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Women, Re-entry and Everyday Life: Time to Work?

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Women, Re-entry and Everyday Life: Time to Work?

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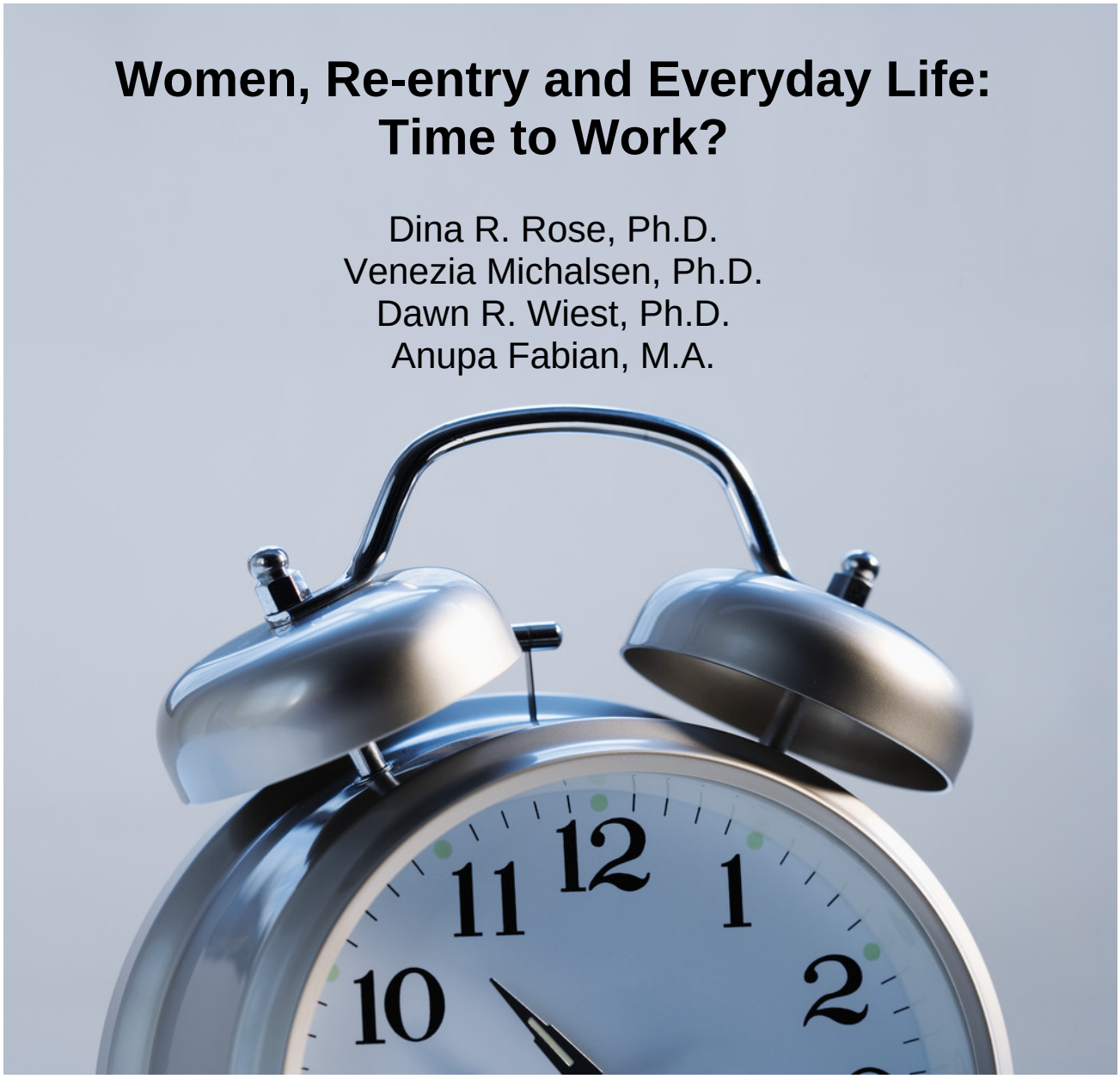

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In the fall of 2003, Women's Prison Association (WPA) Executive Director Ann Jacobs and Dr. Dina Rose, then Director of Research at WPA, attended a roundtable discussion about employment and reentry sponsored by the Urban Institute. After that meeting, Ann and Dina discussed the ways in which practitioners understand time as a barrier in reentry, though the research community had so far overlooked it. This study, which seeks to document the impact of time on former prisoners' search for employment, was a result of that conversation. We are grateful that WPA decided to pursue the project and, in doing so, entered the exciting world of research. In particular, we would like to thank Ann Jacobs, Georgia Lerner, Les Hayden, Sarah From and Mickey Lambert for their help in the design and review processes.

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Most importantly, we would like to thank the women who took part in the study for sharing their time with us. We know how important their time is, and feel fortunate to have been included in their days. We also appreciate the feedback we received from members of the debriefing session, which helped refine our analyses. We believe that the time diaries our study participants kept and the insights they provided shed a useful light on a phenomenon which gets overlooked in the research and policy discussions about reentry: time usage impacts the lives of women returning home from prison in very real ways. We hope that our results will allow for improvements in policy and practice that may help women like them in their transitions from incarceration to the community.

Women, Reentry and Everyday Life: Time to Work?

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	Page 1
Introduction	Page 3
Chapter 1: Women, Reentry and Work	Page 7
Chapter 2: Research Strategy	Page 23
Chapter 3: The Temporal Rhythm of Daily Life	Page 54
Chapter 4: Reentry Priorities and Construction of the Day	Page 88
Chapter 5: The Nuanced Problems of Employment	Page 116
Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations	Page 137
Bibliography	Page 154
Appendices	Page 158

Women, Reentry and Everyday Life: Time to Work?

Introduction

In our increasingly fast-paced and technocratic society, the skill and practice of time management has come to the fore in all sectors: work, family, social settings, and more. We are all juggling different commitments and responsibilities, answering to others' needs, and attempting to satisfy our own wants and desires.

In trying to reach the goals we set for ourselves, we are sometimes hampered by lack of time to accomplish all that we want. This is especially true when we have little perceived – or real – control over how our time is spent. When we are in chronic time deficit, goals are satisfied perhaps less consciously, and with more attention paid to the most immediate rather than the most important need. At times, our goals seem to be at cross-purposes with one another, which creates stress. We can reduce this stress by better understanding how our goals can be achieved more in tandem with one another, and taking systematic steps to ensure that we are addressing those goals consistently.

For women attempting to reintegrate back into their communities after being in prison or jail, the essential struggles of time management are not terribly different. While criminal justice and other system involvement may create unique needs, some of the ways in which time management is a global issue are very much pertinent to the women we interviewed for the study we present here:

Women, Reentry, and Everyday Life: Time To Work? This study focuses on women at various stages of reentry into the community after involvement with the criminal justice system. In particular, it takes a close look at how the participants in the study manage their time in the face of the types of competing demands that are all too common to most people.

This study started as an observation of the roles of various public systems in formerly incarcerated women's lives. We wondered if this involvement was so demanding and time-consuming that it precluded the possibility of finding and keeping a job. As with most questions of this nature, the answers were complex, and brought up many more questions of their own. Most importantly, this process of discovery helped us to deepen our understanding of the women who come to the Women's Prison Association (WPA), and how we can best work with them to achieve all the goals they set for themselves.

For many of the women we work with at WPA, the criminal justice system is far from their first experience with public systems. Many women with criminal justice histories report and experience a trend of involvement with public systems – and the institutionalization that co-occurs with it – from a life stage far earlier than that of their arrest and/or incarceration. This chronic involvement in child welfare, public assistance, public health care, and other public services can create a strong internalized sense of there being little choice or control over one's own life. Moreover, the stigma associated with a criminal justice history can be a

barrier not only to finding work, but – through the fear associated with encountering that stigma firsthand – can also preclude women from taking the steps necessary to begin a search. In addition, the expectation that a job search should be independently initiated and conducted may not resonate for women with histories of institutionalization. It is clear that the obstacles to employment for criminal justice-involved women are great in number and scope.

Still, employment can be an integral part of a self-sufficient and independent life. Employment can help to fulfill a range of goals – improved self-esteem, a clear sense of one's place in the world, the ability to provide for oneself and one's family, and a sense of structure just a few among them. We do not subscribe to the notion that women are helpless to change their personal circumstances. To the contrary, we have found over and over again that given both the latitude and guidance to establish and strive toward certain goals, women are incredibly resourceful and adaptive.

Women are also most likely to be successful in achieving their objectives when they can truly lead the process of setting and reaching them. Social service agency staff working directly with women can be integral collaborators in this journey, developing plans that are tailored to what women are hoping to achieve, and continuing to be advocates, mentors, and role models. Staff can also help women to envision better outcomes for themselves, and can work with women to demystify the steps towards reaching their goals.

While this study has brought to bear many of our experiences assisting women who come to us for services, it also offers a unique opportunity for WPA (and other, similar agencies), as a learning organization, to glean from and better incorporate different types of data and feedback into the continual improvement of the organization and the services we offer. Furthermore, *Women, Reentry, and Everyday Life: Time to Work?* provides a body of evidence that lives within the organization as a reference tool. The data and interview excerpts and anecdotes contained within its text encapsulate some of the most challenging and complex dynamics that our staff face in working with formerly incarcerated women; in this study, their stories can live beyond a case conference or a progress note. Finally, the journey from raw data to finished report work can be a living example of how learning organizations build and manage their own knowledge and use it for internal capacity building.

The conclusions we have drawn from this particular study are not static or pat; they are intended to be an entry point for a broader dialogue about women, criminal justice, work, and self-sufficiency. We hope that this study raises as many questions as it answers, and that this process of questioning will lead to better, more effective approaches. We also hope that the creation and publication of this study is representative of the journey that we took organizationally in creating it, and serves as an example of how WPA drew lessons from the experience.

Chapter One: Women, Reentry and Work

Interest in the successful re-integration of former prisoners into the community has intensified over the past few years as the number of people coming out of prison has grown to over 650,000 per year (Harrison & Beck, 2005). From a research and policy perspective, the issue of what happens to former prisoners once they are released is not a new subject. Given their ongoing concern with public safety, politicians, criminal justice professionals and service providers alike have always paid attention to this transition. Historically, though, both researchers and policy-makers have centered almost exclusively on recidivism: whether or not former prisoners re-offend. The recent concern with reentry, on the other hand, is focused on the question of how to reconnect former prisoners to the community. Of course, the primary goal of this connection remains public safety. However, by considering the complexity of life after incarceration, from the larger social context into which former prisoners return to the practical tasks they must accomplish upon release, the reentry discussion is broader than its recidivism cousin.

The transition from prison to home is a challenging process for many people. Former prisoners face a host of hurdles in their attempt to resume lives in the community. For instance, former prisoners typically need to acquire practical things such as clothes and housing. At the same time, they often are working towards less tangible goals such as re-establishing relationships with family and friends. Immediately upon release from prison, many former prisoners also have a variety of official tasks to accomplish such as re-applying for drivers'

licenses or public benefits. In addition, most have parole obligations to meet such as appointments with parole officers, educational classes, and often meetings to maintain sobriety. Further, parents who want to stay in the lives of their children are often involved in the child welfare system as well, which adds other vital requirements and commitments.

Then there is the possibility of work. Employment is as crucial for former prisoners as it is for members of the population at large. However, for former prisoners returning to the community, the issue of work has always been particularly complex. On one hand, the research that links employment to lower levels of re-offending is well established (Uggen & Staff, 2004), yet on the other hand, there are unusually high levels of unemployment among the population of former prisoners. One reason for this is a stigma leading employers to resist hiring anyone with a prison record (Holzer, Raphael & Stoll, 2003). Researchers have also shown that other factors such as lack of education and low job skills often make former prisoners unattractive potential employees (Dietrich, 2002). The problem is so severe, in fact, that one study showed that approximately 60% of former prisoners were not employed in the regular labor market one year after release (Travis, Solomon & Waul, 2001). For those who do find work, it is frequently low-paying and one with few benefits, if any. Furthermore, former prisoners have significantly limited chances to increase their earnings as they accumulate time on the job (Western, 2002).

The issue of how formerly incarcerated people find and keep employment, however, is more complex than these studies allow. For example, even an

individual prepared with job skills will not get a job if she does not seek it; she must value work, and believe the potential compensation is worth the effort. For those who are both qualified and willing, they must have the time to fit work into their days amongst a host of other priorities and requirements competing for their time. How formerly incarcerated job seekers use their time, therefore, is a salient issue.

In this study, we approach the question of employment among former prisoners by examining how their use of time impacts their ability to find and keep work. We were primarily interested in discovering whether their involvement in multiple government and social service systems at the time of reentry impacted the time available to work. To analyze this question, we asked a group of female former prisoners to keep time diaries for two days. This enabled us to consider how daily commitments affect their ability to work by documenting the number and timing of appointments, as well as the time spent waiting for and traveling to such appointments. However, because time usage also reflects choices about what to do during the day, we conducted in-depth interviews with the women to analyze how competing reentry goals and socialization to the value of work influences the priority they give to finding and keeping employment. In the end, we arrived at a comprehensive picture of daily time usage, answering the question of whether there really is time available to work for ex-prisoners back in the community.

Time Usage as a Topic of Study

Despite the important influence of time use on employment and other facets of the reentry process, researchers, policymakers and criminal justice professionals have tended to overlook time as a factor. Of course, how former prisoners use their time has been the background to all reentry discussions, but only in an abstract sense: over time, do formerly incarcerated people recidivate, get substance abuse treatment, or find employment?

In other disciplines, primarily sociology and economics, time has been studied as an important determinant of individual or collective financial security, health and emotional well being.[1] Within economics, studies of time arise from an interest in understanding how scarce resources get allocated to competing uses. For example, since time can be allocated either to the market or non-market production (e.g. working versus cooking, cleaning, child care), leisure (e.g. watching television, socializing), or biological maintenance functions (e.g. eating, sleeping), its usage has salient implications for economies (Joyce and Stewart, 1999). Sociologists typically focus on time as a mechanism to uncover differences among social groups and countries (Juster, Thomas & Stafford, 1991). When conceptualized in this vein, understanding variations in time usage shows how social structure shapes individual actions and enhances our understanding of both the social and personal meanings of an individual's activities (Hareldsen, 2000).

[1] For an overview on the various applications of time use research, see: Ver Poeg et al., 2000; Pentland et al, 1999; Juster & Thomas, 1999; Andorka & Rudolf, 1987; and Joyce & Stewart, 1999.

We combine elements from both the sociological and economic perspectives here to find out how our respondents choose to prioritize their time, and to uncover the impact of these time allocations on our respondents' everyday lives, as well as implications for official reentry interventions. We recognize that time usage reflects people's choices, priorities and eventual skills. For former prisoners, however, we know that how they use time is also a manifestation of obligations placed on them by institutional demands, which also reflect social ideals and values. Rather than simply asking whether or not someone obtains a job upon release, this approach allows us to take a deeper look into the way people choose to live their daily lives.

Time Usage as an Issue for Prisoners

Time is a particularly significant issue for current and former prisoners. Indeed, serving one's sentence is referred to as "doing time." Yet "doing time" means not having discretion over personal time, since time spent in correctional facilities is structured and controlled by facility staff. Individuals who have become accustomed to this may not have had the chance to learn or practice good time management skills. Therefore, upon release, former prisoners are likely to struggle with choices about how to use their time. Instead, parole officers, the courts, mandated programs and other agents in the community set requirements and monitor their activities, frequently without the benefit of communication or coordination efforts. These collective experiences shape an

individual's understanding of time management and ownership over such time management choices.

Similarly, experiences in the community prior to incarceration impact how former prisoners use their time upon release. For instance, many people who have been incarcerated come from neighborhoods with high levels of poverty (Cadora, Gordon & Swartz, 2002). While it is tempting to think about unemployment as a phenomenon of individuals, it is important to recognize that it is not equally distributed across various populations. Rather, levels of unemployment vary by race, ethnic background, age, industry, and geographic region (Giddens, 1991).

In America, poverty is often concentrated in urban centers, which also tend to have high percentages of African American citizens. This has been the subject of much research; for example, Wilson (1987) developed one of the most commonly accepted explanations. He argued that concentrated unemployment occurred in many inner-city areas when the shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy led to a drastic reduction in the number of unskilled jobs. The result was a largely black, socially isolated group he referred to as the "underclass," comprised primarily of unmarried mothers dependent on welfare and the jobless fathers of their children. The American prison population is drawn largely from these communities and, in general, matches these characteristics. For instance, 40% of all inmates with sentences of more than one year are black, 35% are white and 20% are Hispanic (Harrison & Beck, 2006). Also, sixty-nine percent of men in state prisons did not finish high school

(Harlow, 2003). Furthermore, 30% of incarcerated men reportedly did not have a job during the month before their arrest, while 55% of the unemployed men were not looking for work (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2000).

The fact that many of our nation's inmates come from severely disadvantaged communities with low rates of employment may mean that they come from areas where many people are accustomed to long periods of free time. In such communities, one of the factors contributing to such time spent on non-work activities may be considerations about what are worthwhile ways to spend time. When opportunities for employment are scarce, and those that do exist do not provide adequate compensation, the development of self worth through family and peer experiences might not have included the importance of work. In fact, they may have even negated the value of work. In this context, leisure, family, and peer connections may become more important influences regarding the priority given to employment.

Among others, Anderson (1990) and Wilson (1987) document this phenomenon in their studies of inner-city neighborhoods. Although the issue of time is not discussed directly in these studies, many of their conclusions about the disadvantage faced by these communities can be understood in terms of available time and decisions about how time is used. For example, unemployment creates a time vacuum which is filled with other activities. As these other pursuits become more highly valued, a shift in priority with regard to time is likely to occur. Residents of these neighborhoods interact less and less

frequently with people in other communities. What it means to be busy is also redefined. Indeed, scholars sometimes refer to joblessness as “idleness”, a word that can only be understood in terms of time. The culmination of effects is the social and cultural isolation which Anderson (1990) and Wilson (1987) describe.

The issue of time use is particularly germane for women. Like their male counterparts, the female prison population is reflective of poor African-American communities: black females are more than twice as likely as Hispanic females and four times more likely than white females to be in prison (Harrison & Beck, 2005). Further, 64% of women in State prisons have not finished high school (Harlow, 2003), and almost half were unemployed in the month before their arrest (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2000). Thus, many women in prison have been exposed to the same effects of widespread unemployment as their male counterparts. At the same time, however, these effects are exacerbated for women because of their role in the family. Women are likely to be enmeshed in a host of family relations and obligations that supersede the priority of employment, especially when job prospects are poor. These priorities retain their importance both while women are incarcerated and when they return home, which is then reflected in how they choose to use their time.

Most incarcerated women are the primary caregivers of their children before going to prison. In fact, incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women often rate separation from their children as the most difficult part of imprisonment (Fogel, 1993), and most rank family reunification as a primary reentry goal

(Richie, 2003). Time spent reaching this goal may take time away from finding and keeping a job. Furthermore, while 90% of children of incarcerated males are in the care of the mothers, less than a third of children of incarcerated mothers are cared for by the children's fathers (Hagan & Coleman, 2001). This increases the odds that family reunification will involve foster care agencies and family court, both of which can consume large periods of time for mothers trying to maintain or regain custody of - and even relationships with - their children. Even when children are placed with family members, they may still be under the supervision of the child welfare system, an involvement fraught with complication, expense and risk. If children are reunited with their mothers when they return to the community, childcare responsibilities, and the time that goes into them, are also necessarily prioritized.

Time is also likely to be a particularly salient issue for women returning home from prison since maintaining sobriety is also a high priority goal for a significant percentage of these women (Karberg & James, 2005). While women have never made up the majority of the incarcerated population, the large increase in the rate of female incarceration since 1977 can in part be attributed to the "War on Drugs" which has impacted women differently than men. In fact, women are incarcerated for drug offenses at almost the same proportion (29%) as for violent (35%) and property (30%) offenses (Harrison & Beck, 2006). Accompanying changes in sentencing laws have also increased the probability of incarceration for people with drug convictions (Immarigeon & Chesney-Lind, 1991). As a result, the national rate of female incarceration grew by 757%

between 1977 and 2004 (Frost, 2006). Arrest and incarceration statistics do not only reflect policy and practice changes, but also the prevalence of addiction: of women in State prisons, 74% reported that they were using drugs regularly before their incarceration, 40% reporting using drugs at the time of their offense, and 84% report having used drugs at some point in the past (Mumola, 1999). The interplay between maintaining sobriety and other reentry priorities, such as family reunification, employment, education, and even housing, is particularly powerful for women since the former is often a legal and personal prerequisite for the latter. As a result, many former prisoners and service providers believe that time must be taken to achieve sobriety before anything else can be pursued. Recovery from drug and alcohol use and abuse is a process that often involves intensive work, often in a residential or time-consuming outpatient program. Indeed, research has shown that length of stay in substance abuse treatment is associated with successful outcomes (Ashley, Sverdlov & Brady, 2004). Involvement in such a program may take up the majority of women's time, and therefore limit the time available for other commitments.

Finally, women are more likely than men to be released from prison with extensive physical and mental health problems (Acoca, 1998). Treatment for these ailments can also be time consuming, and many may make work difficult or impossible. Further, benefits awarded specifically to help with such ailments, such as Social Security, may require unemployment.

Overall, women have a vast array of special needs as they leave incarceration that may affect how they use their time, from time dedicated to

achieving reunification with children and the ensuing childcare responsibilities, to time spent keeping appointments in order to maintain health and sobriety. To complement existing research about the effects of stigma and low qualifications, this research sought to document the specific ways in which time functions as a barrier to employment for women returning home from prison. By focusing on this important topic, the reentry process is further illuminated, and a series of policy and programming recommendations can be developed that will support the work of criminal justice researchers, professionals and policy-makers encouraging the successful reentry of women involved in the criminal justice system.

Overview of Following Chapters

Chapter 2: Research Strategy

This chapter presents the research questions that guide our inquiry into time use, employment and reentry, discusses our analytic approach and the data collection instruments, and describes the sample selection process and key characteristics of the sample.

Chapter 3: The Temporal Rhythm of Daily Life: The Impact of Daily Time Use on Employment

Analyses of the time diaries, presented in this chapter, showed mixed results for the impact of time on employment. Findings indicate that with the exception of a handful of women whose days are highly scheduled, the major

impediment to employment was not the volume or length of appointments. Instead, it was the way the appointments are scheduled throughout the day in a way that did not give women enough time to work. Not only do appointments take place during typical business hours, but they tend to be spaced considerably apart, thereby taking up the bulk of the day. Even when only one appointment was scheduled for a day, it tended to occur in the middle of the afternoon. The chapter concludes by examining whether respondent schedules were affected by respondent characteristics, such as time since release, stated involvement in a job search, and responsibilities involving children.

Chapter 4: Reentry Priorities and Construction of the Day

Analyses of the follow-up interviews, presented in chapter four, showed a variety of reasons for the structure of respondents' schedules. First, appointments tended to be scheduled by service providers for women in our sample. Because most of these agencies are open only during traditional working hours, the appointments are usually also scheduled during this time. Most of the women in our study make little effort to influence the timing of their appointments, and as a result, accepted appointment times as offered.

More importantly, findings indicated that these women had a variety of reentry goals which were reflected in the way they scheduled their days. These objectives included family reunification, sobriety, and finding housing and employment. When they talk about their days, however, the women clearly held at least three latent goals as well: stress reduction, avoiding trouble and taking

care of themselves. Loosely structured schedules helped them meet their latent goals better than their manifest ones. For instance, appointments which were well spaced provided the women with more than ample time to get from one appointment to another. This reduced their stress since it helped them "be responsible" and meet another latent goal, staying out of trouble, by decreasing idle time. Thus, while the women in our study recognized the importance of employment for reentry prospects, the other goals were given higher priority, and were reflected in their schedules.

Chapter 5: The Nuanced Problems of Employment

This chapter demonstrates ambiguity about employment reflected in the way the women talk about work, both as it existed in their families of origin and how it exists in their own lives today. Almost all of the women accepted the mainstream norm that employment is important. This support for working was expressed by our respondents, irrespective of whether or not their parents worked, or whether they thought their parents had positive or negative experiences on the job. Most of our respondents talked about a salient childhood expectation of their own employment as an adult.

Most had some work experience, although job histories were significantly unstable. Yet, most of the women in the study attributed their lack of regular work to "life on the streets." Although five women in the study were working and almost everyone else said they were looking for work, only a handful of the unemployed respondents allocated any time to job searching during days when

they kept their time diaries. Furthermore, most expressed at least some reluctance to take low-paying jobs that may not be enough to support themselves or make their time worthwhile.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter, recommendations that would help women to accommodate work in their daily schedules were discussed. The fact that the women in our study hold ambiguous attitudes about employment was not surprising. Their exposure to work, and messages about the value of employment, was mixed. Also, the variety of reentry goals and the time allocated to achieving those goals were based largely upon how the goals were prioritized.

The fact that most of the women were not overly scheduled with formal appointments was good news for employment prospects. In fact, these women reentering the community with such schedules would likely be able to work if they restructured their daily time. In particular, potential work hours must be cleared, and other commitments could be kept outside of such time. Doing this would promote the viability of holding a job, and open additional time for job searching, application, and interviewing.

Service providers may also help their clients' reentry process by offering appointments outside traditional work hours or by consolidating appointments with each client both with regard to when and where they occur. Reducing commuting times by providing centralized, neighborhood-based services would also reduce the amount of time allocated to appointments as well as the amount

of stress experienced by the women in pursuit of responsibly meeting their commitments.

On the other hand, one pervasive belief underlying this study is that work happens between 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. While many jobs do take place during this time, there are also many that happen during other hours. In fact, some of the women in our study who are currently working described a reentry strategy focused on working at night, so they were free during the day for appointments. This was reportedly a successful approach for them. Unfortunately, a general lack of awareness among the larger sample appeared regarding whether these night-shifts actually exist.

It remains unclear whether more women might become employed if they simply knew about the range of jobs and shifts available. Although the women talked about a very busy period immediately post-release dedicated to initial parole appointments, securing shelter, obtaining benefits and other vital tasks, this extreme busyness ends relatively quickly after about two weeks. Surely, in our study, some women did have appointments with family court, parole officers and such, but on the whole, our respondents had been out of incarceration for an average of two years, and their appointments tended to be focused now on services and education. Although some appointments were mandatory such as a parole requirement to “attend education until you get a job,” thereby impeding employment, others reflect conscious choices about time usage.

This is not to say that the women need to change their priorities. Their goals, particularly the latent ones of reducing stress, staying out of trouble and

self care, are very important. Dismissing their significance could ultimately undermine the key to a successful reentry. Many of our recommendations are geared towards this end, because it only when these goals are met that women can begin working towards other objectives such as finding and keeping a job. Indeed, the ultimate solution may be using employment to satisfy both latent and manifest goals simultaneously.

Chapter Two: Research Strategy

Many things influence the amount of time people have available to work: the number, frequency and duration of appointments, perceptions about how much time is really available, the amount of time a job requires, and time management skills, to name a few. In order to answer our inquiry about the relationship between time, work, and reentry, we ask the following question:

Do women returning home from prison or jail have enough time during the day to work?

Specifically:

1. How do scheduling demands produced by involvement with multiple government and social service agencies affect the time available each day to work?
2. Do the women think they have enough time during the day to work?
3. Do the women have sufficient time management skills to manage their days to include work on a regular basis?

Similarly, the priority people place on work is likely to be shaped by many things, including the range of goals they have, as well as by their experiences with and attitudes towards employment. Thus, we ask the following question to answer our inquiry:

How do the women's own reentry goals and priorities affect how they use their time during the day and whether or not they work?

Specifically:

1. Is work valued?
2. How do pre-incarceration employment histories shape the women's attitudes towards work?
3. Did the attitudes and experiences of people they lived with during their childhood help socialize the women to value work?

Investigating these questions called for multiple sources of data, collected during four project phases. Demographic and other baseline information was gathered during the initial screening phase. At this point it was also established whether or not the women were employed and whether or not they were looking for a job.

During the second phase, how the women in our study use their time was documented. Participants first filled out their anticipated schedule for two consecutive days and then recorded their actual activities in a set of time diaries over the course of that time.

