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Breaking Bonds: Effect of the Loss of Parental Rights on Prison Admission in the United States, 2000-2019

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between termination of parental rights (TPR) and prison admission rates in the United States over the period from 2000 to 2019. Grounded in social bond and labeling theories, the study explores how the loss of parental rights influences the likelihood of parents to offend or reoffend and whether such a relationship differs between men and women. Using state-level administrative data, fixed-effects regression models are employed to analyze the impact of TPR rates on prison admissions, while accounting for time-varying socioeconomic factors (poverty rate, unemployment, and TANF maximum benefit). Findings indicate a positive causal effect association between TPR and incarceration, highlighting the need for targeted interventions to support parents both in and out of prison. Additionally this study adds context to the ongoing literature on incarcerations effects on social bond and labeling theories on parenting.

Introduction

The termination of parental rights (TPR) is a legal proceeding that removes a parent's right to custody of their child, visitation with their child, or decision-making on behalf of their child. TPR may happen voluntarily or involuntarily. When TPR proceedings are enforced by the State involuntarily it makes the legal judgment that the parent is not fit to care for their child. Disability, addiction, or incarceration are just some of the reasons that a parent may seem unfit. The removal of a child from their home should not be taken lightly or done without appropriate caution. Because if this is done prematurely and parents want to care for their child but made a mistake or a misstep in life they may lose motivation to follow the laws that took their child away from them and may commit crimes. TPR is most commonly applied to those in the

incarceration system who are temporarily unable to care for their child. If after a misstep, a person does their time in prison, and re-enters society without the ability to reunite with their child again they may lose motivation to get their life back on course and resort to previous behaviors.

Incarceration is a life-altering occurrence for the incarcerated individual as well as for their family. When a parent is placed into the carceral system they have to figure out where their children will live and who will look after them. If they cannot, their children are likely to go into the foster care system (Office of Civil Rights Evaluation 2020:80). This is especially straining on the 57,700 (58%) of females in state or federal prison who are parents with minor children (Maruschak, Bronson, and Alper 2021) because the children of incarcerated women are 5 times more likely to be under the care of foster homes than the children of incarcerated men (USCC 2020:80). While incarcerated men are often able to leave their children in the custody of the children's mother, incarcerated women are not able to leave their children with the children's father because they were already the sole care-giver to their children.

While child removal is already a family disruption, incarcerated parents or those temporarily unfit may have their parental rights involuntarily terminated. If a child is out of the custody of their parents and in care of the state for 15 of the last 22 months, the state is then required to initiate or join TPR proceedings (ASFA Section 103). Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun described the effects of terminating parental rights in his dissenting opinion in Lassiter v. Department of Social Services (452 U.S. 18, 39 [1981]): "Unlike other custody proceedings, it leaves the parent with no right to visit or communicate with the child, to participate in, or even to know about, any important decision affecting the child's religious,

educational, emotional, or physical development." TPR legally and permanently severs the relationship between parent and child.

This thesis will explore how TPR affects a parents social bond and if that affects their deviant behavior. I will do this by examining the relationship between termination of parental rights (TPR) and prison admissions. Examining U.S. states between 2000 and 2019, I predict that (1) TPR has a positive effect on prison admissions and that (2) this effect will be stronger for women than for men. I believe that this causal relationship exists because the loss of parental rights will lead to a weakening in social bonds in a parent's lives that will cause them to offend or reoffend. With a specific focus on TPR and its relation to the incarceration system we first look at the existing literature on the topic.

