

*"I wasn't going to let them suffer for my mistake."*

Montgomery County Pre-Release and Reentry Services' Residents and  
Their Relationships with their Children Before, During, and After Incarceration

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## Executive Summary

Children of incarcerated parents are at risk for mental health issues and antisocial and criminal behavior. They are more likely than their counterparts to use drugs, to steal, and to be arrested themselves. Examining parent-child relationships from the incarcerated parent's point of view is likely to provide valuable insight into strategies and practices that could help these individuals become better parents while at the same time reducing the risk suffered by their children.

Principally, this research has included seven interviews with residents of Montgomery County's Pre-Release and Reentry Services facility (PRRS). Residents were asked about their relationships with their children, their plans upon release, and their suggestions for improving the PRRS program, their own parenting skills, and the risks of children of incarcerated parents. Visiting hours and a sponsor meeting at PRRS were also observed.

In the interviews, many residents expressed concerns that children of incarcerated parents will follow in their parents' footsteps and someday be incarcerated themselves. Suggestions by residents were separated into several groups. First, residents had ideas relating to making visiting hours more "kid friendly" and more engaging for children and teens. Next, many of those interviewed suggested additional resources to help them and others in their position to be better, more effective parents. Finally, respondents made suggestions about what should be done to address the risks of children of inmates and to give these individuals a better chance at success.

Final recommendations to PRRS include talking to incoming residents about their children, publicizing parenting classes and other programs when they are available, offering child-centered visiting activities once a month and a child-friendly visiting room, and providing a way for interested families to connect and network with each other.

While none of these recommendations will do away with the many problems facing children of incarcerated parents, they may provide parents and children alike with much-needed resources, and ultimately with a better chance for long-term success.

*It is 8:15 on a Thursday evening. As I walk through a linoleum-tiled dining area with vending machines on one wall, I see the residents of Montgomery County's Pre-Release and Reentry Services facility enjoying visiting hours. About 12 tables are arranged throughout the room, seating various groups of people. Extended families are spread out eating take-out. Couples are huddled close together. From a table near the window, Claire<sup>1</sup> looks over and smiles at me. Claire's five children aren't here. For the last six months, they have been in the custody of Child Welfare Services and are temporarily living with relatives. She sees them for an hour every week at the child welfare office, and is not allowed any unsupervised contact with them including telephone calls. For now, Claire sits holding hands with her boyfriend and waits for her next court date when she hopes to be able to convince the judge to restore her custody rights.*

Children of incarcerated parents have repeatedly been identified as being at increased risk for a number of different problems. Mental health issues and criminal and antisocial behavior are concerns for this group,<sup>2 3</sup> as are drug abuse and problems in school.<sup>4</sup> After childhood, unemployment has been linked to parental incarceration.<sup>5</sup> These individuals are also likely to

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<sup>1</sup> Claire is a pseudonym, as are all the names used in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Murray and David P. Farrington, "The Effects of Parental Imprisonment on Children." *Crime and Justice*, 37 (2008): 1-44.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Murray, David P. Farrington, Ivana Sekol, and Rikke F. Olsen, "Effects of Parental Imprisonment on Child Antisocial Behaviour and Mental Health: A Systematic Review." Campbell Collaboration systematic review, 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Murray and Farrington, "Effects of Parental Imprisonment."

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

have increased exposure to violence for a number reasons, although very little research has been conducted in this area.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps most significantly of all, these children are more likely than their counterparts to be incarcerated themselves.<sup>7</sup>

Studies up to this point have focused mainly on delinquent, criminal, and antisocial behavior in children of inmates. For example, Murray, Loeber, and Pardini (2012) found that parental incarceration was connected to increased incidents of theft, particularly in white youth. Murray and Farrington (2005) studied a group of 411 boys in London and found that among those individuals with an incarcerated parent, 65 percent were convicted of a crime between the ages of 19 and 32, compared to 21 percent of the control group.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Murray, Farrington, Sekol, and Olsen, in a Campbell Collaboration Review of the effects of parental incarceration, found that “children of prisoners have about twice the risk of antisocial behaviour and poor mental health outcomes compared to children without imprisoned parents.”<sup>9</sup>

