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1 Introduction

The growth of the U.S. penal system over the past twenty-five years has significantly altered the role of government in poor and minority communities. Between 1920 and 1975, the state and federal prison population totaled around .10 of 1 percent of the population. After half a century of stability in imprisonment, the incarceration rate increased in every single year from 1975 to 2001. At the beginning of the new millennium, the proportion of the U.S. population in prison had increased fourfold over twenty-five years. If jail inmates are also counted, the U.S. penal system incarcerated a total of .69 of 1 percent of the population in 2001 (Beck, Karberg, and Harrison 2002).

Despite the clear increase in carceral punishment, an incarceration rate of less than 1 percent may not suggest a major expansion of the role of government. Incarceration is highly concentrated, however. Nine out of ten prison inmates are male, most are under the age of forty, African Americans are seven times more likely than whites to be in prison, and nearly all prisoners lack any education beyond high school. Although less than 1 percent of the population was incarcerated in 2001, around 10 percent of black men in their late twenties were in prison. Incredibly, the prison and jail incarceration rate of young black men who have dropped out of high school exceeds 30 percent. Other research indicates that around 10 percent of recent cohorts of white male high school dropouts and 30 percent of black noncollege men will go to prison at some time in their lives (Western and Pettit 2002).

In this volume we begin to assess the effects of the growth in the penal system. Because prisons now draw so widely from the bottom of the social hierarchy, we are challenged to view its effects quite broadly.

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The contributors to this volume add to a burgeoning research agenda that studies the impact of incarceration not on crime but on family, community, and economic life. A focus on these effects places the prison in a wide social context, in which it is an increasingly important part of a uniquely American system of social inequality.

Our focus on the penal system's influences on the life chances of socially marginalized groups departs from previous research on incarceration. Historically, the watchtowers of the American penal system stood at the fringes, separating the most violent and incorrigible offenders from the rest of society. Although young minority men with little schooling had relatively high rates of incarceration, before the 1980s the penal system was not a dominant presence in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Criminal behavior, as officially recognized by the police, was much more unusual than poverty. The utter marginality of prisons and other carceral institutions shaped criminological and penological understanding of punishment.

From the criminological perspective, the penal system was significant chiefly in its connection to crime. Young men who were severely or persistently antisocial but not obviously mentally disordered would find their way into prisons and jails. For the most part, prisons housed extremely violent offenders, hardcore drug addicts, and career criminals—an underground guild of burglars, thieves, and hustlers. The similarly deviant character of crime and incarceration was underscored by the relative infrequency of both experiences.

The link between crime and incarceration was reflected in research and policy analysis. For ethnographers, prisons and juvenile halls were like skid rows and urban street corners in providing the backdrop for those engaged in a life of crime. Prison life was an extension of the criminal subculture that formed the context for crime on the outside (Sykes 1958; Irwin 1970; Cressey 1973). Prisoners inhabited a complex set of social roles that provided institutionalized versions of their social positions as criminal offenders. For the most part, the informal social life of the prisoners offered little hope for rehabilitation. Policy analysts, too, shared an interest in the effects of imprisonment on crime and were similarly pessimistic about former prisoners' chances of reintegration into mainstream society. Studies of prison programming—whether programs were designed to build literacy, teach job skills, or control addiction—focused on the likelihood of rearrest or return to incarceration (Glaser 1964; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice 1967). The apotheosis of pessimism in policy analysis was reached in the mid-1970s, when Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson, and Judith Wilks (1975, 20) reviewed several hundred evaluations of correctional treatment and famously concluded that "rehabilitative ef-

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forts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effects on recidivism."

Not all scholarly research viewed imprisonment as an undiluted consequence of deviant behavior. A sociology of punishment emphasized the state's active role in defining and controlling criminality (Becker 1963). What was deemed criminal and how public authority responded varied across times and places. The formal apparatus of social control, observed some students of punishment, was frequently directed by the powerful toward the weak, who were seen as threatening to the social order (Rusche and Kirchheimer 1939; Melossi and Pavarini 1981). For others, the contemporary organization of punishment was animated by the remedial outlook of a progressive state that combined an expert bureaucracy with democratic institutions. This progressive state aspired to correct social failure and contribute to social improvement (Rothman 1970; Jacobs 1977; Garland 1990). Whether the prison is viewed as an instrument of repression of the marginalized or the product of a progressive impulse, students of punishment see its basic shape as originating in a more fundamental set of social conflicts and institutions (Garland 1991).

