison industries purchase materials from other businesses which in turn creates a demand for service from other workers (Reynolds, 1997). For example, paid offenders who work in manufacturing may need cloth, metal, and other raw materials for their work. Prisoners also provide economic benefits by producing valuable goods and services to other consumers. In 2016, prison industries produced more than \$1 billion worth of goods and services (Sawyer, 2017). The last benefit of paid labor for offenders is that the money would directly support their families and children. By providing families with paychecks, children could receive healthcare, supervision, and meet basic necessities (Sawyer, 2017). Thus, this policy achieves its goal of reducing the financial burden created by punishment drift on children. By answering all of the questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters the gate to feasibility.

In order to establish if paid labor is feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, increasing paid labor for offenders would not be too difficult for prison administrators to implement because many prisons already pay their prisoners already. Currently 45 states offer some form of payment to offenders (Sawyer, 2017). Departments and prison administrators can review policies that other prison systems in their city, state, and country have previously implemented as a basis, making the process quick and simple. Additionally, there would not be any strenuous technologies needed for the implementation of this policy. Instead administrators would only need to have a database with family's information so that they receive a portion of each check.

Finally, this policy would garner both public and political support due to support and recognition that prisoners have already received through the various ways they have made society safe during the pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted numerous ways that the country relies on prison labor for safety and basic needs. In recent months, inmates have been tasked with making personal protective equipment for healthcare workers. Additionally, inmates started making hand sanitizer and facemasks in at least 20 states (Wu & Brady, 2020). Both policymakers and the general public have begun to see the benefits and value of inmate paid labor, especially since inmates take on jobs that average citizens do not want to do. For example, inmates from Rikers Island in New York City were paid \$6 per hour to dig graves for COVID-19 victims (Wu & Brady, 2020). By taking on unique jobs that others did not want prisoners were viewed in a more positive light (Wu & Brady, 2020). This demonstrates that individuals may become more accepting of prisoners working and providing financial support to their families.

In order to establish if increased labor is ethical, we need to determine if it would exacerbate existing inequities among children, if it is fair for children, and if implementing it would only benefit certain groups of children of incarcerated individuals. First of all, this policy would not exacerbate existing inequities among children because all family members would gain financial support to provide basic needs to their children. No child would not have access to the benefits of this paid labor making this policy fair. Unlike the housing voucher, this policy would not support any particular groups as all families, regardless of their financial status, would have access to these earned funds. Additionally, these funds would not be considered a handout by the government, but rather earned income that offenders worked for. Furthermore, while there is some concern that it is not ethical to pay prisoners with kids minimum wage and treat individuals differently who do not have kids, his thesis focuses on finding policies that benefit the needs of

children. Therefore, this policy meets the criteria for ethicality and passes through the third gate. By passing through this gate, this policy has met all three criteria and appears to be a plausible economic solution to reduce the negative effects of punishment drift.

The table below summarizes the results of the three policies for reducing the negative economic effects of punishment drift on children.

Table 2			
Policy	Efficient	Feasible	Ethical
Child Allowance	Yes	No	N/A
Housing Voucher	Yes	Yes	No
Paid Labor	Yes	Yes	Yes

C. Reshaping Prison Sentences:

The third factor that children of incarcerated parents face discussed in chapter 2 is environmental impacts of punishment drift. Sadly, many children's lives are uprooted due to incarceration by a parent or guardian. Children often experience neglect and abuse due to lack of support and in some extreme circumstances are taken out of their homes and put in the foster care system. However, a possible solution to the negative environmental impact on children would be to require the government to reshape prison sentences, especially for lesser offenses. As previously mentioned, around 2 million children have a parent in prison at this very moment, however, the majority of parents are incarcerated for public order or drug offenses, which are relatively low level crimes (Martin, 2017). Reshaping prison sentences is vital in reducing the negative consequences of punishment drift on children as this helps the child regain parental support and avoid the negative consequences of being taken out of their home (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2011). By recognizing the relationship between parents and

children, this policy would reduce the environmental impact of parental incarceration on children. I will be exploring several ways policymakers can reshape prison sentences including limiting prison sentences, decriminalizing drug offenses, and implementing family-focused sentencing practices. These potential solutions were chosen because these solutions all directly focus on meeting the needs of children.

a. Decriminalizing Drug Offenses

One way to reduce the effects of punishment drift on children is to decriminalize drug offenses. A 2008 special report from the Department of Justice noted that 59% of drug offenders reported having minor children outside of prison (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Implementing a policy that eliminates sentences for parents incarcerated on drug offenses could be done by repealing drug laws for those caught using drugs and in possession of drugs in small amounts. By implementing this policy on a federal level, this would reduce incarceration rates and keep parents with their children rather than sending them to prison for minor crimes.