Children with incarcerated parents have been described as being “forgotten—overlooked in the criminal justice system, in social service circles, in public health, and schools.”<sup>10</sup> Resources are often made available both to victims and offenders, but the criminal justice system has

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<sup>6</sup> Craig D. Uchida, Marc Swatt, and Shellie E. Solomon, “Exposure to Violence Among Children of Inmates: A Research Agenda.” Justice & Security Strategies, Inc., 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Danielle H. Dallaire, “Incarcerated Mothers and Fathers: A Comparison of Risks for Children and Families,” *Family Relations* 56 (2007): 440-453.

<sup>8</sup> Murray and Farrington, “Effects of Parental Imprisonment.”

<sup>9</sup> Murray et al., Campbell Collaboration, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Uchida et al., “Exposure to Violence,” p. 4.

traditionally paid little attention to the children of those offenders.<sup>11</sup> What is perhaps most striking about this neglect is the sheer volume of children affected by parental incarceration in the United States. From 1991 to 2008, the number of children with a mother in prison has increased by 131 percent, and the number of children with an incarcerated father has increased by 77 percent.<sup>12</sup> In 2007, over 1.7 million children had a parent in state or federal prison.<sup>13</sup>

Race is another important factor in parental incarceration, and, not surprisingly considering the over representation of people of color in the prison system, children of color are disproportionately impacted. Glaze and Maruschak report that in 2007,

Black children (6.7%) were seven and a half times more likely than white children (0.9%) to have a parent in prison. Hispanic children (2.4%) were more than two and a half times more likely than white children to have a parent in prison.<sup>14</sup>

In other words, of those more than 1.7 million children with an incarcerated parent in 2007, more than 70 percent of them were children of color.<sup>15</sup> Thus, parental incarceration may make individuals who are already more likely to be disadvantaged even worse off.

When discussing strategies for successful reentry into the community, familial connections are often brought up as being of vital importance. Often, incarceration serves to

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<sup>11</sup> Judi Goozh and Sue Jeweler (retired speech therapist and schoolteacher from Montgomery County Public Schools), in discussion with the author, October 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Lauren E. Glaze and Laura M. Maruschak, “Parents in Prison and Their Minor Children.” Special report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Glaze and Maruschak, “Parents in Prison.”

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Sarah Schirmer, Ashley Nellis, and Marc Mauer, “Incarcerated Parents and Their Children: Trends 1991-2007.” Report by the Sentencing Project, 2009.

sever the ties between offenders and their families. If, however, individuals are able to maintain family bonds while incarcerated, they have been shown to be more successful upon release.<sup>16</sup>

In light of all this, the following paper will center on several important questions. First, what can we learn from those parents who are currently incarcerated about helping children, inmates, and families? Second, how do parents incarcerated within a low-security, pre-release setting maintain contact with their children? What factors make it easier or harder to sustain connections? Finally, focusing specifically on Montgomery County's Pre-Release and Reentry Services facility, what are the specific difficulties PRRS residents face regarding their communication, visitation, and overall relationship with their children, and what are their needs or suggestions for improvement?

It is crucial to understand these issues from the incarcerated parent's point of view. Often, he or she possesses a unique perspective on his or her child's situation and is likely to have valuable information on the child's history. Moreover, incarcerated parents, too, may be struggling with this separation, and thus they may be able to offer valuable insight into new policies or practices that would be of value.

### *Montgomery County's Pre-Release and Reentry Services*

Pre-Release and Reentry Services (PRRS) in the Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation is made up of four units and can house over 150 inmates, or residents as they are called in this facility. There is one women's unit with 28 beds, and three

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<sup>16</sup> Ryan Shanahan and Sandra Villalobos Agudelo, "Close to Home: Building on Family Support for People Leaving Jail." Report by the Vera Institute of Justice, 2011.

men's units, each with about 50 beds.<sup>17</sup> Residents live in dorm-style rooms with a common room for socializing. Generally, residents at PRRS are within 12 months of release, and are either working outside the center or are actively looking for work.

