



4-22-2015

A Departure from Blood and Iron: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of Culture in Societal Reintegration of Ex-combatant Military Members and Reentry of Ex-Convicts

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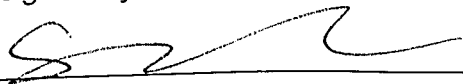
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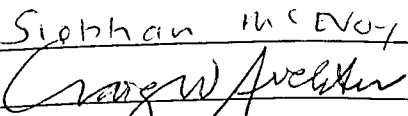
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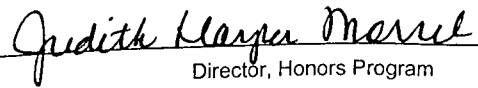
Thesis title A Departure from Blood and Iron: A Comparative Analysis
Of the Role of Culture in Societal Reintegration of
Ex-Combatant Military Members and Reentry of Ex-Convicts

Intended date of commencement May 09, 2015

Read, approved, and signed by:

Thesis adviser(s)  1 May 2015
Date

Reader(s)  1 May 2015
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Certified by  5/18/15
Director, Honors Program Date

For Honors Program use:

Level of Honors conferred: University Magna cum laude
Departmental Highest honors in Peace Studies
Honors in International Studies
Honors in French

A Departure from Blood and Iron: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of Culture in
Societal Reintegration of Ex-combatant Military Members and Reentry of Ex-Convicts

A Thesis

Presented to the Peace and Conflict Studies Program

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

and

The Honors Program

of

Butler University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for Graduation Honors

Devon Danielle Lott

4/22/2015

A Departure from Blood and Iron: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of Culture in Societal Reintegration of Ex-combatant Military Members and Reentry of Ex-Convicts



Devon Lott – Butler University Honors Program Thesis

Abstract:

While there exists a multitude of information regarding the societal reintegration of both formerly deployed military members and ex-convicts, there is a lack of research comparing and contrasting each group's previous experiences and their effects on the processes of reintegration. From a national focus, the United States' incarceration rate is increasing and the recidivism rate between 2005 and 2010 was surveyed at seventy-five percent of prisoners being arrested again within five years of their release.¹ From a military perspective in the United States, the rates of suicide among military members are exceeding the combat-related death rates for soldiers deployed to Afghanistan.² Such difficulties in reentry/reintegration are evident in the statistics surrounding both the penal system and the military, and it poses the questions of: "how do the aspects of the prison culture and the military culture affect the reentry and reintegration processes?" and "is the process of societal reintegration of ex-military combatants similar to the process of reintegration of ex-convicts?" Through a meta-analysis of personal accounts, social theory publications, sociological and ethnographic studies, governmental databases, and NGO group resources, I will compare the cultures of both the penal system and the military and their effects on reentry/reintegration. In this analysis, I will focus solely on the military and prison systems of the United States. This research can shed light on the aspects of military and prison systems that either assist in societal reentry/reintegration, or conversely, hinder it. This research will hopefully lead to the generation of solutions in the future to improve the reentry/reintegration process and reduce the rates of suicide and recidivism.

¹ Matthew R. Durose, Alexia D. Cooper, and Howard N. Snyder, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010," (*Bureau of Justice Statistics*, 2014), 1

²Robert Burns, "Military Suicides Reached Record High In 2012," (*The Huffington Post*, March 16, 2013)

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Introduction

In the opening scene of the pilot episode of the HBO series, *The Newsroom*, fictional celebrity news anchor Will McAvoy answers a young girl's question of "Can you say why America is the greatest country in the world?" with an extensive account of facts surrounding his belief that this is not the case. One statement that he makes, however, shows how heavily reliant the United States of America is on the industries of the prison system and the military. He states, "We lead the world in only three categories: number of incarcerated citizens per capita, number of adults who believe that angels are real, and defense spending, where we spend more than the next twenty-six countries combined."³ While the angels component might be beyond the scope of this presentation, and the validity of this statement is not entirely accurate (the United States is actually ranked number nine in military expenditures⁴ and is also ranked number one in economy⁵), this statement does shine light on the rising importance of both the military and prison industries in the United States of America. With an incarcerated population of over two million people⁶ and over two million troops serving in the U.S. Military⁷, there are many lives affected by both industries. Especially when the families and friends of the respective members are taken into account.

³ *The Newsroom*, created by Aaron Sorkin, (New York, NY: HBO, 2012)

⁴ "COUNTRY COMPARISON :: MILITARY EXPENDITURES," *Central Intelligence Agency*, (2015),

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2034rank.html>.

⁵ "Gross Domestic Product 2013," World Development Indicators Database, *World Bank*, (April 14, 2015),

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>.

⁶ "World Report 2014: United States," *Human Rights Watch*, (2015), [http://www.hrw.org/world-](http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/united-states)

[report/2014/country-chapters/united-states](http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/united-states).

⁷ "By The Numbers: Today's Military," *NPR*, (July 3, 2011), [http://www.npr.org/2011/07/03/137536111/by-the-](http://www.npr.org/2011/07/03/137536111/by-the-numbers-todays-military)

[numbers-todays-military](http://www.npr.org/2011/07/03/137536111/by-the-numbers-todays-military).

With such a huge emphasis placed on the importance of the prison and military industries, it would follow to concern ourselves with the effects that these institutions have on the lives of their members upon their departure from the institution. With a seventy-five percent recidivism rate within five years of prisoner release and a rising number of military suicides, it can be suggested that there is room for improvement in methods of prisoner reentry and military reintegration.

In this study, I focus on the cultural aspects of both the prison system and the military including social stigma, hypermasculinity, discipline, uniformity, and violence. I then provide information on the current processes of prisoner reentry and military reintegration as well as their effectiveness. Finally I conclude with a comparison of the two cultures and their effects on the reentry/reintegration processes. I suggest the necessity for future studies and recommend the conclusions from this study to be taken into consideration during continuing efforts to improve the reentry and reintegration processes

Chapter One

Protectors and Offenders: The Societal Impact of Stigmatization

When we look objectively at the societal perception of military members and prisoners in the United States, there are very marked differences. In the United States, for the most part, the military is perceived as a protector of our nation and as many country-western songs will state, **our freedom. According to the Pew Research Center, “Americans continue to hold the military in high regard, with more than three-quarters of U.S. adults (78%) saying that members of the armed services contribute “a lot” to society’s well-being.”**⁸ On the other hand, prisoners in the United States tend to be looked upon as society’s **malefactors and villains. According to Moore et al., “Qualitative research shows that people think negatively of ‘criminals.’ People often think of stereotypes such as low socioeconomic status and minority race when thinking of criminals⁹ and associate negative personality traits with the word “criminal”**¹⁰. MacLin and Herrera found that one of the most common words undergraduates associated **with the word ‘criminal’** was ‘bad.’”¹¹ This seemingly widespread stigma is also relatively unfounded. According to Jeremy Travis, **“the public’s understanding of the crime problem associated with returning prisoners is often shaped by individual, high-profile incidents. A single incident of a horrible crime**

⁸ “Public Esteem for Military Still High,” *Pew Research Centers Religion Public Life Project RSS*, (July 10, 2013)

⁹ E. I. Madriz, “IMAGES OF CRIMINALS AND VICTIMS: A Study On Women’s Fear And Social Control,” *Gender & Society* 11, no. 3 (1997): 343

¹⁰ M. Kimberly MacLin and Herrera Vivian, “The Criminal Stereotype,” *North American Journal of Psychology* 8, no. 2 (2006): 197-208.