Research in the fields of criminology and sociology provide different analyses, but they share a conception of the marginality of institutions of incarceration. In criminology, the prison is colored by many of the characteristics of criminal deviance. In the sociology of punishment, the prison is the product of underlying social structures and political developments.

For most of the twentieth century, this view of prisons as exotic institutions was justified by an incarceration rate that covered a small fraction of the population. The prison boom, however, has overtaken the usual social science analysis. Researchers now observe that incarceration is a pervasive event in the lives of poor and minority men. Punishment has become normalized, affecting large social groups rather than just the behaviorally distinctive deviants in the shadows of social life. Indeed, so great is the reach of the penal system that it is no longer epiphenomenal to some underlying balance of social power. Instead, the criminal justice system has now become a fixture in the passage to adulthood for minority youth with little economic opportunity.

The growth in the penal system thus poses distinctive challenges for criminology and the sociology of punishment. First, imprisonment is no longer a symptom of deviance; its sheer extent challenges us to think about incarceration as an increasingly normal event in the lives of young disadvantaged men. Second, the penal system is not just the product of an underlying balance of social power; its reach is so broad as to be a significant influence on the distribution of social power and large-scale

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patterns of social inequality. Both these observations inform the research in the following chapters.

The collective significance of the penal system is captured by David Garland's (2001, 2) term "mass imprisonment." In Garland's formulation, the incarceration rate is so high for some groups that its influence is felt not just by individuals but by broad demographic groups as well. A few researchers have connected the polarization of the American labor market to mass imprisonment. In an early statement of the broad influence of the criminal justice system, Richard Freeman (1991, 1) observes that "the magnitudes of incarceration, probation, and parole among black dropouts, in particular, suggest that crime has become an intrinsic part of the youth unemployment and poverty problem, rather than deviant behavior on the margin." Loic Wacquant (2000) argues that the prison, alongside the ghetto, has become a system of forced confinement that marginalizes minority communities from mainstream economic life. The U.S. penal system in the 1980s and 1990s has been described, along similar lines, as a state intervention in the labor market that increases race and class inequalities in earnings and employment (Western and Beckett 1999; Western and Pettit 2000).

The phenomenal growth in the prison system presents us with a novel set of research questions. The prison—and the supporting institutions of jail, probation, and parole—is now a large influence in poor and minority communities. Being poor or black is now more strongly predictive of having a criminal record than in the past. The gap between official crime and poverty has significantly closed. The penal system and criminal justice authorities, more generally, are becoming key points of contact between the government and socially marginal populations. While the government's role in the area of social control is expanding, public assistance and other social services for the poor are contracting. At the same time, income inequality is increasing, so those at the bottom of the social hierarchy are increasingly remote from those at the top. In an era of welfare state retrenchment and rising inequality, what is the effect of the increasing role of government in the lives of socially marginal populations through the criminal justice system?

Early indications are that the effects of increasing incarceration rates on families and communities may not be positive. Former prisoners have extreme difficulty finding stable and well-paying jobs (Western, Kling, and Weiman 2001). They encounter discrimination in labor markets and suffer from restricted eligibility for social services. These and other deficits add to incarceration's disruptive effect on family life, contributing to marital instability and separating parents from their children (Hagan and Dinovitzer 1999). Moreover, because prison and jail inmates tend to be disproportionately drawn from a small number of largely poor and

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minority communities, the collateral consequences of incarceration are highly spatially concentrated. The spatial concentration of incarceration is disruptive for the social networks of kin and friendship that typically promote economic opportunity and social stability.

Large pools of former inmates with few social supports, family attachments, or economic opportunities may ultimately increase crime rates more than they were lowered by the expansion of the penal system in the first place. At a minimum, a focus on the collateral consequences cautions us not to overstate the gains in public safety obtained from the prison boom. Indeed, if the crime produced by the prison boom in the current and subsequent generations exceeds the reductions in crime achieved through deterrence and incapacitation, the expansion of the penal system may turn out to be a self-defeating strategy for crime control.

TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN INCARCERATION

The novelty of the current period of mass incarceration can be seen in a long historical time series of prison incarceration rates. Figure 1.1 shows the number of state and federal prisoners per 100,000 of the U.S. population between 1925 and 2001. Before 1972, the prison incarceration rate exceeded 130 per 100,000 in just two years at the beginning of World War II. In the thirty years from 1972 to 2001, the prison incarceration rate rose from 93 to 470 per 100,000. In this same period the prison population increased from 196,000 to more than 1.3 million inmates.

Focusing just on the prison population understates the true level of incarceration because imprisonment figures ignore inmates incarcerated in local jails. Whereas state and federal prisons are usually reserved for felony offenders serving a year or more, local jails typically house offenders serving short sentences and defendants awaiting trial. Jail inmates account for about one-third of the total penal population. A long-time series for the jail population is not available, but data from 1980 to 2001 show that during that period the overall U.S. incarceration rate increased from 276 to about 688 per 100,000. By 2001 the American penal system incarcerated about 1.96 million prison and jail inmates.

The risks of incarceration, of course, are not distributed evenly across the population. Although the rate of incarceration among women has grown quickly, about 93 percent of prison and jail inmates are men. There are also large age, racial, and educational disparities in incarceration. This can be seen in table 1.1 which shows two different measures of the risks of incarceration for black and white men. First, we report the prison and jail incarceration rate—the percentage of the population incarcerated on an average day. Second, we report the cumulative risk of imprisonment—the likelihood that an individual was in state or federal

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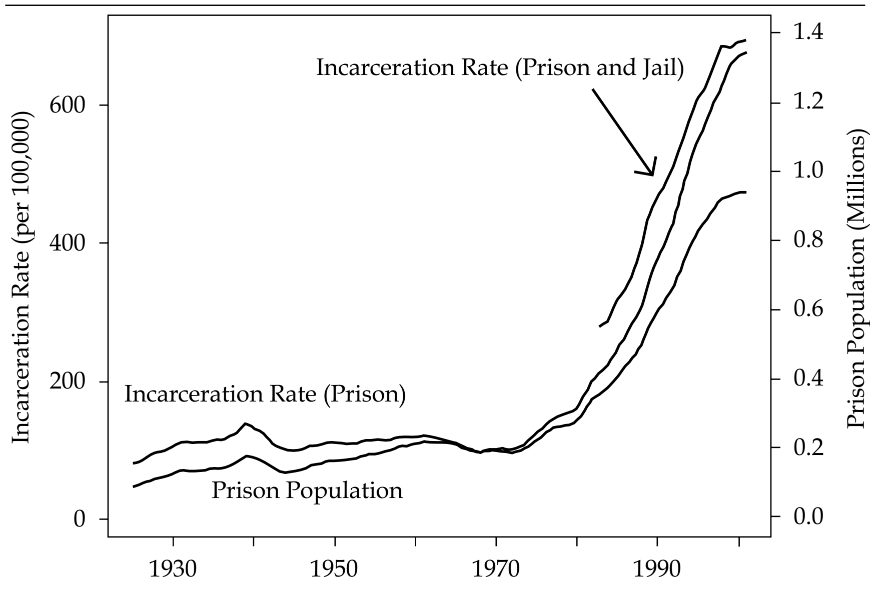
Figure 1.1 *State and Federal Incarceration, from 1925 to 2001*



Source: Based on data from Pastore and Maguire (2002).
Note: The figure graphs incarceration rates (per 100,000 U.S. residents) in state and federal prisons from 1926 to 2000, incarceration rates (per 100,000 U.S. residents) in prisons and jails from 1980 to 1999, and the state and federal prison population from 1925 to 2001.

prison, in this case, at the age of thirty to thirty-four. Table 1.1 shows that 7.9 percent of working-age black men were in prison or jail on an average day in 1999 compared with just 1.0 percent of working-age white men. The incarceration rates are higher for younger men, aged twenty-two to thirty, but racial disparity in imprisonment, indicated in the last column, is approximately the same for this group as for working-age men as a whole. Part of the racial disparity in imprisonment derives from race differences in education. Incarceration rates for young high school dropouts shows significantly less disparity than for the population as a whole. Together, race, age, and education generate extremely high incarceration rates for young unskilled black men, more than 30 percent of whom were in prison or jail on an average day in 1999.