Literature Review

Termination of Parental Rights and Imprisonment

While this project is focused on the impact of TPR on incarceration rates, it is important to address the place a previous incarceration plays into the enactment of TPR. In more than half (27) of the US states, if a criminal sentence results in a child being placed in foster care the state then has grounds for TPR (Burke et al. 2020, 236). If a parent wants to keep their parental rights there are a number of hoops they are expected to jump through that make reunification after serving their time difficult. Parents must remain a consistent presence in their children's lives, participate in case planning, and be committed to reform with proof including having a stable and secure place to live, all of which are difficult and nearly impossible to ensure from prison (Halperin and Harris 2004). Successful reunification is associated with regular parenteral visits which are made difficult because of reliance on the child's care takers (familiar or not)

caseworkers. More than half of all mothers in prison receive no visits at all from their children. Women specifically have reported a struggle to communicate with their child's caseworker, receiving little to know information about their child's health and wellbeing.

The prevalence of TPR is rising along with the imprisonment rate. One in 100 US children will experience the termination of parental rights by age 18 and the risk of TPR is the greatest in the first few years of life (Wildeman et al. 2019:39-40).

Legislation, Extended Sentencing, and TPR

Certain legislation has affected the incarceration rate, extended sentencing, and the rate of TPR. The passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 has led to an unprecedented drastic increase in incarceration (Bush-Baskette 2000). Women were disproportionately affected by War on Drug policies, between 1985 and 2020 drug related arrests for women increased by 216% for women, compared to 48% for men (Herring 2020). The enactment of mandatory minimum sentences further prevented family situations or the role of the offender in the crime to be considered in sentencing (Bush-Baskette 2000) causing more parents to go away for longer.

While the foster care system historically has been used to reunite families and find children permanent homes (Halperin and Harris 2004) the increased number of children entering the system led to a strain on the system. The 1980 Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act discouraged over reliance on temporary placement by promoting services to aid in family reunification of children with their biological parents (Duquette et al. 1999). This was later changed by the passage of The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 (AACWA) and the American and Safe Families Act of 1997 (ASFA) which shifted focus away from reunification to permanent placement for children by setting time limits for children's stays in

foster care (Halperin and Harris 2004). AACWA was an expansion of federal oversight into child welfare and was enacted to promote adoption, prevent "foster care drift", and address the impracticality of family unification. The ASFA built upon the AACWA by requiring states to initiate or join TPR proceedings if the child has been in foster care for 15 of the last 22 months (ASFA 1997:Section 103). It also provides exceptions for a state's requirement to apply reasonable effort to family reunification in specific cases. One of these cases is whether the part has involuntarily lost parental rights of the sibling of a child (Section 101). This sets women on a deadline to show they can support their children after they serve their time. Which is hard to fulfill when facing reentry and without sufficient resources (Scroggins and Malley 2010).

Bonding, Labeling, and Imprisonment

Social bonds consist of the attachments and beliefs of a person that bind them within the laws and norms of society (Hirschi 1988: xxi). Social bonds come from marriage, community membership, familiar relationships, a workplace, or any place where people interact meaningfully with other people. Without proper maintenance and creation of these bonds people are more likely to act defiantly and break the laws and norms (Sampson and Laub 1990). This is true even after a person has committed a crime and spent time in the criminal justice system. Existing literature shows that strong social bonds decrease and even terminate criminality behavior in recidivist offenders (Sampson and Laub 1990). People who had received employment after release were found to have longer periods between incarceration stints (Visher, Debus-Sherrill, and Yahner 2008). Overall changes in social relationships often predict recidivism (Rocque et al. 2013).

One of the strongest social bonds there is that between a parent and their child. After people become parents their risk of arrest decreases significantly. After childbirth women's risk of arrest decreases by 50% and men's by 20% (Masenkoff and Rose 2022). Highlighting the profound impact parenthood has on women and men, significantly motherhood more than fatherhood. A conclusion can then be drawn to a loss of this parental bond may lead to an increased risk of arrest, the focus of this study. When a parent is incarcerated their bond with their child is weakened and due to long prison sentences this damage is deep in the lives of parents and their children. More than a third of children with incarcerated parents will reach 18 during their parents' incarceration (Glaze and Maruschak 2010).