## Methodology

This research included seven interviews with residents of PRRS—five men and two women. Questions focused on residents' relationships with their children including frequency of contact, quality of relationship, and their plans regarding their children after they are released. Residents were also asked to share their thoughts and ideas on what they need (both from the pre-release center and in general) to be better parents and to better provide for their children. Finally, considering the added risks to children of incarcerated parents, residents were asked what interventions they would suggest to help these children.

Additionally, I spoke with two community stakeholders and activists who are involved in helping children of inmates, and also with a case manager at PRRS. These interviews and conversations helped me to better understand the context for my research and have given me additional insight into this complicated and multi-faceted issue. Finally, I briefly observed visiting hours and attended one "Sponsor Meeting" at PRRS, which is part of a program designed to support friends and family members of residents and to provide them with the knowledge and resources they need to most effectively assist the resident in the reentry process.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation. Pre-Release and Reentry Services Division Program Guidebook. Spring 2011.

<sup>18</sup> "Family and Friends Sponsor Program," Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation. Accessed November 28, 2012, <http://www6.montgomery>

## Findings

In my interviews with PRRS residents, a number of common themes emerged. Some residents reported similar experiences both at the pre-release center and at the Montgomery County Correctional Facility, where they had been incarcerated prior to coming to PRRS. Many spoke of the importance of visiting hours and of being able to have cell phones to call their children and other loved ones. Some residents reported frequent contact with their children while incarcerated, others saw their children infrequently or not at all.

Residents' suggestions and ideas both for improving family interactions at PRRS and for helping children of incarcerated parents in general were particularly useful. While most residents reported a high degree of satisfaction with the PRRS program and with family visitation, many nonetheless had ideas for improving visitation, for supporting children through a parent's incarceration, and for helping residents to become better parents.

## Respondent Characteristics

Of the seven individuals I interviewed, five had been living with their children prior to their arrest. Two of these individuals were still paying the rent for their families, either from the jobs they were working while at the pre-release center or from savings they had before they were incarcerated. Four out of seven planned to live with their children immediately upon their release, and one had lost custody of her children and was waiting to see whether she would be able to get them back when she secured housing. Of the two residents not planning to live with



their children after their release, both hoped to be able to see them every weekend.

Not surprisingly, the age of the residents' children played an important role in their experiences with those children. Four of the residents interviewed had children under 15 months old. They reported having a harder time communicating over the phone for obvious reasons, and several residents remarked upon the importance of being able to physically hold young babies to establish a connection with them. Michael, a Black man in his 20s who had recently come to the pre-release center, remarked that his two-year-old knows who he is, but that he has two one-year-olds who do not know him. James, also a Black male in his 20s, observed that "My son didn't know who I was when I first got here, but now he is starting to know who I am." Claire, a Black woman in her late 20s, described her disbelief when, after she had been away from her children for four months, her two-year-old son did not remember who she was. She explained:

My two-year-old kept calling me grandma because that's what he calls my cousin. And I said "I'm not grandma, honey." And he said "Oh yeah. What's your name again?" I was in shock. I didn't know whether to cry or laugh. I just said "I'm mama!"

In discussing their backgrounds or general concerns, respondents referenced several common subjects throughout the interviews. One was their own childhood experiences, none of which were positive. The other was concerns about the future of their children or of children of incarcerated parents more generally. They remarked on the need to prevent them from making mistakes similar to those that had landed their parents in jail or prison. Several respondents also remarked on their own school-age children's difficulties in school.

Slightly less than half of the respondents' discussions of their own children included references to difficulties they had experienced in their own childhoods. Michael noted that his

father was not around when he was growing up, which has made it harder to know how to be a father himself. David, a Black male in his early 30s, referred to having had an abusive father when he was young, and Alexander, a white male in his early 30s, stated that he was whipped if he brought home bad grades. He remarked upon the irony of having had these strict rules imposed on him when, at the same time, his step-father was selling drugs.