The lower panel in table 1.1 expresses the risk of incarceration as the percentage of men born from 1965 to 1969 who by 1999 had ever spent time in state or federal prison. Racial disparities in this cumulative risk of imprisonment are similar to those for prison and jail incarceration.

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Table 1.1 *Prison and Jail Incarceration Rates and Cumulative Risks of Imprisonment for Young Men (Percentage)*

	White	Black	Black to White Ratio
In prison or jail			
Adults, aged eighteen to sixty-five	1.0	7.9	7.9
Young adults, aged twenty-two to thirty	1.6	11.6	7.3
Young adult high school dropouts	6.7	32.4	4.8
Risk of imprisonment for young men			
All	2.9	10.6	3.7
With high school diploma or GED	3.6	18.4	5.1
High school dropouts	11.2	58.9	5.3

Source: Percentage in prison or jail is based on Western, Kleykamp, and Rosenfeld (2004); risk of imprisonment is based on Pettit and Western (2004).
Note: "Young men" are defined as those born from 1965 to 1969 and consequently aged thirty to thirty-four in 1999.

Nearly one in five black male high school graduates in their early thirties in 1999 were likely to have a prison record, five times the figure for white men with the same schooling. At the bottom of the education distribution among high school dropouts, one in nine whites and more than half of all blacks have prison records. Prison time has become a modal life experience among young unskilled black men and reasonably common among young unskilled whites.

In sum, the high rates of incarceration currently seen are unprecedented in recent American history. Incarceration is now pervasive among young black men with little schooling. Indeed, because the experience of going to prison or jail is so strongly stratified by education, young white men with little education also face a high risk of early incarceration.

INCARCERATION AND FAMILY LIFE

The effects of incarceration on children and families are potentially far-reaching. The extent of these effects, however, depends on how closely criminal offenders are linked to their spouses and their children. If men are completely absent from the households of their spouses or children, incarceration's effects on family may be negligible. We examine these links by estimating marriage rates among men with children in state prison. The marital status of male state prisoners with children is reported in table 1.2. Among state prisoners, who account for 90 percent of the total prison

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Table 1.2 *Marital Status of Fathers in State Prison and the Noninstitutional Population, 1986 and 1997 (Percentage)*

	1986		1997	
	Prison Population	General Population	Prison Population	General Population
White				
Married	33.3	89.3	25.0	88.5
Divorced	39.1	2.3	39.4	3.5
Never married	17.3	7.5	26.7	6.9
Black				
Married	24.5	76.1	18.7	72.2
Divorced	12.7	2.3	11.4	4.1
Never married	53.4	19.6	62.7	20.1
Hispanic				
Married	40.8	84.9	32.5	79.8
Divorced	21.4	1.9	15.8	1.8
Never married	28.2	12.5	41.0	17.1

Source: Based on data from U.S. Department of Justice (1986, 1997). General population figures for fathers are based on data from the 1986 and 1997 March Current Population Surveys, for fathers aged twenty to forty-five (Freenberg and Roth 2001).

population, fathers have very low marriage rates compared with the general population. In 1986 only a third of white prison inmates with children were married compared with nearly 90 percent of white fathers in the general population. Among the unmarried white fathers in state prison, nearly 40 percent were divorced, about twenty times the percentage divorced in the general population. Among African American fathers, only a quarter of those in state prison were married in 1986, compared with more than three-quarters in the general population. Unlike whites, unmarried blacks were much more likely never to have been married rather than to be divorced. Indeed, more than half of all black fathers in state prison had never been married. Marriage rates are highest for Hispanic fathers in state prison, 40 percent of whom were married in 1986.

