2016

# Afterward: Prisoner Reentry in an Urban Street Level Bureaucracy

Francis Bruce Prior
*University of Pennsylvania*, francis.bruce.prior@gmail.com

# Afterward: Prisoner Reentry in an Urban Street Level Bureaucracy

## Abstract

The following manuscript is the result of a year length intensive participant observation and interview case study of a street level bureaucracy focused on prisoner reentry in a large northeastern city. I use the pseudonym Afterward for this bureaucracy. What goes on in prisoner reentry bureaucracies is determined a great deal by their surrounding social context, and the life-courses of the individuals who seek out these bureaucracies for their services. The macro issues of urban poverty, the labor market, politics, and racial stratification meet with the micro level issues of client and staff accumulated experiences, perspectives, and emotions, in the context of a meso-level public bureaucracy.

Both the clients and the organization that I studied had limited resources. For Afterward, its response to limited resources was typically to focus on its legitimating function and its survival, which I argue superseded its service provision function, where resources were rationed, or its public safety function, which was largely nominal. Additionally, both clients and staff at afterward were actively engaged in social interaction organized for the purpose of construction of narratives of agency. The social construction of agency, however, is often not enough to prevent any client from returning to prison or jail. Moreover, clients go to obtain jobs through Afterward, but then their wages received through formal paycheck may also be garnished in order to pay for outstanding court costs and fines.

Afterward is also part of a broader project of surveillance and control. Afterward provides much needed services, but is also part of punitive carceral continuum. In the context of the physical office space of Afterward there is a great deal of monitoring of clients based off of the presumption that they are a violent threat. Additionally, Afterward regularly coordinated with other criminal justice bureaucracies in the monitoring of its clients. In my final chapter, I combine a number of themes to focus on the small group of African American women clients of Afterward, with a special focus on the looming punitive role of the foster care system as well as the gendered significance of interpersonal violence and victimization.

## Degree Type
Dissertation

## Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

## Graduate Group
Sociology

## First Advisor
David Grazian

## Keywords
Crime, Ethnography, Race class gender, Reentry, Social Interaction, Urban

## Subject Categories
Criminology | Criminology and Criminal Justice | Sociology

AFTERWARD: PRISONER REENTRY IN AN URBAN STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRACY

Francis Bruce Prior

A DISSERTATION

in

Sociology

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

Supervisor of Dissertation

_____

Dr. David Grazian

Associate Professor of Sociology

Graduate Group Chairperson

_____

Dr. David Grazian, Associate Professor of Sociology

Dissertation Committee

 Dorothy Roberts, Esq.             Dr. John MacDonald

 Professor of Law and Sociology        Professor of Criminology and Sociology

AFTERWARD: PRISONER REENTRY IN AN URBAN STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRACY

COPYRIGHT

2016

Francis Bruce Prior

*In memory of Cedric, committed to serving those most in need*

## Acknowledgements

This manuscript would not have been possible without a great deal of scholarly input.  First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. David Grazian, who served as the chair of my doctoral committee, and also as advisor for the project overall.  I have worked closely with David for my entire graduate career, and his critical feedback and advice have been crucial throughout the process.  I owe David a debt of gratitude that cannot be summarized via acknowledgements.

Thanks go to Professor Dorothy Roberts Esq. and Dr. John MacDonald for serving on my dissertation committee.  Both took time out of their busy schedules to provide exceptional feedback in their areas of expertise and advice throughout the process of writing the manuscript.  They are scholars of the highest caliber, and my dissertation benefitted a great deal from their feedback.