¹¹ Kelly Moore et al., “Jail Inmates’ Perceived and Anticipated Stigma: Implications for Post-release Functioning,” *Self and Identity* 12, no. 5 (2012): 528.

committed by someone recently released from prison can easily overwhelm dispassionate analysis based on rigorous research.”¹²

While the positive stereotype of America’s “protectors” produce general acceptance and admiration for our armed forces, the negative stereotype of America’s “offenders” may actually be inhibiting their ability to effectively reenter society. According to Joan Petersilia,

“If the public perceives returning prisoners as having many needs and posing little risk, they are more likely to be sympathetic to their circumstances and invest in rehabilitation and work programs. But if the public believes most returning inmates are dangerous career criminals, reentry resources will likely be invested in law enforcement and surveillance. In one scenario, we prioritize services to the offender; in the other, we prioritize public safety.”¹³

One of the foundational structures of prisoner reentry is the ability for ex-offenders to successfully reintegrate back into society as functional, contributing members. “Prisoner reentry... simply defined, includes all activities and programming conducted to prepare ex-convicts to return safely to the community and to live as law-abiding citizens.”¹⁴ Without the willing consent of the public to effectively incorporate the ex-prisoner population back into society as functional members, prisoners face continued hardship during their reentry process.

One specific difficulty that ex-prisoners face due especially to stigma is during the hiring process.

“It is generally illegal for an employer to impose a flat ban on hiring ex-offenders. However, employers are increasingly forbidden from hiring them for certain jobs and are mandated to perform background checks before hiring an applicant for many others. The most common types of jobs with legal prohibitions against ex-offenders are in the fields of child care, education, security, nursing, and home health care, particularly where

¹² Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 88.

¹³ Joan Petersilia, "From Cell to Society: Who Is Returning Home?," in *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*, ed. Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 15-16

¹⁴ Joan Petersilia, *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3

vulnerable populations (e.g., the elderly or disabled) are involved. Since 1985, the number of barred occupations has increased dramatically.”¹⁵

Employment is seemingly a major component of reducing recidivism as, “ex-prisoners’ employment when released from prison helps to extend their time crime-free in the community,”¹⁶ thus it would follow that a hindrance to employment could potentially contribute to recidivism rates.

Another difficulty that ex-prisoner populations face within the United States due to stigma is that of lack of citizenship. According to Travis, “former offenders are not ‘full members’ of our society. Their separate status is clearly defined by laws denying them the right to vote, the right to hold elective office, and the right to serve on juries. In short, former offenders are excluded from some of the basic activities of our democracy.”¹⁷

Not only does communal stigma affect the perceptions of the community upon the ex-prisoner, but it affects the self-perception of the ex-prisoner upon himself. Travis introduces “labeling theory, which posits that when an individual has an encounter with the criminal justice system, he or she is thereafter classified as a criminal.”¹⁸ According to Travis, “this label may reinforce the offender’s self-identity as a criminal and further encourage deviant behavior (Becker 1963). Thus, an individual’s deviant behavior is directly affected by the labeling experience.”¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid., 113

¹⁶ S.J. Tripodi et al., “Is Employment Associated With Reduced Recidivism?: The Complex Relationship Between Employment and Crime,” *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 54, no. 5 (2010): 718

¹⁷ Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 254

¹⁸ Ibid., 292

¹⁹ Ibid., 292-293

In the presence of prison stigma and labeling, the acceptance of prisoners back into civic community poses a difficult challenge for many ex-prisoners. “When an individual is labeled as a criminal, a combination of internal and external dynamics interact to increase the likelihood of criminal behavior.”²⁰

While social stigma for military members seems much more positive throughout their external communities, there lies one specific stigma within the military culture that poses great difficulties for many members. This is the stigma of mental health and its association with strength and masculinity, as well as a negative association with job-specific functioning in military occupations. In one study cited by a 2014 RAND report, “Among those who screened positive [for a mental health disorder],

- 65 percent reported that they would be seen as weak
- 63 percent believed that others would treat them differently
- 59 percent felt that members of their units would have less confidence in them
- 51 percent felt that leaders would blame them for the problem
- 50 percent felt that it would harm their careers
- 41 percent reported that seeking care would be too embarrassing.”²¹

Obviously we can see that there are distinct internal stigmas associated with mental health disorders which affects the afflicted person’s proclivity towards seeking help. While there is an attached stigma to mental health disorders throughout the general population of the United States as well, many of the concerns of members of the military lie in occupational consequences as one can see in the following table (Table 1.1). The military occupation lies beyond labor and thus

²⁰ Ibid., 293

²¹ Joie D. Acosta et al., *Mental Health Stigma in the Military*, (Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation, 2014),

inserts itself into the social and emotional aspects of members' lives. "The understanding of PTSD has become increasingly clinical and medicalized. However, the underlying theme remains the same: these disorders represent the medicalization of a soldier's inability to live up to cultural expectations of male strength."²²

²² Sheena M.E. Chamberlin, "Emasculated by Trauma: A Social History of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Stigma, and Masculinity," *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (2012): 363

Table 1.1²³**Surveys Assessing Mental Health Stigma**

Study	Year	Selected Stigma Items Measured in the Study
U.S. population		
NSDUH	Annually since 1990	Reasons for not seeking mental health treatment, including opinions of neighbors; fear, shame, or embarrassment; effect on job
BRFSS	2007, 2009	Beliefs about caring and sympathy toward people with mental illness; treatment efficacy
GSS	1996, 1998, 2002, 2006	Social distance, perceived dangerousness, treatment endorsement, treatment efficacy ^a
NCS	1990–1992	Treatment-seeking intentions, comfort with talking to a professional, embarrassment about seeking help
NCS-R	2001–2003	Treatment-seeking intentions, comfort with talking to a professional, embarrassment about seeking help
Military populations		
Marine Corps COSC study	2011, 2012	Concerns about career, concerns about treatment confidentiality, concerns about losing unit confidence, concerns about being treated differently by leadership
DoD Health Related Behaviors Survey	2011	Concerns about career
Navy quick poll	2010, 2011	Concerns about career, concerns about losing security clearance, concerns about losing leader confidence
Hoge, Castro, et al., study	2004	Concerns about career, concerns about losing unit confidence, concerns about being treated differently by leadership
Invisible Wounds (Schell and Marshall, 2008; Fanielian and Jaycox, 2008)	2008	Concerns about career, concerns about treatment confidentiality, concerns about losing security clearance, concerns about losing unit confidence, concerns about being treated differently by leadership

SOURCES: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 2012; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention et al., 2012; Pescosolido, Martin, et al., 2010; Schnittker, 2008; Kessler, 2002; National Comorbidity Survey, undated.

NOTE: NSDUH = National Survey on Drug Use and Health. BRFSS = Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System. GSS = General Social Survey. NCS = National Comorbidity Survey. NCS-R = NCS Replication.

²³ Joie D. Acosta et al., *Mental Health Stigma in the Military*, (Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation, 2014), 26

Chapter Two

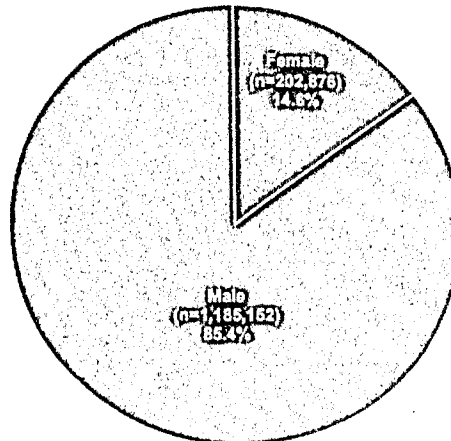
A Man's World: The Role of Hyper-Masculinity in the Military and Prison Systems

Historically, both the prison system and the military have maintained highly skewed demographics when it comes to gender differences. In today's military, in terms of active duty members, only about 14.6% of the population is female.²⁴ That number rises to 16.1% when specifying female active duty officers, but drops down to 14.3% when including enlisted female active duty members.²⁵ These figures are shown below (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2, and Figure 2.3)

Figure 2.1²⁶

2.08. Gender of Active Duty Members (N=1,388,028)

This pie graph presents the distribution of Active Duty members by gender. In total, there are 202,876 (14.6%) female Active Duty members and 1,185,152 (85.4%) male Active Duty members.