Another theme centered on the need to prevent children of incarcerated parents from following their parents to jail or prison. Two of the respondents described fears that their children would end up in a similar position to themselves, but neither was sure how to prevent this. Alexander referred to his uncle, saying that when he started to get into trouble as a kid, his uncle would tell him “Boy, you better slow down. You’re going to end up like me.” But he remembered thinking to himself at the time that he looked up to his uncle, so he wasn’t concerned about “ending up” like him. Michael voiced concerns that children “think what you do is cool because you’re the parent” even if that includes getting into trouble or going to jail. Similarly, Alexander worried that even if he succeeds in setting a better example for his son after he is released, his son might act out just to rebel. He noted that this is what he himself had done when he was young.

Two other respondents remarked on the need for prevention to ensure that either their own children or children of incarcerated parents more generally do not make the same mistakes their parents did. Beth, a white female in her early 20s, mentioned the necessity of showing children that going to jail or prison is “not ok, so they don’t go down that same path.” Claire has a ten-year-old son whose father is in prison. She said that she encourages her son to move forward and cautions him not to repeat his father’s mistakes. She tells her son that his father

“made a bad decision, and if you don’t pick up the slack in your own life, this is what could happen.”

Using a parent’s incarceration as a warning to children not to misbehave is a theme that also surfaced at the sponsor meeting I attended. A woman who was there to support her brother but whose father is in prison for life remarked that when children see a family member incarcerated, “they learn the consequences. You tell them that if you do bad things you can potentially go away from your loved ones.” On the other hand, another woman attending the sponsor meeting remarked that rather than acting as a deterrent, seeing a parent in jail may cause children to think they are predestined to end up there, too.

Of the three respondents with school-age children, two mentioned dealing with school-related behavioral issues including stealing, fighting, lying to teachers, and detentions. This was a concern that was also discussed at the sponsor meeting. One sponsor mentioned the problem of children with incarcerated parents acting out in school, while another remarked that her teenage daughters’ grades “dropped tremendously” when their father was sent to jail. She said that both daughters “just shut down when it happened.”

### *Resident Suggestions and Ideas*

When asked what, if anything, would help them and other incarcerated individuals to be better parents, four out of seven residents remarked on the need for parenting or fatherhood classes. Two others stated, when asked, that they would be willing to participate in such a class. Claire was of the opinion that parenting classes should be mandatory for all residents with children. She also suggested bringing in speakers to talk about parenting. She explained that she had been forced to take parenting classes through the child welfare office and she was glad she

was: “At first I was like “Oh God, I do not want to go to parenting classes!” But I had questions. Like “Ok, what do you do when this happens?” And he had answers.”

The only respondent who did not think a parenting class would be helpful was Alexander, who noted that he has been out of his eleven-year-old son’s life since he was born, so “I don’t just need to bond, I need to build a whole relationship. He doesn’t even call me dad, he calls me by my first name.” Instead, Alexander suggested a class focusing on stress management, explaining that

This has been the most stressful situation I’ve dealt with through my incarceration. Not being able to talk to my son or see him. Writing him letters and not hearing back. Not knowing if he’s ok, not knowing whether this guy his mom married is beating him.

For those respondents who were in favor of parenting classes, I asked about the subjects that should be included. Residents had a range of responses including “working on your sensitive side,” effective communication, positive parenting, patience and anger management, and even understanding or communicating with spouses or significant others. Beth explained why she thought she needed training in communication with her three-year-old, saying

I just give him what he wants. I think I do that, too, because part of me feels bad. I was on heroin and I was pretty out of it. I was home, but I wasn’t playing with him all the time. My mom did a lot. So part of it is that I’m trying to make up for it.

Other respondents made more indirect suggestions. One suggested job training for parents about to be released, explaining that if an individual learns a specific skill, he or she might be able to find a better-paying job that will better support his or her family. Another respondent suggested that PRRS develop resources that could assist parents in locating housing for themselves and their children.

Not surprisingly, one subject that frequently came up was visitation. Residents were generally very happy with visiting policies, remarking on the frequency of visiting hours and on the option to play outside with their children. Richard, a Black man in his 40s, commented on PRRS' advantages over the jail, explaining that at PRRS, he has the ability to see his family every day. Moreover, four respondents mentioned the importance of being allowed to have cell phones in keeping in touch with their children, and two others remarked on this indirectly, referring to their ability while at PRRS to talk to their children multiple times per day.