By 1997 the family attachments of male prisoners were significantly weaker than they had been in 1986. Marriage rates among fathers had widely fallen. Only a quarter of white fathers in state prison were married. Marriage rates also fell among whites in federal prison, a group for whom marriage rates were relatively high. A similar pattern can be seen for African American men. Fewer than one in five black male prisoners

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Table 1.3 *U.S. Children with a Parent in State or Federal Prison, by Race-Ethnicity (Estimate)*

	1986	1991	1997	2000
Total				
Number (thousands)	563	929	1,366	1,526
Percentage of all children	0.9	1.3	2.0	2.2
White				
Number (thousands)	180	264	353	428
Percentage of all white children	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.0
Black				
Number (thousands)	274	456	702	795
Percentage of all black children	2.9	4.4	6.9	7.5
Hispanic				
Number (thousands)	94	185	271	281
Percentage of all Hispanic children	1.4	2.1	2.6	2.3

Source: Based on data from U.S. Department of Justice (1986, 1991, 1997); U.S. Department of Commerce (2001).
Note: The data are for children under the age of eighteen.

with children was married in 1997. Around 60 percent of black fathers in state prison had never been married. Although Hispanics had the highest marriage rates among the three race groups, by 1997 their rates had also decreased: fewer than a third of Hispanic state prisoners who were fathers were married.

The extent of the effects of incarceration on children can be gauged by estimating the number of children with parents in prison. We created these estimates using survey data on correctional facilities in which prison inmates were asked about their children under the age of eighteen. Combining these data with census figures, we estimated the number of children with parents in state or federal prison at four points from 1986 to 2000 (table 1.3). In the mid-1980s, more than half a million children had a parent in prison. By 2000 this number had grown to more than 1.5 million, or 2.2 percent of all children in the United States. Because of the large racial disparity in incarceration rates, parental absence through incarceration is concentrated among African Americans. Our estimates indicate that more than half of all children with imprisoned parents are black, and by 2000 about 7.5 percent of black children had a parent in prison. Rates of parental imprisonment are also relatively high for Hispanics: in 2000 approximately one Hispanic child in forty had a parent serving time in prison.

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Table 1.4 *Inmate Fathers Living with Their Children at Time of Father's Admission to State or Federal Prison, by Race-Ethnicity of Father, 1986 and 1997 (Percentage)*

	1986		1997	
	State Prison	Federal Prison	State Prison	Federal Prison
White	51.3	—	44.9	61.5
Black	48.1	—	40.7	46.6
Hispanic	56.5	—	50.0	62.2

Source: Based on data from U.S. Department of Justice (1986, 1991, 1997).
Note: No data available for 1986 federal prison count.

The effect of incarcerating a growing number of parents may be small if criminal offenders are not living with or do not contribute to the well-being of their children. Table 1.4 shows the living arrangements of male prisoners with children at the time of their admission to prison. In 1986 about one-half of all fathers admitted into the state prison system were living with at least one of their children at the time of incarceration. This proportion is roughly the same for all race and ethnic groups, although rates of father residence are a little higher for Hispanics than for blacks or whites. By 1997 the presence of fathers in their children's households at the time of prison admission had fallen. About 45 percent of white and 41 percent of black fathers in state prison in 1997 were living with their children at the time they were incarcerated. This increase in father absence follows the rise in the number of female-headed households observed in the general population over this same twelve-year period (Ellwood and Jencks 2001). Where are the children of incarcerated fathers living? In nine out of ten cases, these children are living with their mothers. This pattern varies little across race or ethnic groups and has changed little over time.

Even though large numbers of children are separated from their incarcerated parents, many retain contact while the parents are in prison (table 1.5). The Surveys of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities record contact between prisoners and their children through mail, phone calls, and visits (U.S. Department of Justice 1986, 1991, 1997). Nearly half of all incarcerated parents have some kind of regular contact with their children. Most commonly, prisoners receive phone calls or mail. Consistent with other patterns, prisoners in federal facilities, who tend to be older and more educated, have closer links with their children than state prisoners. The surveys also show that only 20 to 25 percent of

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Table 1.5 *Monthly Contact Between Fathers in State and Federal Prison and Their Children, by Race-Ethnicity of Father and Type of Contact, 1991 and 1997 (Percentage)*

	1991		1997	
	State Prison	Federal Prison	State Prison	Federal Prison
White				
Receives phone calls	37.5	70.8	36.0	72.9
Receives mail	47.4	68.4	46.9	63.6
Receives visits	21.4	27.2	19.3	26.5
Black				
Receives phone calls	55.4	69.5	50.4	77.3
Receives mail	56.3	66.8	53.2	66.2
Receives visits	26.1	23.5	23.3	25.9
Hispanic				
Receives phone calls	42.7	65.4	33.1	67.0
Receives mail	53.5	71.9	50.3	66.0
Receives visits	19.1	22.3	21.5	20.4

Source: Based on data from U.S. Department of Justice (1991, 1997).

prisoners regularly receive visits from their children while they are in prison. In part this is because many prisons are located in regions remote from the urban centers that supply most of the felony offenders to the penal system.