Sex Differences

Throughout the literature there is a sex difference that is commonly described, that places women as more affected than men when a change in parenthood occurs, like TPR. Women are a rising population in prisons. While total arrests have decreased for men by 33% they have increased by 25% for women (Herring 2020). Most of these women are imprisoned based on drug crimes. Women who are imprisoned for drug crimes tend to have negative self-perceptions as mothers (Allen, Flaherty, and Ely 2010) this can be attributed to the value women hold in the mothering label.

Incarcerating mothers has a social cost that is higher than incarcerating fathers. This is because women tend to hold significant social responsibilities and positions of before incarceration. In state prisons, a higher percentage of females (58%) than males (46%) were parents to minor children (Maruschak, Bronson, and Alper 2021). Incarcerated women's children (10.9%) are 5 times more likely to be under the care of the state, in foster homes, than men's

children (2.2%) (USCC 2020, 80). This is because women are more likely to be the sole caregivers to their children before imprisonment. Men are generally also more likely to rely on the child's mother for caregiving responsibilities while in prison (88.4%) while women are most likely to rely on their child's grandparent (44.9%), specifically grandmother (42.1%), before the child's other parent (37%) (USCC 2020 80). The children of incarcerated women are 5 times more likely to be under the care of foster homes than the children of incarcerated men (USCC 2020:80). This interaction with the foster care systems puts the children of incarcerated mothers at a higher risk of TPR than children of incarcerated fathers.

There is a vast amount of literature on the effect incarceration has on TPR but this study looks to address the gap in knowledge of TPR's effect on incarceration. TPR is often seen as a result of incarceration but social bond theory illustrates that a weakening of bonds may lead to deviant behavior. While a parent's rights are terminated their social bonds take a drastic hit because their connection with their child is broken. This and being labeled unfit to parent can only hurt people as they attempt to reintegrate into society. Additionally, by severing the tie between any parent and their child social bonds are weakened and are more likely to act defiantly and break laws.

Methods

To analyze the effect of TPR on incarceration rates I created a panel data set composed of incarceration rates, TPR rates, and covariates. All variables were separated and organized by state-year, prison admission rates and TPR rates were additionally separated by sex to satisfy the analysis. Covariates were organized by state and year. All 50 states were included and were

observed from 2000 to 2019, resulting in 20 years of data from each state for a total of 1,000 state-years.

Baseline Population Data

Population data for both male and female individuals for each state-year were obtained from the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). The CDC provides population estimates derived from United States Census Bureau data, specifically for the respective state and year of interest in this study. These bridge-race estimates are compiled from the decennial census and adjusted annually using vital statistics, administrative records, and other data sources to provide accurate and up-to-date population estimates.

Separation and Analysis by Sex

Women and men are separated in the analysis of every variable in order to address my second hypothesis, that female incarceration rates are more strongly affected by TPR than male incarceration rates. Separation by sex also allows for analysis of women without a sway in influence from men due to the disproportionately high male prison population compared to the female prison population.