Some respondents had ideas about making visiting hours more "kid friendly." Two suggested having a separate area just for parents and their kids. Claire described what she saw as the need for this separate space, explaining

I don't know if this is the environment you want your kids in—people be cussing . . . It would be nice to have a space for only parents and kids to go to and spend time instead of having everybody all around—it's too much.

David elaborated further on this idea, suggesting having games and interactive or educational toys in this space. He also suggested having weekly "parent-kid activities" at PRRS, saying that this would help with the transition back home and would also help maintain family connections.

The sponsor meeting, too, discussed having interactive visiting hours. When asked by the case manager leading the session whether they thought their children would enjoy doing an art project with their parent, sponsors responded that this would be a great way to keep kids from getting bored and to ensure they would want to come back to visit again. One sponsor remarked that doing an activity together would help avoid or bridge the awkward silences that sometimes come up during visits between parents and kids.

Sponsors also brainstormed activities that could be done with teenagers who might not be

interested in art projects. Someone suggested that learning a skill such as how to tie a tie or create a resume would be a productive and meaningful use of visiting time. Another sponsor suggested holding special classes or activities in the computer lab so that residents and their teenage children could learn a new computer program together.

As a final interview question, I asked residents whether they had ideas about programs, strategies, or interventions to help at-risk children of incarcerated parents. Residents' responses to this question were especially varied, ranging from conflict resolution training to programs focusing on literacy and spirituality, to "etiquette [classes] for toddlers" to sending a misbehaving child to jail for a week to see all the fighting that goes on there. Two residents suggested forming a recreational group just for children with incarcerated parents to let these individuals know that "they are not alone." One resident suggested a mentorship big brother-style program, and suggested that mentors, in addition to undergoing an extensive background check, be required to go through parenting classes so that they will better understand the children they are trying to help. Finally, one respondent suggested journaling, letter writing, and making crafts, such as creating a collage of all the things the child might like to do with his or her parent.

## Discussion and Final Recommendations

*"Relationships are hard from a place like this." (David)*

*"It just feels so good when you can hold them!" (James)*

*"When I saw them after 4 months my four-year-old thought it was his fault. He was apologizing to me." (Claire)*

*"My mom tells him I'm in school, but now he's terrified of going to school because he thinks he won't come back." (Beth)*

*“I’m not going to force them to see me. It’s not like I really want them to come see me in here.” (Richard)*

*“Things are different now. Everything I do has a snowball effect. I think about my wife, my stepdaughter, and my son now.” (David)*

*“When you are in you miss a lot.” (James)*

*“I just tell them it’s going to get better, we’re going to be back together again.” (Claire)*

Residents had many ideas about improving the quality of visiting hours, improving their parenting skills, and addressing the risks facing children of incarcerated parents. Some of these suggestions focused on the needs of the incarcerated parent, such as providing housing assistance, job training, and spiritual outlets. Others centered on improving residents’ relationships with their children through better training for the parents or through mediation that would help children understand why their parents made the mistakes that resulted in their incarceration. A final group of suggestions addressed ways to improve the lives and everyday experiences of these children, such as forming a group just for children of incarcerated parents and providing these individuals with mentors.

Not all of the above suggestions are feasible, and indeed, not all of them are likely to be successful. It is doubtful that an etiquette class for toddlers would be effective or practical, and scared straight methods, such as sending a misbehaving child to jail for a week, have little or no scientific backing and have not been successful in the past. Other suggestions, however, may be more doable and rewarding. I list five suggestions below that I believe would be effective in encouraging and strengthening family bonds, thus benefitting both the incarcerated parent and his

or her children.

### **1. Talk to Incoming Residents About Their Children.**

Discussing children with a case manager could open the door to residents' questions and concerns about their children, some of which could be addressed while at PRRS. This would also give the case manager a chance to inform the resident immediately upon his or her entry into the facility of any special programs that may be available to him or her.