Many of these introductory descriptive statistics are further probed in later chapters of this book in attempts to uncover causal relationships and to connect incarceration to the institutions of family, community, and the labor market. Yet at this general level, the magnitude of this state intervention and the ramifications for myriad realms of social, economic, and political life are apparent.

PLAN OF THE BOOK

The unifying goal of this volume is to move beyond thinking of incarceration as merely punishment and to place it instead within a larger system of social stratification and institutional relations. Recognizing the simultaneous identities of prisoners (and former prisoners) as fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, spouses, neighborhood residents, workers, and indeed citizens demands an examination of the consequences of the

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incarceration experience for the fulfillment of those other roles. In addition to studying the effects on individuals, scholarship must interrogate the impact that our mass incarceration policy has on other facets of society, such as citizenship rights or the labor market.

To best achieve these goals we decided that the book must be empirically based, interdisciplinary, and multimethod. First, the concrete exposition of the far-reaching effects of incarceration through the use and analysis of empirical data is crucial to broadening the scholarly and public understanding of contemporary policy decisions. By bringing together leading researchers studying the connections between incarceration and processes such as family formation, unemployment, and community well-being, this volume endeavors to build a foundation of empirical knowledge that will inform public deliberations and generate further questions and debates about approaches to crime and the treatment of marginal groups more broadly. Building such a knowledge base requires input from multiple fields. The contributors to this volume come from economics, criminal justice, psychology, sociology, and social work and hence provide a range of vantage points that require readers (even initiated researchers, practitioners, and advocates) to consider new questions, entertain new hypotheses, and ultimately raise new challenges. Finally, and as a result of this interdisciplinarity, the authors in this volume employ a wide range of methods, spanning the qualitative and quantitative spectrum. They use innovative data sets collected at various levels of generality, from one field site to multiple cities to the nation. Such diversity is necessary for understanding large-scale causal connections as well as particular human stories.

The book is divided into two parts: families and communities. These categories denote the general context within which incarcerees are considered by the contributors, but each of these sections is, in reality, broader than the heading conveys. As the world is not so cleanly organized—families live in communities, and communities are made up of families—and the term "communities" can be used at the neighborhood, city, or even metropolitan level, the authors' analyses and discussions are also not completely constrained by these conceptual divisions. Ultimately, these categories indicate a growing level of specificity from the dyadic spousal-partner relationship to the institutional level of the child welfare system to a more macro-level labor market.

Part I begins with several chapters exploring the effects of incarceration on the ties between parents and between parents and their children. In chapter 2, Bruce Western, Leonard Lopoo, and Sara McLanahan ask the question, "Does incarceration weaken parental bonds?" Using the pioneering Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (McLanahan et al. 2001)—which first interviewed new mothers and fathers at the hospital after the birth of their child and then conducted follow-up interviews

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twelve months later—the authors find significant and sizable negative effects of incarceration on the probability of marriage and significant but less strong negative effects on the probability of cohabitation. When they estimate the aggregate effects of incarceration on marriage rates in the general population (using Current Population Survey data), they show that the gap in marriage between African American and white men would decline by about 20 percent if the incarceration risk were zero, and by even more for less educated men. The authors are cognizant of the reasons why men who have been incarcerated, along with those who share similar characteristics but have not been incarcerated, may not be attractive marriage partners for women. Yet they also consider the vicious cycle whereby incarceration exacerbates and increases such deficits as antisocial behavior and economic hardship among men, thereby further reducing marriage, which is known to have a deterrent effect on criminal offending.