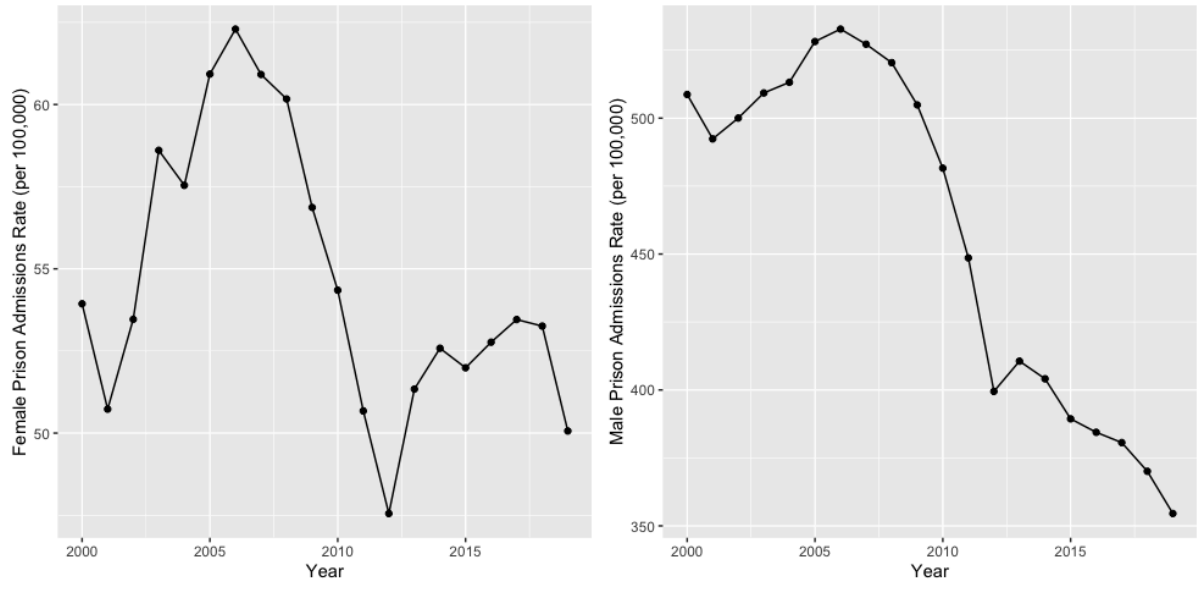
Prison Admission

In this study the outcome variable is the prison admission rate (PAR). PAR was calculated separately for women and men using the prison admission population per state-year in both state and federal prisons, sourced from the Corrections Statistical Analysis Tool (CSAT)'s Prisoners Quick Tables compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The admission

population encompasses various entries to prison, including new court commitments, parole violator returns, and other conditional release violator returns, among others. Therefore an examination of initial offenses and recidivism separately is not included. Instances where states did not submit relevant data were removed from the dataset, occurring nine times (six of which were in Alaska between 2004 and 2009) across all 50 states over 20 years. The admission population was then divided by the sex-specific state population and multiplied by 100,000.

During data modeling the PAR was lagged by one year. Meaning the TPR rate from Maine in 2012, for example, was analyzed in relation to the PAR from Maine in 2013. The use of a lagged PAR allowed for reverse causality to be ruled out. Incarceration has been linked as a cause for TPR (Halperin and Harris 2004) and in this case reverse causality would say that an increase in PAR would lead to an increase in TPR. By lagging the PAR by a year, TPR would have to occur before prison admission

Figure 1: Trends of Prison Admission Rates per year, nationally, separated by sex



To gain an overview of prison admissions, Figure 1 graphs the PAR per year for females and males separately. By looking at these side by side it is apparent that the female prison admission rate (FPAR) and male prison admission rate (MPAR) follow a similar pattern. It was not until 2016 where the FPAR increased and the MPAR decreased. The difference in prison population between females and males is adjusted for in the y-axis in both graphs. The FPAR and MPAR both peaked in 2006 but the sex difference is evident in that the female rate is 62.296 and the male rate is 532.766 (Appendix: Table 4). At MPAR lowest rate in 2019 of 354.532, it is still more than 5 times the FPAR at its highest which is consistent with the rates found by McLaughlin and Shannon (2021).

TPR

The number of TPR instances were gathered from The National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect's (NDACAN) Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS) datasets spanning 2000 to 2019. AFCARS, a federally mandated data collection system, is a restricted-access administrative data source that provides case-specific information on children under Title IV-B/E of the Social Security Act. Specifically, AFCARS maintains individual-level records of children placed in foster care.