### **2. Publicize Parenting Classes When They are Available.**

Many of the residents I spoke to stated that they would be interested in a fatherhood or parenting class, but were unsure whether one would be available to them. While classes and special programs are likely to be grant-funded and thus may not be permanent fixtures in the facility, making sure all qualifying or interested residents are aware of when special programs are available will ensure that no one misses an opportunity to grow and improve their parenting skills.

### **3. Hold a Monthly Activity for Parents and Children.**

If possible with budget constraints, a regular activity for visiting children is likely to be both well-received and a great way to make visiting more interesting and meaningful for residents' children. Maybe to start, visiting activities could be offered once a month on a weekend. Monthly activities could alternate between those designed for younger children and those focused on older or teenage children.

### **4. Offer a "Kid-Friendly" Room for Family Visiting.**

If space and staffing allows, offering a smaller, "kid-friendly" space for families would be another excellent way to make visiting more fun and less intimidating for children. This room



could be stocked with a few children's books, games, coloring books, and crayons to encourage parent-child interaction and to facilitate conversation. If such a space is not always available or if staff is not always available to supervise it, perhaps residents could have the option of reserving the room ahead of time when they know they will have family visiting. In addition to providing fun activities for children, this room would provide a less noisy and calmer atmosphere for parent-child bonding.

#### **5. Provide a Way for Families to Network with Each Other.**

Several of the residents interviewed remarked on how helpful it would be to children of incarcerated parents or to spouses or significant others to have a way to connect with other individuals in the same situation. Perhaps sponsor meetings could bring up this possibility and offer to facilitate some informal networking. Sponsors could write their information down on a piece of paper with the understanding that it would be shared with other sponsors who had done the same. This would provide family members and other supporters of residents with the option of getting together themselves or getting their children together with other individuals who might be undergoing many of the same experiences.

### *Concluding Remarks*

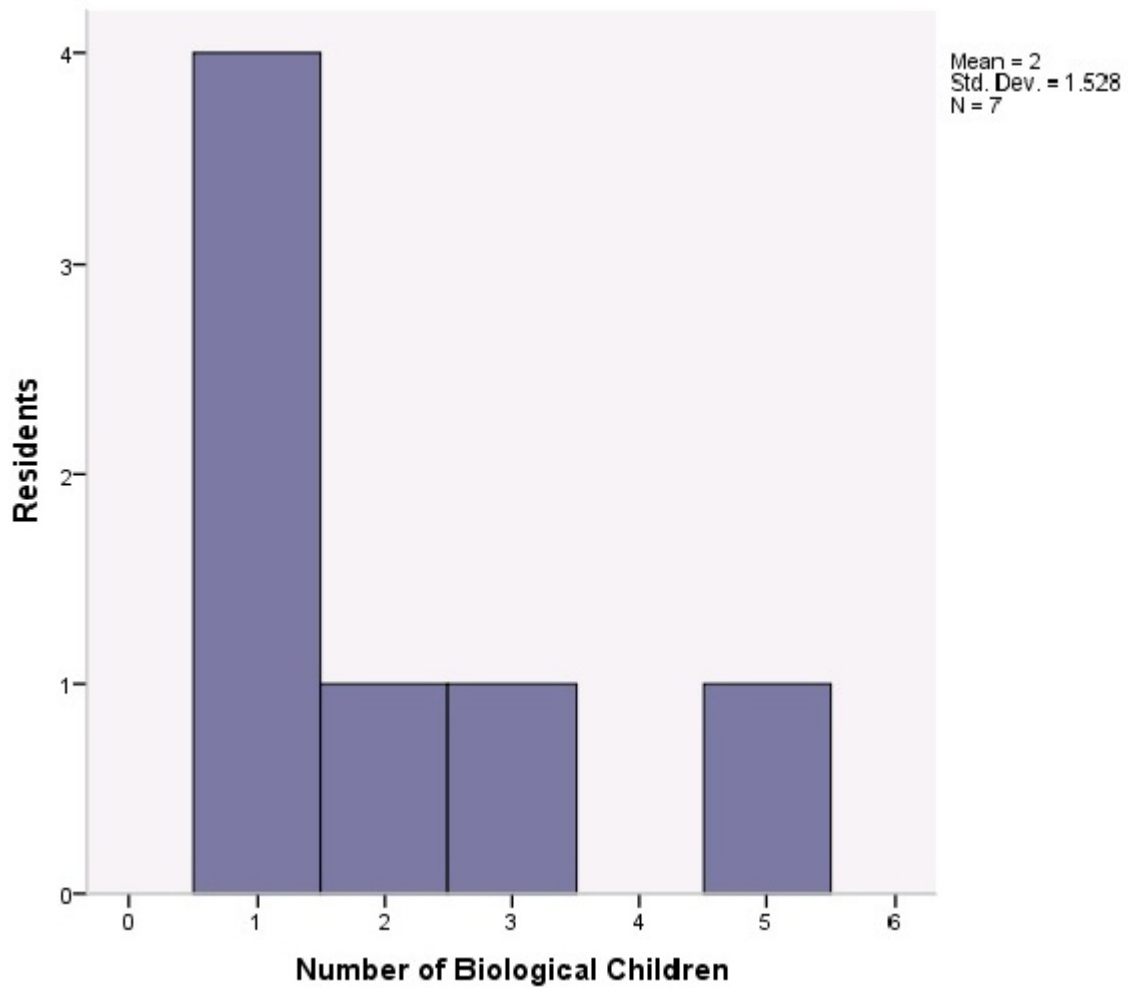
As this was an exploratory study with a very small sample size, the respondents interviewed were in no way representative either of PRRS residents with children, or of incarcerated parents as a group. I would have liked to interview more female residents, but at the time of my interviews, only two women with children were in residence at PRRS. Regardless of these limitations, however, the words, stories, and recommendations of the seven men and women who were kind enough to share their experiences with me can shed light on the struggles