In order to establish if decriminalizing drug offenses is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing this program would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. One major cost associated with decriminalizing drug offenses is the lack of current rehabilitation infrastructure necessary to support the influx of drug offenders being removed from the legal system. Another potential cost associated with drug decriminalization is the idea that decriminalization could lead to an expansion in the drug market that could influence a higher rate of drug use and crime. When drugs were decriminalized in Portugal in 2001, there was a slight increase in drug use following the implementation of the law, however, there was a 51% increase murders and drug cartel activity (Frakt, 2020).

Unfortunately, the benefits of implementing drug decriminalization appear to not outweigh the costs. According to The Prison Policy Initiative, 1 in 5 incarcerated individuals are in prison on a drug related offense. By decriminalizing drug offenses, the United States would see a drastic reduction in its prison population (Sawyer, 2020). Although this reduction in prisoners seems like a step in the right direction, such benefits appear to not outweigh the costs due to the lack of support and infrastructure for these former prisoners. A second benefit is that drug decriminalization would keep parents from entering prison and eliminate the harm to children created by the separation and barriers of prison. However, while parents may stay united with their children, this policy would not meet its goal of reducing environmental harms on children due to the proximity children will have to harmful behaviors surrounding addiction. While it does do this, it does not achieve its goal of reducing the negative environmental effects of punishment drift on children. It doesn't meet the needs of children because while they aren't in prison, they are still dealing with drug use. Over two-thirds (76.9%) of state drug offenders released from state prison were rearrested within five years, showing that while the current means of reducing drug use are ineffective, drug recidivism will force children to bear the impacts of addiction (Benecchi, 2021). Additionally, this policy would not be efficient in achieving its goal of reducing environmental needs of children because it does not deal with children whose parents are not in prison as a result of drugs. Because the negative impacts of this policy outweigh the benefits, it does not pass the gate of efficiency.

b. Limiting Prison Sentences

Another path to reducing the environmental impacts of parent incarceration on children is limiting prison sentences. Lengthening prison sentences have led to prison population growth in the United States since 1980 (Mauer, 2018). The average guideline minimum for offenders in

federal prison was 166 months, with the average sentence imposed being 147 months (Mauer, 2018). Such extended prison sentencing guidelines lead to further detrimental impacts on the children of those incarcerated by extending the length of time families are separated.

Implementing reduced sentencing guidelines combats this trend by pushing courts to create more appropriate sentences. Policy requiring federal mandates on prison sentencing guidelines for low level felonies including drug possession and other non-violent crimes. This mandate would limit the number of years to be served based on the severity of the crime, reducing the sentences seen under current sentencing guidelines.

In order to establish if limiting prison sentences is efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing it and if implementing this program would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. One of the costs of implementing this program would be that it could lead to repeat offenses. Within three years of their release, two out of three former prisoners are rearrested and more than 50% are incarcerated again (Benecchi, 2021). With a reduction in sentencing minimums, repeat offenders could be given the opportunity to commit crimes with greater frequency, raising recidivism rates. Another policy cost would be unease in the community. According to research conducted by the PEW Research Center, the majority of Americans believe that prison sentences should remain the same length or be increased (Gramlich, 2021). This policy would likely face public scrutiny over whether time has been adequately served or if inmates have truly been rehabilitated.

Despite these concerns, the benefits of this policy seem to outweigh the costs. One major benefit to this policy is that it combats mass incarceration by greatly reducing the number of people in prison. Not only would this reduction lead to a more just prison system but it would save large amounts of money for taxpayers as reduced sentences would lead to fewer people in

prison at a time. Another benefit of policy would be that it creates more just punishments by reevaluating arbitrary minimums to more accurately address lower level crimes. Currently the sentencing minimums for drug possession offenses do not meaningfully differentiate sentences based on the type or amount of drug (Mauer, 2018). Finally, this policy is the most efficient way to ensure that families are reconnected sooner. By directly reducing the sentencing for such offenses, families can be reunited, mitigating the long term harms on children associated with incarcerated parent absence. This policy achieves its goal of reducing the effects of punishment drift. By answering these questions correctly this policy passes through the gate of efficiency.