The third phase of data collection was the most intensive. Here, follow-up interviews were conducted and designed to probe more deeply about time use and employment, both during the two time diary days and over the course of the respondents' lives. To make sure the two time diary days were representative of their general patterns of the women's time commitments, everyone was asked to talk about all of the appointments they have on a regular basis and to describe a busy day. A series of questions about the women's own reentry priorities was then asked. Next, respondents completed an event history calendar to record

major life events, employment and housing histories for the three years prior to their incarceration. Finally, the women constructed a genogram (family diagram) to draw a snapshot of the family within which they grew up, paying particular attention to employment and criminal justice histories of family members who were significant during their formative years.

The final phase of data collection was a debriefing where participants, additional knowledgeable informants and other interested parties were invited to provide feedback on the study findings. This session was used to ensure the accuracy of our interpretations, to explore interesting findings, and to more fully develop our understanding of how time use for women reentering the community from prison or jail was related to employment. Participants' comments (see *Appendix A* for a summary) also helped us refine and enhance our policy recommendations.

Recruiting Participants

The recruitment of participants began in early February 2004 by posting fliers advertising the study in locations frequented by women returning home from prison or jail. (See *Appendix G* for a copy of the flier.)[2] The goal was to recruit 40 people: 20 WPA clients and 20 non-WPA clients. While recruiting the total number at WPA would have been easy given our access at WPA, a

[2] Although our interest in this study was to examine the link between time usage and employment, we recruited people by saying we were interested in documenting time issues relevant to people coming home from prison. We did this to ensure that participants would not inadvertently bias the way they recorded and discussed events either in favor of employment-related activities or in favor of embellished accounts of impediments to employment. It also meant the women would be unrestrained in their discussion of how they thought time impacted the reentry process. This approach certainly improved our understanding of the factors influencing our participants' labor force participation.

selection bias would be inherent in a WPA-only sample. This was overcome by recruiting non-WPA clients as well; to increase the representativeness of our sample, the participants were drawn from within *and* outside the agency.

A two-stage recruiting strategy was initially planned in which potential participants were screened, and then particular people were targeted to participate in the study. This approach was preferable for two reasons. First, a snowball sampling process of getting referrals (and then asking them for additional referrals) would have enabled us to reach deeper into the community of women returning home from prison. At the same time, given that specific people were targeted for inclusion in the study during stage two, this strategy would mean that the final sample would be diversified in key ways such as duration of incarceration, time since release, and level of government services received.

Unfortunately, a number of disadvantages outweighed these benefits. First, it proved difficult to attract people to the information session. Even though fliers were posted throughout WPA and colleague organizations, drug treatment centers and support groups, only 10 women came to the information session, held on February 12, 2004. (See *Appendix H* for a list of agencies where we posted the fliers). Second, there was no way to ensure that the people who attended the information session were eligible to participate in the study. Indeed, six of the ten women who attended the information session were ineligible to participate in the study because they were mandated to live in a residential facility. Finally, it proved difficult to contact people after the information session

to recruit them into the study. We were unable to reach two women whom we wanted to recruit for the study. Although we ultimately reached another two women from the information session after much effort, we elected to change our recruiting strategy to eliminate this preliminary stage. All subsequent recruiting efforts involved screening and enrolling participants in one step.

For the remainder of the study, people were recruited by going to sites where potential participants were receiving services. The nature of the research was explained to people in groups, and women who were interested in becoming involved in the study were invited to meet with us individually. The study was framed as a project on how time demands impact reentry and 'getting done what needs to get done' so that participants would not be likely to artificially focus their diary recording or follow-up interview on employment. Women who expressed a desire to participate were screened and those who qualified were asked to report their planned activities for the following two days, instructed on how to complete their time diaries and asked to schedule an appointment for the follow-up interview. In this way, eighteen women were successfully recruited to participate in the study.[3]

Participants were also recruited in a few other ways. First, a small number of participants were screened and recruited from the waiting room at WPA's Remsen Street office. Three women were successfully recruited using this

[3] An additional nine people were screened but excluded from participating. Five of these were ineligible – four were incarcerated and one was in residential treatment. The other four were given time diaries and follow-up interview appointments, but they did not show up for their follow-up appointments and numerous attempts to contact them were unsuccessful.

technique.[4] One participant was also recruited from referrals by other study participants.[5] Finally, fliers advertising the study were posted at WPA and other service sites asking interested people to call us. Twelve individuals responded, ten of which were recruited for the study.[6] In sum, 57 women were screened, 13 were excluded as ineligible, and 10 more were excluded when they dropped out of the study. This left a final sample of 34 women.

Protecting our participants from inadvertent exposure of their criminal justice status was a concern. This risk was minimized by clearly stating on the information fliers that we were recruiting women with a history of incarceration. Those hesitant about revealing this, even in their background, could elect not to attend the information session or not talk to us when we were recruiting onsite.

Data Collection Instruments

The Screening Instrument

A 38-item screening instrument was administered to all potential participants to screen for eligibility and to gather general information about each woman. A person was eligible for the study if she was at least 18 years old, had a history of incarceration and was not currently mandated to live in a residential facility. The screening instrument (*Appendix B*) was used to collect demographic information (age, race and ethnicity, education, marital status), as well as to

[4] Three others were recruited but eventually dropped from the study: two because we were unable to contact them for their follow-up interviews and one woman, running late for an appointment, left the screening without her time diary materials. We were unable to contact her because she did not have a phone. She never contacted us.
[5] Another woman was recruited from a referral but was excluded from the final analysis when we discovered that she was on work release, making her ineligible for the study.
[6] One woman was excluded because she was on work release and the other was excluded because she did not show up to the scheduled follow-up interview and we did not have contact information for her.

explore each woman's criminal justice history, housing situation, and the public benefits, treatment and services she was receiving. Importantly, the screening instrument was also used to gather data about each woman's employment history, her employment status and whether or not she was looking for a job.

Time Diaries

How people use their time use can be measured in a variety of ways (Ver Ploeg et al., 2000). Methods include contacting respondents randomly throughout the day to record their activities at that time, having interviewers observe and record respondents' daily activities, and interviewing participants to have them estimate the amount of time they have spent engaged in particular activities.[7] Finally, there is also the time diary method. This approach requires respondents to record all of their activities over a specified period of time (usually a day), including the beginning and ending time of each activity, a description of the activity and the contextual information required by the analysis.

We elected to use time diaries to record our participants' activities because it combines the strengths of the other techniques with fewer of their limitations.[8] For instance, time diaries capture the full range of daily activities, instead of only a snapshot of how respondents spend their time. Time diaries also tend to be more accurate than other methods for capturing the duration of activities because respondents record the beginning and end times of activities

[7] For a thorough discussion of measuring time see: the Guidebook on the Integrating Unpaid Work into National Policies. Available at http:// www.unescap.org /stat/meet/wipuw/2.unpaid_contents.pdf ; Ver Poeg, Michele et al., 2000; Zuzanek & Jiri, 1999; and Pentland et al., 1999.
[8] For further discussions on the strengths and limitations of the time diary method, see: Robinson & John, 1999; Ver Poeg, Michele et al., 2000; and Pentland, Wendy et al., 1999.

as they occur. Indeed, studies on the reliability of the time diary method show them to be particularly reliable in reporting how groups of people use their time (Robinson & John, 1999).

In addition, time diaries were used in this particular study to make sure respondents did not filter out time blocks they felt were unimportant to our analysis. While we were confident that our study participants could tell us accurately what appointments they have on a regular basis, we were not convinced they would remember events such as time spent waiting for appointments, commuting, or in unanticipated commitments as precisely. Furthermore, we wanted to eliminate any unintentional bias that might affect recall about time spent looking for a job. Asking the women in the study to record all of their daily events as they happened meant that one type of activity would not be unduly emphasized, and a more accurate representation of each respondent's day would emerge.

Although time diaries can be completed during the day or administered retrospectively at the end of the day (Pentland et al., 1999), we elected to have respondents record their activities as they happened to reduce recall error. By having respondents record activities over the course of the day as they were occurring, more questions could be asked about the type and duration of daily events, as well as about the other people involved in the various activities.

One limitation of time diaries, however, is that respondents sometimes differ in the level of detail they record in their diaries. To ensure a minimum and consistent level of detail across time diaries, we employed three strategies. First,

we incorporated a mix of closed and open categories into the design of the diaries. Closed categories such as pre-determined time intervals and specific activity choices ensured a minimum level of detail. Secondly, participants were thoroughly briefed on how to fill out the time diaries, and we provided written instructions with examples. Finally, exhaustive reviews of diaries with respondents were done during follow-up interviews to ensure that entries in the time diaries were accurate, clear and complete.[9]

The diaries used in this study covered the hours between 6:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m. and were broken into 15-minute intervals. The recorded day was shortened from 24 to 16 hours in order to capture time demands that compete with employment. Government and doctors' offices, for example, are open only during the day.[10] At the same time, providing respondents with pre-determined intervals (rather than open intervals where respondents fill in start and ends time for each activity) eliminates the possibility that respondents would inadvertently overlook activities they thought were insignificant. The closed interval approach allowed us to prompt respondents to fill in information for each period of time, thereby increasing the probability of a thorough recording of their daily events.

Within each 15-minute block of time, the women responded to a mix of closed and open categories. Four activity choices were given for each interval:

[9] Other limitations of the time diary approach had a negligible impact on this study. For instance, respondents are not likely to report activities of a sensitive nature (e.g. drug use or sexual activity). This was not an issue for us since we were interested in our respondents' legal involvement in various government and social services. Another limitation of time diaries is that they preclude people who are not literate. Respondents in our study were able to comfortably read and write in English. In addition, information was checked during the follow-up interview during which respondents could clarify any errors in their diaries.

[10] Although it was possible that we may have missed recording some employment for those working at night, we thought this unlikely. Only a few shifts start after 10:00 p.m. and end before 6:00 a.m. As a result, even most night employment was captured either in the beginning or the end of the diary. To double check, we compared employment information obtained from the diaries with employment information recorded during the initial screening. Zero discrepancies occurred.

Home, Traveling, Arrived and Waiting, and Other Activity. Respondents were asked to select the category that best described what they were doing during that time period. Study participants were instructed to select the category 'Arrived and Waiting' when they had arrived at their destination but were waiting for an appointment and 'Other Activity' once they were in the appointment. Although no additional information was requested for 'Home' and 'Arrived and Waiting' categories, open fields were provided for answering questions about the 'Traveling' and 'Other Activity' selections. We asked the women to record where they were going as well as their mode of transportation when they were traveling and to fill in the nature of the activity (e.g. doctor's appointment) when they selected 'Other Activity'.[11]

Finally, respondents were asked to record whom they were with at each point during the day. We selected a mix of the open and closed category approaches by giving participants the choice of: Partner, Child, Friend/Relative, Case Manager or Other. Those who selected 'Other' were prompted to indicate who that other person was. (See *Appendix C* for a sample time diary.)

Time diary studies differ in whether they designate specific days for the study or allow respondents to select days at their convenience. In this project, we asked respondents to fill out their diaries during the two consecutive days

[11] The time diaries focused on recording where respondents were rather than what they were doing because we were primarily interested in capturing the nature and extent of appointments that might impede with a job search. Thus, we were more interested in finding out if our respondents were travelling from home to a job interview, or travelling from home to an appointment rather than what they were doing while they were home. We also selected this strategy to reduce respondent burden. In practice, however, most respondents filled in where they were and what they were doing for all time periods.

following the day on which they were screened.[12] This randomized approach was selected to reduce the possibility that time diaries would cluster on certain days of the week rather than be spread out across the week. There were, however, two exceptions to this general pattern. First, respondents recruited on a Friday were asked to fill out their diaries beginning the following Monday, since we were interested in capturing how employment might be constrained by time commitments made to government and social service agencies that are typically closed on the weekends. Second, respondents who did not want to record their time on the day following their recruitment day were allowed to pick the nearest two consecutive days of their choosing. Eight people elected to delay their time diary days.[13] In spite of this, the time diaries were spread out fairly evenly across the week. As Table 2.1 shows, Mondays were slightly over-represented in terms of the total number of diaries kept on that day and Wednesdays were slightly under-represented. Nonetheless, these variances are small and any bias from this distribution is minimal.

Table 2.1: Percent of Diaries Completed by Day of the Week

Day of the week	Total Diaries
Monday	25%
Tuesday	21%
Wednesday	15%
Thursday	21%
Friday	19%

[12] Many time diary studies collect data for a single 24-hour period (Pentland, 1999). It is becoming more common to collect data for two days (Harvey, 1999). No study we know of has collected data for more days because increasing respondent burden decreases the accuracy of the data collected. Nonetheless, our study captures 40% of the typical workweek. Consequently we have captured a significant amount of the time when government and other appointments might interfere with our respondents' ability to work.

[13] Ironically, one reason women gave for wanting to defer their time diary days was a feeling that the assigned days were too busy. To counter this, and the effect of missed data, during the follow-up interviews we asked all respondents to tell us about a recent busy day. This enabled us to analyze the activities occurring during days when our respondents kept their diaries as well as a separate "busy day".

The Follow-up Interview

Follow-up interviews were conducted the day after the two-day time diary period and lasted approximately one hour.[14] We used this meeting to enhance our understanding of how respondents use their time. Interviewers began each session by reviewing the participant's time diary to ensure completeness and accuracy. The diaries were then compared to the woman's planned schedule, and reasons for any discrepancies between the two were discussed. Next, to develop a comprehensive understanding of our respondents' schedules, the women were asked to talk about their regular appointments and to describe a recent busy day. This was followed by a discussion of the techniques they used to cope with demands on their time. After that, we asked about the women's reentry goals and the steps they were taking to achieve those goals.

Finally, to gain an understanding of our participants' pre-incarceration lives, each woman completed an event history calendar and a genogram. The event history calendar covered the three years prior to the woman's incarceration and was used to record dates of significant events, housing situations and periods of employment (See the detailed discussion of this instrument below). Each genogram depicted our participants' childhood families and recorded housing, employment and criminal justice histories for each household member. This information generated a discussion about how the family's attitudes about work had influenced the women's own attitudes, patterns of employment, to what extent they had been socialized to value work (See the detailed discussion of this instrument below; See *Appendix D* for a copy of the interview instrument).

[14] In three instances, respondents rescheduled their follow-up interview due to scheduling problems.

Event History Calendars

Event history calendars are used to record historical and autobiographical information. This technique encourages a style of interviewing where events from the respondents' past experiences are used as cues to facilitate recall about specific time periods. The interviewer often starts by probing memories that are organized chronologically, and then advances to parallel cueing where events remembered in one domain are linked to associations across a person's life. Another type of cueing relies on broad events as the stimulus for remembering more specific events (Belli, 1998; Conway, 1996).[15] Here, both techniques were used to capture a snapshot of the participants' lives for the three years prior to their most recent periods of incarceration.

To stimulate recall about that time period during the event history calendar interviews, the respondent was first asked about any major life events which occurred during this time period such as births, deaths, divorces, separations or marriages, health-related incidents (such as an accident), arrests, and events related to children.[16] Questions about housing and employment were then asked, ending with questions about any other regular commitments during that time.[17]

[15] Event histories have been shown to be a highly reliable method for obtaining autobiographical data. One study (Caspi et al., 1996) shows at least 90% agreement between retrospective event history calendars completed at one time period and reports collected about that same time period three years earlier. Event history calendars have been used for a wide variety of studies in population research, sociology and psychology.

[16] Calendars of the time period in question were given to the respondent to promote recall.

[17] Although our primary interest was employment, we recognized that we needed stimulate our respondents' memories to develop a more complete picture of their lives during this period. Therefore, we asked questions about major events, housing and regular commitments in addition to inquiring about jobs.

Interviewers were trained to be sensitive to the way respondents' memories worked. While interviewers tended to move through the event history calendar from topic to topic at the beginning stages of the interviewing process, if it became clear that a participant's memory of the time period was organized by one of the topics such as housing, then that became the primary tool for recording events. Similarly, interviewers moved back and forth between the topics when it became clear that remembering one series of events was triggering memories of another series.

The Genogram

The genogram, a picture of the respondent's family tree, formed the basis of our discussion of socialization about work, in that family socialization plays a major role in adult behavior including employment. Each genogram started by drawing symbols representing the respondent, her mother and her father. We then drew a circle around the people living in the home during the woman's childhood, including the respondent. When the respondent indicated who else lived in the home during her formative years (siblings, relatives, friends), additional symbols were included within the circle for each those people. For instance, if our respondent lived with her mother and siblings but not her father, we included her father in the drawing but drew a circle excluding the father but including her mother and siblings. If an aunt lived in the home too, the symbol for the aunt was also included within the circle. In instances where the respondent either did not live with her parents or grew up in more than one home, these other family configurations were included in the genogram. Five respondents

indicated they had two different primary childhood homes, and one respondent identified three. Respondents also identified the criminal justice involvement and employment histories of the family members she lived with while growing up. Finally, respondents were asked to describe the type of housing she lived in while growing up. (See *Appendix E* for a sample genogram.)

Analytic Approach

Data from each of the four phases of data collection (demographic data, time diaries, exit interviews, and the debriefing session) were analyzed separately using techniques appropriate for both the type of data and the nature of the questions being asked. Data from the screening were coded and descriptive statistics generated to develop a profile of study participants. This information helped verify that our sampling strategy yielded a group of participants who were representative of the population of women returning home from prison and/or jail.

The time diaries were analyzed to understand both the frequency and ordering of episodes during the day. Our analysis began by coding the diaries to reflect blocks of time during which respondents were engaged in one primary activity. This was accomplished by consolidating contiguous 15 minute time periods within the same category type. For instance, if someone indicated she was home for four time periods, such as 3:00-3:15, 3:15-3:30, 3:30-3:45 and 3:45-4:00, we coded it as one 'Home' episode beginning at 3:00 and ending at 4:00.

Next, each block of time was coded with a master category and a secondary category because there were times when both a main activity and a sub-activity were occurring. It was common, for example, for someone to indicate that she 'Traveled' to lunch while also marking 'Arrived and Waiting' for an appointment. Since eating lunch happened within the context of waiting for an appointment, the lunch time excursion needed to count as waiting time too in order to accurately reflect the total time a respondent had spent waiting for her appointment. We accomplished this by coding the master category as 'Arrived and Waiting' and the secondary category as 'Traveling'.[18]

Next, we ensured that all the diaries were coded similarly across the study sample. While respondents all reliably selected 'Home' when they were home and 'Traveling' when they were traveling, there was less consistency for other types of activities. For instance, sometimes when a period of time at home was interrupted by a quick trip to the deli, some respondents selected 'Traveling' to represent the deli excursion whereas other women selected 'Other Activity'. The most confusion occurred when someone could go to the store, purchase the snack and return home all within the same 15-minute block of time. We resolved this by coding all roundtrips which occurred within one block of time as 'Traveling'. Thus, in the example above, the primary activity was 'Home' and the secondary activity was 'Traveling'. The extra level of detail was not lost in the re-coding, however, but was preserved in the dataset for purposes of future analyses.

[18] This ensured that we counted this one period of waiting as one episode rather than the two episodes which would have resulted from coding each contiguous block separately.

The time diaries also were analyzed to understand what type of 'Other activity" our respondents engaged in during the study. The category "other activity" was sorted into types (appointments, groups, meetings, classes, programs, school and social activities) and then appointments were classified by category (e.g. case manager, paperwork, blood test, doctor, dentist). When participants provided information on their home activities, this was classified and analyzed as well.

After coding for consistency across the sample was complete, the time diaries were analyzed to determine how much time during the day was spent at home, traveling, arrived and waiting or engaged in some other type of activity. Analyses were conducted in two ways. First, we analyzed all appointments to determine the types of appointments respondents attended, their average duration, as well as the typical amount of travel and wait time associated with these appointment episodes. These analyses provided a picture of the typical appointment. However, appointments are not equally distributed among respondents, and some respondents tend to have more appointments than others. Thus, our second set of analyses focused on painting a picture of how much time appointments take up in a typical day for participants. Using respondent-day as the unit of analysis, we examined the daily time spent attending, waiting for and traveling to appointments. Respondents were divided into groups depending on the number of appointments they kept. The typical day was then described for each group. This two-pronged analytic approach allowed

us to examine appointment characteristics as well as assess the impact of appointments on individual respondents' days.

We paid particular attention to unpacking patterns of activities across the day. For instance, we determined whether the women in our sample consolidated travel time by going directly from one appointment to another or if they traveled home between appointments. This provided a glimpse into the time management skills of our respondents. We also examined whether there were different daily patterns for women in different circumstances (for instance, to measure the impact of time since release on daily appointment-load).

Upon completion of the two days of diary recording, respondents were interviewed in an effort to contextualize the data they recorded in the diaries. The follow-up interviews were tape recorded and transcribed to facilitate accurate analysis. A content analysis was performed to identify major themes about time usage, coping strategies, reentry priories and overall reentry goals. Discussions from the event history calendars and genograms were also analyzed to identify major themes around personal and familial attitudes as well as experiences with work, particularly with regard to patterns of socialization around the value of employment.

Maintaining Anonymity

Maintaining anonymity for our participants is a challenging task when an agency conducts research with participants who are also clients. Of particular importance was ensuring clients (or potential clients) did not feel any unanticipated pressure to participate from anyone at the agency. Pressure could

come from wanting to please case managers, believing participation would help WPA or because the women somehow thought that participation was tied to their services. Although clients and non-clients were informed that participation in the study would not affect any current or future services, it also was important to keep case managers from knowing who was participating in the study whenever possible. Case managers were informed about the nature of the study but told not to discuss it with their clients unless the clients initiated the conversation. If clients brought it up, case managers were instructed to discuss the project with their clients the way they would discuss any other issue and to refer specific questions about the study to a member of the Research Department. Furthermore, while information and screening sessions typically were conducted at the agencies where potential participants were receiving services, follow-up interviews were conducted off-site at a public site such as Starbucks, McDonald's and local diners.[19]

Finally, although researchers involved in the study knew our participants' identities because they gave their signature to indicate informed consent on two separate occasions, names were replaced by ID numbers to identify respondents on all study materials (See *Appendix I* for a copy of consent forms). Named and unnamed documents were kept separately in locked file cabinets in the principal investigator's office.

[19] Screenings were conducted on-site because case managers and others at the agency could not know if someone had elected to participate at this phase. Follow-up interviews, however, could only happen after a person was enrolled in the study.

Compensation

Individuals were given a $4.00 MetroCard after the screening (to allow them to travel home and return for the follow-up interview).[20] Participants also received $10.00 cash and a wrist watch at the conclusion of the follow-up interview. Respondents interviewed in a public location, during either the screening or the follow-up interview, were given up to $5.00 to purchase a snack.[21] In addition, all participants were given a resource list at the end of the study to help them through any issues that may have come up as a consequence of their participation in the project (See *Appendix J* for a copy of the resource list).

The Study Sample

Although we would have liked to have attracted a sufficiently large enough pool of potential participants that careful selection for the purposes of ensuring diversity was possible, the targeted convenience sample we finished with met our objectives. First, although the sample goal was originally 40 women and the actual sample ended at 34, the secondary goal to recruit 50% from within WPA and 50% from outside the agency did transpire. Seventeen participants were WPA clients and 17 were non-WPA clients.[22]

The sample also was more or less evenly split between people who had served their time in jail only (47%, n=16) and those who had served some time in

[20] Incentives were given to the respondents whether or not they had consented to participate to reduce the pressure to consent to participate for those with limited financial resource

[21] We provided the women who attended the initial information session with a group lunch from Subway, $5.00 cash, and a $4.00 MetroCard.

[22] We learned during the screening that three of the non-WPA clients had been WPA clients in the past.

prison (53%, n=18). There also was variation in the longest sentence for which the women were incarcerated. Although the length of the longest sentence served ranged from one day to 21 years, the average amount of time for the longest sentence served was three years.[23] In addition, while most of the women served their longest sentence in only one facility (59%, n=19), many of the women reported serving their longest sentence in multiple facilities, ranging from two to five places.[24]

The sample also largely matches the demographics of the population of women who have been incarcerated. For instance, in general, our respondents were middle aged, black women with children. While women in prison typically are in their 30s (Greenfeld & Snell, 2000; Harrison & Beck, 2003), our respondents, as they had previously been in prison and released, tended to be slightly older. Only 35% (n=18) of our group was between 30 and 39 years old, whereas just over half (51%, n=18) were between 40 and 49.[25] In New York State the average age of female prisoners is almost 36 years old (Stately, 2002), and in our sample the average age is 42. This slight difference can be accounted for by the fact that our women served an average longest sentence of three years and had been released from their incarceration for an average of two years.

[23] Data on one participant was not available, and is therefore not included in this analysis.
[24] Most of our respondents served their time either at Rikers Island, New York City's jail (14 out of 34), or at Bedford, New York State's only maximum security facility for women (12 out of 34). Four women spent time at both of these facilities.
[25] One respondent was in her twenties and three were over 50.

Length of time in community since most recent release from incarceration

Length of time	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 6 months	8	24.2	24.2
6 months to <1 year	1	3.0	27.3
1 to <2 years	6	18.2	45.5
2 to < 3 years	5	15.2	60.6
3 to <4 years	4	12.1	72.7
4 to <5 years	3	9.1	81.8
5 to <6 years	2	6.1	87.9
6 to <7 years	1	3.0	90.9
8 to <9 years	1	3.0	93.9
12 to <13 years	1	3.0	97.0
19 to < 20 years	1	3.0	100.0
Total	**33**	**100.0**	

Nationwide, 48% of women in state prisons are African American (Greenfeld & Snell, 2000). Our sample was also largely African-American: 27 (79%) of the women identified their race as black. Six participants identified themselves as Native American or Other and one woman declined to answer this question. Three women in our sample identified their ethnicity as Hispanic. None of the women in the sample identified their race as white,[26] therefore the sample under-represents this segment of the population of adult women in state prisons, 33% of whom are white (Greenfeld & Snell, 2000).

Our sample is representative of the female incarcerated population with regard to family composition as well. Although three of our participants (10%) said they were married, most considered themselves single, either because they had never been married (n=12, 39%), because they were divorced or separated

[26] Three white women were screened but deemed ineligible to participate because they were either on work release (n=1) or mandated to residential treatment.

(n=12, 41%), or because they were widowed (n=2).[27] Like the incarcerated population, in which 46% of female state prison inmates lived with their children in a single parent household in the month before their arrest (Mumola, 2000), the women in our sample were also most likely to be single mothers. Most of our group (n=28, 82%,) reported having at least one child. Moreover, many of these children are minors: 79% of participants with children have at least one child under the age of 18. The comparable figure for women in State and Federal prisons is 65% (Bloom & Steinhart, 1993).

Table 2.3: Participants by Number of Children and Number of Minor Children.

Number of Children	Number of Participants
0	6 (18%)
1	10 (29%)
2	4 (12%)
3	6 (18%)
4-6	6 (18%)
7-10	2 (6%)
Total	34 (100%)

Number of children under 18	Number of Participants
0	6 (21%)
1	8 (29%)
2	3 (11%)
3	9 (32%)
4-7	2 (7%)
Total	28 (100%)

Research shows that family reunification is a primary concern for women returning home from prison or jail (Fogel, 1993). The majority of our participants (n=22) have minor children. Of this group, 13 women live with at least one of their minor children. Of the nine women (41%) who do not have custody of at least one of their minor children, eight are trying to regain custody of their

[27] Five people did not respond to the question.

children and seven are actively involved with family court or some other kind of agency to regain custody.[28]

In addition, the respondents in our study tend to mirror the situation of most women returning home from prison or jail with regard to housing. Our analysis showed that 68% (n=23) of our group were living in some type of residential facility rather than in their own permanent housing. Studies show many women are homeless upon release from prison (Metraux & Culhane, 2004; Richie, 2003). Indeed, as Table 2.4 shows, 62% (n=21) of our respondents were living in a homeless shelter, transitional housing or a residential treatment facility.