of parents and children to overcome the many challenges of incarceration.

While there is much about the lives and experiences of children with incarcerated parents that still needs to be studied and evaluated, it is clear that there are things that can be done both to improve their chances for success and to ease the reentry processes of their parents. None of the recommendations here will wipe out the problems facing these families, and there is no panacea for ending incarceration or the suffering of those left behind. And yet, the more we can do to provide these at-risk children with the resources and connections they need, the less likely they will be to follow in their parents' footsteps to jail or prison.

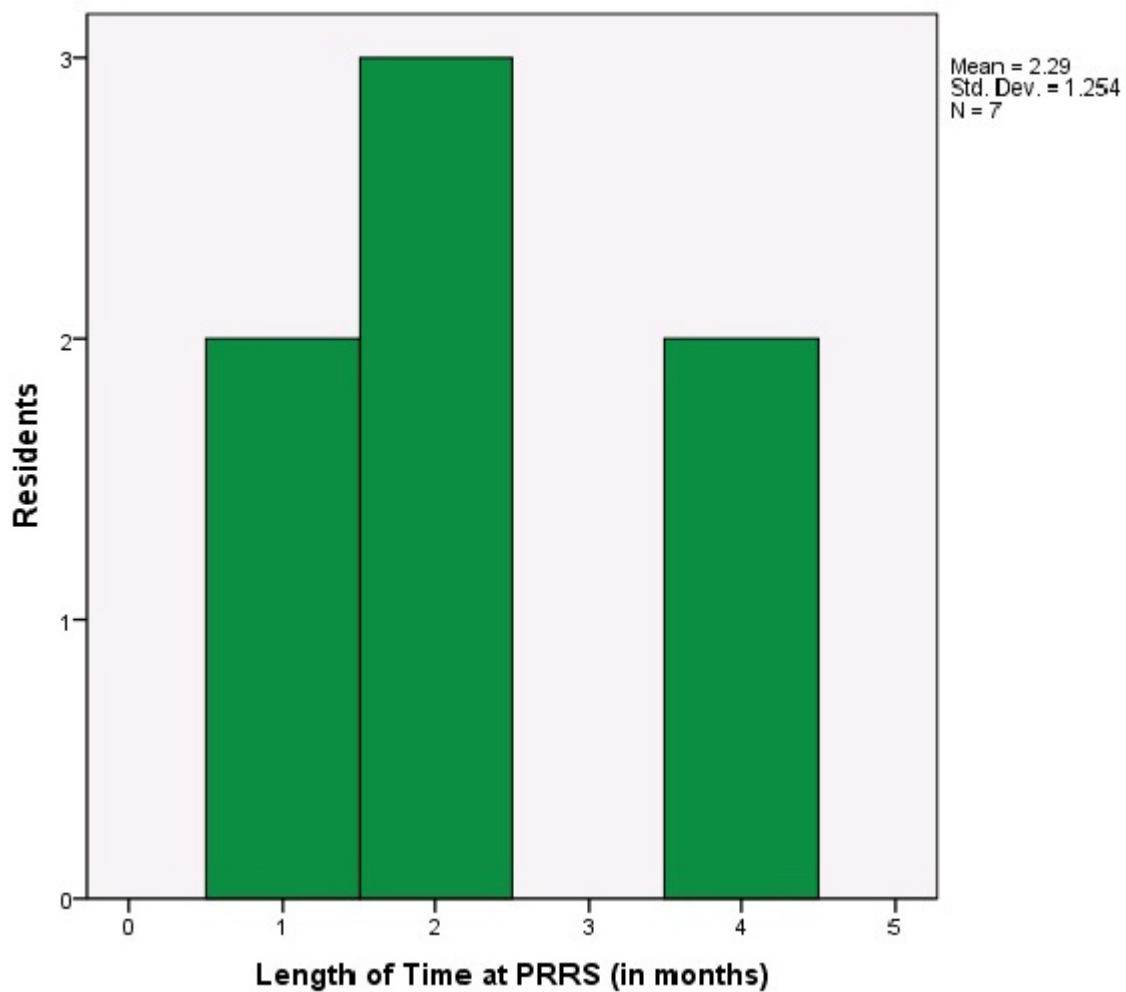
# Appendix A

## Number of biological children per resident



## Appendix B

Length of time spent at PRRS (thus far) per resident



# Appendix C

## Interview Questions

1. To start out, I'm going to ask you for some very basic background information.
  - A. How many children do you have?
  - B. What are their ages/grades?
  - C. With whom are they currently living? Who has custody of them at this time?
  - D. Where are they living?
  
2. Relationship Background
  - A. Have you lived with your child(ren) at any point?
  - B. How would you describe your relationship with your child(ren) before you were incarcerated?
  
3. Current Relationship: Now I will ask you some questions about the relationship you currently have with your child(ren).
  - A. How often do you talk to your child(ren)?
  - B. How often do you see your child(ren)?
  - C. Has your relationship with your child(ren) changed since you have been incarcerated?  
(if yes) Can you describe these changes?
  
4. Anticipated future relationship
  - A. When do you anticipate being released?