In order to establish if limiting prison sentences is feasible, we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, in order to effectively implement this policy, laws around mandatory minimums would have to be changed. This would require judges, law makers, and prison administrators to all come to a consensus on what sentences would be appropriate. Next, we must assess whether this policy could garner the necessary political and public support. As previously mentioned, the public support around sentencing shows that the majority of people do not believe there should be a reduction in prison times (Gramlich, 2021). Additionally the political support needed to reverse current mandatory minimum requirements is unlikely to garner enough power to change these laws. Because this policy failed to meet two of the three categories of feasibility it is not passing to the final gate of ethicality.

c. Family-Focused Sentencing Practices

One way to limit prison sentences and positively benefit children facing the effects of punishment drift is by implementing family focused approaches to sentencing decisions. Family

focused approaches examine the severity of the crime committed, the risks and strengths of the offender and the offender's family context when determining the amount of time an individual must serve in prison (Feig, 2015). Additionally, this approach allows individuals to receive other types of punishment instead of prison sentences including house arrest, fines, and community service (Feig, 2015). This type of sentencing approach is multidisciplinary and would be in accordance with the fair and effective sentencing guidelines established by the National Conference of State Legislatures because it considers the role an offender has as a caregiver. This type of sentencing approach has been implemented in numerous states and cities including New York. This policy would be based upon the current family focused approaches in the United States.

In order to establish if family-focused sentences are efficient, we need to determine the cost of implementing this program, the benefits of implementing them and if implementing this program would actually reduce the negative consequences of punishment drift on children. One of the main costs of this program is fear that individuals may not be serving their full time if they are guilty due to their relationship with their child. There is concern that individuals can be "let off the hook" to maintain relations with their child (Christian, 2009). Although that concern is valid, the benefits of implementing family focused approaches sentences appear to outweigh the costs. One of the benefits of this policy is that it ensures that children's interests are considered during sentences, including their psychological and emotional needs (Christian, 2009). This would give the child a voice and could prevent some of the negative effects of punishment drift before they even begin. Secondly, the financial benefits of family-focused approaches are large as alternatives to incarceration are significantly more cost effective. Alternatives to incarceration, including house arrest, fines, and community service, range from \$1400 to \$13,000 per person

versus \$60,000 per person if an individual is in prison (Feig, 2015). By answering all of these questions correctly, this policy passes the criteria for efficiency and enters gate 2 of feasibility.

In order to establish if implementing family-focused sentencing is feasible we need to determine what departments will be accepting this policy, if this policy will garner public and political support, and if there are any complex technologies necessary for implementation of this policy. First of all, implementing family-focused sentencing would not be too difficult for prosecutors, judges, and other administrators involved in sentencing to apply due to the fact that numerous states and cities have already implemented these practices. A number of cities including San Francisco, and states like Oklahoma, Tennessee, New York, & Washington have adopted variations of family-focused sentencing practices already (Feig, 2015). Both California and Hawaii have legislation that mandates that corrections officials consider the impact of children and the benefits of maintaining the parent child relationship when determining prison placement and sentencing.

Implementing this policy would also garner both public and political support due to the focus this policy puts on supporting the whole family through this process. This policy would refocus the conversation around sentencing to ensure rehabilitative and family needs are being met. Support for this can be found in political circles since creating stronger family units for incarcerated individuals can lead to lowered recidivism rates and can reduce the amount of external support such as foster care that expends taxpayer money. Therefore this policy passes through the second gate of feasibility because it meets two out of the three categories of feasibility.

In order to establish if family-focused sentencing is ethical we need to determine if it would exacerbate existing inequities among children, if it is fair for children, and if

implementing it would only benefit certain groups of children of incarcerated individuals. First of all, this policy would not exacerbate existing inequities among children because every single parent that is incarcerated would be eligible to this approach during sentencing. Additionally, this policy would not benefit any particular group, but rather give all children a voice regarding the placement of their parents and allow their needs to be considered. While there is some concern that it is not ethical to treat individuals differently who are parents when deciding punishment, this thesis focuses on finding policies that benefit the needs of children. Thus, this policy meets my methodology because it addresses the needs of all children of incarcerated individuals and allows their opinions to be considered. Therefore this policy meets the criteria for ethicality and passes through the third gate. By passing through this gate, this policy has met all three criteria and appears to be a plausible solution to reduce the environmental effects of punishment drift.