Note. Percentages may not total to 100 due to rounding.

DMDC Active Duty Military Personnel Master File (September 2012)

²⁴ "2012 Demographics - Profile of the Military Community", *Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense*, (2012): 19.

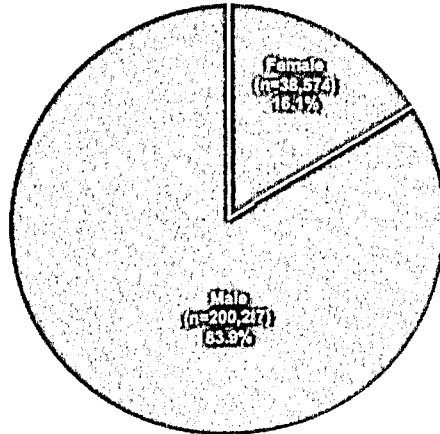
²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20

Figure 2.2²⁷

**2.09. Gender of Active Duty Officers
(N=238,861)**

This pie graph presents the distribution of Active Duty officers by gender. Of the 238,861 Active Duty officers, 38,574 (16.1%) are female and 200,287 (83.9%) are male.



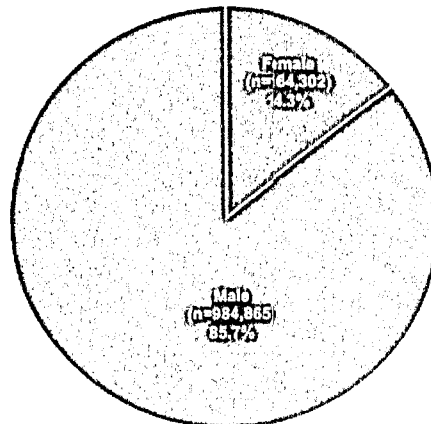
Note: Percentages may not total to 100 due to rounding.

DMDC Active Duty Military Personnel Master File (September 2012)

Figure 2.3²⁸

**2.10. Gender of Active Duty Enlisted Members
(N=1,149,167)**

This pie graph presents the distribution of Active Duty enlisted members by gender. Of the 1,149,167 Active Duty enlisted personnel, 164,302 (14.3%) are female and 984,865 (85.7%) are male.



Note: Percentages may not total to 100 due to rounding.

DMDC Active Duty Military Personnel Master File (September 2012)

²⁷ Ibid., 20

²⁸ Ibid., 20

In the United States penal system, per 100,000 U.S. residents, 126 members of the inmate population are female, while males reach 1,352 members. This data is shown below:

Table 2.1²⁹

APPENDIX TABLE 3
Estimated number of inmates held in custody in state or federal prisons or in local jails per 100,000 U.S. residents, by sex, race and Hispanic/Latino origin, and age, June 30, 2010

Year	Total	Male				Female			
		Total ^a	White ^b	Black ^b	Hispanic/Latino	Total ^a	White ^b	Black ^b	Hispanic/Latino
Total ^c	732	1,352	678	4,347	1,775	126	91	260	133
18-19	829	1,508	762	4,192	1,580	100	72	144	135
20-24	1,538	2,728	1,269	8,008	3,298	253	199	408	284
25-29	1,696	3,018	1,437	8,932	3,892	293	224	535	317
30-34	1,798	3,215	1,629	9,892	3,896	344	271	647	323
35-39	1,581	2,813	1,509	9,100	3,197	336	272	663	268
40-44	1,355	2,435	1,375	7,689	2,713	279	201	603	240
45-49	1,000	1,848	972	6,048	2,416	173	116	391	165
50-54	642	1,213	637	4,032	1,736	93	66	194	115
55-59	386	750	414	2,486	1,249	44	29	85	87
60-64	212	420	250	1,350	789	21	14	49	30
65 or older	70	155	100	485	306	5	4	8	8

Note: Based on the total incarcerated population on June 30, 2010, and the U.S. resident population estimates for July 1, 2010, by sex, race and Hispanic/Latino origin, and age. Rates may be different than those reported in appendix table 2 due to different reference dates. Detailed categories exclude persons who reported two or more races.

^aIncludes American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asians, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, and persons identifying two or more races.

^bExcludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

^cIncludes persons under age 18.

These figures and tables show the outstanding number of male populations in comparison to females within both the military and the penal system. This overarching presence of males is not necessarily indicative of a highly masculinized culture. It may, however, be a contributing factor to the heightened levels of masculinization in both prison and military culture. According to Soeters et al., “military culture traditionally is male dominated; it is a masculine, warriorlike culture.”³⁰

As stated previously in Chapter One, military masculinity is a leading cause of social stigma attached to seeking help for mental health disorders. However, masculinity is not just a

²⁹ "Correctional Populations in the United States, 2010," *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, (2011): 8.

³⁰ Soeters et al., "Military Culture," in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Giuseppe Caforio, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 253

side-effect of the military. Indeed, the function of the institution itself may be an inherent catalyst of traditional social understandings of masculinity. Author Hannah C. Hale suggests that, “military action and war have been identified as the locus of construction of hegemonic masculinities.”³¹ She describes the military as a “masculine institution”³² which “rebuilds or reframes masculinities as a means of meeting the aims of the process of militarization.”³³ Through this idea, we see the military as both the creator and the manipulator of cultural masculinity. Through its inherent occupational demands, military branches promote themselves as “passages to manhood”³⁴ in which members are able to brave adversity to gallantly achieve success. Thus enter the masculine ideals of bravery and heroism. According to Hale, “masculinities in military careers are associated with aggressiveness and endurance of hardships and physical toughness... manhood, an artificial status that must be won individually, is typically constructed around a culture’s need for brave and disciplined soldiers.”³⁵

A similar hypermasculine culture is present in the prison system especially that of men’s prisons. In his article, David R. Karp quotes Sabo et al. when he states, “prison is an ultramasculine world where nobody talks about masculinity.”³⁶ In their original book, Sabo et al. suggest that, “men’s prisons constitute a key institutional site for the expression and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity.”³⁷ Not only does prison promote a masculine environment, but extends beyond into a realm of destructive hypermasculinity. “Recent scholarship has drawn

³¹Hannah C. Hale, "The Role of Practice in the Development of Military Masculinities," *Gender, Work & Organization* 19, no. 6 (2011): 700

³² *Ibid.*, 700

³³ *Ibid.*, 700

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 704

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 705

³⁶ David R. Karp, "Unlocking men, unmasking masculinities: Doing men's work in prison," *The Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 1 (2010): 63

³⁷ Sabo et al., "Prison masculinities," *Philadelphia: Temple University Press*, (2011): 5

attention to the relationship between gender and crime, more specifically concluding that cultural constructions of masculinity are correlated with crime and that male prison culture reifies **hypermasculinity**.”³⁸ Here, not only is masculinity associated with the inherent culture of the institution, but as a driving force for the population of the institution. Much as the military decries a code of masculine honor in term of heroism, in the prison system “hypermasculinity is reflected in the norms of inmates, often called the ‘**prison code**.’”³⁹

Metaphorically, prison masculinity can be linked with military masculinity in its utilization of armor. While military members are considered physical warriors who utilize armor to **physically protect themselves during warfare**, “inmates believe it is necessary to present a hypermasculine public façade that may conflict with a more nuanced private self-**identity**... **the armor protects the inmate from revealing vulnerabilities, weaknesses, and other qualities that might undermine a hypermasculine identity**.”⁴⁰

³⁸ David R. Karp, "Unlocking men, unmasking masculinities: Doing men's work in prison" *The Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 1 (2010): 63

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 66

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 66

Chapter Three

The Role of Discipline

Another aspect that is highly prevalent in the military and prison cultures is the members' **subjection to the most extreme forms of discipline. In the words of Foucault, "discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)."**⁴¹ The discipline enacted within the military focuses both on utilizing discipline for physical service through the implementation of physical fitness standards and field training, as well as obedience through strict time management and utilization of negative punishment to **instill compliance and duty into the members' internal character.** The discipline enacted within the prison is that of physical utility in the sense that the corrections institute aims to produce functioning members to be reintegrated back into society, and obedience in the sense that they utilize physical restraints in a closely governed system.