A number of faculty from the Penn sociology department contributed to the development of this manuscript at various stages.  Thanks to Emily Hannum and Hyunjoon Park who had a chance to review my dissertation proposal as I was developing it, providing guidance in the early conceptual stages of my research process.  Thanks to Melissa Wilde and Robin Leidner, both of whom provided excellent feedback when I first presented my doctoral research at the Urban Ethnography workshop.  A special

Thanks to my study participants at Afterward.  The guidance of the staff proved to be a boon in the on the ground research process, as their insight helped to guide my research.  I also valued their camaraderie and warmth, and I hope they felt it was reciprocated.  To the clients of Afterward who participated in my study, is whom I owe the greatest debt.  Without them, there would be no compelling reason for this study, and I was humbled by their willingness to participate given their often very difficult life circumstances.

A special thanks to my wife Mary Del Savio, who provided some key theoretical reference points, and acted as a sounding board during my participant observation, in addition to providing support throughout the process.  A special thanks also to my mother, Mary Jane Prior, who provided rhetorical feedback and dutifully proofed the whole document several times.  They have been my twin pillars throughout.

# ABSTRACT

AFTERWARD: PRISONER REENTRY IN AN URBAN STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRACY

Francis Prior

David Grazian

The following manuscript is the result of a year length intensive participant observation and interview case study of a street level bureaucracy focused on prisoner reentry in a large northeastern city. I use the pseudonym Afterward for this bureaucracy. What goes on in prisoner reentry bureaucracies is determined a great deal by their surrounding social context, and the life-courses of the individuals who seek out these bureaucracies for their services. The macro issues of urban poverty, the labor market, politics, and racial stratification meet with the micro level issues of client and staff accumulated experiences, perspectives, and emotions, in the context of a meso-level public bureaucracy.

Both the clients and the organization that I studied had limited resources. For Afterward, its response to limited resources was typically to focus on its legitimating function and its survival, which I argue superseded its service provision function, where resources were rationed, or its public safety function, which was largely nominal.

Additionally, both clients and staff at afterward were actively engaged in social interaction organized for the purpose of construction of narratives of agency. The social construction of agency, however, is often not enough to prevent any client from returning to prison or jail. Moreover, clients go to obtain jobs through Afterward, but then their wages received through formal paycheck may also be garnished in order to pay for outstanding court costs and fines.

Afterward is also part of a broader project of surveillance and control. Afterward provides much needed services, but is also part of punitive carceral continuum. In the context of the physical office space of Afterward there is a great deal of monitoring of clients based off of the presumption that they are a violent threat. Additionally, Afterward regularly coordinated with other criminal justice bureaucracies in the monitoring of its clients. In my final chapter, I combine a number of themes to focus on the small group of African American women clients of Afterward, with a special focus on the looming punitive role of the foster care system as well as the gendered significance of interpersonal violence and victimization.

# Table of Contents

**Chapter 1: Introduction**

Prisoner reentry is a criminal justice and public policy reform agenda that seeks to reduce rates of recidivism by providing a spectrum of social service programming for both incarcerated (pre-release) and formerly incarcerated (post-release) populations. Scholars and policy makers have completed many studies of outcomes and best practices for reentry programming (Visher and Travis 2003), but there have been few that have rendered descriptive accounts of reentry organizations and their actors (Hallett 2011). In this dissertation, I utilize participant observation and interview methods as an ethnographer in the context of a street-level bureaucracy that focuses on prisoner reentry. In going into the field, I had broad research questions: How do people interact in the context of giving and receiving services? How do staff and clients experience and understand their situation? How do broader social structures, both material and cultural, have an impact on what people do in a bureaucratic field?

Simply put, prisoner reentry is not solely a criminal justice issue. Prisoner reentry has taken on its own social, and therefore sociological, significance that warrants its up close examination. The consequences of mass incarceration obviously have a great deal to do with why prisoner reentry is important. In addition prisoner reentry is important in its own right for a similar set of reasons. That is to say, prisoner reentry is important because of how in its practice it is a site of racial stratification (Miller 2014; Thompson 2009; Zuberi 2003) and poverty governance (Piven and Cloward 1993; Wacquant 2009b). In this way, this manuscript will contribute not only to scholarly discourse on

criminal justice issues, but also to those of race relations and urban sociology more broadly. I hope to contribute to the discourse on prisoner reentry in a critical fashion as others have already begun to (Gottschalk 2015; Miller 2014; Wacquant 2010).