The table below summarizes the results of the three policies for reducing the negative environmental effects of punishment drift on children.

Table 3			
Policy	Efficient	Feasible	Ethical
Decriminalizing Drug Offenses	No	N/A	N/A
Limiting Prison Sentences	Yes	Yes	No
Family-Focused Sentencing Practices	Yes	Yes	Yes

Policy Recommendation

The policies to implement family-focused sentencing practices, paid labor, and free telecommunication all met the three evaluative criteria of my methodology, meaning all of the

solutions considered are efficient, feasible, and ethical to implement. Although all of the proposed solutions addressed one of the negative impacts of punishment drift on children, none of the solutions proposed are able to tackle the three risk factors associated with parental incarceration by themselves. Thus, in order to reduce all of the negative effects of punishment drift on children, policymakers need a comprehensive solution.

The most plausible solution to reduce all of the negative consequences of punishment drift on children would be to combine all three of the proposed solutions together. Unfortunately, when doing this, the solution would not meet my three evaluation criteria. For instance, even if the policy solution passed through gate one, efficiency, the public and policymakers would not see this solution as feasible. It is not feasible to collectively implement all three solutions at the same time because it would be too time-consuming and costly. In order to implement free telecommunications for prisons all prisons would have to spend significant funds to buy zoom licenses, laptops or tablets for sites without necessary technology, as well as increased internet capabilities to prisons. The costs for increased pay for prison labor would significantly burden the implementation as a pay increase to minimum wage would greatly increase the cost to the federal government. Additionally, the shifts needed in law making circles to implement the policy around family focused sentencing would require significant time and lobbying power. For this reason, the costs surrounding these policies, although necessary, push these plans outside of the realm of feasibility due to the time and resources needed to effectively implement all policies at one time. Because of this, I suggest that we prioritize each one of the plausible solutions suggested above in the order they are presented because free telecommunication is something that has started to be developed due to COVID and therefore presents the least number of barriers to immediate implementation. Because many of the negative consequences of

punishment drift correlate to one another, implementing the solutions that directly connect children with incarcerated parents is the most effective and pressing solution. Thus, by prioritizing the solutions in this way, policymakers will be able to address some of the consequences and hopefully prevent future risk factors.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Punishment drift is a serious problem in the United States. Spouses, parents, friends, and specifically children are all negatively affected by the criminal justice system when a family member becomes incarcerated. Evidence shows that a resounding 1 out of every 33 minor children in the U.S. has at least one of their parents incarcerated every year (Manning, 2011). Children are often the faceless victims of the criminal justice system because they are negatively impacted by incarceration yet have committed no crime. Punishment drift creates a variety of negative impacts on children including psychological impacts, like social isolation and depression; economic impacts, like financial insecurity; and environmental impacts, like being at risk of entering the foster care system. All of these risk factors children face can have severe consequences on their lives and their personal well-being. This thesis was important because it not only highlighted the issue of punishment drift for children in the U.S., but also provided policymakers with multiple plausible solutions to mitigate those impacts.

Although my study was successful in determining potential solutions to address the negative impact of punishment drift on children, there are several limitations within this study that need to be discussed. The first and most significant limitation is that I was not able to do a full cost-benefit analysis on any of the policies considered. Unfortunately, there may be more hidden costs that I did not evaluate or realize. Additionally, for most of the costs listed, I had to

guess on the impact due to the limited research on punishment drift. It is evident that the negative effects of parental incarceration are severe and can lead to devastating consequences for children, yet there are no solutions currently proposed to directly reduce all of the effects of punishment drift. However, future research on mitigating punishment drift may provide more in depth policy proposals.

The second limitation from my study is that the data utilized is from secondary sources. When examining the psychological, economic, and environmental impacts of parental incarceration on children, I only used research from previous studies, reports, and databases. None of my own research on children or family members was utilized. While qualitative interviews with family members were not necessary for this thesis, they would have been beneficial. Hearing first-hand the experiences families have had with the criminal justice system and the effects they have personally felt due to the incarceration of a family member would have made the effects of parental incarceration easier to determine. However, future research mitigating punishment drift could utilize interviews from children, families, and inmates. The third limitation from my methodology and research is that I only utilized suggestions from Lippke when creating potential policy solutions. There may be other suggestions out there that I did not thoroughly research that could be important for policymakers to consider. Nonetheless, the proposed solutions in this thesis are valid, clear, and actually will reduce the effects of parental incarceration.