In being highly regulated environments bent on human transformation and standardization, both the prison and military institutions rely on discipline to mold their members into uniformity according to their standards. Foucault describes such utility of discipline when he states, **"discipline fixes; it arrests or regulates movements... It must master all the forces that are formed from the very constitution of an organized multiplicity; it must neutralize the effects of counterpower that spring from them and which forms a resistance to the power that wishes to**

⁴¹Michel Foucault, "Docile Bodies," In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 182

dominate it.”⁴² Both the prison system and the military complex force a system of discipline that both dehumanizes and discourages individuality (this will be discussed further in the next chapter). The utilization of discipline in the prison system is to provide “correction” and “rehabilitation” to the convicts while the utilization of discipline in the military is to train and prepare. However, both systems seek to transform its members: for the military, men are transformed into soldiers while for the convicts entered into the prison system, criminals (flawed citizens) are transformed into those considered “upstanding” citizens.

Described as a “greedy institution”⁴³, the military requires an extensive amount of time and dedication from its members. According to the goarmy.com informational recruitment website, “Active duty service terms typically last two to six years. Deployment can last up to a year, but the length may vary depending on a unit's specific mission. Soldiers are eligible for a two-week Rest and Relaxation (R&R) leave after six months of deployment.”⁴⁴ While two weeks off after six months of working may seem like a generous amount of vacation time for most careers, deployment entails living abroad (for one’s career) twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. This is not a typical function of the average workforce. Soeters et al. suggest, “during active duty personnel are on a permanent, 24-hour call with rather idiosyncratic working shifts; their leave is subject to cancellation... and they can be ordered to far-off places on short notice.”⁴⁵

⁴²Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 208-209.

⁴³ Rene Moelker and Irene van der Kloet, "Military Families and the Armed Forces," in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Giuseppe Caforio, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 207.

⁴⁴ "Active Army Duty," *Goarmy.com*, <http://www.goarmy.com/about/service-options/active-duty.html>.

⁴⁵ Joseph L. Soeters et al., in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Giuseppe Caforio, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 237.

Initiates are then molded into valuable members which assume and indoctrinate the values and codes of the institutions. According to Adler et al., "A more complex code of values guiding the behavior of service members is introduced during basic training and then is expanded throughout the rest of a service member's military training."⁴⁶ There is a specificity placed upon discipline that the military propagates as unique to its institution. According to an Air Force cadet encampment training manual,

"Military discipline is that mental attitude and state of training which renders obedience instinctive under all conditions. It is founded upon respect for, and loyalty to properly constituted authority. While it is developed primarily by military drill, every feature of military life has its effects on military discipline. It is generally indicated in an individual or unit by smartness of appearance and action; by cleanliness and neatness of dress, equipment, or quarters; by respect for seniors; and by prompt and cheerful execution by subordinates of both the letter and the spirit of legal orders of their lawful superiors."⁴⁷

Here, emphasis is placed on obedience, physical appearance and action, and personal character. Training is noted as a major technique of promoting discipline, however, it is also attributed to the military culture as a whole. During Adler et al.'s suggested "compliance stage", members enter the transformation process through external discipline such as positive reinforcement and punishment.⁴⁸ Such external discipline then eventually leads to a progression of internalized discipline which constitutes, "a more active incorporation of the group's actions, values, and standards into the individual's worldview, which is facilitated through constant social confirmation and continued emphasis on group norms and activities."⁴⁹

Discipline in the prison system, however, relies less on inscribed value and associated pride with the institution, but rather on forced incarceration and guarded supervision. While the

⁴⁶ Adler et al., *Operational Stress*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security Internat., 2006), 19

⁴⁷ "CADET PROGRAMS : ENCAMPMENT TRAINING MANUAL," *United States Air Force Auxiliary - Civil Air Patrol*, (March 1, 2002), [Http://www.nywgcadets.org/caperp/netm/toc.html](http://www.nywgcadets.org/caperp/netm/toc.html)

⁴⁸ Adler et al., *Operational Stress*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security Internat., 2006), 19-20

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20

instilled notions of discipline allow military members to effectively function in their occupational environment, the forced physicality of discipline in the prison system may leave **prisoners disadvantaged when it comes time for their reentry into society.** “The scars of imprisonment are certainly felt for a lifetime. The effects of supervision are long-lasting.”⁵⁰

Discipline and incarceration seemingly go hand-in-hand as viewed through Foucault’s assertions of docile bodies. The prison itself is labeled a correctional facility at which inmates are supposedly malfunctioning members of society and therefore must be corrected. All-inclusive discipline is therefore instilled in a twenty-four hour, seven days a week program of constant supervision and control. According to the Federal Bureau of Prisons Inmate Discipline Program,

“Several general principles apply to every disciplinary action:

- a. Incident reports can be written by Bureau staff, Federal Prison Industries (FPI) staff, and Public Health Service (PHS) officers detailed to the Bureau. Community Corrections Managers may take disciplinary action on inmates in contract RRC s.
- b. Staff take disciplinary action at such times and to the degree necessary to regulate an **inmate’s behavior within Bureau rules and institution guidelines and to promote a safe and orderly institution environment.**
- c. Staff control inmate behavior in an impartial and consistent manner.
- d. Disciplinary action may not be capricious or retaliatory.
- e. Staff may not impose or allow corporal punishment of any kind”⁵¹

While there are restrictions on inhumane practices of discipline by the authorities of prisons, these principles suggest the inherency of high levels of supervision and discipline in the prison system. Not only is supervision and discipline enforced within the prison system, but it extends beyond the prison walls during the reentry process in the forms of parole and probation.

⁵⁰ Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 73

⁵¹ “Inmate Discipline Program,” *U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons*, (July 8, 2011): 3

Chapter Four

Inmate, Private: Dehumanization through Uniformity

The military and prison systems may be two of the most visually identifiable populations in our community. This primarily comes from the institutional utilization of uniforms to dress and label their populaces. When one thinks of prison garb, one may envision orange jumpsuits with numbers on the back (especially popularized by the Netflix Original Series *Orange is the New Black*, in which the title itself likens the colored uniforms to a fashion statement)⁵², or the perhaps even more traditional horizontal black-and-white striped jumpsuits historically representative of prison populations. Military uniforms on the other hand consist of now ten different kinds of camouflage for various factions of the military. According to author David A. Fahrenthold of USA Today,

“Today, there is one camouflage pattern just for Marines in the desert. There is another just for Navy personnel in the desert. The Army has its own “universal” camouflage pattern, which is designed to work anywhere. It also has another one just for Afghanistan, where the first one doesn’t work.”⁵³

While his satirical tone suggests an aversion to expanding variety in military uniform, it does emphasize the growing importance of the uniform (especially the differences between uniforms) to the United States Armed Forces. Not only are the camouflage uniforms utilized by military members during their deployment and occupational exercises, but they are also issued “dress” uniforms such as the Army Service Uniform issued to all active Army members for more official functions or at public events.