Table 2.4: Participants by Type of Housing

Type of housing	Participants
Rental Housing	10 (30%)
Homeless Shelter	12 (35%)
Transitional Housing	6 (18%)
Residential Treatment Program	3 (9%)
Family or Friends	1 (3%)
Scatter-site housing for people living with HIV	1 (3%)

Interestingly, the women in our study were living in housing spread out across New York City. Although the Bronx is slightly over-represented and Staten Island is not represented at all, our respondents are living in situations fairly evenly drawn from four of the five New York City boroughs.

Table 2.5: Participants by NYC Borough of Residence

Borough	# of participants
Bronx	10 (30%)
Brooklyn	7 (21%)
Manhattan	9 (27%)
Queens	7 (21%)
Staten Island	0 (0%)
Total	33[29]

[28] We are missing children's ages for six participants.

Twenty-three out of the 33 respondents indicated that they had lived at their current address for less than a year. While 11 of these 23 participants had been out of prison or jail for less than a year, the remaining had been out for longer periods of time varying from two years to a maximum of 19 years. Ten respondents reported living at their current address for several years. These respondents had been out of prison or jail for less than six years, which suggests that much of their time in the community has been at a stable residence.

Our sample was slightly less representative of the general female prison population in regards to their education history. Data show that incarcerated women are typically not well educated. Although our sample matches the profile of female prisoners with regard to the number who have their high school diplomas, our sample was much more likely to have a GED. For instance, 64% of women in state prisons do not have a high school diploma (Harlow, 2003); among our participants that figure was 59%. However, whereas only 16% of women in prison achieve their GED, 32% (n=11) of our group has earned this diploma. Furthermore, the difference in the rate of college attendance between our sample and the prison population particularly stands out. Fewer than 15% of women in prison have completed some or all of college (Harlow, 2003). In contrast, 31% (n=10) of our sample has reached this level of education. One participant even reported that she had attended graduate school.[30]

[29] One person reported a non-existent zip code.
[30] We did not capture information on whether education had been completed before or after incarceration.

What was more striking about our sample was that 14 women (39%) were enrolled either in school or in some form of vocational programming.[31] Furthermore, of the women not currently enrolled, half said they were in the process of enrolling (n=10, 50%).[32] Whether this speaks to the value of education among our participants, the availability of educational programs inside, or the realities of parole and probation requirements is hard to know since almost half of our sample was under some form of community supervision (35% parole, 9% probation). Nonetheless, we need to note this when considering implications of this study for others embarking on the reentry process.

This level of educational attainment, however, has not translated into employment opportunities for our respondents. In keeping with the statistics which show that 60% of former prisoners are unemployed one year after release (Travis, Solomon & Waul, 2001), the vast majority of our participants were unemployed at the time of the study. At the time of the screening, 29 of our 34 participants (85%) were without employment, although the vast majority (all but one) had at least some history of legal employment experience. Sixty-five percent (n=22) of our participants, however, reported they are currently looking for a job.

Five women in the study reported in the screening that they were currently working in fields such as food service, counseling, maintenance, peer education and security. To date, their employment had been short-lived: four respondents

[31] We did not record type of school. So participation in school may range from a single computer class at a community-based organization to full-time enrollment in a school.
[32] Enrollment information is missing for one participant.

had been in their current jobs for less than three months, and only one had been employed in her current job for more than six months. The respondent employed for more than six months had been in the community for about a year and eight months. Of the other four respondents employed less than six months, two had been in the community for less than six months, which would explain the short job tenure, and the other two had been out of prison or jail for more than a year. Furthermore, one respondent, who had been back in the community for almost four years, had only been in her current job for less than a month. Another respondent who had been out for a little more than a year had been in her current job for nearly three months. Alternatively, many of the unemployed women report longer tenure at their most recent jobs. Only 39% (n=11) of those currently unemployed said their last job typically lasted between one month and one year. Sixteen women (47%) held their most recent job for more than one year, and six of this group had kept their last job for more than three years.

Finally, everyone in the group was receiving both public benefits and social services. As Table 2.2 shows, almost everyone was receiving or applying/re-applying for Medicaid (n=29, 85%) and food stamps (n=24, 71%) and cash benefits (n=23, 68%). Only one respondent was receiving none of these services. Furthermore, almost two-thirds of our sample reported that they were currently in treatment for substance abuse (n=21, 62%). In overall trends for female inmates, nearly 56% of women substance abusers in state prisons had ever been in substance abuse treatment, and 20% of women had received such treatment since prison admission (Greenfeld & Snell, 2000). In our sample, 65%

(n=22) reported that they were currently seeing a doctor regularly for the treatment of a medical or mental health condition (n=22; 65%). Six of the respondents were receiving neither substance abuse nor medical or mental health treatment.

Table 2.2: Number of Participants Receiving Public Benefits

Entitlement	Number receiving or applying/reapplying
Medicaid	29 (85%)
Food Stamps	24 (71%)
Cash Benefits	23 (68%)
HIV/AIDS Service Administration	7 (21%)
SSI	4 (12%)
Medicare	4 (12%)
Social Security[33]	2 (6%)
WIC	2 (6%)
Child Support	1 (3%)
Disability	1 (3%)
SSD	1 (3%)
Other	1 (3%)
Unemployment benefits	0
TANF	0

Conclusion

Overall, we were successful in drawing a sample that represented the population of women returning home from prison. There are two exceptions. First, our sample was comprised of women who, on average, have slightly higher educational attainment than the entire set of formerly incarcerated women. This probably reflects the fact that women self-selected to participate in the study, and contributing to a research project might appeal to people who have been exposed to more education. Secondly, our sample under-represents the number of white women who have been incarcerated. This was not unexpected in a

[33] This information is missing for one participant.

sample this small because there are much fewer formerly incarcerated white women than there are formerly incarcerated black women. Given that a quota sampling technique was not used (in which we would have specifically targeted women to recruit based on this key demographic), we could not over-sample white women in sufficient numbers to ensure their adequate representation in the study. Nonetheless, the small sample size and the lack of representativeness on these two dimensions will require caution with regard to over-interpreting the results of the study. In addition, Hispanic women are also under-represented. This is unfortunate, particularly because cultural and familial patterns in the Hispanic community make it likely that patterns of reentry are slightly different for this group of women.

Another note of caution comes from the fact, largely due to our recruitment methods, that everyone in the sample was receiving services. Clearly, there exists a population of women returning home from prison who are not tapping into services. This might be due to a lack of time for services because of employment, adequate personal resources such that they do not need additional assistance, or they are isolated to the extent that they are incapable of accessing help at this time. But, whatever the reason, undoubtedly this group of women has a different reentry experience with regard to time usage and employment not reflected in this study.

Finally, while 77% of the eligible people recruited for participation completed the study, we need to consider why some women decided to drop out. There are several salient issues impacting attrition in this study, since factors

which influence the ability or willingness of someone to follow through with the study may also be related to the way they use their time and their ability to pursue or follow through with employment. The women who dropped out of the study were far less likely than the women who participated to have been in substance abuse treatment at the time of the screening (30%, compared to 62%). This group was also less likely to be enrolled in school (30% versus 41%) and less likely to be renting their own house (10% of the drop-outs rented their own house, versus 29% of the participants). Furthermore, the women who dropped out were more likely than the participants to have children under 18 (89% compared to 80%) and slightly more likely to be homeless (40% versus 35%).

Moreover, the women who dropped out of the study had been released from incarceration more recently than those who participated. The median amount of time that participants had been in the community was two years, compared to six months for the women who dropped out. Given the shorter amount of time since release, the women who dropped out were more likely to have instability in their lives than those who participated.[34]

In addition, we need to consider some of the structural impediments to participation. Our inability to contact people who indicated their desire to participate was troubling yet revealing for purposes of this study. While it is possible women we could not contact said they were interested in participating simply as a way to manage the social expectations during the recruiting session,

[34] We did not measure other factors at the screening, such as emotional stability, which might impact ability or willingness to follow through with the study.

the assumption that some were prevented from participating because they did not have a telephone is relevant, and others may not have known how to get back in touch with us. If true, this too has profound implications for those individuals' time usage and employment.

In spite of these small concerns, much can be learned from this preliminary, exploratory study. A larger replication of this study would overcome the limitations of sample bias that characterized this pilot study. Furthermore, the knowledge gained from this study and future, larger replications can inform policies and practices intended to promote employment among this group.

Chapter Three: Formal Time Commitments and the Time Available For Work

We began our analysis by examining the time diaries to determine whether the women in our study had enough time to seek and engage in employment. To explore how our respondents spent their days, we focused on examining whether attending appointments to meet their reentry needs significantly impeded their time available to find and participate in work.

We started by looking at the types of appointments women attended. We then analyzed the number, timing and duration of appointments, and whether these appointments entail considerable wait and travel time. Analyses regarding the typical appointment helped to explore commonly held assumptions that appointments with government and social service agencies tended to be long and involved onerous wait and travel times.

Finally, we examined how much time in a day is exhausted by waiting for, traveling to, and attending appointments. Recognizing that the timing and spacing of appointments was important in determining whether time gets structured in a way conducive to work, we looked at whether respondents tended to schedule appointments during workday hours, whether these daily schedules granted the amount of uninterrupted free time necessary for work, and how respondents were using their time between appointments. This combination of perspectives allows consideration of both how and why time use could impact a woman's ability to work.

Types of Appointments

This research study began with not much more than a hypothesis that women leaving incarceration would have schedules occupied by numerous commitments to government and social service agencies, including mandated criminal justice appointments (such as parole or court appointments) and other services (such as family court, child welfare and housing). We expected that there would be many such appointments, perhaps involving long wait times or onerous travel, thereby precluding opportunities for employment. Our exploration began with this in mind, looking at the types of appointments our respondents attended over the two days. Table 3.1 shows that the women in our study had a variety of commitments. Contrary to our expectations, however, government and social service-related appointments were among the types of engagements least likely to be attended by our participants. The three types of appointments that accounted for three-quarters of all appointments were: group meetings such as those for addiction and parenting training; supportive services appointments; and health-related appointments. Moreover, these appointments were also attended by the highest numbers of women. For example, 20 women with appointments participated in a total of 58 group sessions over the two days. On average, each of these participants attended nearly three group sessions over two days. Likewise, nearly half of the sample attended appointments related to supportive services while a sizeable number of respondents (n=12, 36%) attended health-related appointments.

Interestingly, education-related appointments accounted for the fourth-largest share of all appointments. On average, each of these six respondents attends two education-related appointments over the two day period. Furthermore, only two women engaged in appointments directly related to employment.

Table 3.1: Types of Appointments Attended

Appointment type (with example)	**Total number of appointments in two-day period**	**Total number of participants with type of appointment**
FORMAL APPOINTMENTS		
Groups *Writing workshop, parenting group, AA or NA, talk group, etc.*	58	20
Supportive services *Unspecified meeting with case manager or case worker*	21	15
Physical and mental health-related *Doctors, therapists, etc.*	16	12
Education *Computer class, class at a school*	13	6
Housing-related *Housing application preparation, meeting with social worker*	5	5
Criminal Justice *Court appointments and obtaining an order of protection*	4	3
Government service: Child-related *Child welfare, child-associated public assistance*	3	3
Employment-related *Job interview or orientation*	2	2
Government service: education-related *Office of Vocational and Educational Services for Individuals with Disabilities (VESID)*	1	1
Government service: economic-related *Public Assistance*	2	2

INFORMAL APPOINTMENTS		
Religious activity	2	1
Other childcare **Babysitting for a friend's child**	1	1
Hairdresser	1	1
	Total Number of Appointments=129	**Total Number of Participants=32**

Analysis showed that the majority of our respondents frequently attended supportive and skills-based group appointments. There were also high participation rates for activities intended to increase employability such as those that might help improve educational qualifications and maintain sobriety and good health.

In contrast, criminal justice and government service-related appointments were attended by very few respondents. Only three participants attended a total of four criminal justice-related appointments over the two-day period.[35]

Number of Appointments

Although our respondents were not engaged in the type of appointments that we expected, the overall volume of appointments was still quite high.[36] It is possible that work may be impeded by the restricted schedules produced by having many commitments. When we examined how many appointments the

[35] A fourth respondent had a criminal justice appointment (an appointment with a judge) that was cancelled after five hours of waiting.

[36] Our analyses show that the respondents are not equally busy over the two days in terms of number of appointments. The first day of the recorded two-day period appears busier than the second both in terms of number of women attending appointments and number of appointments overall. While on Day One, nearly all thirty-three respondents attended appointments; on Day Two nearly one-third of the respondents had no appointments. There were 13 more appointments on Day One than on Day Two. Given the day assignment method used, we do not think that these differences have any implications for our findings.

women had over the two days, three distinct subgroups of respondents emerged: the Least-Scheduled, Semi-Scheduled and Most-Scheduled.

- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup:* There were 12 respondents who, as a group, attended a total of 17 appointments. This 36% of the sample accounted for only 12% of the total number of appointments. These individuals had two or fewer appointments across both days, including days with no appointments at all.
- *The Semi-Scheduled Subgroup:* Each individual in this subgroup had three or four appointments over the two days. As a group, these nine respondents attended a total of 31 appointments. This 27% of the sample accounts for 24% of the total number of appointments.
- *The Most-Scheduled Subgroup:* Each respondent in this subgroup was busy with five or more appointments over the two-day period. These twelve women accounted for 81 appointments. This means that 36% of the sample attended 63% of all appointments. A portion of these respondents had an exceptionally high number of commitments, with six or seven appointments per day, including one respondent with six appointments on Day One and six appointments on Day Two, and another respondent with seven appointments on Day Two.

The number of appointments, however, cannot provide a full picture of how busy our respondents are, since the timing of and time spent in such appointments can markedly affect the “make-up” of the day, including one's time available to work. Thus, we continued by assessing how much time attending

appointments consumed for each of the three subgroups, and how the distribution of such appointments affected the usefulness of unused time. This more detailed analysis allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the impact of time use, and more practical interventions.

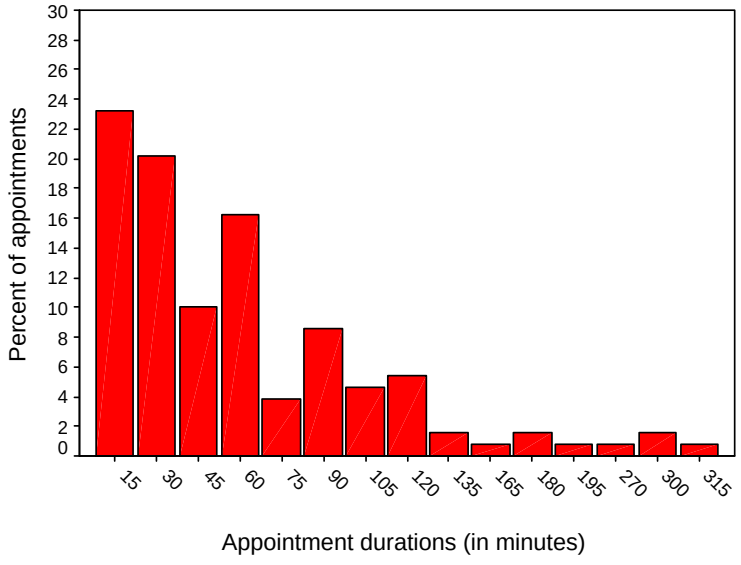
Time Taken up by Attending Appointments

To start our examination of the time commitment demanded by appointments with government and social service agencies[37], we looked at the typical duration of an appointment. While a series of 15-minute appointments might theoretically affect only a lunch hour, several two-hour appointments might take up an entire day.

Our analyses showed that the bulk of appointments (around 40%) take no

Figure 3.1

Distribution of appointment durations



[37] Almost all of the 129 appointments that took place were formal appointments with government or social service agencies. There were only 4 informal appointments not related to government or social service agencies. Henceforth, appointments will also be referred to as commitments to government and social

more than 30 minutes, and many take much less. The median appointment length was about 45 minutes.[38] However, this reflected seven appointments that take three hours or longer.

We then continued by looking at whether the typical time taken by an appointment differed depending on the type of that appointment, and found again that, in general, respondents did not experience lengthy appointments with government and social service agencies. Criminal justice-related, public assistance, and child-related government service appointments, for example, generally lasted about half an hour. The formal appointments with highest numbers of respondents attending (group, supportive services and health) lasted longer, ranging from about 40 minutes to an hour. There were a few instances in which these appointments took exceptionally long times: for example, one respondent had a three-hour long case conference and two respondents spent long periods of time in a substance abuse program. While these long appointments were not common among the group as a whole, free time during the day was minimal for those women who have them.

As the following table shows, the longest appointments were most often education-related (e.g. school and culinary training), which typically took a little longer than two hours and 40 minutes each.

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service agencies. All analyses were reformulated excluding the 4 informal appointments and no significant differences were found.

[38] The mean appointment duration is almost 63 minutes.

Table 3.2: Types of appointments held by study respondents

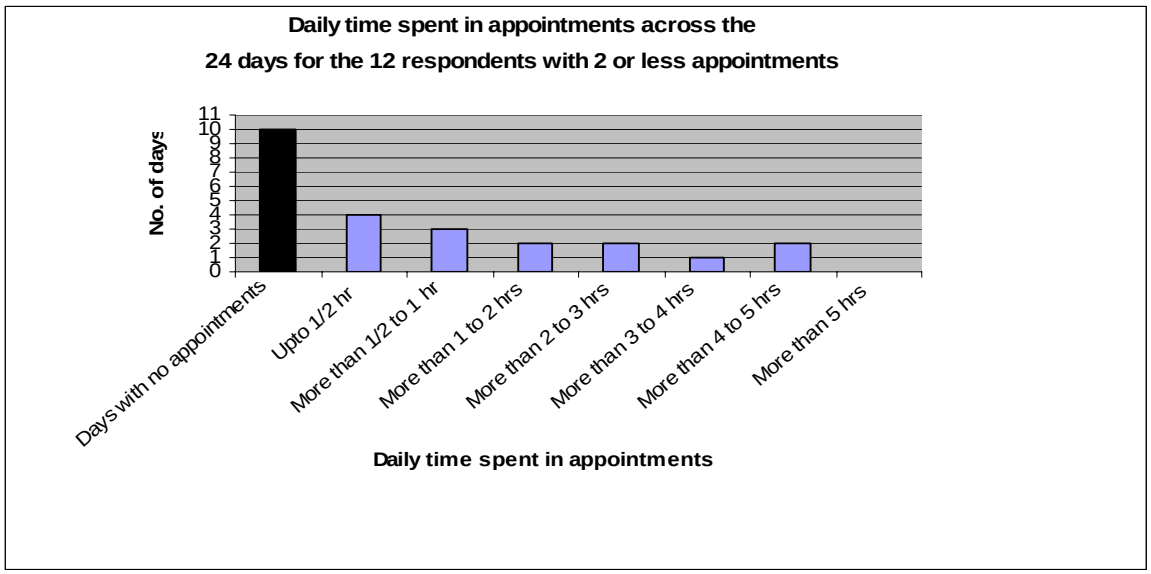
Appointment Type (with examples)	**Mean duration of appointment**	**Number of Participants with type of appointment**
FORMAL APPOINTMENTS		
Education *Computer class, class at a school*	2 hours and 43 minutes	6 participants
Groups *Writing workshop, parenting group, AA or NA, talk group, etc.*	1 hour	20
Employment-Related *Job interview or orientation*	53 minutes	2
Physical and Mental Health-Related *Doctors, therapists, etc.*	41 minutes	12
Supportive Services *Unspecified meeting with case manager or case worker*	39 minutes	15
Government Service: Child-Related *Child welfare, child-associated public assistance*	35 minutes	3
Criminal Justice *Court appointments and obtaining an order of protection*	34 minutes	3
Housing-Related *Housing application preparation, meeting with social worker*	33 minutes	5
Government Service: Education-Related *Vocational and Educational Services for Individuals with Disabilities (VESID)*	30 minutes	1
Government Service: Economic-Related *Public Assistance*	23 minutes	2
INFORMAL APPOINTMENTS		
Religious Activity	1 hour and 38 minutes	1
Other Childcare *Babysitting for a friend's child*	30 minutes	1
Hairdresser	2 hours	1
	Total Number of Appointments=129	**Total Number of Participants=32**

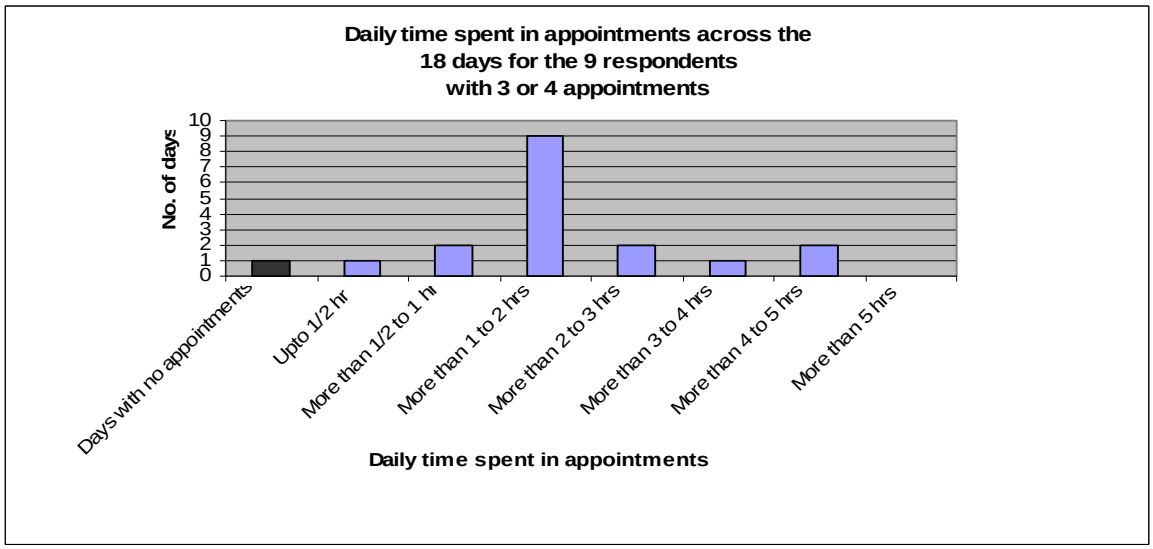
To get a sense of how much time respondents spent attending appointments on a typical day, we examined how total appointment time distributed differently through each of the three subgroups.

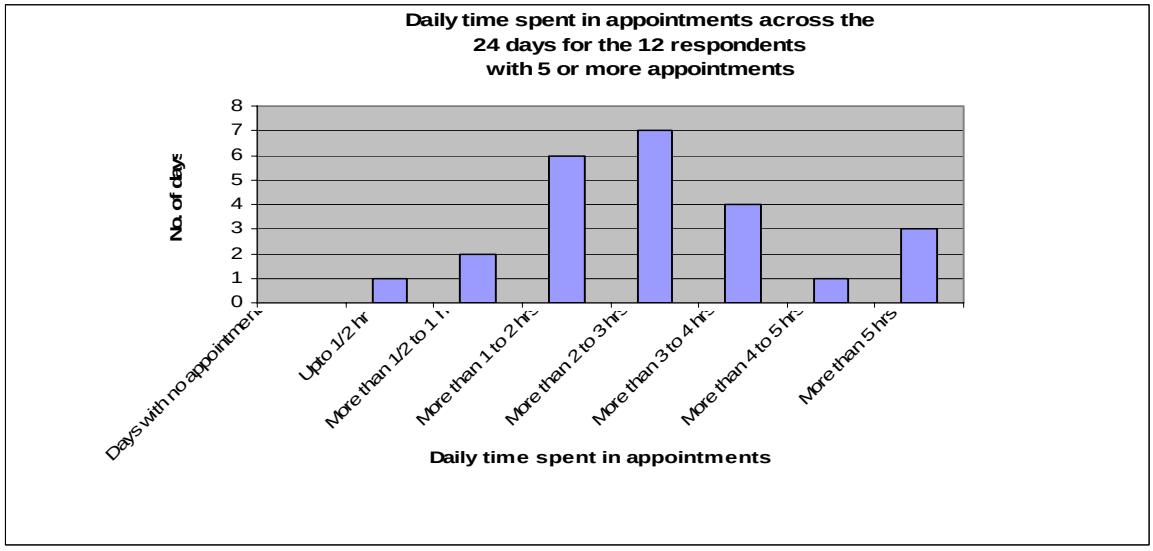
- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup:* We collected two days of data for each of our 12 respondents in this subgroup; therefore, we had 24 appointment days to analyze. For this subgroup, daily time spent in appointments was a little over 20 minutes, partly because there were no appointments on nearly half of their days and only three days with more than three hours spent in appointments. On the days they had appointments, total time spent in such appointments was one hour and 15 minutes in total.
- *The Semi-Scheduled Subgroup:* The 18 days recorded for the nine respondents in this middle group spent an average daily time of about an hour and 40 minutes in appointments. For this group, there was only one respondent with a single day with no appointments, and there were three days with more than three hours dedicated to appointments.
- *The Most-Scheduled Subgroup:* In contrast to the relatively un-scheduled days of the other two subgroups, the 24 days recorded for these 12 respondents showed an average daily time spent in appointments of about two hours and 20 minutes. This subgroup did not have a single day without an appointment, and one-third of their days involve more than three hours in appointments. On three days, respondents were committed to more than five hours of appointments.

As shown below in Figure 3.2, the picture of women's days varied. As we continued our analyses, we tried to figure out what makes these groups different, and how each group may need or respond to services. Given that anecdotal evidence indicated a possibility that wait time dramatically increases time devoted to appointments, we continued our examination of time spent waiting.

Figure 3.2: Daily time spent in appointments by the three subgroups





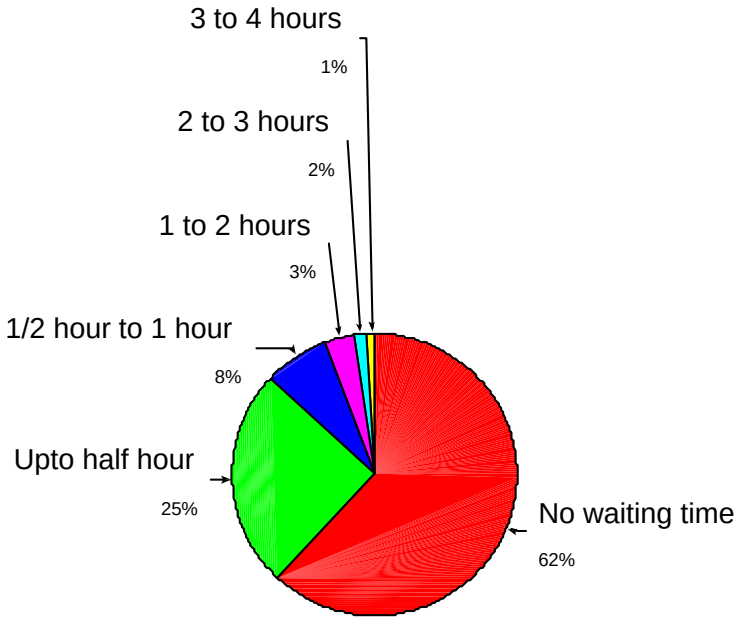


Time Spent Waiting

Contrary to our expectations, the time diaries revealed that time spent waiting for an appointment was minimal on average across the sample. As figure 3.3 shows, more than 60% of all appointments had no wait time at all.

Figure 3.3

Wait times for appointments



While about a quarter of appointments had wait times of up to a half hour, there were few appointments for which respondents waited more than an hour. While there were instances where time spent waiting was considerable, generally our respondents were seen by professionals in a timely manner.