The AFCARS dataset contains individual-level records of children's placement into foster care, including instances of TPR involving the mother, father, or both, within their history with the child welfare system. By utilizing unique identification numbers assigned to each child, duplicate entries due to sustained stays within the system were eliminated. Entries with TPR dates outside the 2000-2019 timeframe were excluded. TPR instances were then isolated to determine the count of individual TPR occurrences in each state-year, creating separate instances

when the mothers and the fathers lost their parental rights. This was done so if both of a child's parents lost parental rights the mother would count for the female TPR count and the father would count for the male TPR count. These counts per state-year were divided by the corresponding state population of the same sex and year to derive a TPR rate, which was subsequently multiplied by 100,000 for analysis.

Figure 2: National TPR rate by year, separated by sex

Figure 2 shows the national TPR rate by year for females and males. From this we see that males experience TPR at a consistently higher rate than females. This is not unexpected

partially due to the positive relationship between incarceration and TPR as discussed in the previous literature discussed above. Although the female to male TPR rates are much closer than the PAR witnessed. This difference can be attributed to the disproportionate amount of incarcerated mothers compared to incarcerated fathers that are the sole caregiver to their child before incarceration (USCC 2020 80).

Covariates

Covariates were sourced from the University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research's National Welfare Data, updated annually. The selected covariates included, for each state-year, the poverty rate, unemployment rate, and the maximum Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) benefit for a family of three. Poverty rate data were obtained from the US Census Bureau's Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division. The unemployment rate was sourced from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Local Area Unemployment Statistics, while the maximum TANF benefit was obtained from The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. TANF is a program providing cash assistance and supportive services to families with children under 18, was assessed for a family of three, reflecting the current estimate of the average US household size. These covariates were selected based on theories linking crime to financial incentives. Economic models of crime state that "changing economic incentives alter the participation of individuals in criminal activities" (Draca and Machin 2015). These covariates were included because financial factors may confound the relationship between TPR and prison admission.

Statistical Analysis

To analyze the collected panel data, four linear regression models were utilized for both men and women: bivariate regression, covariate regression, fixed effects regression, and fixed effects regression with covariates. Bivariate regression provided insights into the strength and direction of the relationship between two variables, serving as the baseline model. In order to control for confounding variables that may influence the relationship between TPR and PAR, I incorporated my 3 covariates in a covariate regression model. This addition to the baseline model enhanced the model's explanatory power and predictive accuracy. A third type of model, the fixed effects models, were employed to control for two kinds of unobserved confounders. First the year fixed effects control for all unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity, or the differences or variations among states that do not change over time, like the culture of a state. Secondly it controls for geography-invariant historical change, or the things that change from state to state, like sports teams. . The fourth and final model was a fixed effects model with covariates, the inclusion of covariates in fixed effects models improved accuracy by controlling for both observed and unobserved confounding variables. By combining the benefits of fixed effects and covariates in the regression analysis, the fixed effects model with covariates provided the most robust way of accounting for potential misspecification and is therefore better equipped to capture the true causal relationship between TPR and PAR. All eight models (four for female, four for male) were estimated using ordinary least squares and weighted least squares, where weights were the (sex-specific) state-year population.

Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the variables included in the analysis, both weighted and unweighted by population. The weighted mean and standard deviation (SD)

represent the average and variance of the variables when accounting for population size, while the unweighted mean and SD provide a simple average and variance across observations. The mean female Termination of Parental Rights (TPR) rate was 44.29 per 100,000 population (SD = 20.93) when weighted by population, compared to 49.74 (SD = 27.37) when unweighted. The mean male TPR rate was 46.46 (SD = 21.39) when weighted and 51.61 (SD = 27.29) when unweighted. In terms of prison admissions per 100,000 population, the mean rate for females was 55.02 (SD = 32.97) when weighted and 61.78 (SD = 40.03) when unweighted. For males, the mean admission rate was 456.38 (SD = 196.30) when weighted and 441.37 (SD = 188.00) when unweighted.