The last limitation of my study is the geographical and demographic locations are extremely broad. This study examined the impact of punishment drift on all children who experience parental incarceration in the United States. If the study had been narrowed down to one specific region or a specific state, the solutions for reducing the negative effects may have

been easier to implement. However, the reason this study was broad was due to the fact that little research and no policies had previously been implemented and there is little state-by-state variation on the effects of punishment drift (Martin, 2017).

Despite all of these limitations, it is important for policymakers to consider the psychological, economic, and environmental consequences that children face by having a parent incarcerated. The purpose of this thesis was to allow individuals to become aware of what punishment drift is, what the effects of it can have on children, and policies that can be implemented to reduce those effects. People generally do not agree with the concept of children being hurt, or negatively impacted by events outside of their control. Therefore, it is my hope that if individuals are privy to the issue of punishment drift, changes can be made to reduce the effects for children and give them a better life. Additionally, because there are so few suggestions on how to mitigate the consequences of punishment drift on children, policymakers should utilize the methodology created in this thesis as a framework for determining and implementing future policies. If more research is conducted on punishment drift and more solutions suggested, policymakers can use my framework to compare solutions to find the most efficient, feasible, and ethical way to reduce punishment drift and its effects. The policy proposals that passed my criteria would have reduced the financial effects, psychological harms, and loss of stability that Terrance and Dave experienced when their mothers were incarcerated. For example, if family-focused sentencing practices had been considered in each of these cases, there is a chance that neither Terrance nor Dave would have entered the foster care system. This thesis is valuable because it serves as a starting point for further discussion and studies so that no other children will have to face the negative consequences of parental incarceration like Terrance and Dave did.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, C. W. (1979). The Place of Principles in Policy Analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 73(3), 711–723. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955399>
- Armstrong, M. (2020, April 28). *Life Has Moved to Zoom. Can Prison Visitation Do the Same?* Slate Magazine. Magazine Article. <https://slate.com/technology/2020/04/zoom-video-communication-prison-pandemic.html>
- Benecchi, L. (2021, August 8). *Recidivism Imprisons American Progress*. Harvard Political Review. <https://harvardpolitics.com/recidivism-american-progress/#:~:text=Within%20three%20years%20of%20their>
- Bhuller, M., Dahl, G., Loken, K., & Mogstad, M. (2019). Incarceration can be rehabilitative. VOX. *Center for Economic and Policy Research*. Article. <https://voxeu.org/article/incarceration-can-be-rehabilitative#:~:text=First%2C%20there%20is%20a%20reduction,paid%20and%20lower%20transfer%20payments>.
- Block, K.J., & Potthast, M.J. (1998). Girl Scouts Beyond Bars: Facilitating parent–child contact in correctional settings. *Child Welfare*. Journal Article; 77:561–578. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/9744074/>
- Boston, J., Bradstock, A., & Eng, D. L. (2010). Public policy : why ethics matters. Anue Press.
- Boudin, C., Stutz, T., & Littman, A. (2013). “Prison Visitation Policies: A 50-State Survey.” *Yale Law & Policy Review*: Vol. 32: Iss. 1, Article 5. Available at <http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/ylpr/vol32/iss1/5>
- Carlson, D., Haveman, R., Kaplan, T., & Wolfe, B. (2010). The Benefits and Costs of the Section 8 Housing Subsidy Program: A Framework and First-Year Estimates. *University of Wisconsin-Madison*. Report no. 1380-10