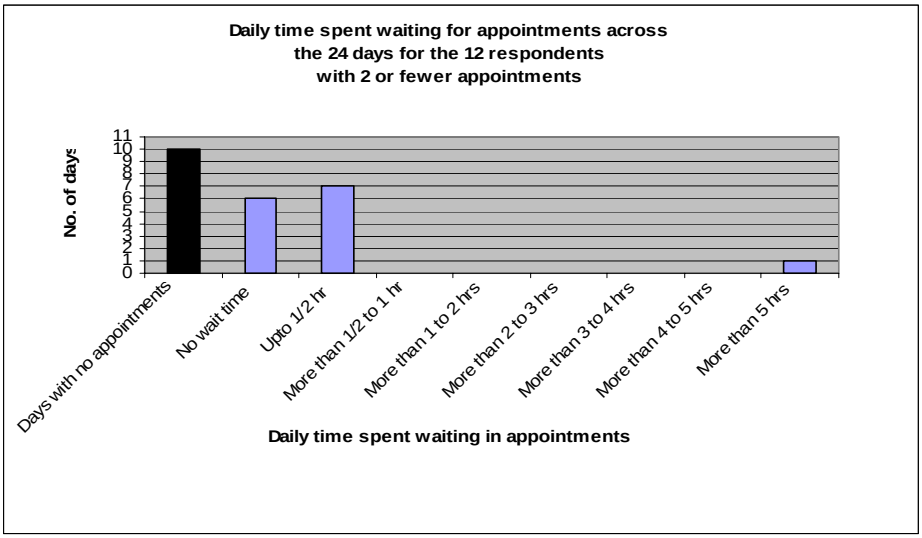
In the small number of appointments where waiting time exceeded an hour, waiting times were extremely long. In two instances, a respondent was kept waiting for a doctor's appointment and at an entitlements (HASA) office for

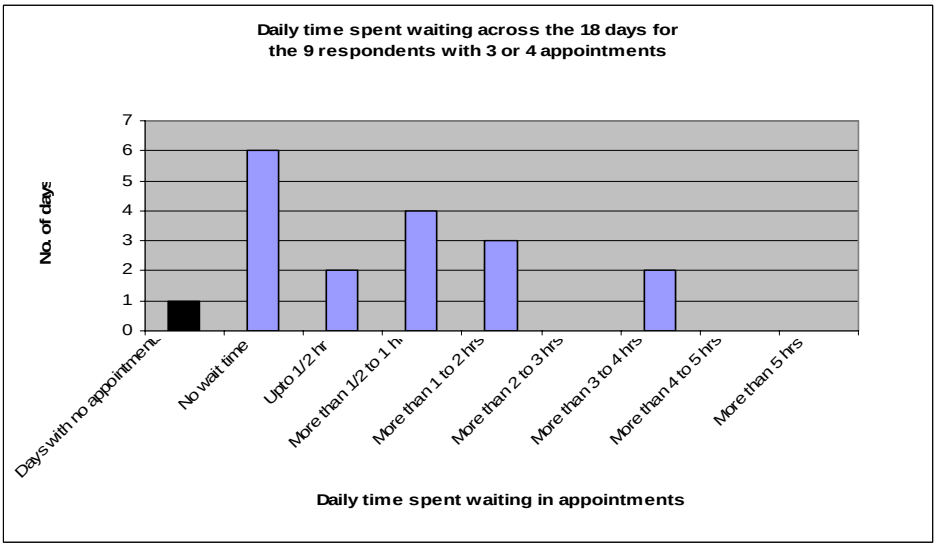
an hour and 45 minutes. In another two cases, waiting for a court appearance and arriving early for a support group led to a wait time of two hours and 15 minutes. In two more court appearances, the delay was almost four hours or more. Moreover, in the follow-up interviews, some respondents also mentioned deliberately arriving at appointments early as a way to avert the stress of coming late, so time spent waiting may not necessarily equal the amount of time respondents are *kept* waiting.

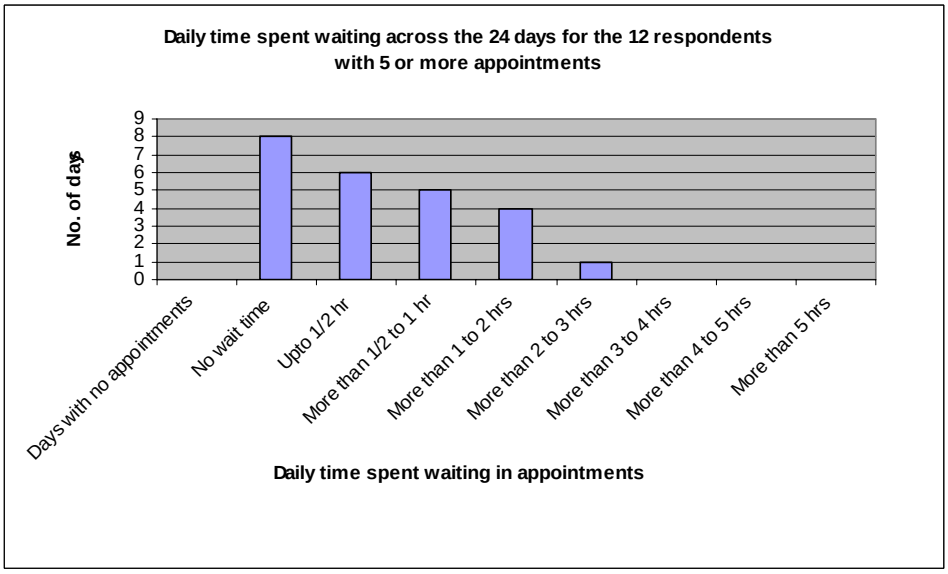
Despite these few long wait times, looking at the daily time respondents spent waiting affirms that waiting does not take up much time in the day.

- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup:* The group with two or fewer appointments across both days spent little time waiting. Their average daily wait time was zero partially because nine respondents had 10 days with no appointments at all. On the days with appointments, daily time spent waiting virtually never exceeded half an hour. There was only one day when a woman spent more than five hours waiting, and this person was waiting for a court appearance that ended up being postponed to another day.
- *The Semi-Scheduled and Most-Scheduled Subgroups:* The daily wait time patterns for the busier two subgroups were similar. Their average daily wait times ranged from a half hour to 40 minutes. For more than three-quarters of their days, daily wait time did not exceed an hour, and only three days involved two to four hours of wait time. In contrast to the least-scheduled respondents, whose wait time was associated with only a maximum of two appointments, the daily wait time for these respondents was spread out across multiple engagements.

Figure 3.4


Daily time spent waiting for appointments across
the 24 days for the 12 respondents
with 2 or fewer appointments
No. of days
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Days with no appointments
No wait time
Upto 1/2 hr
More than 1/2 to 1 hr
More than 1 to 2 hrs
More than 2 to 3 hrs
More than 3 to 4 hrs
More than 4 to 5 hrs
More than 5 hrs
Daily time spent waiting in appointments


Daily time spent waiting across the 18 days for
the 9 respondents with 3 or 4 appointments
No. of days
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
No wait time
Upto 1/2 hr
More than 1 to 2 hrs
More than 2 to 3 hrs
More than 3 to 4 hrs
More than 4 to 5 hrs
More than 5 hrs
Daily time spent waiting in appointments


Daily time spent waiting across the 24 days for the 12 respondents
with 5 or more appointments
No. of days
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Days with no appointments
No wait time
Upto 1/2 hr
More than 1/2 to 1 hr
More than 1 to 2 hrs
More than 2 to 3 hrs
More than 3 to 4 hrs
More than 4 to 5 hrs
More than 5 hrs
Daily time spent waiting in appointments

On the whole, even breaking out by group did not expose onerous wait times for our respondents. Importantly, debriefing participants suggested that our respondents' lack of time spent waiting was not representative of the reentry experience of most women. One WPA client said, "I wait four hours for parole every week! It doesn't matter when you go!"

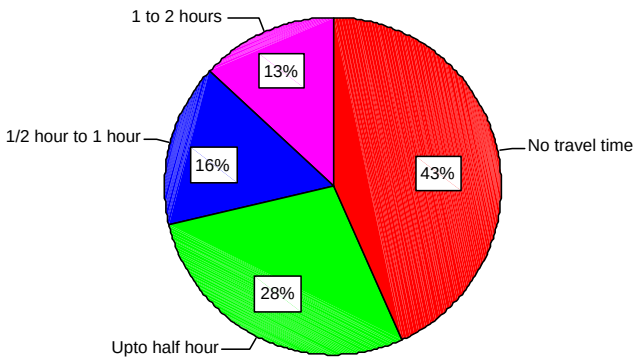
Time spent traveling to appointments

Social and government services are typically not located in neighborhoods characterized by a high concentration of formerly incarcerated people. As a result, we suspected that our respondents' travel time to their appointments might be lengthy. In our time diary analysis, however, we found that this does not place high demands on our respondents' time. The average travel time to an appointment was about 15 minutes,[39] and in three-quarters of all appointments, respondents' travel times lasted only up to 45 minutes per appointment. Only a few (one-fifth) appointments had travel times of an hour or more.

[39] The mean travel time was 25 minutes and the median travel time was 15 minutes.

Figure 3.5

Travel time to appointments



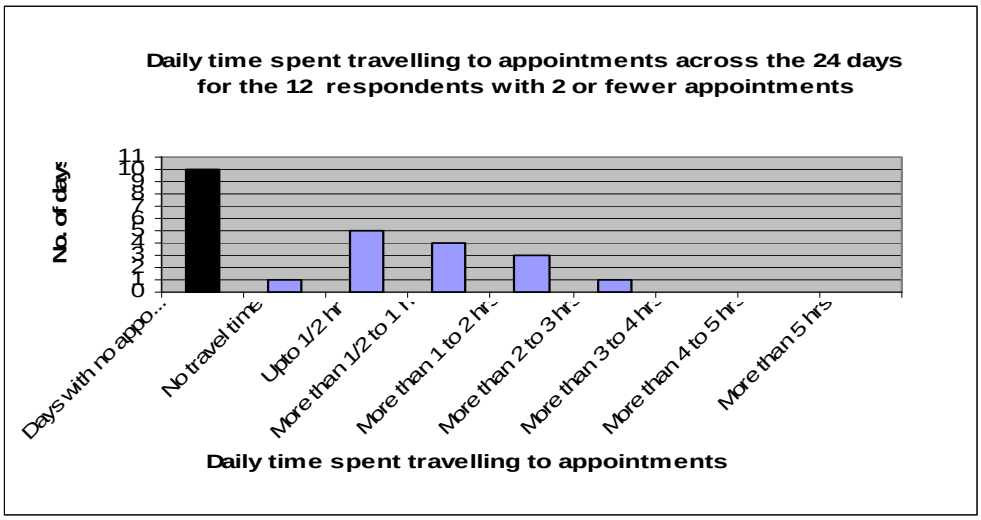
The fact that 43% of appointments involved no travel time was partly an artifact of the time diaries. Because respondents could only record their time in 15 minute increments, a five minute walk, for example, may not have been recorded as having taken any time. However, this may also be due to multiple appointments in a single location, or respondents living in facilities where their 'home' and their appointments are in the same place, such as would be true in a shelter.

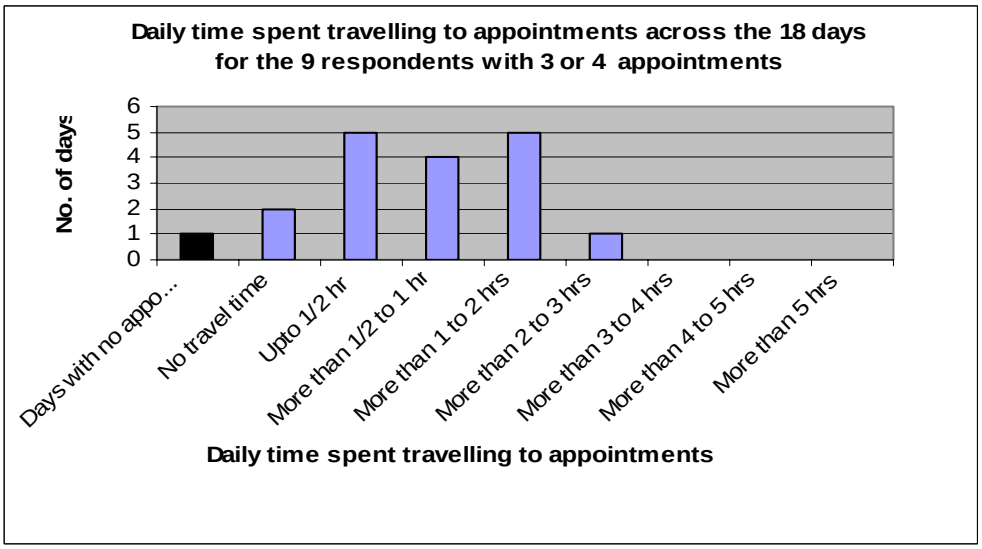
Differences between the subgroups were continually found in the analysis of travel time, as shown in Figure 3.6:

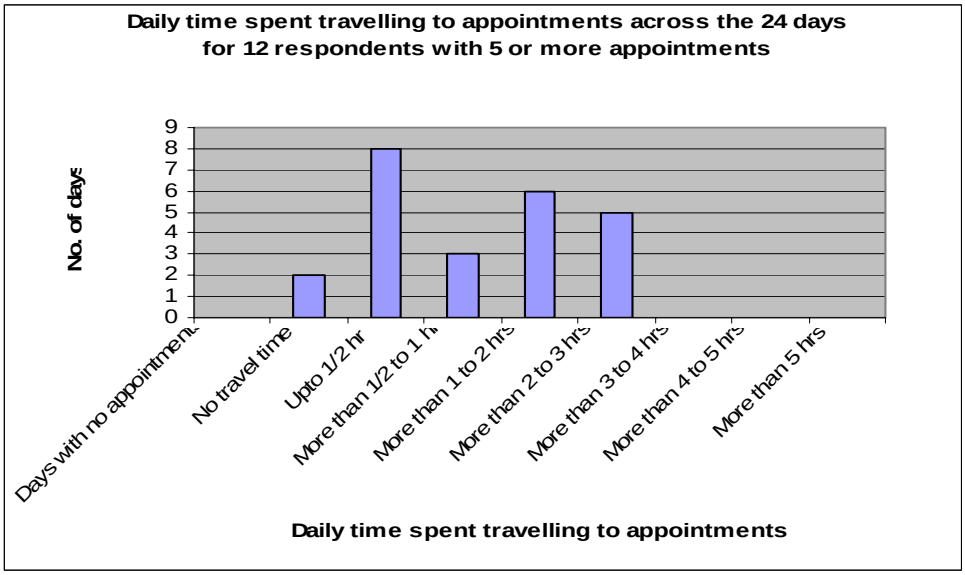
- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup:* For this group, average daily travel time to appointments was only 15 minutes per day. In addition to having 10 days with no appointments at all, most of the days with appointments had average total daily travel times to appointments of less than an hour. There were only four days on which travel time exceeded an hour, up to a maximum of three hours, including three days where travel time was between one and two hours, and one day with two to three hours of travel time.

- *The Semi-Scheduled and Most-Scheduled Subgroups:* The daily time spent traveling to appointments for the busier subgroups was similar. Both of these subgroups had an average daily travel time of 45 minutes. Out of the 42 days, there were only six days when travel time was at its highest, between two to three hours. Nearly all of these days also have three to five appointments per day, so it was not surprising that travel time was higher.

Figure 3.6: Daily time spent traveling by the three subgroups







The Appointment episode: Total Time Spent Traveling to, Waiting for and Attending Appointments

Once all pieces of these women's days were gathered, they were put together to paint a full picture of a day in the life of participants in each group. Three distinct pictures of daily time devoted to appointments emerged.

- *The Least-Scheduled Group:* For the subgroup with two or fewer appointments across both days, daily time spent attending, waiting for and traveling to appointments added up to nearly 40 minutes. The reason for the low daily average time was that nine out of the twelve respondents in this subgroup had days with no appointments at all. For days with appointments, the average appointment episode time was two hours and 23 minutes.

Table 3.3: Average daily time spent on attending, traveling to and waiting appointments for respondents with two or fewer appointments

Average daily time spent traveling to appointments	Average daily time spent waiting for appointments	Average daily time spent attending appointments	Total daily time spent traveling to, waiting for and attending appointments
15 minutes	None	23 minutes	38 minutes

The other two subgroups spent more daily time on their higher number of appointments:

- *The Semi-Scheduled Group:* The subgroup with three or four appointments spent significantly more time traveling to, waiting for, and attending their appointments than members of the least-scheduled group. They typically spent about three hours in a day devoted to their appointments.

Table 3.4: Average daily time spent on attending, traveling to and waiting appointments for respondents with three or four appointments

Average daily time spent traveling to appointments	Average daily time spent waiting for appointments	Average daily time spent attending appointments	Total daily time spent traveling to, waiting for and attending appointments
45 minutes	38 minutes	1 hour, 38 minutes	3 hours, 1 minute

- *The Most-Scheduled Subgroup:* On average, this subgroup spent slightly more total time on appointments at about three hours and 40 minutes. Like the members of the semi-scheduled group, they spent significantly more time traveling to, waiting for, and in appointments than the members of the least-scheduled group. This was particularly true for people who experienced the highest number of appointments, such as one person who spent ten hours each day in appointment episodes, and another who spent seven hours on one of the days. In addition, the members of this subgroup spent substantially more time in appointments than the semi-scheduled subgroup members, but spent less time waiting.

Table 3.5: Average daily time spent on attending, traveling to and waiting appointments for respondents with five or more appointments

Average daily time spent traveling to appointments	Average daily time spent waiting for appointments	Average daily time spent attending appointments	Total daily time spent traveling to, waiting for and attending appointments
45 minutes	30 minutes	2 hours, 23 minutes	3 hours, 38 minutes

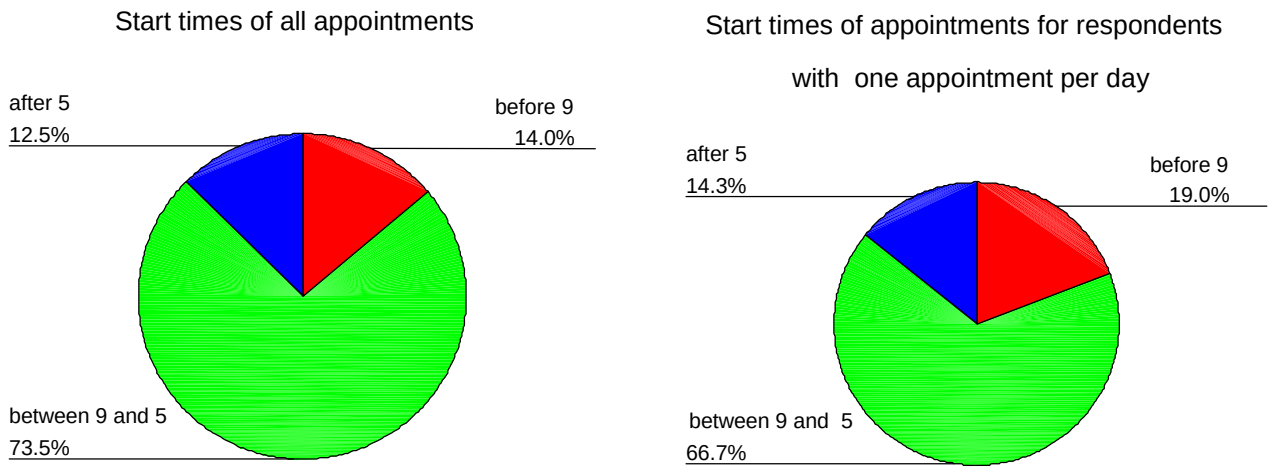
While there were differences between the three subgroups, the amount of time respondents typically spent on appointments in a day clearly did not

severely limit the time available for employment pursuits. On average, across all subgroups, the women spent under two and a half hours getting to, waiting for, and attending appointments. With over 21 hours left in the day, there should be a way to incorporate the gainful employment that so many of our respondents said they desired.

Timing of Appointments

Another important determinant of time available for work was the timing of appointments. While appointments that take place before and after traditional working hours only minimally disrupt participants' ability to maintain employment, appointments that take place during the workday significantly affect time for work. As the figures show, nearly three-quarters of all appointments were scheduled during the traditional workday hours between 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. Moreover, about one-third of all appointments took place between 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. Only a small percentage of appointments took place before 9:00 a.m. and after 5:00 p.m.

Figure 3.7 Start times of appointments



Even when there was only one appointment during the day, that appointment tended to occur in the middle, rather than at either end, of the business day. As Figure 3.7 shows, even on days with single appointments, about two thirds of these appointments started between 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Moreover, nearly half of the appointments took place in the middle of the workday between 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. This was true regardless of subgroup membership.

Since most appointments were scheduled during work hours, even women with short appointments could end up dedicating full days to appointments. For women seeking employment, scheduling appointments during work hours may pose a significant barrier to their time available to seek and engage in employment. We did not ask respondents how or by whom each appointment was scheduled, though they expressed a general frustration about the number of appointments others scheduled for them. Therefore, our finding that

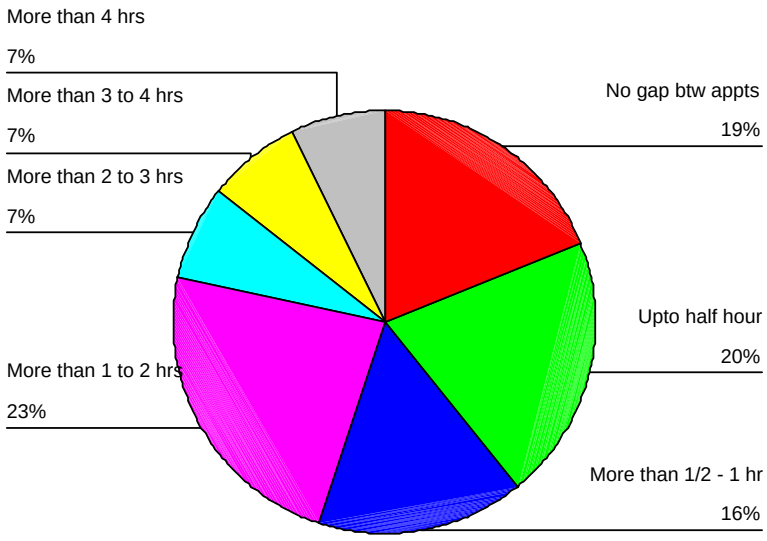
appointments were typically scheduled during the workday may be due, at least in part, to work day hours of providers.

Spacing of Multiple Appointments

The way individuals spaced multiple appointments in a single day was another indicator of how efficiently they could make time for work pursuits. Either

Figure 3.8

Time between appointments



short or long time spans between appointments created schedules that allow ample time for other activities including work. A little more than half of these appointments were separated from their preceding appointments by gaps of an hour or less, and another seven percent had gaps exceeding four hours, perhaps time enough for a part-time position. Only one person had over seven hours of time between appointments. However, the remaining 37% of appointments, kept

by 14 respondents, had gaps that lasted between one to four hours, an insufficient time to work.

There were some differences between the subgroups:

- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup: These respondents recorded a large* average gap between appointments of three hours and 45 minutes, but this reflected a range from 45 minutes to almost six hours (a court appointment eventually being postponed to another day).
- *The Semi-Scheduled and Most-Scheduled Subgroups:* The busier subgroups had average time gaps between appointments of about an hour, closer to the average time gap recorded for the entire sample.

Analysis of the Subgroups

Time since Release and Time Use Patterns

Clearly, the impact of time use on employment was not uniform across the three subgroups. Since it is commonly assumed that individuals with the most structured schedules are those most recently released from incarceration, we begin our analyses of the subgroups by examining how the groups differed by how long they had been in the community. Individuals leaving prison or jail can be expected to encounter very different experiences depending on how recently they were released. For example, a woman who has just left prison or jail may need to make her initial encounter with her parole officer, may be in a shelter while she finds more permanent housing, and could also be establishing public assistance. On the other hand, a woman who has been in the community for a

longer period of time might be more focused on continually maintaining her sobriety and attending regular visits with her children in pursuit of reunification. About three-quarters of the women in our study had been out of jail or prison for six months or more, indicating that most had passed the initial period of reentry, which we believe focuses on more immediate survival needs.

We analyzed all three groups to determine if there were differences in the time since release between the groups and found that the 'Most-Scheduled' subgroup was more likely to have been out for more than a year, compared to the subgroups with fewer appointments. Specifically, more than 80% of respondents in the busiest subgroup had been out for more than a year. In contrast, the 'Least-Scheduled' and 'Semi-Scheduled' subgroups were more likely to have been out for less than a year.

Table 3.6: Time since release for the three subgroups.

	Least-Scheduled Subgroup	**Semi-Scheduled Subgroup**	**Most-Scheduled Subgroup**	**Total**
Respondents who have been out for one year or less	4	3	2	9
Percent within subgroups based on number of appointments	***33%***	***33%***	***17%***	***27%***
Respondents who have been out for more than a year	8	6	10	24
Percent within subgroups based on number of appointments	***67%***	***67%***	***83%***	***73%***
Total	12	9	12	33

Not only did we find that those individuals who were back in the community for the longest time had *more* appointments (as represented by subgroup membership), but we also found out that they spent more cumulative time in appointments. About 80% of the respondents who had been out for more than a year spent more time in appointments, compared to two-thirds of respondents in the group that spent less time in appointments. Specifically, respondents who had been out for one year or less spent an average of 2 hours and 15 minutes attending appointments across both days. In comparison, respondents who had been out for more than a year spent an average of 3 hours and 52 minutes for the same.

Table 3.7: Time since release by time spent in appointments.

	Respondents who spend three hours and 45 minutes or less[40]	**Respondents who spend more than three hours and 45 minutes**	**Total**
Respondents who have been out for one year or less	6	3	9
Percent within subgroups based on time spent in appointments	***33%***	***20%***	***27%***
Respondents who have been out for more than a year	12	12	24
Percent within subgroups based on time spent in appointments	***67%***	***80%***	***73%***
Total	18	15	33

[40] The median for the distribution of time spent in appointments across both days is three hours and 45 minutes and was chosen as the basis for dividing respondents into two subgroups.

Similarly, individuals who had been out for a year were more likely to attend group appointments, compared to those who had been out for less. When compared to individual appointments, group appointments were more likely to be clustered in one day rather than to be spread out across the two days. Therefore, respondents are unlikely to work on days when they are committed to group meetings.

Table 3.8: Time since release by group appointment attendance

	Respondents who did not have a group appointment	**Respondents who had a group appointment**	**Total**
One year or less	5	4	9
Percent within subgroups based on whether respondents had a group appointment	***38.5%***	***20.0%***	***27.3 %***
More than a year	8	16	24
Percent within subgroups based on whether respondents had a group appointment	***61.5%***	***80.0%***	***72.7 %***
Total	13	20	33

Overall, time since release was a potentially significant determinant of how busy participants were in terms of number of appointments, time spent in appointments and participation in group appointments. Practitioners and the population reentering the community often report that recently released women were likely to be busier with appointments. Likewise, in interviews, the respondents in this study discussed an initial period upon reentry with a greater number of appointments with criminal justice and government agencies than later in their reentry period, although they explain that this phase passes quite quickly. In the aftermath of this particularly busy period, our participants filled their time

with an array of other types of non-paying services. Our findings from the time diaries, however, suggested that women in the study who have been out longer tended to be busier with appointments than those more recently released. However, the character of such appointments was illustrative in that while the people who have been in the community longer had more appointments, they are primarily group appointments. This may indicate a longer-term, maintenance-based involvement in programs rather than a schedule of appointments based on obtaining survival needs such as food and immediate shelter. Debriefing participants suggested that after being in the community for a while without a job, social services and/or parole mandates typically keep one busy (e.g. training, school, programs), which can thereby discourage getting a job.

Given that only about a quarter of our sample had been out of prison or jail for six months or less, we were unable to fully assess the time demands of commitments to government and social service agencies in the immediate period of release from prison or jail.

Employment Seeking and Time Use Patterns

After examining the time diaries for the amount of time spent job searching, we found that an expressed employment search by participants was related to the number of appointments and time spent in appointments. Were women who are busy job hunting falling into the 'Least-Scheduled' subgroup because of their job search? In fact, about 60% of the 'Least-Scheduled' subgroup indicated that they were searching for employment at screening,

compared to 100% respondents in the ‘Semi-Scheduled’ subgroup, and about 40% of the ‘Most-Scheduled’ subgroup.

Table 3.9: Currently Searching for Employment

		Least-Scheduled Subgroup	Semi-Scheduled Subgroup	Most-Scheduled Subgroup	Total
Yes	Number of respondents currently searching for employment	7	9	5	21
	Percent within Subgroups of respondents based on number of appointments	***58%***	***100%***	***42%***	***64%***
No	Number of respondents currently searching for employment	5	0	7	12
	Percent within Subgroups of respondents based on number of appointments	***42%***	***0%***	***58%***	***36%***
Total	Count	12	9	12	33

Moreover, the proportions of respondents who indicated they were seeking employment were similar among respondents who spent more time in appointments and those who spent less time.