Table 1: Descriptive Variables

Variable	Weighted mean (SD)	Unweighted mean (SD)	Minimum value	Maximum value
Female TPR	44.290 (20.930)	49.738 (27.366)	5.694	207.312
Male TPR	46.462 (21.388)	51.610 (27.288)	5.860	207.989
Female Admissions per 100,000	55.016 (32.967)	61.776 (40.030)	6.069	413.632
Male Admissions per 100,000	456.382 (196.298)	441.370 (187.995)	58.736	1222.533
Covariates				
Poverty Rate	13.026 (2.961)	12.405 (3.339)	3.7	23.1
Unemployment Rate	5.902 (2.079)	5.487 (1.987)	2.3	13.7
TANF Max benefit for 3 person family	440.339 (108.972)	432.129 (166.541)	432.129	1066

Regarding the covariates, the mean poverty rate was 13.03% (SD = 2.96) when weighted and 12.41% (SD = 3.34) when unweighted. The mean unemployment rate was 5.90% (SD = 2.08) when weighted and 5.49% (SD = 1.99) when unweighted. The maximum Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) benefit for a three-person family had a mean value of $440.34 (SD = 108.97) when weighted and $432.13 (SD = 166.54) when unweighted. These descriptive statistics provide an initial overview of the variables under study and their distribution across the population, highlighting differences between weighted and unweighted means for each variable.

Figure 3: Positive Relationship between Prison Admission and TPR

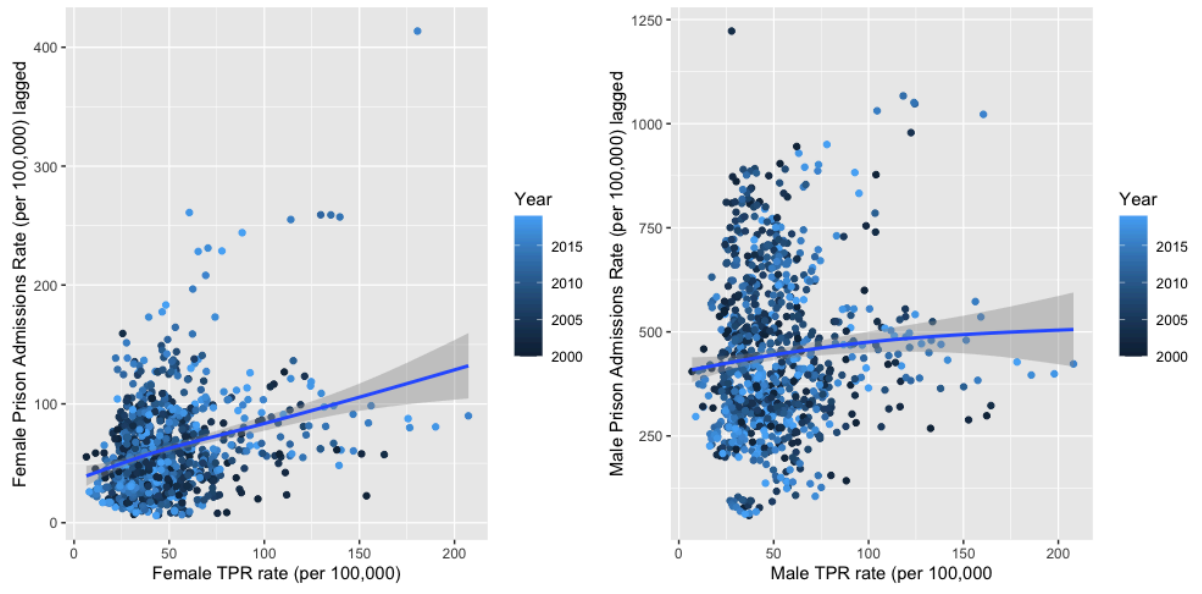


Figure 3 shows every state-year as an individual point with the years varying from light to dark blue to represent the year. The graphs are separated by sex so that separate analysis can be done in order to study my second hypothesis. This was also done to allow for accurate representation of the FPAR on the y-axis. The x-axis shows the TPR rate (per 100,000) on a

similar scale for both males and females. The blue line represents the line of best fit for the state-year points, with the gray representing the standard of error, showing the direction of the relationship between TPR and prison admissions. The line of best fit has a positive relationship for both men and women allowing for my first hypothesis to be examined.