  - B. Are you planning to live with your child(ren)?  
(if no) How often do you anticipate seeing your child(ren) after you are released?
  - C. Will you have custody or joint custody?
  - D. Do you have any plans for how you will provide support to your child(ren)?  
Emotional?  
Financial?
  
5. Has there been anything that you or anyone else has done that has helped you to stay in touch with your children while you have been incarcerated?  
Have there been any factors that have made it more difficult to stay in touch?
  
6. So now focusing specifically on the Pre-Release Center, what are some aspects of the program here that have helped or could help you to have a closer relationship with your child(ren)?
  
7. Are there any things that this program could do differently to better support you in your interactions with your child(ren)?
  
8. Do you have any other ideas about anything the program could do to help you to have a better

or closer relationship with your child(ren)?

Any aspects of parenting that you feel you need help with?

Any programs or resources that you feel would help you to be a better parent?

What would it take to accomplish this?

9. I know that some programs have fatherhood or parenting classes. Have you been involved with anything like this in the past (these programs often teach skills like communication, effective discipline techniques, and anger management)?

(if yes) Was it helpful?

(if no) Do you think these kinds of classes would be useful?

10. Finally, if you were in charge of a program designed to help children who have a parent incarcerated, what would you want to include in that program? More specifically, are there any strategies or interventions you would suggest to help a child who was struggling with a parent's incarceration?

# Appendix D

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