- <https://www.irp.wisc.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/dp138010.pdf>
- Casey, E. C., Shlafer, R. J., & Masten, A. S. (2015). Parental Incarceration as a Risk Factor for Children in Homeless Families. *Family Relations*, 64(4), 490–504.
- <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12155>
- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. (2021). *Policy Basics: The Housing Choice Voucher Program*. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.
- <https://www.cbpp.org/research/housing/the-housing-choice-voucher-program>
- Children’s Bureau. (2021) Child Welfare Practice With Families Affected by Parental Incarceration. *Child Welfare Information Gateway*.
- https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubPDFs/parental_incarceration.pdf
- Children of Incarcerated Parents. (2005). *From Rights to Realities: An Agenda for Action* [Brochure]. San Francisco Children of Incarcerated Parents Partnership.
- Clear, T. R., & Frost, N. A. (2015). *The punishment imperative : the rise and failure of mass incarceration in America*. New York University Press.
- Christian, Steve. 2009. “Children of Incarcerated Parents.” Family to Family California. Accessed May 20, 2014.
- <http://www.f2f.ca.gov/res/pdf/ChildrenOfIncarceratedParents2.pdf>.
- Constitutional Rights Foundation. (2007). BRIA 23 3 c Justice as Fairness: John Rawls and His Theory of Justice. *Bill of Rights in Action*. Vol. 23, No. 3
- <https://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-23-3-c-justice-as-fairness-john-rawls-and-his-theory-of-justice>
- Cooper, C., Garfinkel, I., Geller, A., & Mincy, R. (2009). Parental Incarceration and Child Well-Being: Implications for Urban Families, *Social Science Quarterly*, 90 no. 5:

1186-1202.

Cullen, J. (2018, July 20). *The History of Mass Incarceration*. Brennan Center for Justice.

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/history-mass-incarceration>

Davis, L., & Shlafer, R. J. (2017). Mental health of adolescents with currently and formerly incarcerated parents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 54, 120–134.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2016.10.006>

Dhondt, G., (2018) “The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence from Cocaine and Marijuana Mandatory Minimum Sentencing”, *American Review of Political Economy* 12(1). doi: <https://doi.org/10.38024/arpe.150>

Dizerega, Margaret, and Jules Verdone. (2011). “Setting an Agenda for Family-focused Justice Reform.” New York: The Vera Institute of Justice. Accessed March 12th, 2022

<http://www.vera.org/files/FJP-advisory-board-report-v6.pdf>.

Dunn, A., & Green, T. (2021). Top Tax Frustrations for Americans: The feeling that some corporations, wealthy people don’t pay fair share. *Pew Research Center*. Article.

<https://pewrsr.ch/3taOYtk>

Eisen, L. & Stroud, H. (2021, July 14). *How the Federal Government Can Incentivize States to Reverse Mass Incarceration*. Brennan Center for Justice.

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/how-federal-government-can-incentivize-states-reverse-mass-incarceration>

End Mandatory Minimums / Brennan Center for Justice. (n.d.). [Www.brennancenter.org](https://www.brennancenter.org).

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/end-mandatory-minimums#:~:tex=At%20the%20federal%20level%20alone>

Federal Bureau of Prisons. (2021). BOP: How to visit a federal inmate.

<https://www.bop.gov/inmates/visiting.jsp>

Feig, L. 2015. Breaking the Cycle: A Family-Focused Approach to Criminal Sentencing in Illinois. *Advocates Forum*. University of Chicago, Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. [Publication].

https://crownschool.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/uploads/Breaking_The_Cycle.pdf

Frakt, A. (2020, October 5). Pointers From Portugal on Addiction and the Drug War. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/05/upshot/portugal-drug-legalization-treatment.html#:~:text=One%20study%20found%20an%20increase>

Gaston, S. (2016). The Long-term Effects of Parental Incarceration. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 43(8), 1056–1075. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854816628905>

Giannarelli, L., Adams, G., Minton, S., & Dwyer, S. (2019). What if We Expanded Child Care Subsidies? A National and State Perspective. *The Urban Institute*. [Research Report]. <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/what-if-we-expanded-child-care-subsidies>

Glaze, L. & Maruschak, L. (2008). Parents in Prison and their Minor Children. *Bureau of Justice Statistics*. Report. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/pptmc.pdf>

Glaze, L., & Miller, L. (2006). The Impact of Parental Incarceration on Children: An Emerging Need for Effective Interventions," *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 23 no. 4: 472-486.