Table 2: Unweighted Regression Results				
Panel A: Female				
Variable	I) Bivariate	II) Covariate	III) Fixed Effects	IV) Fixed Effects with Covariates
TPR	0.415 *** (0.045)	0.396*** (0.045)	0.246 *** (0.044)	0.247 *** (0.045)
Unemployment		-2.458*** (0.716)		-0.826301 (0.541)
Poverty		2.315*** (0.492)		0.592 (0.536)
TANF		-0.023 ** (0.009)		0.0211 (0.017)
Adjusted R2	0.078	0.128	-0.019	-0.017
Panel B: Male				
Variable	V) Bivariate	VI) Covariate	VII) Fixed Effects	VIII) Fixed Effects with Covariates
TPR	0.718 ** (0.219)	0.653 ** (0.210)	0.641 *** (0.189)	0.527 ** (0.193)
Unemployment		-1.992 (3.368)		2.899 (2.372)
Poverty		13.811 *** (2.312)		-2.888 (2.350)
TANF		-0.179 *** (0.041)		-0.306 *** (0.076)
Adjusted R2	0.010	0.124	-0.040	-0.024

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2 details the Unweighted Regression results, where an observed positive relationship existed between TPR and PAR in all 8 models. The I) bivariate model showed that for every one unit of TPR, FPAR increases by .415 units (per 100,00). This shows a positive relationship and with a p value < 0.001 it is statistically significant. When Covariate are controlled for in Model II, FPAR still increases by 0.396 which is still statistically significant. Models V and VI for the MPAR proved similar results with coefficients of 0.718 and 0.641 respectively, both with p values < 0.01 still proving statistical significance. The covariates in the Fixed Effects with Covariates (Models IV and VIII) resulted in 0.247 with a p-value of < 0.001 value for women and 0.527 with a p-value of < 0.01. The p-values indicate the probability of observing the estimated coefficient (or larger) if the null hypothesis were in fact true. Both p-values were lower than the chosen significance level suggesting that the coefficient is statistically significant, meaning that it is unlikely to have occurred by chance alone. With this I can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is evidence of a significant relationship between TPR and Admission Rates.

Additionally it is important to note the results from the fixed effects with covariates for females and males in Models IV and VIII. While female PAR have a higher level of confidence with .001 compared to male PAR at .01, females have a smaller increase of 0.247 per one unit of TPR compared to males 0.527. This says that FPAR are not as affected by TPR as MPAR are by TPR. This does not support my second hypothesis that women are more affected by men. So while there exists a difference, it is not proportional to the difference between a the PARs outside of the model

In Weighted Regression Results (Appendix: Table 3) there exists a positive relationship between TPR and Prison Admissions in 7 models with Model XII showing 0.112 with a < 0.05 significance and Model XVI with a negative relationship of -0.366037 with a >0.05 significance. The weighted models for women (IX, X, XI, and XII) found similar results while the weighted models for men (XIII, XIV, XV, XVI) were more distant from the unweighted models.

Limitations

There are four main limitations of my study. First, due to the data available I will only be able to assess TPR's effect on women's and men's incarceration rates rather than maternal and paternal incarceration. If parental incarceration was directly observed then we would likely see a stronger relationship between the TPR rate and PAR. Second, additional factors outside the scope of my study may affect the covariates. While gathering a large and representative sample of the issue is beneficial, the broad scope prevents the ability to account for individual state's child welfare and criminal justice policy.