Deterrence and desistance are the topics of chapter 3 by Kathryn Edin, Timothy Nelson, and Rechelle Paranal, who shift the emphasis from spousal-partner bonds to bonds between fathers and children. Using in-depth life histories of low-skilled, low-income men in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Charleston, South Carolina, the authors explore whether the experience of becoming a father has an impact on men's criminal involvement and whether incarceration has a subsequent impact on fathering behaviors and relationships. With vivid detail and emotion, the men interviewed in this research convey the difficulty in fulfilling their role as father (a role that few take lightly) when they have limited earning potential. The authors describe three pathways taken by such men. For one group, fatherhood is such an intense turning point that it moves them to desist from crime rather than run the risk of imprisonment and ultimate separation from their children. For others who have formed early bonds with their children but do not turn from crime—sometimes because they are supplementing legal employment or because they see crime as their only means of financial maintenance—incarceration is a devastating event, essentially severing paternal bonds and irrevocably souring the relationship between fathers and mothers. Finally, a small group of mainly older fathers, whose relationships with their children had been destroyed before their incarceration, have used the prison experience to reorient their lives and reconnect with their children. Edin, Nelson, and Paranal conclude by emphasizing the thread that runs through these stories: the lack of societal attention to endemic problems (unstable job prospects, substance abuse, and so on) faced by these men and their families.

Continuing the investigation of fatherhood, Anne Nurse focuses in chapter 4 on juvenile offenders and the effect of incarceration on fulfillment of their fathering role. In California, where Nurse conducted her

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survey, interviews, and observations of paroled juveniles, 25 percent of the state's juvenile wards are fathers. Nurse shows that the quality of the father-child bond is highly determined by the children's mothers, and hence the character of the father-mother relationship is at the center of this chapter. Conflictual relationships between mothers and fathers documented in chapter 3 are equally apparent, and indeed magnified, in the research by Nurse, who documents the volatility of youthful courtship. Such unstable and mistrustful interactions—which moreover include the presence of mothers' new boyfriends and extended family members—exacerbated by an incarceration-related absence all but thwart fathers' attempts to connect with their children. Given the possibility for earlier intervention among this population, Nurse proposes programs that focus on reducing the number of juvenile incarcerees, lessening the length of their absence, and building their capacity for fathering in cooperation with the mother and her family.

Interested in the well-being of families from a social services perspective, Elizabeth Johnson and Jane Waldfogel, in chapter 5, ask the following questions: What risk factors are present in the lives of incarcerated parents and their children? Do these risk factors predict where a child is placed during parental incarceration? Are some living arrangements for children more vulnerable than others? Using data from the 1997 Surveys of Inmates, Johnson and Waldfogel identify eight risk factors that have been shown in previous research to impact child development (for example, low parental education, parental substance abuse, and whether parents' parent had ever been incarcerated). The authors study the impact on children's living arrangements of these risks separately and cumulatively through the use of a multiple risk score. They show that, controlling for demographic characteristics of inmates, the more risks a child has been exposed to, the more likely it is that he or she will be placed in the care of someone other than the other parent (a grandparent, foster care, or other arrangement). Of the eight risk factors, the most consistent predictors of a child's placement with someone other than the other parent, for children of either incarcerated mothers or fathers, is parents' low education, welfare receipt, and, to a lesser extent, parent's having been sexually or physically abused. Regarding gender differences among incarcerated parents, the authors show that children whose mothers go to prison are likely to have more intense service needs than those whose fathers are imprisoned. The authors show empirically that children in foster care face particularly elevated risk and discuss service approaches for this population.

Part II analyzes the impacts of mass incarceration on the organization and functioning of communities. The authors of these chapters conceive of community—that is, the relationships and organizations that

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structure local social interactions—at two distinct levels. The first level refers to the informal ties and affiliations among neighbors that contribute to social order in communities, sometimes in conjunction with state authorities. The second level corresponds to the political and economic relationships of voting and employment that formally incorporate citizens into the extended collectivities of the labor market and the polity. Communities of neighbors, on the one hand, and workers and voters, on the other, provide the informal social control and stakes in conformity that underlie public safety. To the extent that prisons marginalize rather than reintegrate criminal offenders, the social cohesion and crime-preventive effects of these communities may be weakened.