Table 3.10: Subgroups based on whether respondents are searching for employment[41]

	Three hours and 45 minutes or less	More than three hours and 45 minutes	Total
Respondents currently searching for employment	12	9	21
Percent within subgroups based on time spent in appointments	***67%***	***60%***	***64%***
Respondents not currently searching for employment	6	6	12
Percent within subgroups based on time spent in appointments	***33%***	***40%***	***36%***
Total	18	15	33

These findings suggest that participants rejected a strategy of cutting down on the number of appointments and time spent in appointments as a way to accommodate the time needed to search for employment. Indeed, while the majority of respondents reported that they were seeking employment, we found no evidence of such activity in the time diaries. Looking forward, an analysis of employment-searching strategies over the reentry period would help to better understand if and how women released from prison or jail are able to translate their priorities and intentions across different phases of reentry into effective action-oriented strategies. We did not ask specifically what respondents were doing to search for employment, and therefore cannot speak to the uniformity of the "job seekers" group. Respondents may not know how to search for a job, or were possibly afraid of an anticipated stigma associated with chronic unemployment.

[41] The median for the distribution of time spent in appointments across both days is three hours and 45 minutes and was chosen as the basis for dividing respondents into two subgroups.

Time with Children

Of course, like all independent adults, the respondents in our study also sought personal time apart from the requirements of reentry. We did not analyze time spent socializing with family and friends, relaxing, or dating, among other things. We did, however, examine the time respondents spent with their children, given that twenty-seven of our thirty-three respondents are mothers. While ten mothers reported spending time with their children in their time diaries, another six mentioned that they were regularly working towards gaining custody of their children. Among the 11 mothers who did not mention their children in the time diaries and follow-up interviews, four have custody of their minor children, four have children above 18 with whom they are not living, and three do not have custody and are not working towards that goal. While none of the respondents cited child care as an impediment to employment, and we did not explicitly explore time with children in the time diary, we suspected that time and emotional resources spent on children, both custodial and non-custodial, were significant, and therefore prioritized accordingly.

Conclusions

The time diaries proved to be an extremely valuable method of glimpsing into time distributions in the lives of our respondents. What we found painted a picture of how respondents' involvement in social service and government agencies affected the time respondents had to seek and engage in employment.

First, appointments related to group meetings, health, and supportive services accounted for three-quarters of all appointments and had the highest participation rates. Our strategy of recruiting participants at service delivery sites partly explains this finding.[42] Furthermore, only two women engaged in appointments directly related to employment. Government service and mandated criminal-justice related appointments were attended by very few participants, which may be due to the fact that most of our respondents had been out of prison or jail for more than six months.

Although the vast majority of our respondents were not working, we examined the time they spent on activities in anticipation of employment. We found, however, that while most respondents were dedicating time to appointments that would improve their employability, such as achieving sobriety and good health, only two respondents attended appointments that were directly related to an active employment search.

One of the most important findings in this analysis emerged when we discovered that a small number of respondents have the vast majority of the appointments. As we examined the daily time typically spent on traveling to, waiting for and attending appointments, three distinct subgroups emerged.

What appears to be inhibiting respondents' ability to seek and engage in employment was the way they structured their time. Nearly all respondents had

[42] The dominance of group appointments compared to other types of formal commitments is one result of our sampling strategy (recruiting women at service sites). At least one of the programs where we recruited respondents requires people to participate in a series of daily group meetings. This finding also reflects a practice in parole: mandating women to attend some type of program until they are employed. Many of the women in our study indicated they were mandated to participate in an approved program until they were employed. In addition, many of the residential facilities where women returning to the community from prison or jail frequently live commonly require people to attend a certain number of daily or weekly group meetings. Thirteen out of the thirty-three respondents live in a shelter, treatment facility or transitional housing.

at least one of their appointments scheduled during traditional workday hours, and nearly half of the respondents had significant time gaps between appointments. These patterns precluded the long uninterrupted stretches of time during traditional workday hours which are needed for employment as well as the substantial time often needed for intensive job seeking.

Another important finding is that women in the study who had been out for more than a year tended to be busier than those women who had been out for less than a year. The women out for more than a year were more likely to have more appointments, spend more time in appointments and engage in group activities. Yet, since only about a quarter of our sample was comprised of women who had been out for six months or less, we did not have enough data to comprehensively examine the time commitments women face in the immediate period following release. Moreover, women who have been out for longer may tend to self-select into this study as reflected by the fact that two-thirds of the sample had been out for more than a year. Nonetheless, these findings do point to an important reentry issue requiring future research – whether and why women who have been out of prison or jail for considerable periods of time face substantial time commitments to government and social service agencies that might inhibit the time available to find and engage in work.

Interestingly, whether or not respondents indicate that they are seeking employment in the screening questionnaire did not appear to be related to the number of appointments respondents actually kept and the time they spent in appointments. Those who indicated that they are seeking employment appear to

be just as busy with appointments, as those who indicate otherwise. This finding suggests that respondents have the goal of employment, but fail to prioritize this goal in a way reflected in their use of time. The findings call attention to a need to investigate if and how respondents are able to translate their reentry goals and priorities into effective time-use strategies as time since release elapses.

In the next chapters, respondents' daily schedules are contextualized in terms of their reentry goals and priorities, with particular attention to employment. In addition, respondents' current allocation of time is considered and whether this helps or hinders their reentry goals and priorities, whether their daily schedules reveal latent goals and priorities that support the reentry process, and how life experiences have shaped the way they perceive the value of and impediments to work. These analyses will form the basis of policy and programming recommendations to support criminal justice-involved women as they work to achieve their employment goals and successful integration into the community.

Chapter 4: Reentry Priorities and Construction of the Day

In the last chapter we learned that most of the women in our study did not have schedules particularly conducive to employment. Contrary to our expectations, however, the issue is not the overall number and length of appointments that consume time that could otherwise be allocated to work. Instead, it is the distribution of appointments across the day precludes employment for our respondents. Further, those respondents who had been in the community for longer periods of time were spending much of their time in groups, making less of their time available for job searching and employment. In this chapter, analysis beings with the follow-up interviews, to explore why respondents' schedules were constructed in this manner.

Since daily schedules tend to be built around accomplishing specific objectives, our participants' reentry goals were analyzed first. This facilitates an understanding regarding the nature of appointments kept by women in our study. Schedules, however, reflect more than just goals. Among other things, they reflect an ability to prioritize different goals as well as a level of sophistication regarding time management skills. Therefore, an analysis of the time diaries will look closely at whether our respondents' stated priorities were mirrored in their diaries. If certain aspirations were not met, then an examination of other competing goals becomes paramount. The women's schedules were also evaluated to see how they manage their time in regard to the resolution of management problems encountered. Finally, because schedules also reflect the extent to which outsiders can influence someone's time, impact of parole officers,

service providers and others in the construction of our respondents' daily schedules was considered.

Employment: One of the Top Priorities upon Reentry

Women returning home from prison or jail have many things they need to accomplish. Typically, they need to find housing and a source of income. Often, an interest in reunifying with their children is present. For those with drug and/or alcohol addictions, they are also focused on maintaining their sobriety. Consequently, our respondents often discussed their goals similar to the way a woman living in a Queens homeless shelter did. When asked what she thought she needed to do to get her life back together, the woman said:

> *Getting, you know, my life back together as far as staying clean and sober, making meetings, staying around positive people, getting housing and finding a job. See, I have to find a job. This way, I can buy me some clothes and, you know, have traveling money to get where I need to go. Be able to buy my kids things when I go see them on their visit, you know. It's just that I gotta do what I gotta do.*

In this case, our participant highlighted the preeminence of maintaining her sobriety by mentioning it first. She then reinforced its importance to her by detailing the tasks she needed to do to remain sober. Finally, she discussed the goals of finding both housing and a job. While it is clear that she wants to have a job, it was not especially high on her list, and appears only instrumental rather than primary. Furthermore, unlike the way she backs up her statement about sobriety, this woman established the significance of employment by referring to the benefits of

having money rather than the steps she needs to take in order to find a job.

When we asked the women what they thought would help them obtain their reentry goals, many said things such as staying around positive people, attending programs or meetings and cooperation from others. Approximately a quarter of the group (eight women), did speak about employment as valuable in encouraging such non-palpable ends. For example, one woman, who left high school after completing the eleventh grade, and later enrolled in a food-service training program, was clear that she needed to improve her education in order to get a job, but even then, the job was not her ultimate aim. Like others in our study, this respondent wants a job so she can find housing. "I haven't had time to even go find no place [to live]," she said. "I don't have no job first of all. So I have to find a job first."

The women in this study who were looking for a place to live know they need money before they can get permanent housing. This point was reinforced by one woman in transitional housing who seeks a second job, as she maintains a maintenance engineer position. She said:

> ***Respondent****: Money right now is the only thing that affects housing for me. Money I don't have.*
> ***Interviewer****: With regard to getting your life back together after prison, can you tell me what things are most important to you?*
> *Respondent: A full time job and a house.*

Additionally, jobs were not seen as universally instrumental. For instance, one woman mentioned her job was an impediment to getting

housing. This participant, who currently lives in temporary housing, had only two and a half months left to find a permanent place to live. Her job, this woman says, prevented her from doing so. She explained:

> *All I can do is make phone calls…'cause my job. 'Cause some days I can work 6:00 to 2:00 but then [my boss] may need me to work 6:00 to 6:00 and I be like, "oh, she just messed up my whole schedule." I gotta plan.*

The analysis showed mixed results for the importance of employment for women upon reentry. Although employment was among our respondents' top reentry goals, many of the women reported higher reentry priorities such as maintaining sobriety, finding housing and reunifying with their children. Sometimes achieving these other factors was seen as necessary before employment would be possible. Other times employment was seen only as the stepping stone to meeting these other, more important, goals, or even an impediment to such goals. Either way, these findings illustrate why the women in our study are most likely to spend their days attending groups geared towards helping them stay sober, developing their parenting skills and receiving emotional support: these help them maintain and seek things that are more important to them. Moreover, this explains why our respondents also invest more time engaged in such appointments than they do in formal activities that could help them find a job.

Because the bulk of appointments kept by our respondents did not directly further the goal of employment, it was tempting to think our respondents were looking for jobs on their own, in their spare time. If this were the case, it could explain why their schedules were planned with ample free time between

appointments. Yet, this hypothesis was not borne out by our analysis of the time diaries. When examining how the women used their unstructured time, just a small proportion allocated any free time to finding employment. Only five people recorded spending time looking for a job in their time diaries on either or both days. Although one woman spent over eight hours during the course of two days job-hunting, the other three spent an average of two and a half hours each day engaged in this activity.

Latent priorities: The Benefits of Loosely Scheduled Time

One explanation for why the women in the study were not actively working towards their goal of employment was that they, like all people, need to juggle their time and prioritize their goals, and there simply was not enough time to accomplish everything. Yet their schedules indicated that they had time to work towards a wider variety of aspirations. This was especially true of employment, which so many of our respondents said they desire but so few are actively pursuing. For this reason other preceding objectives, not mentioned as reentry goals, were considered. When women were asked to reflect upon how they juggle their responsibilities and how they think time impacted their ability to find a job, it became clear that they have at least three other priorities which were reflected in the way they construct their schedules: minimizing stress, staying out of trouble, and taking care of themselves.

Goal One: Minimize Stress

One of the most common remarks our respondents made about their schedules was that they were stressful: there are too many appointments in too many disparate locations along with too many other tasks that need to be accomplished. The period immediately after release was seen as particularly stressful because of the sheer number of tasks needing to be accomplished. One respondent, now receiving SSI, food stamps and Medicaid, and living in Section 8 housing with her husband, exemplifies the sentiments of our participants. She said things were hectic when she first came home from prison because, "[Y]ou gotta go to welfare, you gotta get food stamps, you look for apartment…so I had a lot." For some, once these things were achieved, much of the stress was reduced. This woman continued, "Now, I can say that I'm more relaxed, because I got everything I needed."

Nearly all of our respondents, however, continued to experience stress even after the initial post-release period was over, due to what they perceived to be a high number of appointments they have during the day. While there was a range in the number of appointments the women in the study attended during a typical day, on the whole they were most comfortable when their days included only two. In fact, many of the women said they were too busy if they had more than two appointments during the day. For instance, a 41-year-old woman described a busy day:

> *[E]very Wednesday, my P.O. [Parole Officer], I like going to early even though I got until 7:00. So I go to her early, get her out the way, I go there, they open at 8:30. And by 9:00, before 9:00, I'm out because I'm always the first or second one there. And then I have*

women's class group, so I have to be in Manhattan by 10:00. That's from 10:00 to 12:00. And then I have group from 4:00 to 5:00.

Some of the women experienced stress from three or more appointments simply because they felt they had to be in too many places at once. One respondent believed the objectives everyone else had for her took precedence over anything else she had planned. She continued to say:

[S]ometimes it makes me, I just cry 'cause everybody's expecting more. Everybody just, the way I see it, everybody sits around a desk, and they're expecting you to be two places at the same time, and they don't care, you know, that you're a human being and you have to be here, you gotta be there, and you're expecting me to be here, that person's expecting me to be there? And that person's also expecting me to be there…and then if you, the way I see it, I said, you know, they're just doing this because right now, they have the angle and I have the blade. You know, they don't care. So, it stressed me out.

For other respondents, the more appointments they had, the more traveling they did. One homeless woman said, "And then, if I have three appointments in one day, then I have to go to three different boroughs," many of our participants said traveling caused them problems.

As noted by participants, traveling can be stressful in and of itself. More often, they said traveling between locations was stressful because it made it hard for them to get to appointments on time. Thus, when the previously cited woman discussed the difficulty of her post-release period, she said one reason this stage was hard for her was because getting from one appointment to another was tough. When asked about this she said:

***Respondent**: Yeah, because the traveling…*
***Interviewer**: Were the offices really far apart?*

***Respondent**: Yeah! They wasn't in the same place. So I had to be traveling and taking trains or buses. So it was hard.*
***Interviewer**: Did you miss appointments because you were traveling?*
***Respondent**: Yeah, I had to reschedule a lot of them.*

Making it to appointments at all can also be perceived as tricky because people do not think there is not enough time between them. This was illustrated by the comments of one woman who said, "Sometimes, in one day, I got two appointments. One of them could be for 11:30 and the other for 1:00. The one from 11:30, I'm not getting out of there at least until 12:30. So, it's a little stressful." This was particularly true when one appointment runs late. In extreme cases this results in our respondents completely missing some of their appointments. One woman who balances work, an education/training program, and substance abuse treatment, among other things, described the situation. She said:

> *It was the one day when I had to go to [counseling], parole and P.A. [Public Assistance.] P.A. was first because they were the only people that gave me a time. P.A. kept me there forever, so by the time I got finished with them, I was barely able to make my parole appointment. There was no [counseling].*

Sometimes the women said that their days were hectic and stressful because many of them considered the time between appointments as filled with activities. Women with children especially spoke about how the additional daily responsibilities of caring for their children added to the fullness of the day. One woman who works as a security guard said:

> *Usually on Fridays, I go to my job, and it usually takes longer than I, you know, it's always crowded there. And after that, I'll go do a little shopping. Then I have to rush home to meet my little son, then I have to take him to Queens to his father's house, or my daughter's*

house so he can spend the weekend over there. Then I rush home, and I go get ready for work. So I really don't get no sleep cause I work the midnight shift.

The responsibilities of childcare also figured prominently in this woman's description of a stressful day. One 50 year-old woman, who lives with her daughter and granddaughter, finds medical appointments particularly difficult. When asked to describe a busy day, she said:

R: [T]he last chaotic day that I had was trying to get to a meeting, trying to take care of [my granddaughter], trying to get to the doctor's appointment back in February, you know it really wore me out. You know, because I was doing a overall check up for my own self, you know then I had [my granddaughter] then I had to drop her off, pay for her food for the babysitter. Then I had to go to the doctor's then I had to come back, pick [my granddaughter] up and go to a NA meeting. You know it was really kind of complicated. It was kind of depressing for me, too with the doctor 'cause it takes a lot for me to get ready to go the doctor.

Additionally, some respondents experienced an additional source of stress that could not be resolved by manipulating their schedules. This stress stems from the process of waiting for the outcomes of their efforts. For instance, one woman living in residential treatment and looking for a job said her day was stressful and frustrating because she was "…going from place to place and then not getting an answer back." Another woman, back in the community after serving an eight-month sentence, underscored this point. She said:

***Respondent**: I just find it difficult to have to wait for everything that I need. That's the difficult part.*
***Interviewer**: In terms of time management or in terms of patience? Respondent: In terms of patience. In terms of time. In terms of both. Yeah, 'cause it's hard. It's hard. You need a lot of patience. Definitely. It's hard. People refuse you. It's just hard to get back in the swing when you come out of jail. It really is. It's a lot of judgment. It's a lot of everything.*

One way the women in our study managed the problem of stress was by limiting their number of appointments. This leaves them enough time to accomplish all their objectives for the day. This strategy was underscored by one woman living in a residential drug treatment facility and attending regular doctor visits, among other things. She was asked if waiting for her doctor's appointment interferes with her day, responding "No, 'cause that be the appointment for that day."

Having fewer appointments during the day meant that respondents can leave more time between them. This helped the women accommodate unexpected delays such as appointments which run late and problems associated with traveling. "I give myself extra traveling time," said one respondent. "Like this morning, I left at 8:00 and I just got here ten minutes to 10:00 because I don't know nothing about the trains. So I gave myself a lot of extra traveling time." Another woman, who had a relatively long employment history, corroborated this strategy for managing stress. She said, "I get there early because I like to be on time to places and if you have to be somewhere at 5:00, don't leave at 4:00. I like to give myself a chance 'cause the train might, you know, delay the trains." There was a downside to this scheduling technique: sometimes she arrived early. "Like today, I was here early, but I was so early, I went to the library."

In fact, scheduling enough time to comfortably travel between locations without ending up with too much time was a fine balancing act that some women

had trouble executing. One person who, at the time of the study, had been in the community for only three months after serving 23 years in prison said:

> *When I first got out, and this doesn't happen so much any more because I allow myself an hour to get anywhere because something may happen on the train, something may happen before we to the train, but I was having a lot of problems getting places on time. I was always, like, an hour early. I was always early. And the first social function I went to, I was there an hour early. And, it wasn't done rudely, but it was done in a nice way. It's like, "it's considered socially unacceptable to arrive somewhere early." And I said, "I've only been out a week. Give me a break here."*

Another benefit of limiting the number of daily appointments was that it enabled some women to reduce their stress level by consolidating personal tasks around appointments. Although only a few people discussed consolidating appointments and errands in this way, those who did found this stress reduction strategy successful. One unemployed respondent living in a homeless shelter said, "If I have one appointment then I'll base my schedule around that appointment to do other stuff that I have to do… or whatever. I just make sure [these other things] don't bump heads with the appointment." Another woman, who works as a café cashier, referred to this strategy as simplifying things. She said:

> *If I want to go shopping and I'm downtown to see my parole officer, I do all that while I'm downtown. I won't go home and come back and go downtown. Being that I'm down there let me go shopping while I'm down there.*

When we considered the goal of minimizing stress, it was clear that women in the study constructed their schedules to meet this objective. Our respondents relied upon transportation systems that can be unreliable and which made their trips longer than they expected. When we considered the fact that

the women were subject to a host of reasons for delays, and that they may also have a variety of tasks to accomplish between appointments, it became obvious why they choose to spread their commitments out across the day. However, once they had tapped this time management strategy to reduce their level of stress, respondents were locked into also limiting their number of daily appointments. Since the number of appointments was inversely related to the time available between them, increasing one automatically decreases the other. Scheduling no more than two appointments per day provided the perfect balance; appointment and personal commitments could be accomplished while producing a minimum of stress.

Goal Two: Stay Out of Trouble

Another important goal our respondents had was making sure they do not return to prison or jail. There are two key ways our participants felt they could get into legal trouble. The first was “hanging out” with old friends, doing things they did before being incarcerated such as drug use. Secondly, missing appointments associated with post-release requirements, such as parole was their other key point. Thus, they scheduled their days with the aim of avoiding legal trouble by minimizing their exposure to temptation and making sure they honor their commitments.

One strategy many former prisoners utilized for avoiding trouble was staying home when there were no planned activities that were constructive. Our respondents were no exception. Quite a few women in the study said they stay

home when they do not have appointments, and they sometimes even go home between them. One woman who worked the "graveyard shift" as a security guard since March 2003 and is currently in drug treatment said, "I'll sit home and watch TV. There's nothing really out there. I don't wanna get caught up in nothing." Another woman who was unemployed said, "I love my TV! Better than being in the streets, right? Doing things you're not supposed to be doing." A third woman on parole seeking employment said, "I'm not walking around without a purposeful destination. I'm not gonna do it."

Another strategy for staying out of trouble was keeping busy. Over half of our respondents said they valued being busy because it reduced the possibility of becoming "distracted" while maximizing the probability of "staying focused" and "on track." One woman who attended a daily substance abuse treatment program and was in the process of enrolling in a school/vocational program explained further:

> *See with me, when I have something to do, it motivates me, just having something to do because I remember when I used to be out on the streets getting high and prostituting and all that stuff, you know just doing it. But to have something to do that's positive, yeah. It happens the way it's supposed to happen unless it's on their part. If it's on my part, I do what I have to do.*

Another woman who spoke about not wanting to get "distracted" made the same point. Staying busy was one reason this woman both goes to work and to school. In fact, she has completed one year of a Masters' program. Elaborating on this point she said:

> *I think all these appointments and time allow me to become more focused with things I needed to do, not to get distracted. I tell you, I*

can be very distracting…I didn't have too much time on my hands not to be focused."

Many of our respondents, however, do not just want a busy schedule. Rather, they want a structured schedule. Like the woman who said that she can listen to rules and "do structure" because she had been incarcerated, some people said they craved a dependable schedule, although it was sometimes difficult to achieve. One woman who spent nine years incarcerated said:

Everything inside is structured, it's consistent so you adapt to consistency and structure, 'cause I adapt to it. Coming home, everything is different, there's no structure, everybody is just doing they own thing and that's part of my illness. A very organized person, I'm very organized and when something threatens that, I break down. I'm not good at it 'cause I'm very systematic.

Not all the women in our study valued structure, however. Indeed, some women said they needed freedom from structure to offset the constraints characteristic of the time they spent in prison. Nonetheless, those women who said they seek structure do so because they say it helps "keep them going." It also prevented things such as boredom and depression which, for them, can lead to trouble. For example, one woman living in transitional housing and not currently seeking employment said of her schedule, "It keeps me busy…no boredom, you know and, I have something I can do and I don't have to, you know, just sit there…" Another unemployed woman, currently seeking employment, said that without structure she was "troubled." Similarly, someone else said she thought not being active had brought back her depression for which she is now seeking medical assistance. One respondent said:

"Well, I get overwhelmed a lot of times and anxious and, um, cause a lot of things is not, some things aren't appointments so I can walk in but if I

take too long and I procrastinate then I wind up, you know, feeling overwhelmed because too many things pile up."

Another benefit of structure was that it minimized the number of unexpected changes to their daily schedules. For some women, these unforeseen disruptions to their day could be very difficult. Others felt, as this woman does, that last minute changes cause stress because "that's tear and wear." However, last minute changes were not always preventable. Participants spoke about showing up at doctor's offices only to find out after waiting that the appointment had been cancelled, while others spoke about traveling to group meetings, only to find a cancellation. In another situation, a woman living with her mother in the three months since her release was told by her parole officer that she had to leave her mother's home to live in the shelter. Although she was upset about the move because of the number of bad things she had heard about the shelter, she also was upset because the move was unexpected. In describing this situation, the respondent said, "It was really unexpected. He didn't give me a notice, he just bang, hit me with it".

Women in the study also felt they could get into trouble by being late for or missing appointments. This feeling was particularly strong with regard to criminal justice appointments. One woman on parole expressed a common fear of parole violation arrests when she said, "…you feel like you have to be at every place, you know, it's like life or death. You feel like, if I don't go, they're gonna violate [bring up a parole violation against] me." While many of the women reported having this feeling soon after release, but diminishing over time; clearly the

consequences for missing certain types of appointments (parole, mandated treatment, court) could be as high as reincarceration.

Although the fear of getting into trouble arose most frequently when our respondents were discussing appointments with parole officers, they often thought being late or missing other types of appointments could lead to trouble as well. In some cases, they gave evidence of being excluded from groups or otherwise being denied services because of their absences or tardiness. Consequently, many of our respondents discussed the value of being "responsible" to their commitments. Speaking proudly about how she handled scheduling conflicts with her doctor appointments, one respondent, currently enrolled in a peer education program, said:

> *Oh I always call. I called him and I let him know, you know, I need to reschedule. So we rescheduled so now I'm going tomorrow. So he's really flexible with me. I guess because I'm responsible and I will call him and always show up on time.*

One problem the women in the study encountered with appointments was the lack of control they had in the scheduling process. For many, agency personnel scheduled (and cancelled) appointments on their behalf. One participant, who had lived in a homeless shelter for less than one year, highlights this problem. She said:

> *Before people became homeless, they had a life, whether it was social, whether it was work, whether it was schooling, we had a life. Just because you became homeless, it doesn't stop. They want everything focused in there, not on the outside. They don't mess with our doctors because medical supersedes everything. But if we made other arrangements or other plans, they would tell us to break those just for us to do what they want us to do. But they do it on our time, not on their time. They do it when it is convenient for them, not when it's convenient for…me.*

This woman continues:

> *Well, look, if I have to go to housing or my case worker says to me that she made an appointment for me to go down to housing, I have to go to housing and take care of that. And what if I have something already planned for that day? They come and tell you the same day. They don't, they don't, I mean, they come and tell you. Say if you make an appointment for me and I'm not there during the day and I make an appointment for tomorrow and then I see him tomorrow and he says, "oh, I made an appointment for you." So, I, either I break another commitment or I have to try to squeeze both of them in at the same day.*

Our respondents' appointments were often scheduled by others for times in which the women had prior commitments. In their eyes, this made it difficult for them to be "responsible" and stay out of trouble. One respondent described the dilemma she faced when a court appearance was scheduled for the same time as a pre-natal appointment. She said, "…say if my midwife, say, come in on the 16th and I have court this week and the judge say come on the 16th. What could I tell the judge? 'Oh, I have to go to clinic?'" The desire to stay out of trouble also helped this same woman prioritize other appointments when there was a conflict. She said:

> *The psych is very important to see because that's something that I'm trying to use to help me with my ACS case. So I really try not to miss those appointments. My clinic appointments is important also because today, from when before the child is even born and you miss clinic appointments, they consider that neglect. So it's mandatory that you make those clinic appointments. If not, it's mandatory that you reschedule. You know you just can't neglect going to the prenatal appointments because they write all those things down and by the time you have the child, you already have an ACS case.*

Other times, there may not be a conflict between appointments. Instead, the women may have planned to accomplish other tasks during times when

appointments were scheduled on their behalf. Another respondent described the situation that many of our respondents experienced:

> *OK. You have an appointment, you have a schedule and something changes. Like with the shelter, you have to be in at a certain time. So you only have a little bit of time every day to do what you have to do. Most business and stuff where you have to go put in paperwork close at four. So, if you not, you know what I'm saying, there by four, you just done. Now it's another day you had an appointment schedule already, you have to work around and try to get this one in that you missed the day before. So yeah, time play a role. Yeah, it plays the key role.*

One outcome of these scheduling difficulties was that some of our respondents felt alienated from a system they viewed as uncaring and cold. Our participants spoke about officials and service providers who felt appointments with them were more important than other commitments the women might have. They also remarked on how being kept waiting is off-putting and anger provoking. One woman who had lived in transitional housing for five months said, "Honestly, most of the stuff where I've had to wait, they have screwed up my schedule." Another woman, who, among other things, takes computer classes, said, "I wanted to walk out [of court] because I was waiting for so long. They tell you to be there at 9:00 but then the judge doesn't decide to see me until after 2:00. What is the purpose of me sitting there all those hours? I miss my classes. I could have come to my classes."