⁵² Jolie Lee, "'Orange' Is the New Problem for Jail Uniforms," *USA Today*, (July 22, 2014)

⁵³ David Fahrenthold, "With 10 Patterns, U.S. Military Branches out on Camouflage Front," *Washington Post*, (May 8, 2013)

This utilization of uniforms, such as the ASU, purportedly “consolidates our service uniforms reflecting utility, simplicity and quality. Streamlining our service uniforms reduces the clothing burden on Soldiers and provides our world-class Soldiers with world-class uniform that honors them, **their service and Army heritage.**”⁵⁴ Not only are the uniforms supposedly a tool for efficiency, but they are also suggested to be utilized as a social tool for promoting institutional distinction and excellence. With this idea, it could be concluded that the uniform actually makes the man. According to Adler et al., “to further stress the formation of a group identity, all recruits wear identical uniforms and have identical haircuts so that everyone looks as similar as possible.”⁵⁵

While the prison uniform can also be suggested to be inherently dehumanizing, the social inscription of the prison uniform is not to offer distinction and honor to the wearers, but to ostracize and shame those who are issued the uniform. According to author Juliet Ash, “Prison uniform as a visible embodiment of punishment... is seen as a deterrent in itself and additionally based on gendered sartorial codes of humiliation.”⁵⁶ Referring back to the example the black and white striped uniforms, a return to this uniform style is already in progress at a country jail in Michigan. According to author Lindsey Bever of USA Today, the sheriff of the Saginaw Country Jail has ordered the changing of prisoner uniforms from the male-worn orange jumpsuits to black and white stripes to limit the cultural influence of the Netflix show *Orange is the New Black* on the public’s impression of prisoners.⁵⁷ The sheriff reportedly stated in an interview that, “When the lines get blurred between the culture outside the jail and the culture within the jail, I have to

⁵⁴ "ARMY.MIL Features," United States Army Service Uniform, <http://www.army.mil/asu/>.

⁵⁵ Adler et al., *Operational Stress*, (Westport, Conn: Praeger Security Internat., 2006), 19

⁵⁶ Juliet Ash, *Dress behind Bars Prison Clothing as Criminality*, (London: I.B Tauris, 2010), 155

⁵⁷ Lindsey Bever, "Michigan Inmates to Get Black-and-white Striped Uniforms. Orange Is Now Too Cool, Sheriff Says," *Washington Post*, (July 22, 2014)

do something to redefine those boundaries because they've been blurred far too often in public culture"⁵⁸ and also suggested that, "it breaks away from that cultural coolness. It's not cool to be an inmate of the Saginaw County Jail."⁵⁹ Ash suggests the institutional functionality of this uniform when she states,

"the return of the overly visible nineteenth-century black-and-white stripes as embodiment of punishment takes on an even more stigmatized meaning that it did originally... Right-wing prison authorities depend precisely on these historical associations in order to make inmates ridiculous to the outside world. Shaming instead of rehabilitation is embodied in the return of the iconic black-and-white stripes."⁶⁰

Uniforms are not the only aspect of uniformity in both institutions however. Within the military, the distinction between military identity and civic identity is not only propagated at a visual level but at a sociocultural one as well. According to Adler et al., many military members go through four stages of indoctrination upon their entering into the military, these include: the softening-up stage, the compliance stage, the internalization phase, and the consolidation stage.⁶¹

The softening-up stage provides the most destructive methods of uniformity through promoting methods of dehumanization in order to strip away individuality and produce homogeneity. This stage,

"involves laying the groundwork for the individual to adopt the new values and behaviors of the group by separating the individual from prior contacts and by exposing the individual to a variety of stressors. This initial stage also involves an attempt to decrease an emphasis on the unique aspects of an individual's identity and, instead, to expose and reinforce the key tenets of the group."⁶²

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Juliet Ash, *Dress behind Bars Prison Clothing as Criminality*, (London: I.B Tauris, 2010), 155

⁶¹ Adler et al., *Operational Stress*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security Internat., 2006), 16-20

⁶² Adler et al., *Operational Stress*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security Internat., 2006), 16

Specifically within the Army, Adler et al. cite the social isolation of recruits from their friends and families, the mental isolation of continuous work leaving little time for self-reflection, and the physical isolation of confinement to remote training facilities. According to Adler et al., “**personal identity is de-emphasized and group identity is emphasized in its place. This is what is commonly referred to in the military as “breaking down” recruits before they are rebuilt in the military organization’s image.**” Specifically the authors cite the military’s usage of Private or Cadet to dehumanize participants and delegitimize individualism. This promotes uniformity through the destruction of individuality, just as uniforms promote the dissolution of physical individuality.

Prison populations are also socially dehumanized to promote a uniform population of manageable offenders. According to Ruth Wilson Gilmore, prisons (especially those in her studied location of California) run on the basis of surplus. Prisons are an economically and a socio-politically useful tool to especially funnel a surplus of funds, a surplus of land, and a surplus of people into a **manageable settlement of “correction.”**⁶³ Prisons by their very nature are meant to keep prisoners in and the local populace out. They are remote in location and relatively high in security. In federal prisons, only immediate family members, relatives, and no more than ten friends may visit as well as other approved persons.⁶⁴ Legally, each inmate is allowed four hours of visitation per month, but there are various stipulations to visitations such as physical contact, visitor dress code, and the visit duration.⁶⁵

⁶³ Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 58-72

⁶⁴ "BOP: How to Visit a Federal Inmate," *Federal Bureau of Prisons*, <http://www.bop.gov/inmates/visiting.jsp>.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Chapter Five

Violence in Action

In today's mainstream popular culture, two of the most prevalent portrayals of violence occur in both war movies and crime dramas. With such television shows as *Law and Order: SVU* (where we see violent murderers and rapists sentenced to jail) and *Oz* (where we see violent conflict and inmates raping other inmates), as well as movies like *American Sniper* or *Jarhead* (where combat action is heavily dependent on special effects), it seems that violence and bloodshed are common denominators of both the prison and military systems. While these popular culture references tend to overdramatize the prevalence of violence in both genres, there still remains a high risk of exposure to violence within each system's population.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics asserts that violent offenders accounted for 53% of the 2010 incarcerated population under state jurisdiction.⁶⁶ While this suggests that a majority of state-controlled inmates are associated with violent crimes, 47% of the state prison population is introduced to these violent offenders without committing violent crimes. According to author Christopher Zoukis,

“American prisons foster a culture of violence, hatred, bigotry and dominance. They take the criminally inclined, and not so inclined, and turn them into hardened convicts who, after a period of years, become dangerous men. These dangerous, hardened convicts are then turned loose onto our city streets to do what they will; mostly commit crimes and return to prison.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ E. Ann Carson, "Prisoners in 2011," *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, (December 1, 2012), <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p11.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Christopher Zoukis, "The Dirt Wars: An Intimate Look at Convict Culture in American Prisons," *The Huffington Post*, (August 12, 2014).

With this theory, one might view the prison system as a breeding ground for further enactments of violent tendencies. With increased interactions between violent offenders and nonviolent offenders, especially first-time offenders, it follows that some form of influence is bound to take effect on vulnerable populations.