In chapter 6, James Lynch and William Sabol elaborate and test for the unintended consequences of mass incarceration on the social cohesion of communities and ultimately their levels of public safety. For theoretical inspiration, they draw on the classical sociological literature on social order, especially as it has been updated and revised by Dina Rose and Todd Clear. According to Rose and Clear, high levels of incarceration may ultimately lead to more crime, not less, because of incarceration's "disorganizing" effects. Focusing on Baltimore neighborhoods, Lynch and Sabol assemble a rich data set that includes individual survey evidence tracking, for example, the effect of neighborhood solidarity and interactions and general neighborhood characteristics on arrests, prison admissions, and vacant homes. To test the reciprocal links between incarceration and crime as well as the connections between crime and social order, they estimate increasingly more elaborate statistical models. Using drug arrests to capture the independent influences of higher incarceration rates, for example, they find a negative correlation between crime and imprisonment rates, consistent with the conventional theory of deterrence. At the same time, controlling for neighborhood effects, the authors show that high rates of incarceration may weaken community solidarity, a critical basis of informal social control.

Chapters 7 and 8 move the discussion from the grassroots communities of neighbors to the more formal communities of citizens and workers. Forty-eight of the fifty states bar inmates from voting, thirty-seven bar either parolees or probationers, and thirteen bar various categories of former felons. This totals 4.7 million disfranchised felons and former felons nationally. In chapter 7, Christopher Uggen and Jeff Manza ask the question, what political viewpoints and votes are lost by the exclusion of inmates and some former inmates from this most basic right of citizenship? The authors use a mixed-method design, combining data from a panel survey of youth in St. Paul, Minnesota, and semistructured interviews with more than thirty convicted felons in Minnesota. The quantitative evidence shows that those who have been arrested or incar-

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cerated are more distrusting of government, feel less politically efficacious, and are less likely to talk with friends, relatives, or spouses about politics. As expected, having been arrested or incarcerated substantially suppresses the likelihood of having voted in past elections and having plans to vote in future elections. The qualitative data allow felons to speak for themselves on politics, government, and public policy, and the authors find that being unable to vote is a salient issue for many respondents. Moreover, despite survey evidence that they discussed politics less frequently, respondents held articulate political views. Uggen and Manza's conclusion echoes their chapter title: Something is lost when inmates and former incarcerees are legislated out of the body politic.

In chapter 8, Harry Holzer, Steven Raphael, and Michael Stoll examine the pathways from prison to the labor market from the perspective of potential employers. The authors observe that employers may be reluctant to hire released prisoners, even those possessing the requisite skills and experience for the job. To ascertain which types of establishments and jobs are open to those with a prison record, they analyze the Multi-City survey of firms in the early 1990s and follow-up surveys at the end of the decade. The surveys offer a unique glimpse into the demand side of local labor markets at both the neighborhood and city levels. From the original surveys the authors detail the characteristics of establishments that will and will not hire released prisoners in terms of their size, industrial and spatial location, and hiring practices. From the follow-up surveys, the authors also gauge whether business cycle conditions significantly altered firms' willingness to hire released prisoners. As a synthesis of their results, Holzer, Raphael, and Stoll offer an implicit test of the racial profiling hypothesis and estimate the potential mismatch between the demands for and supplies of released prisoners annually. Their results raise serious concerns about the employability of most released prisoners, at least in formal labor markets, but also about the reliability of private sources of information on criminal backgrounds.

The final essay by Jeremy Travis concludes the volume by elaborating the implications of the preceding chapters for corrections and criminal justice policies more generally. Citing the "iron law of corrections"—the inexorable connection between admissions to and releases from prisons—Travis insists that corrections policy must extend beyond prison walls and encompass the complex, thorny path of prisoners' reentry and reintegration into their families, communities, and the labor market. This broader perspective is especially critical under the current criminal justice regime, not only because of the greater numbers involved but also because of their spatial concentration in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods, longer prison spells, and more limited preparation for release. To avoid the costly vicious cycle of incarceration and recidivism as well as to en-

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hance public safety, Travis proposes greater collaboration between prison officials and those in child and family welfare services, educational and job-training programs, and mental and public health agencies. In other words, Travis advocates a new take on corrections policy, which he sees as part and parcel of social policy. In so doing, he affirms our central premise of the ubiquitous impact of prison experience on low-income minority individuals, families, and neighborhoods.

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