Some women did try to influence their schedules, and sometimes they were successful. For example, one woman working in food service said she could get time off from work as long as she gave sufficient notice and kept reminding her employer. At other times our respondents were unable to have

influence over their schedules. For instance, one respondent tried to rearrange her schedule when a court date conflicted with her schedule to pick up medication from a clinic. Although she began one month in advance, she said she was unsuccessful. "I tried to talk to my counselor to see if I could get my medication the day before, so I wouldn't have to go there that day, and it wasn't possible."

Only a few of our respondents noted that they tried to influence their schedules while they were being created. Instead, all too often, they managed them afterwards by rescheduling or canceling appointments based on how the day was going. In fact, six women stated specifically that they used this tactic as their primary way of coping with their schedules. For instance, one respondent said her counselor at the hospital gave her an appointment with a therapist when she was supposed to be in her program. On the day of her appointment she cancelled her meeting with the therapist, so she could go to her daily program.

Sometimes it took time for people to develop the level of knowledge and confidence they needed to manage their schedules effectively. One woman, employed as a substance abuse counselor, described the process of learning to control her schedule. She said:

> *I was pretty good at saying, "well, I can't make that appointment until 2:00," because I had one at 12:00 or whatever and I used to try to schedule according to my time, giving myself traveling time. That was another thing. I didn't understand the transit system. So, in the very beginning I was like, "yeah, sure, I'll be there in a half hour, not realizing that metro system is the metro system, you know. So it was a learning experience, traveling there, you know. And, um, it didn't take me too long to learn. It didn't take me too long to learn, but I manage. I was able to use organizational skills and that's all I can say…. I was just able to schedule according to*

> *what I knew I had to do. What was more important was my priority, PO [Parole Officer], job search. Those were two appointments that I didn't play with. Whatever time he said, that was the time. I did work around him, you know. OK. That's the time. Everything else had to go around his schedule.*

Overall, analysis showed that there are a number of ways in which the importance of staying out of trouble was reflected in the way our respondents designed their daily schedules. First, they gravitate towards structured schedules where they have the same appointments from day to day or week to week. This helped the women minimize the likelihood of depression and other factors that they felt often lead to "no good." It also helped them plan their days, both with regard to appointments and to unstructured time. The sense of being busy helped the women stay focused and out of trouble. At the same time, the structure they put in place allowed them to prepare for the idle times when they were most susceptible to old patterns of behavior.

On the other hand, minimizing the number of daily appointments facilitated our respondents' desires to stay out of trouble by helping them be responsible. By keeping a schedule with large amounts of flexible time, the women in our study utilized a strategy that maximizes the probability they would be able to show up for appointments regardless of the distance they needed to travel or the possible commuting problems encountered.

Unfortunately, these two strategies for staying out of trouble were at odds with each other. Eliminating idle time by being busy made it difficult to be responsible. Thus, the women's schedules reflected a compromise: they settled for having structure over being busy. In a context where appointments were

scheduled by others, and where the consequences for missing appointments could be severe, the best strategy for maintaining responsibility was maintaining flexibility. Consequently, the women kept schedules that reflected their priorities: they were lightly scheduled, with a maximum of flexible, free time. Considering that their scheduling strategy also satisfied their goal of reducing stress, it became clear why the women construct the schedules that they do.

Goal Three: Take Care of Themselves

A third goal the women had was taking care of themselves, both physically and emotionally. Many of them recognized this as a key component to staying out of trouble and "making it" in the community. For some of our respondents, though, self-care also represented a fundamental change in how they view themselves from before their incarceration. In this way, taking care of themselves represented the hope for their futures.

At the same time, our respondents spoke freely about the difficulties they were experiencing. Many discussed feeling overwhelmed and depressed. One woman talked about crying and another mentioned not wanting to get out of bed. Thus, our respondents used the idea of caretaking to help them choose how busy to make their schedules as well as which appointments to keep when their days become overloaded. In most cases, an individual's health received the highest priority. When appointments conflicted, health appointments were typically kept while other appointments were canceled. In other cases, the person's mental health took the highest priority. For instance, one woman on parole attending a substance abuse treatment program and saw a doctor

regularly said, "I don't stress myself too much…I'll go to the most important one." Learning to prioritize can be difficult, however. A few women talked about having to learn this skill. One woman, a HASA, Medicaid, and SSI recipient, said:

> *I find myself getting stretched like that, because I used to have a tendency of wanting to do everything in one day. And now I am becoming aware that the important things come first…all of it is important, but I have to prioritize, and just accept what is. So I don't wear myself out.*

Sometimes this translated into taking breaks during the day to rest. For some of the women, this was particularly important even when a schedule seemed too busy to include a time for rest. One woman who lives in a Manhattan shelter said:

> *Mondays is like, real hectic for me because I come down to [agency] and I go to the job seeking class to do my resume and then when I leave there, you know I have to go to parenting and parenting is from 6:00 to 8:00. So now when I leave here at 12:00, I have to go to my kid's father's house, rest up for a little while, and then get back on the train and travel to Manhattan to do my parenting class and then I have a curfew at 10:00 at [family reunification shelter] now so I have to sit down with my case manager before that time and let her know that you know I have parenting classes and it's from 6:00 to 8:00. So it's gonna be like, a rush trying to get back to the house before my curfew so that I don't get myself into trouble.*

Other times it meant canceling appointments so the day did not get overloaded. For example, one woman said, "I know when to say no, I can't do this. Let's reschedule."

Another way the women expressed their desire to take care of themselves was by putting their needs ahead of others in their lives. Many women noted the importance of doing things for themselves first before they focus on anyone or

anything else. One woman, living in housing for HIV positive people, exemplified this approach. She said:

> *I make sure I take time for [me]. If I have something to do, something else then I do whatever I gotta do. So [I] comes first…I gotta get me straight first… At one time, before I really understood what I really wanted in life, I thought it was my kids…now that I really understand, there's nothing I can do for my kids unless I do it for me.*

Recognizing that the women in our study had the goal of taking care of themselves, a better understanding of both why they limit their appointments and why they space them out as they do became apparent. Obviously, people focused on their well-being would make a concerted effort to minimize the deleterious effects of having too many appointments, since how they are doing on any given day takes precedence over what they want to accomplish. Then, when faced with a choice between a course of action which takes care of their health and sense of wellbeing or alternatively exerting themselves to accomplish multiple goals at once, the women chose the former. Consequently, the women prioritized their appointments by most frequently attending appointments geared towards enhancing their emotional and physical well-being. In their free time, they were likely to rest.

The conflict between the primacy of appointments and the importance of taking care of themselves was also reflected in the methods our respondents used to manage their time. One group listed time management techniques: eight women used a planner or calendar, two had someone else remind them of their appointments, and one woman relied upon her own memory. Other women responded to this question on a more emotional level: six women said that prayer

helped them to cope, and five said they talked to supportive people. A third group simply said, as one woman living with her children in a homeless shelter did, “I just do what I have to do.” Obviously, depending upon the goal, some strategies work better than others. People primarily concerned with being responsible chose practical time management techniques because, for them, they were more successful. When it came to managing their days, however, those women focused on taking care of themselves relied on techniques for emotional coping because they were more rewarding.

In the debriefing, participant responses reflected this prioritization of latent goals, even before the results of the study were presented. We asked participants to list what they would tell a friend who was coming home from incarceration, hoping to get her life back together. While some recommendations suggested job skills, stable housing, reunification, documentation and studying the subway, most focused on the friend’s self-care. Like our respondents’ priorities, these self-care recommendations clustered into the three categories of minimizing stress (e.g. prioritizing and planning, and letting go of anger), staying out of trouble (e.g. consistency with appointments, associating with positive people, and paying attention to parole mandates), and taking care of oneself (e.g. putting yourself first, joining a support group, asking for help, seeing a doctor, and encouragement).

Upon discussion of study results, debriefing participants agreed that the goals they had listed can fall into manifest and latent categories. They said that manifest and latent goals go hand-in-hand, but that it was difficult to

operationalize the complementary satisfaction of such goals. In line with our study conclusions, participants suggested that stress can threaten to stop progress towards manifest goals, even when not attaining those goals (e.g. employment or housing) also increased stress, especially for particularly salient goal (e.g. if one's children are not in safe place). Participants also felt strongly that women should not ignore their latent goals, and need help coping with stress and maintaining sobriety. To illustrate, one woman said that she came home with a job waiting and lived with her grown daughter, and said that she did not have any problems at all. Another woman, on the other hand, said that when she got out, sobriety and health got in the way of everything and led to stress. She said that she had less stress now because she secured housing, and maintained her sobriety for seven months. Indeed, participants spoke often about the importance of sobriety, often in the face of stress and potential relapse.

Debriefing participants also spoke about the ways in which requirements from outside agencies made the reentry experience more difficult. In particular, participants thought it was important to indicate that women were often not in control of the stress caused by working towards their manifest goals – in particular the work required to gain reunification with children where outside individuals and agencies structure the requirements. In addition, manifest goals, parole requirements, and one's family's demands may conflict with each other. However, participants felt strongly about the need to fulfill parole requirements first because of the consequences of failing to do so.

Procrastination as a response to the stress of reentry also emerged as a potentially important factor in whether or not women fulfilled their manifest goals upon reentry. In the case of employment, participants suggested that women were told that they need to work by everyone, but fear of rejection and stigma lead to procrastination.

Conclusion

The analyses in this chapter showed that the women develop schedules to meet their reentry goals. The respondents attended appointments to meet manifest goals of maintaining sobriety and complying with their court mandates, but also to help them satisfy their other goal of self-care. To the extent that these appointments also provide emotional support, filling their days with them helped the women achieve their goal of minimizing stress.

Our respondents try to stay busy with a structured schedule of regular appointments because this helped them stay out of trouble. They tried to make sure, however, that there were never too many commitments on any given day. While this strategy helped our respondents maximize their goal of reducing stress, it also gave them another advantage: plenty of free time each day. Having pockets of unstructured time worked for the women in this study because it gave them the breathing room they needed to be responsible about their appointments. It gave them the flexibility to show up for appointments scheduled by others, as it allows them to accommodate commuting and other unplanned delays. While the primary motive for this strategy is to be responsible about their

appointments, this tactic also reduced stress and, because it occupied their days, helped them fulfill the goal of staying out of trouble.

Unfortunately, as seen in Chapter 3, this strategy can backfire: creating schedules which help respondents meet their latent goals (minimizing stress, staying out of trouble and taking care of themselves) reduced their ability to obtain most of their stated goals (employment, housing and reunification with their children) in this study. This was ironic since a job could help them meet both sets of objectives. Not only would working provide structure to their day and help keep them out of trouble, it might also allow for substantial decreases in the stress associated with unemployment and lack of income. Employment also would reduce stress by helping them work towards other goals such as housing and family reunification. Indeed, the women who were able to begin working soon after release found this to be the case.

Regrettably, many organizations aiming to help women reenter the community inadvertently feed this system. Government officials and service providers often schedule appointments around their own timetables, and sometimes even exact penalties on women who were late or missed appointments. This increases the cost of not being "responsible," and the women adapt by creating loosely structured schedules focused on helping them make their appointments rather than on finding a job.

However, almost all of the women in this study, including the debriefing participants, recognized that employment was the key to achieving their other objectives. They know that, without a job, it is difficult to obtain housing, and,

without having income and a place to live, family reunification is virtually impossible. Yet, most of the women in our study failed to take any steps towards their goals of employment. We explore this further in Chapter Five.

Chapter 5: The Nuanced Problems of Employment

Most of the women in this study said that employment was one of their top reentry goals. Yet, only a few of them had jobs. Why is this? In the last chapter we saw that no matter how important work was to our respondents, they had a variety of latent priorities that dominated the way they structured their time. More importantly, the way they organized their schedules generally prevented them from becoming employed. Still, this alone cannot explain why these women fail to work. In this chapter, we evaluate the extent to which the women in this study truly value work. We then assess how barriers to employment may impact their labor force participation.

Values and impediments are interconnected issues regarding the understanding of labor force participation. Since most of our respondents come from neighborhoods with high rates of unemployment, even those residents without incarceration histories are likely to have been exposed to and hold a variety of perspectives about the value of work. If this is true, the resulting ambiguity regarding work commitments may make the goal of finding a job easily supplanted by other, more highly valued priorities. In the face of significant obstacles, the incentive to work might be diminished even further. In this chapter we explore the dual components of values and obstacles, and uncover the full picture of how our respondents had to overcome deeply ingrained ideas in order to obtain and retain work.

The Value of Employment

We begin by exploring the degree to which the women in our study value employment. In the last chapter, when our respondents spoke about jobs, many people said their goal was to make money. Most of our participants echoed the thoughts of a home health aide who remarked that getting a job was "just the way of life, you know, it's just, things you have to do. It's just, you know, I'm not a millionaire. I'm not living off of inheritance, so I have to get a job." It was clear that many respondents valued work for its functional appeal.

Our respondents were realistic about their job prospects, however, and knew that they were unlikely to find a job that pays well due to lower educational background and/or their criminal record. For some women this becomes a disincentive, and therefore the value they assigned to employment was tenuous. One respondent enrolled in a vocational program and currently seeking employment, explained this dilemma:

> *…'Cause a lot of people give me information and then I see these jobs with nice salaries, be making like $41 an hour. I be like, "yeah! That's worth getting out of bed for." I don't want no job if I gotta be a security guard or nothing or something like that. I'd rather not even bother, 'cause you ain't gonna be able to afford rent. You got responsibility. You're gonna have to have two jobs, two, three jobs.*

Only a handful of women spoke about jobs as something that will help them in ways other than bringing in income. This is important because when jobs do not pay particularly well, high levels of labor market participation only become a reality if there are other rewards for working.

A few women recognized some non-financial reasons for working,

also noting that it is one way to stay out of prison or jail. As one unemployed respondent said, when you have legal income, "[y]ou don't have to worry about going to jail making money." She continued, "You know, it's just the best way to work. I mean, you know, to live your life by working." Although this can be a powerful motivation, one reason it only translates into moderate appreciation for the value of work is because this goal can be achieved in other ways. For instance, parole requirements often dictate that the women go to school or treatment, or become employed to fill their time productively, and stay out of legal trouble. Thus, they can chose to fulfill their parole obligation in ways that were often easier to get and more flexible than employment, and which also allowed them to realize some of their other goals and objectives.

Although many workers among the population at large develop their self-image from employment (either in terms of doing the right thing or in terms of a job or career as identity-defining), and gain a sense of achievement from a job well done, these benefits were rarely reported by our respondents. However, fourteen women mentioned that they acquired this type of non-tangible benefit from working. For instance, a respondent and former fast-food worker said she was interested in helping people:

> *You know, like right now I want a job and I've worked twice in my life, and I don't have any working skills, so the job that I want is home health aide. So it's gonna take some time. I just gotta see and have patience, you know. Like I said, helping elderly people is something that I wanted to do for [me]. Cause you know as a [young offender], I was working a summer job and I was helping elderly people you know go across the street, every other day I did that and it made me feel so good, like wow, I can help an*

elderly person and like the lady told me, you'll get blessings in return. It's not even about a money thing because I would do it for nothing.

Another respondent, a former receptionist, said, "[a job] is a beautiful thing…Self support. Yeah, support yourself, it's a beautiful thing." Another respondent, a widow and a mother of three, thought of employment as the genesis of feelings of independence and self-sufficiency:

Respondent: *Yeah, and I can buy the things that I want, the things that I like that I see I want. And you know, my kids ask me for money, I can give them money or take them shopping and I do these things for them. I would like to move out of New York one day and now, you know, I can probably save money up and do that. Something I never really did.*
Interviewer: *So, work is important to achieving those particular goals and those are important to you?*
Respondent: *Yeah, because I don't want to depend on no man.*

One woman said that in high school she held a job as a supervisor. "It felt good [to have a job]," she said. "Now today I, I mean, I wanna find a job now, hopefully I can get one." Yet, only a few women mentioned having specific career aspirations. One person said she wanted to be a police officer, another aspired to be a lawyer, a third woman wished to be a nurse and a fourth wanted to join the army. None of the women said these aspirations had yet panned out.

For some women, however, their ambiguous feelings towards employment were reflected in the contradictory statements they made about their expectations for work. For example, an unemployed resident of a homeless shelter said, "Yeah, I always wanted to work, but I just chose not to. I like to run the streets." Another respondent with a varied employment history said she had wanted her own business because,

> *… I never really wanted to work. I thought working was slave kind of work, you know? Because you gotta get up every day, Monday through Friday 'til Sunday and it was a tired kind of thing. So I was, really, had this dream. Dream, to own, so that I would be self-supporting. But it didn't end up that way because I was a rebellious child and my path changed. It all changed. So I wasn't able to really get the things that I deserved for myself because hadn't I been rebellious, things would have been different."*

This woman went on to say that, "…prostituting would have been able to afford me, hadn't I a drug habit, you know. But there was really good money in it, you know. But I squandered it all on drugs."

The analysis shows mixed results for the value of employment to our respondents. Most respondents stated that they want to work, and economic reasons dominated their explanations for why employment fares well on their list of priorities. Unfortunately, most of the women knew that if they did find a job they were probably destined for one for in which they would earn a low wage. For the respondents, many of whom had aspirations of doing work that extended beyond the paycheck, this was an insurmountable disincentive. They gave up hope and effectively stopped looking for work.

When we examined our respondents' work histories, we again saw mixed results regarding the extent to which they value employment. Even though only five women reported that they were working at the time of the study, all but one of our participants had worked in the past. This is fairly solid evidence that our respondents "buy into" the social standard for labor force participation. On the other hand, only 19 women, slightly more than half of the group, reported working during the three years prior to their most recent incarceration. The group who did work during this period, though, demonstrated a fair commitment to their jobs.

They typically held only one job during the three years, and it lasted for an average of two years. Indeed, eight women were still working at the time of their incarceration[43]. For the vast majority of these women (88%), that job had lasted for over a year (between 15 months and almost eight and a half years). The positions varied from deli clerk, to home attendant, to singer, to building superintendent. These women were reportedly earning an average of $282.00 per week, though only half were working "on the books", and only one woman received benefits with her employment. While three of the women worked only very few hours per week, four more worked full time, and one was on-call at all times.

Most of the women who were unemployed prior to incarceration attributed their lack of work to their drug use or their life on the streets. For this group, the incentive to work was clearly reduced when their economic needs were met through illegal activities. In turn, their illicit careers became defined as employment. One woman used the language of legitimate jobs to describe her work in prostitution, even remarking that she had a shift, or set hours (11:00pm-6:00am). Another unemployed woman, a 38 year-old mother of one, explained how selling drugs was a substitute for working. She said she held a few jobs before she was arrested, but not after she “took to the streets.” When on the streets, she said, “…you do bad things, and I did bad things. I sold drugs. Instead of doing, having a summer job or whatever, I was out there selling drugs.”

[43] We defined "employed at the time they were incarcerated" as women who listed the end date of their job within the same month and year as the start date of their most recent incarceration.

Illegal incomes become attractive when poor job prospects eliminate incentive to work. This respondent described selling drugs after she dropped out of high school. She said, “So, it was like, alright, I didn’t finish school. I don’t have a GED or a high school diploma. I’m not gonna get a good job. So, what the hell? Let’s go sell drugs.” Furthermore, she said she made $300 a day, except on the first of the month when she made $1,000. About the money, she said, “I ain’t gonna tell no lie. I kind of miss that $1,000 a day, but I can’t go back to jail.”

Family Socialization and Employment

When our respondents described how they felt about the idea of employment while they were growing up, they expressed a similar ambiguity about the value of work. As youngsters, many women in this study thought having a job was a good thing. They said that they were taught and accepted the value of being able to support themselves and the importance of being self-sufficient.

Family members living in the household typically transmitted these attitudes to the women when they were children. For instance, one woman, employed as a maintenance engineer at the time of the interview, explained how her grandmother had stressed the importance of working. She said:

> *My grandmother’s philosophy was, “The moment and the hour that you’re old enough to work, you will be doing it. And, when you have your own money, it doesn’t make you subject to other people’s agenda for you.” And I think: if you’re able to work, you should. I don’t like lazy people; they get on my nerves. They do. I*

don't like them. No. I have a really dim view of people that are lazy. I really do. I don't like that.

On the other hand, while many women reported that family members worked, for some, the messages they conveyed about employment were more complex. For instance, one respondent's comments showed that her family experiences taught her there were no other rewards from working than being able to pay the bills. She said:

It made me know you had to have a job, or you ain't gonna have nothing. If you ain't gonna have a job, you ain't gonna get nothing, 'cause ain't nobody gonna give it to you so you gotta work…Even though they were saying it was a pain in the ass, that kept the bills paid. So, you know, you gotta work.

For another group, family experience taught them to devalue work. For example, one woman working as a security guard said that her mother never worked because "she wasn't working for nobody." Another paroled respondent and mother of nine, said, "I just thought the man was supposed to work and the woman was supposed to stay home."

Lastly, for some women, working was so unimportant that it almost became a non-issue. For instance, one woman said, "I just knew that grandpa worked so, I guess, you know, like I said, none of my friends, even like the older girls, they didn't have jobs so, I didn't really think too much about it." Others also said they had not thought about employment. One respondent remarked:

I know that I wasn't thinking about no job because like, my mother, she was the only one that had a job and like I said, my other sisters were [taken] away and so, my older sister had to watch us. She was in a gang…so it was like, she would bring guys and they would hide guns and stuff in my mother house. And I would peek through the hole and see them having sex. I wasn't really around positive

people…it's like, a job, wasn't really, not even near nowhere near on my mind.

These family attitudes towards and experiences with working helped shape our respondents' expectations for their own lives. Just as most of the women reported that their families worked, many of our respondents said they expected they would work too. The comments made by some women reflect their desire to be a contributing part of the household when they were growing up. For instance, one respondent with an Associate's Degree said that she always believed in work growing up. Knowing that things were hard for her mother, she said, "I didn't want to be a burden, so I couldn't wait to work. I even lied and said I was 16 to get a job. I've been working since I was fifteen." Furthermore, this woman said that without a job she feels, "like a bottom feeder right now."

These evaluations show that the women in our study hold contradictory feelings about the value of employment. Many come from families in which one or both parents worked, and where childhood expectations included that they would too. At the same time, only a handful of respondents witnessed the value of working extended to any benefit other than money, which was often not enough to maintain quality of life. For people with poor job prospects, then, there is little reason to continue to hold onto the importance of employment. This is particularly true when illegal sources of income or welfare options are perceived as an attractive alternative to working, or, like SSI income, require unemployment.

Nonetheless, many of our respondents continued to support the social standard of labor force participation. Some spoke about working as teenagers and most wanted to work now. Furthermore, some women said that although they did not value employment when they were younger, they do now. One woman, whose mother retired in North Carolina and whose father has been deceased since 2000, described a family of hard workers and said that reflecting back on their efforts gives her encouragement to work now. "I know I can do this, so I look back. You know, my mom did this here, dad did this here. I know now that I can do this here." For others, there also was a "delayed reaction" to employment. One woman, who in November 2003 completed a food service training program, said that the stable employment of her mother influences her own desire to get a job. "Back then," she says, "it didn't, but now it does." At the same time, 22 women said they were looking for a job, even though this was not reflected in most of the time diaries.

Respondent Experiences of Impediments to Employment

The final piece of analysis completed in order to understand why most of the women in our study do not work was an evaluation of the impediments to employment. Most of the women did not have a lot to say on this subject. When they did, though, they tended to tell a single story which reflects why they have, essentially, given up on work.

First, just as researchers have long noted that one of the primary impediments to employment for people who have been incarcerated is the stigma

they face for having a criminal record, a few of our respondents said stigma affected their job search. For instance, one woman who had a job when she was on work release said:

> *…these days nobody don't want to hire nobody that just come out of jail you know, so, when you fillin' out a resume, it's best to be honest on it. You know. And by me doing that, it seems like I'm not getting nowhere. Sometimes I wanna lie and say; no I ain't got no convictions. I do, for real.*

Knowing stigma can be a problem, some of our respondents took steps to counter its effects. One woman, employed as a substance abuse counselor for the past year, described how she worked hard to overcome the impediment produced by her felony conviction. She said:

> *As far as looking for jobs, it was an issue for me 'cause for the first time, I've done counseling in the past but for the first time, I had to seek for a job with a felony conviction. So, I attended the job readiness workshop with [an agency] which taught me the laws about my felony conviction, so did [another agency] as well. I did the [legal services organization] seminar and learned what the laws were. I did a lot of resumes, I sent out 50 million resumes, I did many interviews and I was interviewing even in places I didn't really want to work which is, for the practice. I wanted to practice to be good and have a great presentation when the right job that I wanted came along…*

For some women, the problems produced by stigma were extremely disheartening. The sentiment that a job was not within their reach was expressed by a handful of women. One homeless and unemployed woman articulated this opinion. "You know," she said, "I just can't seem to get a regular job. Nobody wants to give me a regular job. I guess it's my destiny not to have that type of life!"

The sense that whether or not they worked was outside their control was also prevalent when we asked women to reflect on how they think time use impacts their ability to find and do work. Most of the women who saw a relationship between time and employment said appointments were to blame. Just as we noted in Chapter Three, when blocks of time during the day were occupied with appointments, it was difficult for our respondents to know how to fit in work. The comments made by one woman exemplify this sentiment. She said, "[I]f I'm spending, say three hours a day in a drug program, most jobs are from, like, straight eight hours or something like that, so it interferes with my ability to work." Another unemployed woman on disability, seeking employment while living in a homeless shelter, expressed her frustration with the amount of time she had to devote to an appointment because of time she feels she spends waiting. She explains:

> *If you have a doctor's appointment, people have to take off from work for their doctor's appointment. You give them a doctor's appointment at 9:00 but you don't see them 'til 11:00. They could have went to work. They left work early to make the doctor's appointment and they wouldn't have wasted so much time. But because the system is set up to work here at 9:00, but they don't see you at 9:00. They have no consideration of other people. That's what it comes down to, being considerate.*

The women believed that appointments interfered with work in other ways as well. Our respondents saw the institutional requirements of agencies with which they were involved as a primary impediment to employment. For example, some women report that mandated appointments were often scheduled without regard for work commitments they may have. One woman said she lost her job

because the mandated reunification meetings with the Administration for Children's Services (ACS) forced her to miss work. She explained:

> ***Respondent**: When I first came home I had a job. It was at Burger King but it was a job. I was gonna train to be a manager. The agency [ACS] on one hand says that it's mandatory that you keep appointment. But on the other hand they try to block, for me it seems in my case they trying to really, really block me from getting my son. The same days I had to go to work, the same time I had to go to work the ACS worker wanted to see me.*
> ***Interviewer**: And did you ever say, well I have my job on that day?*
> ***Respondent**: And she said, well this is mandatory. You need to be here. So at first my manager was trying to work with me, then she put me in the family counseling on Tuesday. So that means Tuesdays and Wednesdays, I was coming to work late. So that caused me to lose my job. So then that was something that she had again to say. Oh, [she] lost her job but because of you I lost my job. I had a choice, either I'm at work or being here at the meetings to fight for my son.*

Other times, agencies have rules that make looking for work difficult. One woman, mandated to attend school, remarked that she was not allowed to have her cell phone on during her classes. From the instructor's perspective this was likely to be a reasonable requirement. From our respondent's perspective, however, this rule makes it practically impossible for her to speak with potential employers or to go on interviews. She said:

> *… it's like with my group and being mandated to go to school. Like, and soon as you get in school you have to turn off your cell phone, so even if you give the employer or whoever your number, your phone is turned off, so you can't accept no calls, and you're never home, and I got an answering machine, but I'm never home to get it. So by the time I get there, and the next day, and if I am to call, I still can't go right now, because I still have to go back to school.*

Officials, in our respondent's opinion, do not always understand the implications of these problems. When this woman spoke to her parole officer about the problem she was having, she reports being told, "well if they say they

are going to hire you right then and there, you don't have to go to school." Our respondent found this answer frustrating, she said, because it overlooked the difficulty she was having even scheduling an interview. How, she wondered, would she get a job if she couldn't find a way to do the interview first?