“Prisons are not isolated institutions meant to rehabilitate offenders; they are institutions where nonviolent and violent criminals are housed together and criminal behavior thrives. Criminals are not rehabilitated in prison. In fact, on many accounts, prisoners leave prison as worse offenders or smarter criminals due to their interactions with the prison culture.”⁶⁸

Self-injury (including attempted suicide) is also another violent behavior associated with incarceration and prison culture.⁶⁹ Ouellette asserts that this is a coping mechanism utilized by inmates as an attention mechanism, as an emotional outlet, or as a form of self-punishment.⁷⁰

Inmates are not only exposed to physical violence, but to economic and structural violence as well. During incarceration, the inmates are removed from the general population and forced within physical barriers. Many are unable to sustain steady incomes and upon release may suffer social stigma and legal obstacles to employment.⁷¹ Inmates are constantly supervised with very little (and in some cases zero) allowance of privacy. These forms of institutionalized violence could seemingly cause just as much psychological and social damage as exposure to physical violence.

Similarly, violence infiltrates the military culture at high levels as well. “The jobs in the military may be dangerous and potentially life threatening. For this reason, servicemen and servicewomen are usually armed or at least equipped with protective instruments and materials.

⁶⁸ Carly B. Ouellette, “The Injustices Inflicted on Nonviolent Offenders in the U.S. Correctional System,” *Pell Scholars and Senior Theses*, Paper 22 (2008): 14

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 164-165

If necessary, the military can make use of legitimized violence.”⁷² The overarching purpose of the armed forces is the physical protection of a country and its people against violent action or the threat of violence.⁷³ This inherent element of violence is very clearly seen in the following statements by returned U.S. Army Nurses from combat zones in Iraq and Afghanistan:

- “Reintegration is a process. It is not something that happens overnight... it’s something that needs to be addressed, because... how do you take someone and say you’re a soldier, [then] you put them in this violent environment, and then you pluck them out of it, put them back into society, and think they should behave normally.”⁷⁴
- “[Reintegration] was very difficult... I felt totally disconnected from almost everything and everyone... It was a hard time coming back initially, transitioning, and I can’t explain to you why, other than you come back from an environment where death is very evident and apparent and you see... Soldiers with their legs blown off, their arms blown off, and then you come back.”⁷⁵
- “You get over there it becomes real... bullets are flying... we’re being mortared. You’re seeing all these injuries... people with broken bones, blown off arms, burns, and then... you come back.”⁷⁶

Especially in the experiences of deployed medical personnel, the visual effects of violence are seemingly emblazoned in each subject’s military experience. The descriptions of violent injuries and the assertion of the violence of military combat are juxtaposed with the difficulties of societal reintegration upon the members’ return, suggesting the challenges that deployed

⁷² Joseph L. Soeters et al., in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Giuseppe Caforio, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 237

⁷³ Ibid., 89

⁷⁴ Felecia M. Rivers et al., "US Army Nurses' Reintegration and Homecoming Experiences After Iraq and Afghanistan," *Military medicine* 178.2 (2013): 169

⁷⁵ Ibid., 171

⁷⁶ Ibid., 171

personnel face after such a heavy exposure to military violence. "Throughout the history of war, men have been both mentally and physically broken by the battlefield."⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Sheena M.E. Chamberlin, "Emasculated by Trauma: A Social History of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Stigma, and Masculinity," *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (2012): 359

Chapter Six

The Reintegration Process

Until now, the majority of this thesis has been focused on the internal aspects of the military culture and the prison culture. Our attention now will be focused on what happens after prisoners are released and military members return from deployment. In this chapter, focus will be on the reintegration process of returning military members from deployment in combat zones. As defined by Marek et al.,

“Reintegration is the stage of the deployment cycle (predeployment, deployment, postdeployment or reintegration) characterized by the service member’s reentry into his or her daily life as experienced prior to deployment, or into a new civilian life, including the domains of work, family, and personal experiences.”⁷⁸

While reintegration is a necessary process essential to the successful and healthy return of deployed military members back to the society of their home nations, it has proven to be a difficult process and, at times, conducted through ineffective means.

Specifically, there are three major challenges which plague the reintegration process of many returning military members. Firstly, the military members’ familial reunification can cause stress and induce feelings of exclusion or distance.⁷⁹ This may arise from the unwitnessed growth of their children or a feeling of inutility in the household as their spouses assume more household roles in their absence.⁸⁰ Family and spousal relations are some of the most affected elements during military reintegration. “Returning to family roles and previous military occupations often results in significant family strain, disproportionate care giving burden on

⁷⁸ “Returning Home: What We Know about the Reintegration of Deployed Service Members into Their Families and Communities,” *NCFR*, <https://www.ncfr.org/ncfr-report/focus/military-families/returning-home>.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

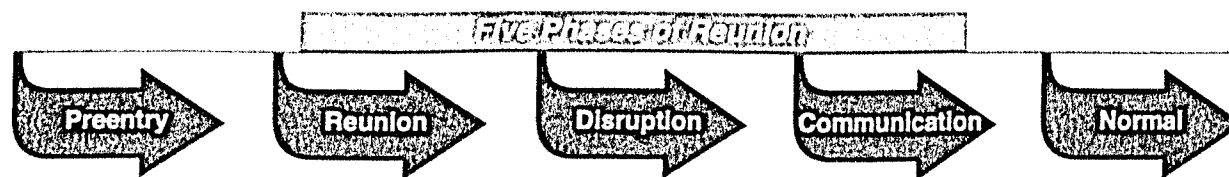
certain family members, elevated risks of major depression, and suicide.”⁸¹ Moelker et al., suggest some specific methods and strategies by which romantic partners can effectively reduce the relational strain of reintegration. They suggest,

“Reunion may take up to approximately 6 weeks. In these weeks the family tries to reintegrate and pick up life where the family members had left it. In the first 2 weeks closeness is important to the partners. They need to reconnect and get used to each other again. Tenderness and intimacy are key words here... it is in this particular stage that many families experience problems.”⁸²

Figure 6.1 depicts five suggested stages of romantic reunion (especially geared towards spouses with children) and the various elements of romantic relationships which should and will be addressed during each phase.

⁸¹ Felecia M. Rivers, et al, "US Army Nurses' Reintegration and Homecoming Experiences After Iraq and Afghanistan," *Military medicine* 178.2 (2013): 166

⁸² Rene Moelker et al., in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Giuseppe Caforio, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 215

Figure 6.1⁸³

Preentry is the first few days before the reunion. Soldiers will be working long hours to ensure equipment is turned in and that work is caught up before arriving home. Things to expect in this phase are—

- Excitement Fantasies
- Work
- Planning
- Thoughts

Reunion is the immediate meeting and a few days after arrival. This is the time of courtship, relearning intimacy, and a happy time or honeymoon. This is not the time to address problems. It is a time for understanding. Things to expect in this phase are—

- Courting again
- Giving time and space
- Immediate excitement
- Including children
- Intimacy and sex
- Physical changes
- Pride in each other
- Social events
- Tired, ready to relax

Disruption is the phase when problems can crop up. Things to expect in this phase are—

- Children (changes, growth)
- Control Issues
- Decision-making
- Different routine
- Finances
- Gifts
- Hard-times stories
- Independence
- Jealousy
- Thoughts
- Unresolved problems or issues
- Trust

Communication is the phase of renegotiating new routines, redefining Family roles, and accepting changes to control and decision-making rules. Things to expect in this phase are—

- Acceptance
- Renegotiating
- Explaining new rules
- Trust
- Reconnecting

Normal is the phase when the Family returns to the Family routine of sharing, growing, and experiencing the ups and downs (happiness and sadness) of Family life. Things to expect in this phase are—

- Establishing routines
- Accepting changes
- Personal growth

⁸³ "Airmen, Civilians and Family Members: REINTEGRATION GUIDE," *Air Force Space Command*, p. 8
<http://www.peterson.af.mil/shared/media/document/AFD-110602-040.pdf>