Goldin, J., & Kleiman, A. (2021). Designing a universal child allowance: Who can claim what kids? *Brookings*. Middle Class Memos. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2021/04/12/designing-a-universal-child-allowance-who-can-claim-which-kids/>

Gramlich, J. (2021). U.S. public divided over whether people convicted of crimes spend too

- much or too little time in prison. *Pew Research Center*. Article.
<https://pewrsr.ch/3xXrfgk> Haskins, A., & Turney, K. (2014). “Falling Behind? Children’s Early Grade Retention After Parental Incarceration,” *Sociology of Education* 87, no. 4: 241-58.
- Hayes, A. (2020, July 7). Cost-benefit analysis. Investopedia.
<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/cost-benefitanalysis.asp>
- Herrera, V. & MacLin, M.K. (2006). *The criminal stereotype*. *North American Journal of Psychology*. Journal Article. 8:197–208. [Google Scholar]
- Hollihan, A., & Portlock, M. (2014). Video Visiting in Corrections: Benefits, Limitations, and Implementation Considerations. *National Institute of Corrections*. Journal Article. No. 029609. <https://nicic.gov/video-visiting-corrections-benefits-limitations-and-implementation-considerations>
- Kraft, M., & Furlong, S. (2017). Evaluating Policy Proposals [Review of Evaluating Policy Proposals]. In *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*. Sage Publications.
https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-assets/58352_book_item_58352.pdf
- Kopf, D., & Rabuy, B. (2015). Separation by Bars and Miles: Visitation in State Prisons. *Prison Policy Initiative*. Report. <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/prisonvisits.html>
- Larson, D. (2013, September 24). *Why Scandinavian Prisons Are Superior*. The Atlantic; The Atlantic.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/09/why-scandinavian-prisons-are-superior/279949/>
- Leskin, P. (2020). *Some prisons are allowing inmates to use Zoom and video chats to communicate with family as coronavirus concerns suspend in-person visits*. Business

- Insider. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.businessinsider.com/prison-suspend-family-visits-video-calls-zoom-prevent-coronavirus-spread-2020-4>
- Lippke, R. L. (2016). Punishment Drift: The Spread of Penal Harm and What We Should Do About It. *Criminal Law and Philosophy*, 11(4), 645–659.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11572-016-9392-7>
- Manning, R. (2011) Punishing the Innocent: Children of Incarcerated and Detained Parents, *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 30:3, 267-287, DOI: 10.1080/0731129X.2011.628830
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0731129X.2011.628830>
- Martin, E. (2017, March 1). *Hidden Consequences: The Impact of Incarceration on Dependent Children*. National Institute of Justice. <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/hidden-consequences-impact-incarceration-dependent-children>
- Mauer, M. (2018). Long-Term Sentences: Time to Reconsider the Scale of Punishment. *The Sentencing Project*. Publication. UMKC Law Review, Vol. 87:1. From; <https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/long-term-sentences-time-reconsider-scale-punishment/>
- McBride, E., Solomon, A., & Travis, J. (2005) Families Left Behind: The Hidden Costs of Incarceration and Reentry. *Urban Institute*.
<https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/50461/310882-Families-Left-Behind.PDF>
- Moore, K., Stuewig, J., & Tangney, J. (2013). Jail Inmates' Perceived and Anticipated Stigma: Implications for Post-release Functioning. *Self and identity : the journal of the International Society for Self and Identity*, 12(5), 527–547.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2012.702425>

Murray, J., Farrington, D. P., & Sekol, I. (2012). Children's antisocial behavior, mental health, drug use, and educational performance after parental incarceration: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 138(2), 175–210.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026407>

National Conference of State Legislatures. 2011. "Principles of Effective State Sentencing and Corrections Policy: A Report of the NCSL Sentencing and Corrections Work Group." Washington, D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures. National Institute of Corrections. n.d. "Children of Incarcerated Parents." Accessed March 14th, 2022 .

<http://nicic.gov/coip>.

National Resource Center on Children and Families of the Incarcerated. (2014). *Children and Families of the Incarcerated Fact Sheet* [Fact Sheet]. Rutgers University.

<https://nrccfi.camden.rutgers.edu/files/nrccfi-fact-sheet-2014.pdf>

Rabuy, B., & Wagner, P. (2015). Screening Out Family Time: The for-profit video visitation industry in prisons and jails. *Prison Policy Initiative*. Policy Brief.

https://static.prisonpolicy.org/visitation/ScreeningOutFamilyTime_January2015.pdf

Reynolds, M. (1998). The Economic Impact of Prison Labor. *National Center for Policy Analysis*. Policy Brief.

<http://www.ncpathinktank.org/pub/ba245#:~:text=One%20of%20the%20most%20important,those%20who%20do%20not%20work>.