Finally, sometimes social service agencies had different goals for our respondents than the women had for themselves. Essentially, not everyone was on the same page. One unemployed woman, with a GED and a relatively long employment history, explained a situation that happened to her. She said:

> *Well, [the case worker] is really trying to get me enrolled back in college…but I'm trying to explain to her is right now, going to school is good, but going to school doesn't bring in a steady income. So, my main issue now is to find employment.*

Rather than time being the problem, some women in our study said jobs were the primary impediment to their other commitments. For example, two women said they thought that jobs would interfere with their drug treatment programs, so they were putting off their job searches. Another woman said she feared losing the structure and support of her program if she became employed. Finally, one respondent, an unemployed mother of five, said she was afraid of losing time with her children when she got a job. She said, "It's gonna affect time with my children. It's definitely gonna interfere. I'm only gonna have the weekends for them."

Childcare figured in as another reason for not finding jobs. Although we expected to hear this impediment to employment more often, only two women discussed how childcare issues made it difficult to get a job. For one single woman and mother of one young daughter, the problem lies with not having

anyone else to care for the children. She said, “Yeah, ‘cause I don’t really like leaving her with anybody, you know, and like I said, her father, he works at night so, you know, she likes to stay up most of the time, during the time he might wanna sleep.” For the other woman, a divorced mother of five who lives with her daughter and granddaughter, days were spent caring for her granddaughter. Although this interferes with her ability to find a job, for this woman, caring for her granddaughter was a form of reparation with her daughter who grew up in foster care. She explained:

> *…I think that because I’m trying better with this communication with my daughter and being so involved with [my granddaughter] it is handicapping me from going in for a job, yeah, yeah it is making it difficult for me to go look for work….I think that [my granddaughter] should be going to the babysitter somewhat now. And I should at least two days out of the week go to work and get some more programs in for myself. Because right now I’m just on welfare just sitting around, just playing with [my granddaughter].*

Our respondents also experienced other impediments to employment. Another woman with HIV and asthma dropped out of the labor force when health problems forced her to quit her job. Rather than replacing it with a job where she would not be exposed to harmful fumes, this woman now earns money by babysitting for her neighbor’s children.

Sometimes the women in our study find the rigors of working too taxing because they are unaccustomed to keeping the type of regular schedule demanded by a job. For people who have spent a lot of time unemployed, simply getting to work each day can be stressful. One woman got so used to being on disability, she said, that she was no longer looking for work. Another respondent, a mother of three who worked a series of cashier jobs prior to her most recent

incarceration, noted that, for her, getting a job was not difficult but keeping it was. She said, “I go get a job but when it comes to, you know, getting there on time and keeping it and you know. Please, it goes all away after that.” Another respondent simply said she found working too stressful and “… I couldn’t handle it so I had to, you know…I had to quit.”

In other instances our respondents were unprepared to work and under qualified. It is well known that women who have been incarcerated have, on average, low levels of education and few marketable skills, and our respondents were no exception. Even when they have skills, however, our respondents sometimes found it difficult to find work. One woman, who has a bartender’s license and a year and a half of a college education, said she could not find a job because all of her experience was “under the table.” Another unemployed woman on probation found a job in real estate but lacked the relevant credentials. She was unrealistic about what it would take to overcome this problem. “I actually had the job and they gave me a desk, a phone and a computer,” she said. She lost the job, however, when she failed to pass the exam. Explaining this, she said, “I hadn’t taken the test in 10 years, so I didn’t study. But then they made the test very hard. So I took the test again, and I didn’t pass. So, now I’m afraid to test. But I’m going to take it again. It’s just that I’ve been putting that off.”

Finally, sometimes our respondents were unprepared for the emotional impact of the job search. Women who have been out of the labor force for a long

time can find the job search process understandably frightening. A homeless woman living in a shelter for the past three years said:

> ***Respondent****: Yeah, like I said, I don't schedule my days like that. I had a lot to do the day I went out interviewing for jobs cause I went to four different places in Yonkers, some place I never been. So I was like nervous and scared. I was scared because, see, all the jobs I ever had I never had to interview for them. Now getting the resume, interview, getting reference, it's a different change and it's a scary change, for me, because I'm 60 years old, you know what I mean, it's scary.*
> ***Interviewer****: So what's scary about that, just the change?*
> ***Respondent****: Just the change, the changes you have to go through, the questions you have to answer in an interview and knowing that the answer the right questions in the right way or ask the right questions because like I said I never experienced it before, so it's completely something new for me. There's a lot of other people who been through that but I never had to have an interview or a resume to go for a job.*

The way the women in our study discussed the impediments to employment is important for understanding why so few of them were working. Although some types of barriers, such as stigma, are clearly outside our respondents' control, they felt unable to influence many of the other obstacles as well. Their sense of powerlessness stems from a variety of factors, only one of which was involvement in the criminal justice system, that act in a way as to stamp out individual initiative. The other reason our respondents feel powerless, however, was that many of them are woefully unprepared for the work place. This needs to be countered before their rates of employment can increase.

Conclusions

So what conclusions can be drawn about the value these respondents place on employment? They accepted the idea that work is important and

beneficial in many ways, the most important of which was money. On the other hand, their commitment to work was tenuous, at best. If the primary benefit of employment could be accrued in other ways (illegal income in the past; welfare, disability, and other public benefits now) its worth becomes diminished. Other benefits of employment might increase the value of working, but not if these things can be obtained in other ways as well. Moreover, if a secondary benefit of holding a job – conforming to parole requirements – could be met by going to school or a substance abuse program, for example, the value of employment was undercut even more. As we saw in the last chapter, this was particularly true when the other ways of "living clean" and staying out of prison or jail helped our respondents achieve other goals and objectives as well. Within this context, the value of work becomes so low on the list of priorities that the problems of employment never get solved. Significant barriers to employment can deal the final blow.

It is true that many of our respondents are unskilled and undereducated and are, therefore, in need of education or job training before they can get work. More importantly, however, many of them are unable to overcome relatively small obstacles, such as not being able to receive phone calls during certain times of the day. This probably reflects a lack of the ability to manage their time and/or essential problem solving skills. Enhancing these skills and abilities would both empower our respondents and help them resolve many of their problems. For instance, better time management skills might enable respondents to feel

more confident and then return job-related phone calls they are unable to receive during class.

Sometimes circumstances seem beyond our respondents' control, but even then, this may not be the case. For instance, while it is possible that Burger King would not work around our participant's schedule, it is also likely that her problem lies in not giving her employer advance notice. Further, while cooperation from ACS would be more than welcome, it cannot be expected, and planning for such appointments must be a respondent's responsibility. But, our respondent lacked the skills to accomplish such an objective. Expanding this woman's problem solving skills would have helped her overcome this structural impediment to employment.

Unfortunately, many of our participants frequently did not have the information necessary to solve their problems. For example, most of our respondents were unaware of the range of jobs available to them. Although jobs are not abundant, there certainly is a broader choice than our respondents typically considered. Broadening this base of knowledge would help them resolve some problems. This was particularly true for those respondents experiencing issues around appointments and scheduling. Indeed, evidence supported this notion. Two women specifically noted they worked during the evening or the night when they first came home from prison, so they could meet their obligations during the day (one as a security guard, and the other as a telemarketer); one continued to work there at the time of the study. More knowledge about types of jobs would help women with other issues as well. For

instance, health problems exacerbated by one type of job could be accommodated quite easily in another line of work, if this respondent knew about and felt comfortable with other options.

This is not to say that the women in our study should be blamed for the problems they encounter. Rather, they need help building the skills necessary to influence their schedules and job choice to their advantage. Without this, even small impediments to employment make many of our respondents stop looking for work.

Our participants' time diaries demonstrated the lack of importance given to work. So, too, did their comments. Although five people were working, and 22 said they were looking for jobs, relatively little evidence of job searching existed in their time diaries. It was also surprising how little our respondents had to say about their difficulties finding, or keeping, work. Almost 50% of the women who reflected on the relationship between time and employment said there was no impact of one on the other.[44] Although most of these respondents did not elaborate on their response, simply answering "no", four women explained that time was not an issue for them because they were not looking for work (two because they are receiving SSI, which brings in income and cannot be collected by someone who is employed). If the time diaries and their comments are to be believed, however, many more who claim to want a job were not really looking for work. Instead, employment became an ideal they expressed because they know

[44] The question was not asked in six interviews due to interviewer error. In five cases, women who were asked the question did not answer it.

it could solve many of their problems. In the context of their lives, however, employment rarely becomes a reality.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

This study shows that, with regard to labor force participation, time matters. It influences whether or not someone is working, independent of other factors, such as skill levels and employer stigma. On one hand, the examination of the effect of time on employment seems straightforward: either people have time to work or they do not. On the other hand, time use is quite revealing in its intricacy. It reflects how individuals prioritize their goals and manage various societal expectations and pressures. Our analyses confirm the importance of considering the complexities of scheduling and time use in determining whether women returning home from prison or jail have time to work.

On the whole, the number of formal commitments to government and social service agencies is not overly burdensome. The total amount of time spent traveling to, waiting for and attending an average appointment of this nature is less than two and a half hours. In addition, such commitments are not distributed uniformly: only one-third of our sample accounted for two-thirds of the appointments kept. The rest of the people in our study could have enough time during the day to work if their schedules were organized to accommodate employment. The way their schedules are currently organized precludes employment during traditional workday hours. However, overarching time use patterns are not uniform across the group. Instead, there are three distinct groups with varying levels of formal commitments. Consequently, the implications of their schedules for employment are quite different.

- *The Least-Scheduled Subgroup:* These respondents had no more than two appointments per day and frequently had only one appointment during the two-day study period. However, they are as likely as members of the other subgroups to report that they feel busy. When not in appointments, the majority of these women engaged in activities such as eating, shopping and socializing. They also performed domestic activities in their own and others' homes. In the case of this group, the feeling of being busy could be an emotional response to the stress of reentry. With assistance, they could easily include employment into their schedules.
- *The Semi-Scheduled Subgroup:* The important aspect to note about this group is that they spent almost the same amount of time each day in appointments (traveling to, waiting for and attending their meeting) as the heavily committed group (three hours, and three hours and 40 minutes, respectively). The fact that they were spending more time on fewer appointments was not because they had longer appointments but because they were waiting longer. Unlike the most-scheduled subgroup members, who were most likely to attend group meetings typically occurring in a single location, members of the semi-scheduled subgroup traveled to appointments in different locations. This required that they adopt a strategy of leaving greater time between appointments to accommodate the time they needed to travel. These women would benefit from restructuring their daily schedules in order to have the time to work. They probably also need to find work outside the traditional nine to five workday.

- *The Most-Scheduled Subgroup:* Although the members of this subgroup spend an average time of three hours and 40 minutes in each appointment episode, almost half of the respondents had at least one day where all of their appointment episodes lasted a total of five or more hours. Women in this group have been in the community for the longest time, and most likely to be attending group meetings (rather than individual appointments). Furthermore, they typically spend most of their days engaged at one service site rather than traveling between multiple sites. This culture of services is highly programmed (much like prison is) and does not leave a lot of time for work. This group would benefit from rethinking their commitment to programming if they want to accommodate work into their schedules.

Regardless of the level of their daily commitments, the women in our study talked about their reentry goals in similar terms. Their stated goals included finding housing and employment, as well as achieving child reunification. Most of the women also had the latent goals of reducing stress, staying out of trouble and self-care. Although they reported that they were working towards both sets of goals simultaneously, our respondents were more likely to structure their days to meet their latent goals than their stated ones. Thus, their meetings were more likely to be focused on the maintenance of sobriety or self-care than on finding housing or employment, just as their days were scheduled more to reduce stress and to stay out of trouble than to achieve rapid goal accomplishment.

While it is tempting to think of these latent goals as secondary, we believe helping the women address these needs is the key to helping them become

employed. While society is more likely to push women to achieve their manifest goals, they are more likely to act in ways that address their own latent goals. The latent goals are a higher priority for the women because they experience these needs more immediately, and because they believe that the consequences of failing to meet them are more dire (e.g. relapse or reincarceration). Such latent goals are also particularly important in the face of what is often an extremely stressful experience: release from incarceration. Further, the manifest goals themselves may cause stress, not only because the absence of a home or a job is inherently stressful, but also because of the many roadblocks that must be hurdled before those goals can be met. The challenge is to help women learn to work on both their manifest and latent goals simultaneously.

Unfortunately, juggling both sets of goals was sometimes made more difficult for our respondents by the demands and expectations placed on them by the professionals they see. Criminal justice agents (parole officers, for instance) told the women they need to work, but in the absence of a job required that they participate in other activities such as workshops or groups. Because of the way they are scheduled, these types of pursuits consume large blocks of time, precluding the ability and time to seek employment. Furthermore, for many of the women, it was easier to fulfill their parole requirements, even in the long term, by receiving services like computer workshops that may be educational without additional stress (e.g. potential rejection, stigma, or long-term commitment) than it is to become employed. However, these concrete skills-building programs are rarely sufficient to make up for the employment-boosting power of an educational

degree required for an engaging career and livable wage in today's job market.

At the same time, our respondents reported that social service professionals stressed the goals of sobriety and child reunification rather than labor force participation. We imagine that this partly reflected our respondents' ability to filter messages that did not conform to their own desires. We also suspect, however, that social service providers recognize the difficulty of working towards multiple goals, so set out to help the women prioritize their efforts. Regrettably, for some respondents, the goal of employment is so far down the path that it never becomes a true focus, and is thus never achieved. This is unfortunate since employment could help women achieve many of their goals. Though there are many important goals associated with successful reentry that can seem overwhelming when taken as a whole, these goals are intertwined and thus must be pursued simultaneously, or each may be undercut. In other words, while a job may seem a remote and isolated goal, it can make immediate goals – such as getting and keeping housing – easier.

One particularly poignant time-related barrier to employment was the way the women in our study experienced being busy. Years spent with either loosely structured schedules (for instance, while growing up or during their time on the streets) combined with the highly structured, but not very busy, time spent in prison may have impacted how the women experience what it means to be busy. For them to incorporate more into their schedules, then, they need to improve both their practical time management skills as well as change how they actually experience time. This is particularly relevant for our respondents who learned to

prioritize activities other than work in neighborhoods and families where unemployment and/or underemployment are common.

Nonetheless, most of the women in our study still subscribe to the importance and value of working. They recognize its benefits and many say they would like a job. This is a crucial foundation. The first challenge is to help them structure their days in such a way that they can incorporate working without jeopardizing, and in fact, encouraging, their other goals and objectives. The second challenge is to encourage government and service providers to realize the importance of giving women control over their own schedules in a way that allows for the achievement of both manifest and latent goals, in this case, interesting and gainful employment. The policy recommendations that follow are offered as possible approaches to address both challenges.

Recommendation: Structure schedules to allow for work

1. **Provide centralized, neighborhood-based services. This will:**
    a. Maximize amount of time available for services.
    b. Reduce the financial and time costs of commuting.
    c. Reduce the stress associated with traveling between appointments.
    d. Help to mitigate the stress normally associated with the stigma around participating in services, if the services are provided with respect for the privacy of the service consumers.
    e. Increase the real and perceived amount of time available to work.
    f. Create neighborhood/client linkages for employment.
    g. Increase ability to provide integrated holistic approach to services.

Some debriefing participants disagreed with this recommendation, suggesting that neighborhood-based services are unrealistic and narrow women's vision about what they can do: "Normal life is not centralized, and making it so easy and convenient narrows their vision." One WPA staff member also suggested that individuals may not want their neighbors seeing them coming out of such services because of stigma.

2. **Cluster appointments so that they do not interfere with time where women could be working. This would require governmental and social service agencies to offer services outside of the traditional nine to five**

workday. This will:

a. Make time available for work clear by keeping the potential work day free from appointments.
b. Enable women who are able to leave the potential work day free of appointments to dedicate more time to attaining employment.
c. Minimize stress associated with fitting employment into an appointment-heavy schedule.

Recommendation: Help women satisfy their practical goals and their self-care goals simultaneously.

1. **Encourage clients to construct their own schedules. This will:**
    a. Reduce clients' needs to keep schedules "open" and "flexible" in response to case managers who schedule appointments on their behalf.
    b. Increase the likelihood of efficiently scheduled appointments, making more time available for work.
    c. Increase women's own sense of empowerment, helping them to speak frankly about their needs in all areas of their lives.

Debriefing participants reminded us that such control must be balanced with meeting requirements with potentially dire consequences, such as parole or shelter curfews.

2. **Design and deliver services to highlight the ways in which working satisfies both practical and self-care goals. For example:**
    a. Employment helps women meet their goal of staying out of trouble by minimizing threat of re-incarceration for minor infractions.
    b. Employment may provide a structured schedule which can help women reduce stress.
    c. Employment's direct effects of money, benefits and parole

satisfaction help ease stress and allow for greater self-care.

3. **Implement in-prison transition program to increase the amount of time that women structure for themselves as they near release. This will:**
    a. Reduce the stress associated with the transition from highly structured time in prison to a less structured life in the community.
    b. Provide the opportunity for women to develop and/or practice time management skills before returning to the community.
    c. Provide women with the opportunity to become comfortable setting their own balance between leisure and "productive" activities.

4. **Increase the use of community corrections to manage the transition from structured prison environment to less structured community.**
    a. Community corrections programs allow women to initiate and build relationships with potential employers while they are still incarcerated. In this way, they may minimize the time they spend unemployed upon release.
    b. Women serving time in the community will be able to complete time-consuming tasks that take away from employment, allowing for more time dedicated to employment upon release.
    c. Transition into the community from prison through community corrections may reduce the stressful shock of environment change, thus minimizing the potential for relapse and/or re-incarceration

(and therefore employment interruption).

d. Such a transition will help women become comfortable setting balance between leisure and "productive" activities, decisions over which they had no control during incarceration.

5. **Create a structured drop-in program that supports women through the process of finding a job. This group should organize the job-seeking process by structuring the different job seeking tasks from resume writing to applying for jobs. Activities should not become commitments, which themselves would preclude employment. This will:**

    a. Fulfill women's need to stay busy and out of trouble without increasing stress.
    b. Reduce the stress of, and increase support for, looking for a job.
    c. Could fulfill parole requirement for “productive activity” and aid, not interfere with, the job search process.

6. **Develop a job transition program to introduce work gradually, perhaps through part-time employment, until full-time work can be accommodated without excessive stress.**

Recommendation: Increase employment options

1. **Encourage women to consider a broad range of job types and shifts available to them. These include evening and nighttime work.**

2. **Enhance existing job readiness programs with non-traditional job readiness skills training, such as techniques for positive self-presentation.**

3. **Encourage women to pursue educational degree programs that will affect their long-term earning potential, such as those for GED, college and advanced degrees. This will:**
    a. Provide women with the degree background vital to success and a livable wage in today's job market.
    b. Recognize that women in prison, while of low educational attainment on average, sometimes come into or leave prison with high levels of education.
    c. Encourage women to move toward a career path about which they are passionate, rather than just a job as an income source.

Most debriefing participants received this recommendation negatively. Some suggested that non-degree classes (e.g. for computers) serve their own purpose of giving women reassurance about their abilities to be competitive on

the job market, both for those without educational and employment histories, and also for those who need updating after having been away. However, others suggested that people should go into such classes knowing that it is a stepping stone, and that such programs should not become places to send people to spend their time.

4. **Service providers should explore the possibility of reserving a fixed number of jobs for clients with for-profit organizations, similar to the way that agencies contract to reserve beds with emergency housing providers.**
    a. Provide immediate employment for clients.
    b. Could be structured as transitional or long term.
    c. Services could be provided around known work hours.
    d. Create employment network for clients.
    e. Enhance competitive advantage for clients with limited job histories.

Debriefing participants suggested that such a program would work best with the involvement of dedicated counselors available to assist if necessary, and to counteract the effects of potential stigma. Participants added that programs like this would be attractive to employers if they get incentives such as tax breaks.

Future Directions: Research Recommendations

This study advances our understanding of the complex period known as reentry, a difficult transition for people returning home from prison. This work is unique because it focuses on the impact of time usage on employment, a topic overlooked by researchers, policy makers and practitioners alike. The findings from this study show that the practical implications of something as seemingly simple as someone's schedule should not be overlooked. Indeed, as our analyses revealed, examining how someone uses time exposes a host of complicated issues, each deserving an exploration of its own. Here, we just scratched the surface in our understanding of time use and labor force participation.

A key contribution of this project is that it shows the importance of mixing qualitative and quantitative methodological strategies. We could not have understood this phenomenon as well had we limited ourselves to one analytic technique. The quantitative tools allows us to determine how structured our respondents' days are, whereas the qualitative analysis helped us understand how our respondents understand and experience their time. This mixed approach provided many benefits. For instance, it allowed us to see why the women in our study felt they were busy even when the quantitative analysis showed this was not always the case.

At the same time, this study is limited because it is quite small and not necessarily representative of the general reentry population. We hesitate to over-interpret the findings from a project with a sample size of only 34, and we

would like to see a replication on a larger scale. In spite of this, there is no reason to suspect that the women who participated in this study do not represent a significant portion of the reentry population. Although we failed to capture women during the initial reentry phase when the volume of tasks can be overwhelming, our respondents covered a broad period of reentry from six months to more than five years. Also, our participants were drawn almost exclusively from service sites. Perhaps this means they represent a certain reentry experience, and women who are already employed are under-represented in our sample. There are undoubtedly others who are not receiving services even if they would benefit from them. Even so, this makes what we learned from our sample even more germane: the group most likely to be receiving services is the most likely to be committed to formal appointments during the day. To the extent scheduling demands interfere with employment, this group is the one to examine.

Finally, there are limitations inherent in the use of time diaries. We discovered during the interviews that women sometimes had trouble filling out the diaries accurately. Despite our intensive review of the diaries during the follow-up interviews, misunderstanding of instructions may have contributed to flawed data. To the extent that they data are flawed, so too are these analyses. Further, although the benefits of providing 15-minute increments to our respondents eased their ability to record their activities throughout the day, it constrained the accuracy of their reporting as well. This is because they were required to make time commitments shorter than 15 minutes either disappear or

expand to fill the time slot. These commitments will only minimally impact our understanding of how they use their time.

These limitations notwithstanding, we hope that the findings presented in this study bring the issue of time to the forefront of the reentry discussion, and hope other researchers will pay more attention to how people *experience* time. We make the following research recommendations:

1. **Expand our understanding of the impact of a variety of time-related factors on employment:**
    a. Time since release;
    b. How time spent at home and in non-appointment activities affects employment;
    c. Time spent engaged in childcare; and
    d. Time taken to do the cognitive and emotional "work" associated with reentry and with the myriad issues often facing criminal justice-involved women.

2. **Broaden the sample to include an examination of:**
    a. Women not receiving services, including employed women, to determine the ways in which time use affects their employment.
    b. Incarcerated individuals to determine how time use in prison impacts time use upon release.

3. **Determine how gender affects the priority that service providers give employment:**
    a. Do service providers for women encourage work as a priority for their clients? Future studies should examine this possible bias.
    b. Assess the availability and usage of job readiness programs for reentering women compared to men.

4. **Examine the aggregate effects of decisions about time usage on communities with high incarceration and reentry rates, and how use of time interacts with goals and employment.**

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Appendix A
Debriefing Summary

The Debriefing was held on January 18, 2006 at WPA's Re-entry Services location in downtown Brooklyn.

A screening was filled out by all participants

- 20% of participants were unemployed, 73% were employed full time, and one person (7%) was employed part time.
- The majority of the participants (60%) were WPA staff. 20% worked at another agency that serves individuals involved in the Criminal Justice System.
- 60% of participants had been incarcerated either in prison or jail or both at some point in the past.
- 20% (3 people) reported that they had participated in the original study, but it is unclear whether this is true, because two of those people also reported that they are current WPA (whom we did not interview) employees, and the third reported that she had never been incarcerated.
- Participants had an average age of just over 43.
- Two thirds of participants reported that they identify their race as Black, non-Hispanic. One respondent identified as Hispanic (other), and the rest as (25%) white, non-Hispanic.

Recommendations to a friend

We started with a short exercise in which we asked people to imagine that they had a friend who was coming home from prison or jail and wanted to get her life back together. We asked participants to list what they would tell that friend that she should do in order to get her life back together.

The vast majority had to do with latent goals: taking care of oneself, staying out of trouble and minimizing stress.

Practical Tasks (Manifest)

- Get job skills
- Find stable housing
- Get a source of income
- Education
- Try to get your children back/reunify
- Gather all of your documents before your release (including health, especially HIV)
- Open a bank account
- Figure out how to use the subway, telephone, etc.

Self care (Latent)

- Staying out of trouble
    - Be consistent with your appointments
    - Connect and associate with positive people: keep friends who won't get you into bad habits
    - Pay attention to your parole mandates

- Taking care of yourself
    - Join a support group
    - Ask for help
    - Get counseling
    - See a doctor
    - Separate, set and organize short- and long-term goals; prioritize your plan
    - Be encouraged
    - Connect with a person (family support) or organization (church) that can help you unlock doors; don't go it alone
    - Spend time reevaluating yourself and what's important to you
    - Get family and agency support
    - Put yourself first
    - Join a church
    - Be confident in yourself

- Minimizing stress
    - Prioritize and make a plan
    - Don't make waves – forget and/or deal with anger

Manifest and Latent Goals

We then spoke to participants about the differences between manifest and latent goals, and asked for reactions to the idea. Specifically, we asked participants to address how the two conflict with each other, how they are complementary, and whether different people stress the importance of certain goals over others.

<u>Manifest and Latent Goals Interact to Cause or Relieve Stress</u>

- Participants agreed that the goals they had listed can fall into manifest and latent categories. They said that manifest and latent goals go hand-in-hand, though it's very difficult to make that work, and it depends on one's state of mind.
- Participants suggested that stress can threaten to stop progress towards manifest goals, but that not attaining those goals (e.g. employment or housing) also increases stress, especially if one of them is particularly salient (e.g. if one's children are not in safe place).
- Participants also said that women should not ignore their latent goals, and need help (e.g. from an agency or counseling) to cope with stress and maintain sobriety.

- Must work towards manifest while you're getting support for latent so that you can manage and cope with stress and maintain sobriety.
- In particular, one of the respondents, a WPA staff member, spoke about the ways in which re-entry is a "Catch 22." She spoke about how public assistance is available if one can't work, but that public assistance has a time limit and doesn't provide a livable income. She said that society values work, and that a certain level of quality of life requires the income only available at a good job. She said that the dilemma is how one helps women satisfy their self-help goals and also encourage them to do things that will help them in the future.
- Participants spoke often about the importance of sobriety, often in the face of stress and potential relapse.

Support makes it easier

- One woman said that she came home with a job waiting and lived with her grown daughter, and said that she did not have any problems at all.
- Another woman, on the other hand, said that when she got out, sobriety and health got in the way of everything and led to stress. She said that she has less stress now because she got an apartment and has been sober for seven months.

Outside forces make re-entry harder

- Participants thought it was important to indicate that women are often not in control of the stress that is caused by working towards their manifest goals, in particular the work required to gain reunification with children, since outside individuals and agencies structure the requirements.
- Manifest goals, parole requirements, one's family's demands may all conflict with each other.
- Participants felt strongly about the need to fulfill parole requirements first because of the consequences of failing to do so.
- Women are told that they need to work by everyone, but fear of rejection and stigma lead to procrastination.
- Participants spoke about procrastination as a response to the stress of re-entry. In particular, one WPA staff member said, "You know you have to get a job, but there is a lot of fear: about rejection, about bringing up one's criminal justice history, etc. So people procrastinate and put it off."

Time Diary Analysis Results

We then spoke to the participants about the results of the time diary analysis, and asked for their responses.

Time Spent Waiting

- People seemed to disagree that waiting time is insignificant. One WPA client said, "I wait four hours for parole every week! It doesn't matter when you go!"

Effects of time since release

- A few participants agreed that if one doesn't have a job after being in the community for a while, social services and/or parole mandates will keep one busy (with training, school, program, etc.), which can keep one from getting a job.
- Another woman, a formerly incarcerated WPA staff member, expressed the feelings of a number of participants when she said that when one gets a job, service providers, parole, etc. expect more. She has a full time job, children with whom she is reunifying and she is on parole, and "I feel like I'm all over the place, like they want me to mess up. I have to bring my three year old when I report to parole, drop him off to school, and then go to work. The longer someone is out, the more she is accomplishing, the busier she is. Now that I have been doing really well, it's really hard."
- Another woman said that when you are out longer, you have more responsibilities, and therefore more to keep up with.