Another challenge is that of reverse culture shock in which returning members feel disconnected from civilian culture and standards as well as the culture of non-deployment lifestyles.⁸⁴ According to Soeters et al., “military organizations represent a specific occupational culture which is relatively isolated from society.”⁸⁵ Marek et al. even suggest that military members may either feel that they are not receiving respect from the civilian population and/or members believe that the civilian population should not be held to as high of standards as they hold themselves to.⁸⁶

Finally, the third of the cited major challenges is that of social integration in terms of interpersonal relationships. Emotional instability including the presence of heightened and lowered emotional states may plague the returning military members (especially if they are afflicted with post-traumatic stress disorder). This may affect how they interact socially with friends, family, and their communities.⁸⁷ According to Sheena M. Eagan Chamberlin, “despite its presence in wars past, PTSD is reaching epidemic proportions in the modern military... placing the disease prevalence at 23%, meaning that PTSD rates in the military are four times higher than that of the average American male (5%) and twice that of the national data for women (10.4%).”⁸⁸

⁸⁴ “Returning Home: What We Know about the Reintegration of Deployed Service Members into Their Families and Communities,” *NCFR*, <https://www.ncfr.org/ncfr-report/focus/military-families/returning-home>.

⁸⁵ Joseph Soeters et al., in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military* by Joseph L. Soeters, (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006), 237

⁸⁶ “Returning Home: What We Know about the Reintegration of Deployed Service Members into Their Families and Communities,” *NCFR*, <https://www.ncfr.org/ncfr-report/focus/military-families/returning-home>.

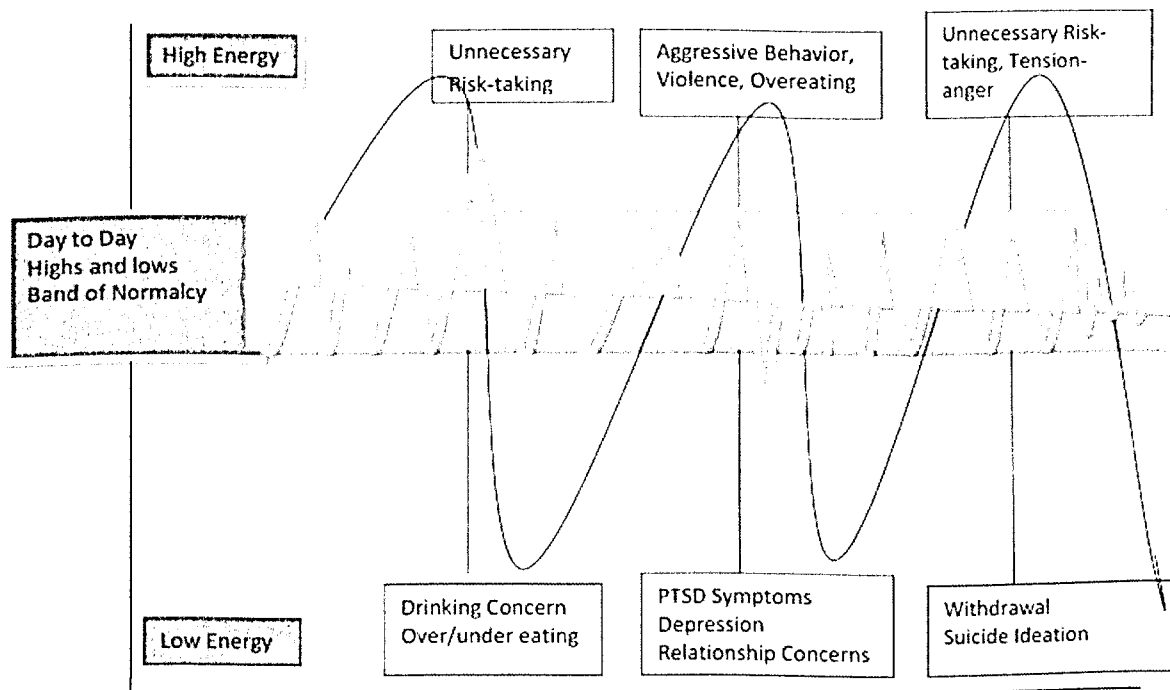
⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Sheena M.E. Chamberlin, “Emasculated by Trauma: A Social History of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Stigma, and Masculinity,” *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (2012):, 363

These drastic changes in emotion can be very common among returning servicemen and women and are highlighted in the following figure (Figure 6.2).

“The figure below shows how the post-reintegration period can involve a series of highs and lows, and indicates that even those within the “band of normalcy” can have issues that lead to challenging behaviors and circumstances:”⁸⁹

Figure 6.2



While those going through the reintegration process obviously face many challenges, there are various resources that the military promotes will assist in the process including: the U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, the Department of Defense and their TRICARE health

⁸⁹ "Airmen, Civilians and Family Members REINTEGRATION GUIDE," *Air Force Space Command*, p. 1

insurance program, Real Warriors Campaign, Warrior Adventure Quest, service-specific family support programs, Wounded Warrior Project, and many others.⁹⁰

The efficacy of these programs is not concrete, however. Some criticize the value of the information provided for returning military members and question the motivations of the military factions to promote such resources. This can be seen in the statement by a returning military member from a combat zone suggesting,

“We went through the Army reintegration training, which was a joke, and all of us were kind of like, ‘This training is not for us. This training is just to cover their butts in case one of us commits suicide or gets a DUI,’ but was it really that anyone was concerned with our physical or mental well being?”⁹¹

⁹⁰ Todd Yosick et Al., "A Review of Post-Deployment Reintegration: Evidence, Challenges, and Strategies for Program Development," *Defense Centers of Excellence for Psychological Health & Traumatic Brain Injury* (2012): 1-77.

⁹¹ Rivers, Felecia M., et Al., "US Army Nurses' Reintegration and Homecoming Experiences After Iraq and Afghanistan," *Military medicine* 178.2 (2013): 169

Chapter Seven

The Reentry Process

After discussing more comprehensively the process of military reintegration and the associated challenges that arise during its progression in the previous chapter, we now turn to the process of prisoner reentry and the various challenges that arise during its progression.

In reference to the punitive sanctions which are placed upon inmates both during their incarceration and during their parole or probation period, author Jeremy Travis states,

“from the perspective of returning prisoners, they pose steep hurdles on the road to reintegration. Long after the prison time has been served and parole has been completed, the ex-felon is frequently reminded that his debt has not been paid as society continues to extract a price for violating its laws.”⁹²

This frequent reminder of debt can be seen in the various challenges that arise during the reentry process. From employment, to family issues, to housing, to societal stigma, to issues with personal wellbeing, reentry is no easy process. The aforementioned sanctions certainly exceed the prison sentence and follow the ex-offenders into their public lives during the reentry process.

According to the National Institute of Justice,

“Returning to the community from jail or prison is a complex transition for most offenders, as well as for their families and communities. Upon reentering society, former offenders are likely to struggle with substance abuse, lack of adequate education and job skills, limited housing options, and mental health issues.”⁹³

So many factors contribute to the continued challenges that ex-prisoners face during reentry, this is why recidivism is a continued buzzword for social scientists and policymakers alike. In Texas,

⁹² Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 64

⁹³ “Offender Reentry,” *The National Institute of Justice*, (February 15, 2015), <http://www.nij.gov/topics/corrections/reentry/pages/welcome.aspx>

it was reported that "67% of all prison admission are either parole or probation failures."⁹⁴ This calls into question the effectivity of reentry programs and questions the value of parole and probation programs.