Reutter, D. (2018). *Public Outcry Forces Florida DOC to Back Down on Limits to In-Person Visitation* / *Prison Legal News*. www.prisonlegalnews.org. Retrieved April 15, 2022,

from <https://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/2018/nov/6/public-outcry-forces-florida-doc-back-down-limits-person-visitation/>

Rossell, C. (1993). Using Multiple Criteria to Evaluate Public Policies: The Case of School Desegregation. *Boston University*. [Publication].
<http://www.bu.edu/polisci/files/people/faculty/rossell/papers/UsingMultCriteriaAPQ1993.PDF>

Sawyer, W. (2017). How much do incarcerated people earn in each state? *Prison Policy Initiative*. Policy Brief. <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2017/04/10/wages/>

Sawyer, W., & Wagner, P. (2020, March 24). *Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2020*. [Www.prisonpolicy.org](https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2020.html); Prison Policy Initiative.
<https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2020.html>

Scommegna, P., (2014). Parents' Imprisonment Linked to Children's Health, Behavioral Problems. *PBR*.
<https://www.prb.org/resources/parents-imprisonment-linked-to-childrens-health-behavioral-problems/>

Seymour, C., & Wright, L. (2000). Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children and Families. *Purdue University*. [Brochure].

https://www.purdue.edu/hhs/hdfs/fii/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/s_mifis05c03.pdf

Shaefer, H. L., Collyer, S., Duncan, G., Edin, K., Garfinkel, I., Harris, D., Smeeding, T. M., Waldfogel, J., Wimer, C., & Yoshikawa, H. (2018). A Universal Child Allowance: A Plan to Reduce Poverty and Income Instability Among Children in the United States. *The Russell Sage Foundation journal of the social sciences : RSF*, 4(2), 22–42.
<https://doi.org/10.7758/RSF.2018.4.2.02>

- Shlafer, R. J., & Poehlmann, J. (2010). Attachment and caregiving relationships in families affected by parental incarceration. *Attachment & human development*, 12(4), 395–415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616730903417052>
- Shepherd, J., & Farrington, D. (2003). The impact of antisocial lifestyle on health. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, 326(7394), 834–835. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.326.7394.834>
- Velasquez, M., Andre, C., Shanks, T., J.S., & Meyer, M. (2014). Justice and Fairness. Santa Clara University, Markkula Center for Applied Ethics. [Publication]. <https://www.scu.edu/ethics/ethics-resources/ethical-decision-making/justice-and-fairness/>
- Wakefield, S., & Wildeman, C. (2018). How Parental Incarceration Harms Children and What to do About It. *National Council on Family Relations*. Vol 3, Issue 1. Retrieved from http://www.ncfr.org/sites/default/files/2018-01/How%20Parental%20Incarceration%20Harms%20Children%20NCFR%20Policy_Full%20Brief_Jan.%202018_0.pdf
- Wenar, L. (2017, January 9). *John Rawls (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)*. Stanford.edu. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rawls/>
- Wexler, R. (2018, February 24). *Abuse in Foster Care: Research vs. the Child Welfare System's Alternative Facts - Youth Today*. Youth Today. <https://youthtoday.org/2017/09/abuse-in-foster-care-research-vs-the-child-welfare-systems-alternative-facts/>
- Wu, C., & Brady, P. (2020). If Prison Workers are Essential, We Should Treat them Like it: Prison Labor In the U.S. Part 1. *Corporate Accountability Lab*. Article. <https://corpaccountabilitylab.org/calblog/2020/8/5/if-prison-workers-are-essential-we-should-treat-them-like-it-prison-labor-in-the-us-part-i>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2016). *What is the Child Care and*

Development Fund (CCDF)? Office of Child Care. Archives

<https://www.acf.hhs.gov/archive/occ/faq/what-child-care-and-development-fund-ccdf>

U.S. Department of Housing and Development.(2017). *Housing Choice Voucher Program*

Section 8. HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

https://www.hud.gov/topics/housing_choice_voucher_program_section_8#:~:text=A%20housing%20subsidy%20is%20paid,amount%20subsidized%20by%20the%20program.

United States. General Accounting Office, (1993) Prisoner labor : perspectives on paying the federal minimum wage : report to the Honorable Harry Reid, U.S. Senate. Retrieved from the Digital Public Library of America, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011416630>