Future Research

Since I am studying the aggregate rather than at the individual level, further more specific analysis on individual states and public policy in those states is a logical next step for future research. Further in depth content analysis of state's legislation as well as unique characteristics of states with low TPR rates and/or recidivism rates in states. Additionally a qualitative, interview or survey based project would provide further insight in the effects of TPR that lead to prison admission. The literature provides a variety of reasons for maternal recidivism, i.e. drug abuse, interpersonal violence, restrictive policies, and lack of resources, which could be properly

explored through additional research. This type of research can be done at the individual level in a more personal setting and can lead to personal insights on recidivism and TPR.

Conclusion

This study shows the relationship between termination of parental rights (TPR) and prison admission in the United States. Through an analysis over twenty years (2000-2019), the findings provide valuable insights into the effects of TPR on parents. Drawing upon social bond and labeling theories, this research emphasizes the impact of TPR on the lives of mothers, exacerbating the unique challenges they face.

By multivariable regression analysis, taking into account confounding variables that may skew the relationship I am able to establish a causal relationship between TPR rates and admission rates. This suggests that the loss of parental rights contributes to heightened risks of offending among mothers. This relationship shows the need for comprehensive support systems and interventions targeted at challenging the adverse effects of TPR and promoting successful reentry for these individuals.

While this research adds to how we think about TPR and incarceration it is not without limitations. My reliance on aggregate-level data prevents an examination of individual experiences, and future research would benefit from incorporating qualitative methods, like interviews or ethnography, to capture the lived experiences of incarcerated mothers.

In conclusion, this study has shown a casual relationship between TPR and admission rates but further research needs to be done. Further research needs to use holistic approaches in order to address the intersecting challenges faced by mothers, including the loss of parental rights and how that may affect their motivations toward criminal behavior.

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Appendix

Table 3: Weighted Regression Results				
Panel C: Women				
Variable	IX) Bivariate	X) Covariate	XI) Fixed Effects	XII) Fixed Effects with Covariates
TPR	0.40537 *** (0.04857)	0.292304*** (0.045297)	0.232352*** (0.044678)	0.112396 * (0.046061)
Unemployment		-1.605967 ** (0.534460)		-0.564833 0.421231
Poverty		2.590383*** (0.389385)		0.131043 0.460941
TANF		-0.053478*** (0.005549)		-0.131747*** (0.015129)
Adjusted R2	0.06486	0.2273	-0.018585	-0.056335
Panel D: Men				
Variable	XIII) Bivariate	XIV) Covariate	XV) Fixed Effects	XVI) Fixed Effects with Covariates
TPR	0.9019** (0.2896)	0.51330 (0.27779)	0.217949 *** (0.043359)	-0.366037 (0.288407)
Unemployment		-0.36449 (3.36203)		3.819145 (2.741394)
Poverty		17.92349*** (2.45443)		-6.034062 * (2.999860)
TANF		-0.19693*** (0.03494)		-1.535146*** (0.098828)
Adjusted R2	0.008691	0.1378	-0.021207	-0.034863

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: National TPR and PAR (separated by sex) by Year				
	FTPR	**MTPR**	**FPAR**	**MPAR**
2000	52.302	55.632	53.936	508.700
2001	51.200	54.109	50.730	492.371
2002	45.288	48.083	53.462	500.032
2003	42.919	45.563	58.606	509.267
2004	43.687	46.138	57.541	513.191
2005	43.536	45.784	60.927	528.185
2006	43.706	46.182	62.296	532.766
2007	46.777	49.394	60.914	527.188
2008	43.270	45.782	60.169	520.414
2009	41.937	44.290	56.868	504.869
2010	38.987	41.406	54.350	481.602
2011	38.130	40.032	50.675	448.578
2012	38.982	41.090	47.552	399.471
2013	40.288	42.414	51.340	410.600
2014	42.243	44.113	52.582	404.099
2015	43.672	45.935	51.988	389.371
2016	46.596	48.643	52.766	384.425
2017	48.173	50.380	53.456	380.635
2018	47.738	49.870	53.257	370.081
2019	44.179	46.263	50.065	354.532