Before prisoners are released, they may be able to partake in a prerelease program. According to James Austin, "All states have some form of prerelease program," however, "participation in the programs is voluntary and is available to only a small proportion of inmates who can get transferred to what are typically minimum-security facilities."⁹⁵ Austin also suggests that there are prerelease centers and programs offered within a few states, however, "most inmates are released directly from the facility in which they are presently housed with no concerted effort to initiate a reentry process."⁹⁶ Some prerelease reentry programs exist that incorporate such factors as education, employment assistance, substance abuse counseling, and information for outside resources, but housing is rarely integrated.⁹⁷ Upon release, inmates receive a small portion of money, some clothing, and intrastate bus fare.⁹⁸

If prisoners are released on parole, they are "typically required to fulfill certain conditions and adhere to specific rules of conduct while in the community. Failure to comply with any of the conditions can result in a return to incarceration."⁹⁹

One study of the effectivity of reentry programs, "identified the following reentry programs as effective, as measured by reduced recidivism among participants: 1) vocational

⁹⁴ James Austin, "Prisoner reentry: Current trends, practices, and issues," *Crime & Delinquency* 47, no. 3 (2001): 318

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 324

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 326

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 326

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 326

⁹⁹ "FAQ Detail," *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=qa&iid=324>.

training and work release programs, 2) halfway houses, and 3) some drug treatment programs (intensive plus aftercare).”¹⁰⁰

Thus the three major elements of prisoner reentry could be assumed to be: employment, housing and living support, and treatment. This is, however, not an exhaustive list as there are various and numerous needs that should be attended to during the reentry process.

Author Edward Latessa emphasizes the need for proper access to employment when he stresses that,

“value and importance of meaningful employment. Supporting one’s self and others, developing the self-worth that comes from work and a job well done, having stakes in society and conformity, and building prosocial relationships and a sense of community are all things that employment can bring. Most of us also can identify mentors and role models from jobs we have had.”¹⁰¹

According to Latessa, employment not only provides income for individuals, but social and personal worth within the community. It builds relationships and allows individuals to develop a sense of self-actualization.

Housing and living support are also major challenges for individuals in the reentry process. According to Petersilia,

“everyone agrees that public safety would be enhanced if prisoners were provided transitional housing and required to have a test period before gaining freedom in the community... Furloughs, work release, and halfway houses basically were all designed to give the inmate a chance to acclimate to the free world and develop work and social relationships that will assist at release.”¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Joan Petersilia, "What works in prisoner reentry-Reviewing and questioning the evidence," *Fed. Probation* 68: 2, (2004): 6

¹⁰¹ Edward Latessa, "Why work is important, and how to improve the effectiveness of correctional reentry programs that target employment," *Criminology & Public Policy* 11:no. 1 (2012): 87-88

¹⁰² Joan Petersilia, *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 98

However, housing is also suggested to be one of the greatest challenges for parole officers.¹⁰³

Finally, drug and alcohol abuse programs prove their necessity as, “A remarkably high portion of the state prison population (about 80 percent in 1997) report a history of drug and/or alcohol use.”¹⁰⁴ This staggering number of alcohol and drug users suggests that there is a clear and definite necessity for programs which will assist in reducing dependence and assisting those who have already become dependent. Need, however, does not suggest availability.

“The low level of treatment for prisoners with drug and alcohol addictions represents a particularly acute policy failure. A growing body of research shows that prison-based drug treatment, especially when coupled with treatment in the community, can reduce the levels of drug use and criminal behavior among program participants.”¹⁰⁵

While many of the programs stated previously are pre-release programs or state-sponsored programs issued primarily to those on parole or with continued state surveillance, such issues as minimizing hiring bias from employers, reducing social ostracizing of ex-prisoner populations, and promoting community assistance for alcohol and drug dependence can be supported within the communities of ex-inmates going through the reentry process. “Seen from one perspective, reentry is a governmental process; in other words, the institutions that define the contours of prisoner reentry are principally government agencies... However, the process is also fundamentally an intensely personal process, involving prisoners, families, and extended social networks.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Ibid., 120

¹⁰⁴ Jeremy Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 2005), 203

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 203-204

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 323

Conclusion

Through a meta-analysis of various scholarly articles, books, personal accounts, government databases, and NGO websites, I have illustrated the various cultural mechanisms of both the military and the prison system. My findings indicate that both prisoner culture and military culture are effected by stigma, yet it different ways. While the prison population is seemingly affected by the external stigma of the “offender” label, the military population is affected by the internal stigma of maintaining their “protector” or “warrior” label. The prisoners’ external stigma negatively affects such aspects of society as social reception and employment opportunities. The military members’ internal stigma hinders them from seeking psychological or emotional assistance for fear of occupational repercussions or of looking “weak.” Both stigmas negatively impact each group’s process of reentry and reintegration and positively add to the recidivism and suicide rates.

Both male population and hypermasculinitiy are significantly high in both the prison and military systems. In the military, the notion of masculinity may have been derived from militaristic ideals and the image of the masculine warrior continues to be promoted throughout the military. In the prison system, masculinity is propagated as a code which prisoners can use as armor to shield their personal selves from the harsh realities of prison life. While the hypermasculinity may be utilized as shields within each system, it negatively impacts the reentry/reintegration efforts of each as prisoners become more violently masculine when compared to social standards, and military members are forced to suppress issues of mental health and wellbeing in order to maintain their masculinity.

While discipline is prevalent in both systems, the military form of discipline promotes and internal code of ethics and honor which furthers their connection with their duty and their fellow servicemen and women. On the other hand, the prison form of discipline lies mainly in **punishment and prisoner reform into "model" citizens. The discipline of the military seemingly** rejects the culture of civilian life, however, leading to a difficulty in reintegration as the divergent cultures become difficult to balance for the members. The discipline of the prison, in the form of reentry education and preparation, may positively affect the population as they are assisted with such issues as housing, employment, and drug/alcohol dependence, however, continued discipline in the form of strict surveillance and authoritarian control may affect the self-worth of the prisoners leading them to negative routes post-incarceration.

Through the use of literal uniforms and forced conformity and indoctrination, both the prison system and the military system are effectively dehumanized. This implies a strong negative effect on both reentry and reintegration methods as their individuality and independence are stripped of them making them dependent on the system for support and identity.

Finally, both the reentry and reintegration processes are negatively impacted by the heightened exposure of prisoners and military members to violence. Mainly members of the military experience traumatic experiences with violence including bloodshed and attacks on their lives. This trauma can eventually lead to psychological disorders, but with the hypermasculine environment and the stigma placed on assistance, these psychological disorders can go untreated, sometimes event leading to suicide. Nonviolent criminals and first-time offenders are housed together with violent criminals thus exposing them to greater levels of violence and violent characteristics. Some say that this propagates further violence as these offenders become hardened and bring their learned violence back to the community after their release. The

economic and structural violence that is imposed on prisoners through economic oppression and physical incarceration can also damage prisoners socially and psychologically creating even more problems in the reentry process.

Overall, the cultural aspects of social stigma, hypermasculinity, discipline, uniformity, and violence found within both the military system and the prison system seemingly promote more challenges to reentry and reintegration than they do solutions. As total institutions, both the military and the prison system have distinct and potent cultures which separate the members from the rest of society. While various discussions of conflicting methods of reentry and reintegration continue without high levels of consensus (especially with various civic, military, and prisoner populations criticizing current methods of reentry and reintegration), it seems clear that these issues of prison and military culture must be taken into consideration when implementing policy on reintegration and reentry.

This study should by no means be taken as an exhaustive investigation into both the military/prison cultures and the reintegration/reentry processes. This study was meant to be simply a meta-analysis of various literature on five cultural aspects of both factions and their reported effects on the reentry/reintegration processes.

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