Mixed feelings about work

- One WPA staff member said that some people don't want to work. When one is incarcerated, the importance of work is "pounded into your head", but it's not necessarily what the women want or are able to do.

Recommendation Review

We then asked participants to review our recommendations by commenting on them one-by-one on sheets posted on the walls. Participants rated each recommendation on a five-point scale and added comments when they wanted to. The following discussion focuses on those recommendations which had elicited the most response.

1-1. Neighborhood Based Services

- The recommendation that neighborhood based services be used to make service provision more accessible to women was well received.
- However, those that did not agree suggested that neighborhood-based services are unrealistic, and narrow women's vision about what they can do. "Normal life is not centralized, and making it so easy and convenient narrows their vision." Another WPA staff member said that individuals may not want their neighbors seeing them coming out of such services because of stigma.
- Another woman said that it's not about travel time, but about the amount of time spent in an appointment, particularly if that appointment is late. She said the important thing is to make sure that appointments are timely.
- One the other hand, another participant said that, in the beginning, neighborhood-based services are more comfortable: "once one feels more comfortable, one can venture out more."

2-1. Empowering clients to keep their own schedules:

- This recommendation received a mixed response, partially because participants did not believe that it was possible.
- Another WPA staff member said that in the real world, most women are not empowered to say no to appointments, though agencies should be empowering their clients to speak frankly.
- Another WPA staff member said that agencies should have more evening hours, though another WPA staff member countered that parole usually has a curfew that would impede working at night or coming to services at night without permission from a parole officer.

2-4. Unstructured time increases before release

- This recommendation was received very positively.
- In particular, the discussion focused on how to help women become comfortable setting balance between leisure and "productive" activities.

3-3. Women should pursue a range of educational opportunities, including both skills-building classes and degree programs.

- This recommendation was received mostly negatively.
- Two participants said that non-degree classes (e.g. for computers) serve their own purpose of giving reassurance about their abilities to be competitive on the job market, both for those without educational and employment histories, and also for those who need updating after having been away. However, a WPA staff member suggested that clients should go into such classes knowing that it is a stepping stone.
- Another WPA staff member suggested that programs should not be simply places to send people to spend their time because, she suggested, this is too short-sighted. She said that computer skills classes should be re-framed as job skills classes, not sold as "education."

3-4. For-Profit Job Slots:

- This recommendation received a mixed response.
- Some participants questioned whether stigma would keep it from being possible. However, others thought that incarceration was becoming so widespread that companies are now more willing to give people a chance. It was suggested that this type of program should not fall into the trap of the "non-degree classes" recommendation, and that it should be real work that would develop real skills and real resume items.
- A WPA staff member suggested that this type of program was already going on in East New York, Brooklyn, with companies like Home Depot and Maxwell. She suggested that it is best when there are dedicated counselors available to assist if necessary. Other program people suggested that programs like this would be attractive to employers if they get incentives like tax breaks.

Appendix B

Screening Instrument

INTRODUCTION

I am from WPA. We are doing a study to explore how competing demands for time present challenges and barriers to successful reentry for women returning home from prison. The best way for us to collect this information is by talking to people who have struggled with this challenge.

In a few weeks we will ask women who decide to participate in the study to come in to receive instructions and materials for the study. Right now we are asking some general questions to recruit potential participants. Would you be willing to answer a few questions? It will take about 5 minutes, and all the information will be confidential. You may refuse to answer any questions. (***Ask if 18 years or older, if not end the interview)***.

_____ I agree to participate in this interview. _____
Participant Signature

_____
Print Name

_____ I do not consent to participate in this interview.

ID#_____ Interviewer_____

A. Criminal Justice History

A1. Have you ever been incarcerated as an adult, in either jail or prison?

Yes ____ → Jail _____ Prison _____ Both_____

No ____ (***End Screening-Client Not Eligible)***

A2. What is the longest sentence you have served? _____
(Specify years, months, or days)

When was this? from_____ _____ _____ to _____ _____ _____
M D Y M D Y

Where was this? _____

A3. Is that your most recent incarceration? Yes _____ ***(skip to A5)***

No _____

A4. What are the dates of your most recent incarceration? :

from _____ _____ _____ to _____ _____ _____
M D Y M D Y

Where was that? _____

A5. Are you CURRENTLY on probation, parole, or living in an ATI?

❑ Yes, probation

❑ Yes, parole

❑ Yes, living in an ATI

❑ No

B. Housing

B1. What is your current zip code? _____

B2. How long have you lived at your current address?_____

B3. What type of housing do you currently live in?

- ❑ Own permanent housing (own)
- ❑ Own permanent housing (rent)
- ❑ Temporarily staying with family/friends (not homeless)
- ❑ Family/ friends (homeless)
- ❑ Homeless shelter
- ❑ Residential treatment program
- ❑ Emergency Housing (e.g. YMCA)
- ❑ Transitional Housing (e.g. halfway house)
- ❑ The streets
- ❑ Other (specify)_____

B4. How many people do you CURRENTLY live with full-time? _____ ***(not including yourself)***

What are their relationships to you? _____
_____
_____

C. Family

C1. How many children do you have? _____ ***(If zero, skip to section D)***

C2. How many of your children are under 18 years of age? ___***(If zero, skip to section D)***

C3. How many of your children that are under 18 do you have custody of?_____
(If ALL, skip to section D)

C4. Are you trying to get back any of your children who are under 18?

Yes ____

No ____ ***(Skip to section D)***

C5. How many? _____

C6. Do you have to deal with an agency or Family Court to get them back?

Yes ____

No ____

D. Personal History

D1. Have you ever been employed?

Yes ____

No ____ ***(Skip to D3)***

D2. Do you CURRENTLY have a job?

Yes____ → When did you start this job? _____ _____ _____
M D Y

What is your current job title? _____

No ____ → What are the dates of your most recent employment?
From _____ _____ _____ to _____ _____ _____
M D Y M D Y

What was this job? _____

D3. Are you CURRENTLY looking for a job?

Yes ____

No ____

D4. Are you CURRENTLY enrolled in school or a vocational program, even if the program has not started yet?

Yes ____

No ____ → Are you planning to enroll in school or a vocational program?

Yes ____

No ____

D5. Are you CURRENTLY receiving/applying/reapplying for any of the following entitlements?

(Check ALL THAT APPLY)

'N' No '**R**' Receiving '**A**' Applying '**RA**' Reapplying

	N	R	A	RA		N	R	A	RA
Public Assistance	❑	❑	❑	❑	Social Security	❑	❑	❑	❑
Unemployment Benefits	❑	❑	❑	❑	Food Stamps	❑	❑	❑	❑
HIV/AIDS Services Administration (HASA)	❑	❑	❑	❑	Medicare	❑	❑	❑	❑
Child Support	❑	❑	❑	❑	Medicaid	❑	❑	❑	❑
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	❑	❑	❑	❑	Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)	❑	❑	❑	❑
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)	❑	❑	❑	❑	Other_____	❑	❑	❑	❑

D6. Are you CURRENTLY involved with a substance abuse treatment program?

Yes ____

No ____

D7. Are you CURRENTLY in treatment for a medical condition?

Yes ____

No ____

E. <u>Demographics</u>

E1. Are you CURRENTLY a WPA client?

Yes _____

No _____ → Have you ever been a WPA client?

Yes _____

No _____

E2. Where did you hear about today's event? _____
(Fill in response)

E3. Do you identify as:

Female _____ Male _____

E4. Date of Birth ____ ____ ____
M D Y

E5. Do you consider yourself to be (Check ALL THAT APPLY):

- ❑ Hispanic
- ❑ Non- Hispanic

E6. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be (Check ALL THAT APPLY):

- ❑ White
- ❑ Black
- ❑ Native American
- ❑ Native Alaskan
- ❑ Native Hawaiian
- ❑ Other Pacific Islander
- ❑ Asian
- ❑ Other (specify) _____

F. Follow-up Information

F1. We may want to contact you in the next few weeks to be a participant in our study. You may decide at that time if you'd like to participate. Is it okay if we contact you?

Yes, OK to contact ____

No, don't contact ____

F2. What is the best way and time to contact you?

Name: _____ Contact Info: _____

Time: _____

F3. Do you know a female friend who has recently been released from prison/jail who you think would like to participate in the study?

Yes ____ → Can we tell this person you referred us?

Yes ____ (***Go to section G. Referral Info.)***

No ____ (***Skip to closing)***

No ____ ***(Skip to closing)***

NOTE: *If the participant does not want to give the referral information without checking with the person first tell her that we can call her at a later time. Record the best date and time to call below.*

Notes:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

G. Referral Information

Interviewer: _____

Referral Source (Interviewee): _____

Date Interviewed: _____

Referrals:

1. Name_____

   Address/Phone_____

   Notes (e.g. best time to contact referral)_____
   _____

   Interviewed? Yes _____ Date _____ Interviewer_____

2. Name _____

   Address/Phone_____

   Notes_____

   Interviewed? Yes _____ Date _____ Interviewer_____

3. Name_____

   Address/Phone_____

   Notes_____

   Interviewed? Yes_____ Date_____Interviewer_____

H. Closing

I want to thank you for taking time to talk with me. Remember that this information is confidential, except where you said it was okay for me to use your name to contact people. Do you have any questions?

I. Stipend

❑ **Gave stipend to participant.**

Appendix C
Sample Time Diary

TIME	WHAT WERE YOU DOING? PLEASE CHECK ONE FOR EACH TIME PERIOD	WHO WERE YOU WITH? CHECK ALL THAT APPLY
6:00-6:15AM	❑ **HOME ACTIVITY** ❑ **TRAVELING** Where? :_____ How? : SUBWAY BUS WALK TAXI/CAR SERVICE CAR ❑ **ARRIVED AND/OR WAITING** ❑ **OTHER ACTIVITY**(EXPLAIN)_____	❑ **PARTNER** ❑ **CHILD** ❑ **FRIEND/RELATIVE** ❑ **CASE MANAGER** ❑ **OTHER,** specify:
6:15-6:30AM	❑ **HOME ACTIVITY** ❑ **TRAVELING** Where? :_____ How? : SUBWAY BUS WALK TAXI/CAR SERVICE CAR ❑ **ARRIVED AND/OR WAITING** ❑ **OTHER ACTIVITY**(EXPLAIN)_____	❑ **PARTNER** ❑ **CHILD** ❑ **FRIEND/RELATIVE** ❑ **CASE MANAGER** ❑ **OTHER,** specify:
6:30-6:45AM	❑ **HOME ACTIVITY** ❑ **TRAVELING** Where? :_____ How? : SUBWAY BUS WALK TAXI/CAR SERVICE CAR ❑ **ARRIVED AND/OR WAITING** ❑ **OTHER ACTIVITY**(EXPLAIN)_____	❑ **PARTNER** ❑ **CHILD** ❑ **FRIEND/RELATIVE** ❑ **CASE MANAGER** ❑ **OTHER,** specify:
6:45-7:00AM	❑ **HOME ACTIVITY** ❑ **TRAVELING** Where? :_____ How? : SUBWAY BUS WALK TAXI/CAR SERVICE CAR ❑ **ARRIVED AND/OR WAITING** ❑ **OTHER ACTIVITY**(EXPLAIN)_____	❑ **PARTNER** ❑ **CHILD** ❑ **FRIEND/RELATIVE** ❑ **CASE MANAGER** ❑ **OTHER,** specify:

Appendix D
Interview Instrument

Women, Reentry, and Everyday Life
Follow-up Interview

Today's interview will consist of questions about the time-diaries you filled out, your goals with regards to getting your life back together after prison, and how time affects that process. I will then ask you questions about things that happened during the three years prior to your incarceration. I will end by constructing a family tree depicting housing, employment and criminal justice involvement for the family that you lived with while you were growing up. Remember that you may refuse to answer any questions and/or stop the interview at any time. At the end of the interview I am going to give you a list of resources to help you with any stress, anxiety, or uncomfortable feelings you may experience as a result of our discussion today. If needed, I can give you an immediate referral to speak with someone today. Do you have any questions?

1.) First I would like to go over your time diary to make sure I understand what you wrote down. As we go through it, if you remember something you did not record, just tell me about it and I will write it down.

    Go over time diary entry by entry.

2.) Now I would like to talk to you about what you did during the past 2 days compared to what you had planned. I am particularly interested in talking about times when something took you much longer than you expected, when you missed an appointment or you ended up having to be in two places at once.
    a. Did you do everything in each day that you had planned to do? Did you forget any appointments or did extra things end up coming into your schedule?
    b. Did you have to change your plans or juggle anything? Did you have to alert anyone to changes you made in your schedule?

3.) Now I would like to talk to you about times, not necessarily during the two days you were keeping a time diary, when you felt you had too much to do in one day. This might be because you were kept waiting for an appointment or when you had to be at two places at once (for instance when you had an appointment with your parole officer and you had to be at work)?
    a. Can you describe a day when this happened to you?
    b. What kind of appointments do you have on a regular basis?
    c. Do you find it difficult to manage the time to juggle all the things you have to do?
    d. How do you manage?

4.) Now let's talk about how time might have an impact on your ability to get your life back together?

a. In what ways do you think problems related to time have impacted your ability to get your life back together?
b. Do you think all the things you have to juggle in a day have an effect on your ability to get a job?
c. Do you think it affects your ability to get (and/or keep) your housing?

5.) With regard to your getting your life back together after prison, can you tell me what the things are that are most important to you?

6.) What do you think would be the most important things that would help you achieve those goals?

7.) Now I would like to ask you a few questions about things that happened just prior to your incarceration. We are trying to get a picture of what your life was like for the three years before you were incarcerated.

Administer Event History Calendar
Follow the Instructions on the Form

8.) I would like to get a picture of your family growing up. Focusing on the member's of your family that you lived with for most of your childhood we will construct a family tree (Genogram). I will ask you questions about your family member's criminal justice involvement, housing, and employment.

Construct Genogram
Follow the Instructions on the Genogram Form

a. Whom did you live with for most of your childhood?
b. Where did you live (neighborhood, city)?
c. What type of residence was this?
d. Were any of the people in your home growing up involved in the criminal justice system? Who? How?
e. Did people in your home have jobs while you were growing up?
f. What type?
g. When you were growing up, do you think your parents (primary caregivers) make enough money?
h. Do you know how your parents (primary caregivers) felt about their jobs?
i. Think about your attitude growing up about people having jobs, can you say in a few sentences how you felt about it?
j. Do you think your attitude growing up about jobs influenced your desire to get a job?

9.) Finally, I would like to know a little about the situation you returned to from prison or jail.
   a. Where did you live (neighborhood, city)?
   b. What type of residence was this?
   c. With whom did you live?
   d. Were you/ are you paying rent? To whom?
   e. Did the people you lived with have jobs? What type?
   f. What do you think about their experiences with employment?

Thank you very much for your time. The information you have provided today will be very useful in helping us demonstrate the needs of women coming out of prison who are trying to get back into the community. It also will help us show how conflicting demands on time make this transition difficult. In a few months we will be presenting the results from this study. We will contact you to let you know when that meeting will be in case you would like to attend.

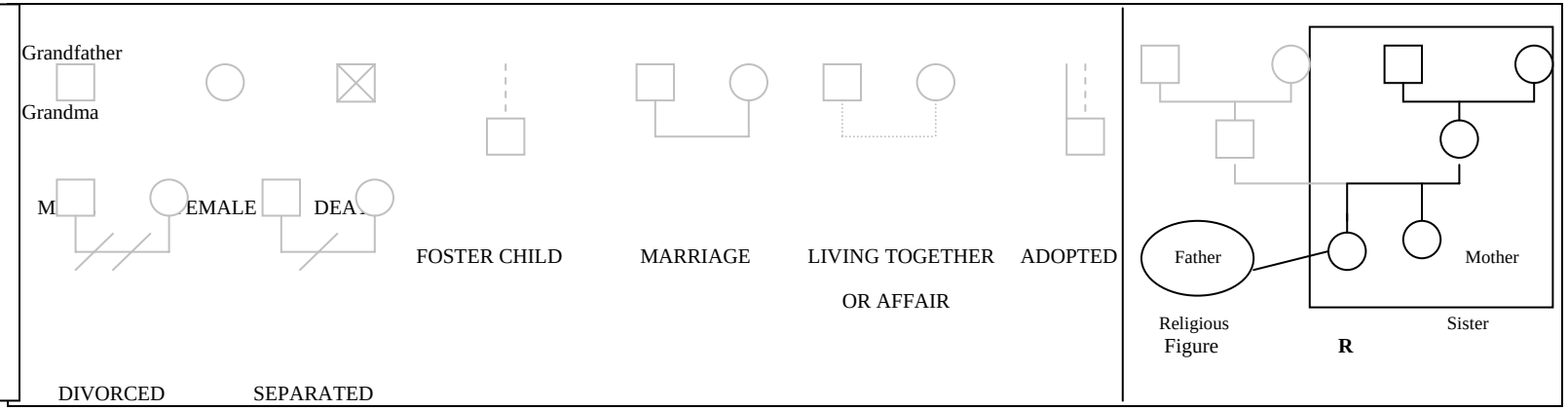
Appendix E
Genogram

Instructions for

Constructing the

Genogram

Biological Family: Include, (1) respondent, (2) parents, (3) siblings, and (4) paternal and maternal grandparents. Place a circle around all the individuals who lived with the respondent.



INSTRUCTIONS FOR GENOGRAM

Following the example provided above, construct a genogram of the family that the participant lived with for all/most of her childhood. Then ask the questions from #8 on the follow-up interview. For each member of the family that lived with the participant include his/her occupation(s) and criminal justice history next to his/her symbol on the genogram. If the participant states that she grew up in two families (i.e. biological and foster) then construct a genogram for *each* family.

Appendix F

Event History Calendar

ID #_____
Interviewer_____

We are interested in learning about the events that occurred during the three years prior to your incarceration. We are especially interested in where and with whom you lived and your employment and unemployment history.

Most recent incarceration:

_____/_____/_____ *to* _____/_____/_____
MM DD YYYY MM DD YYYY

Instructions
Read the heading at each section to the participant. To record events, start from the most recent date/occurrence and go back. Check off the boxes in the corresponding months and fill in the information indicated on the different tables. If the participant has difficulty recalling events, use the cues to help her along.

Landmark Events ID#_____

To begin, I would like you to tell me about any events in the three years prior to your most recent incarceration that stand out in your mind that you are able to date either exactly or approximately. These may be family, financial, job, social, or health related events.

(PROBE examples: births or deaths, divorces or marriages, vacation, health-related events such as an accident, major purchases, job promotion or pay raise, a residence or job change, arrests, events related to your children)

Winter 1 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 1 Year_____			Summer 1 Year_____			Fall 1 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Ja☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

Winter 2 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 2 Year_____			Summer 2 Year_____			Fall 2 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Ja☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

Winter 3 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 3 Year_____			Summer 3 Year_____			Fall 3 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

Residence/ Household Composition **ID#_____**

Now I'd like to ask you about places that you lived during this same three year period. Please provide the neighborhood and borough (add state if not New York City) of each place you lived during this time and the people who lived with you in these places. Let's start with the most recent residence, then we'll talk about other residence in which you lived during those three years.

Residence Questions:
(1) What neighborhood did you live in (Neighborhood,City, State or zip code)
(2) What type of housing was this? (apartment, shelter, public housing, etc.)
(3) How many bedrooms did it have?
(4) Did you pay rent? To whom?
(5) Whom did you live with? What was their age at the time?

Winter 1 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 1 Year_____			Summer 1 Year_____ _			Fall 1 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											

Winter 2 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 2 Year_____ _____			Summer 2 Year_____ _____			Fall 2 Year_____ _____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											

Residence/ Household Composition ID#_____

Winter 3 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 3 Year_____ _____			Summer 3 Year_____ _____			Fall 3 Year_____ _____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
1											
2											
3											
4											

Employment/Unemployment **ID#_____**

Now I'd like to know about all of the jobs that you have had during this three-year period as well as any periods of unemployment during which you were actively seeking employment. Please include any kind of work that you had done for pay. Feel free to start with any job that you had during this time.

If employed:

(1) OCCUPATION: What was your occupation?
(2) EMPLOYER NAME: What was the name of your employer?
(3) TIMELINE: When did you start this job? When did you stop working at this job?
(4) PAY TYPE/RATE: What was your pay? Was it on or off the books?
(5) Did you receive benefits such as health insurance?
(6) HOURS PER WEEK: How many hours per week on average did you work?

If unemployed:

(1) Write 'unemployed' in the space provided.

(2) Why were you unemployed?

(3) If unemployed *and looking* for employment what means did you use to search for a job? Indicate the means using a letter from the key below in the space provided in the table. You can use more than one letter.

(a) Employment Agency
(b) Social Service Agency
(c) Checked with Employer Directly
(d) Checked with Another Employer Directly
(e) Checked with Friends/Relatives
(f) Placed an Ad
(g) Answered an Ad

(4) If unemployed and *not looking* for employment, why?

(5) On average, how many appointments/interviews did you have during this time period?

Employment/Unemployment ID#_____

Winter 1 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 1 Year_____			Summer 1 Year_____			Fall 1 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 1:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 2:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											

Employment/Unemployment **ID#_____**

Winter 2 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 2 Year_____			Summer 2 Year_____			Fall 2 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 1:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 2:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											

Employment/Unemployment ID#_____

Winter 3 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 3 Year_____			Summer 3 Year_____			Fall 3 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 1:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											
Dec ☐	Jan ☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April ☐	May ☐	June ☐	July ☐	Aug ☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov ☐
Job 2:											
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
NOTES											

Other Events ID#_____

Now I'd like to find out about any other activities you did on a regular, daily basis. This includes things such as treatment programs, school, or anything else you did on a daily basis.

Winter 1 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 1 Year_____			Summer 1 Year_____			Fall 1 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Ja☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

Winter 2 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 2 Year_____			Summer 2 Year_____			Fall 2 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Ja☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

Winter 3 Year_____ Year_____			Spring 3 Year_____			Summer 3 Year_____			Fall 3 Year_____		
Dec ☐	Jan☐	Feb ☐	Mar ☐	April☐	May☐	June☐	July☐	Aug☐	Sept ☐	Oct ☐	Nov☐
Description:											

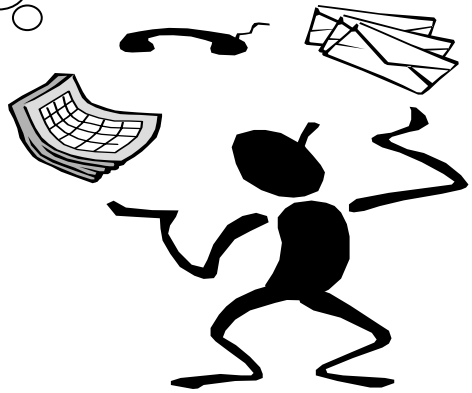
Appendix G

WPA NEEDS *YOUR* HELP WITH A NEW SURVEY!

I have children but there is no one to take care of them while I try to make it to all of my appointments on time!

I missed an appointment with my parole officer because I had to wait in the welfare office for hours!

I have appointments all over the city today but don't have the money or the time to get there!



Participants receive

Metrocard
Watch
$10 Cash*

***Upon completion of the study**

HOW DO YOU JUGGLE ALL OF THE THINGS YOU HAVE TO DO EVERY DAY?
HOW DO YOU GET TO WHERE YOU NEED TO GO?
THE WOMEN'S PRISON ASSOCIATION WANTS TO KNOW!

Please call us at The Survey Hotline: 718-637-6877
All female former prisoners welcome. Tell a friend!
You do not need to be a WPA client to participate, but you must be at least 18.

Appendix H
Agencies Contacted

The Fortune Society
The Osborne Association
Brooklyn Community Office (BCO) of the Women's Prison Association (WPA)
Fifth Avenue Committee
Center for Community Alternatives (CCA)

Appendix I

Consent Forms

WPA Women, Reentry and Everyday Life
Informed Consent Information Sheet for Study Participants

I, _____, understand that this study is being conducted to explore the way competing demands for time present challenges and barriers to successful reentry for women returning home from prison. The study us being conducted by researchers from WPA. The Principal Investigator is Dina Rose, Ph.D. If I have any questions I may call Dr. Rose at 718.637.6806. If I have any other concerns or complaints about the study I can call Karren Harris at 212.674.1163 ext. 18. I may receive a summary of the results at the end of the project, if I request them.

In addition, I understand that:

__My participation in this study is voluntary;

__My participation or decision not to participate will not result in any penalty for me nor will it effect services I am receiving at WPA or may receive from WPA in the future;

__I will be asked to hand in my plans for the two diary days, record my activities in the diary during the following two days and meet with a researcher on the third day for a follow-up interview;

__I understand that during the follow-up interview I will be asked questions about my housing, employment, and criminal justice involvement history, as well as that of the family that I grew up with;

__The follow-up interview will be conducted off-site from WPA to protect my anonymity as a participant in this study;

__My name will not be used on the time diaries or in any reports;

__Interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed to facilitate accurate analysis;

__Selected quotes from the interviews will be reported in the study, and some of the quotations may be things that I said during my participation in the interview. I understand that anything I say will not have my name attached to it;

__I am free to stop participating in the study at any time or to refuse to answer any questions I do not wish to answer;

__At the end of the follow-up interview, I will be asked if I am still willing to allow what I said to be included in the study; I am free at that time to exclude my words, if I so wish;

__All tapes and original transcripts, consent forms and time-diaries, will be kept in a locked file cabinet and will only be available to the research staff at WPA;

__Upon completion of the follow-up interview I will be given a list of resources available at WPA and other agencies to help me through any issues that may arise as a consequence of participating in this study;

__I understand that I may reschedule my appointment for the follow-up interview if I am not able to attend due to conflicts such as a job interview, appointment with a doctor, illness, etc.

__I will be invited to a debriefing where the findings from the study will be discussed. Feedback from participants will be solicited to ensure accuracy of interpretation of findings and recommendations;

__All my questions about participation in this study have been answered to my satisfaction; and

__I understand the research team will break this confidentiality agreement only if it is necessary to prevent a crime or respond to a criminal complaint.

_____	_____
Participant Signature	Date
_____	_____
Researcher Signature	Date

Appendix J
Resource List [All services and contact information were current for 2004]

Domestic Abuse	
Park Slope Safe Homes Project:	718.###.####
Education Services	
Episcopal Social Services/The College Initiative:	212.###.####
WPA Steps to Independence:	718.###.####
Employment Services	
Center for Urban Community Services:	212.###.####
Hope Program:	718.###.####
WPA Steps to Independence:	718.###.####
Family Services	
Clinton Family Crisis Nursery:	212.###.####
Single Parent Resource Center:	212.###.####
Health Care Services	
Brooklyn Pre-Natal Care:	718.###.####
Elm Care Health Organization:	877.###.####
Health Care Pharmacy Services:	917.###.####
HIV/AIDS	
Center for Children and Families:	718.###.####
Center for Community Alternatives:	212.###.####
WPA Transitional Services Unit:	718.###.####
Housing	
Fifth Avenue Committee:	718.###.####
Partnership for the Homeless:	212.###.####
WPA Steps to Independence:	718.###.####
Legal Advice	
Brooklyn Legal Services:	718.###.####
HIV Law Project:	212.###.####
Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem:	212.###.####
Life Skills Support	
Community Voicemail:	718.###.####
WPA Steps to Independence:	718.###.####
Mental Health Counseling	
Brooklyn Heights Counseling Center:	718.###.####
FEGS:	212.###.####
The Center for Marital and Family Services, Inc:	212.###.####
Substance Abuse Treatment	
Bowery Residents Committee: 24-hour Chemical Dependency Crisis Center:	212.###.####
Bridge Back to Life/Villa:	718.###.####
Casaworks for Families:	718.###.####

If you are unsure what program is best for you, contact [staff person] or [staff person] in the CLU office at WPA (718.###.####). They can also clarify intake criteria and documents required for referral to each of the above organizations.