In this introduction, I provide some context on mass incarceration and its social consequences. This is followed by an explanation of prisoner reentry as a demographic phenomenon, a socialization process, and a public policy agenda, in order to more pointedly motivate the research questions for the dissertation. Following this, I provide an explanation of my ethnographic methods joined to a profile of the street level bureaucracy, which I call Afterward. I picked the pseudonym Afterward because the organization provided services to people who were no longer in prison or jail. I will end the introduction with a description of the chapters to follow.

### The Context of Mass Incarceration

The link between urban poverty and mass incarceration helps to explain best the current context in which prisoner reentry occurs. In the U.S. during the 1970's, economic crisis, i.e. stagflation as a result of dramatic fluctuations in oil prices, and a shift from a goods producing to a service economy led to urban deindustrialization. (Sassen 2006; Wilson 1990). When coupled with the historical effects of discrimination in housing and employment towards African Americans, these changes produced urban neighborhoods with extreme levels of black racial residential segregation, concentrated poverty among working class urban dwelling African Americans, widespread joblessness among low socioeconomic status African American men, and a significant gap in net worth between blacks and whites (Conley 2009; Massey and Denton 1993; Oliver and Shapiro 2006;

Wilson 1997). As a result, urban areas in the U.S. became increasingly stratified by both race and class simultaneously.

Moreover, in response to the 1980's crack epidemic in areas impacted by the new urban poverty, there was a dramatic state response that included 1) zero tolerance policing, which increased arrest rates, and 2) harsh mandatory minimum sentencing for drug crime and violent crime (Alexander 2010; DiIulio 1995; Kelling and Wilson 1982; Tonry 1996). Coupled with the prevalence of plea-bargaining in the U.S. court system, these government responses to crime led the prison population to more than quadruple from ~474,000 in 1980 to ~2.3 million in 2008 (Kennedy 1998; Tonry 2011; Western 2007a; Zimring and Hawkins 1993). The current prison population sits at about 2.2 million and has hovered around that number since 2008.

Sociologists refer to the dramatic growth of the prison population as mass incarceration. Moreover, statistics bear out the extent to which mass incarceration is linked to urban poverty. The incarceration rate of black men per every 100,000 has been consistently six times the base rate of the U.S. population (Glaze and Kaeble 2014). Additionally, incarceration has become a statistically modal event, i.e. happening more often than not, in the life course of black male high school drop outs (Western 2007a). Mass incarceration exacerbates features of urban poverty such as the prevalence of single female heads of households and joblessness among working age black men (Sampson 1987). Additionally, mass incarceration creates its own set of issues, e.g. altering unemployment statistics, gerrymandering prisoner populations, felon disenfranchisement,

strain on the healthcare system, etc. (Manza and Uggen 2006; Uggen et al. n.d.; Western 2007a).

However, people in prison are not typically incarcerated for life sentences. About 95% of people incarcerated return home (Travis 2005). In the context of mass incarceration, approximately 700,000 people leave prison or jail every year (Glaze and Kaeble 2014). Many millions more are not incarcerated, but are under some form of criminal justice supervision, e.g. parole, probation, house arrest, etc. As of 2003, the FBI estimates roughly 68 million people in the U.S., about 1 in 5 people, have a criminal record (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005). The dramatic economic, social, and political effects of mass incarceration led scholars in the early 2000s to consider prisoner reentry more deeply.

Prisoner Reentry

What is prisoner reentry? I argue that there are currently three ways of defining prisoner reentry. Prisoner reentry can be conceived of as: 1) a demographic phenomenon, 2) a socialization process, and 3) a policy agenda. The interpretation of prisoner reentry as a demographic phenomenon implies an analysis that occurs at the level of a population. When prisoner reentry is framed analytically at the level of a population, it simply refers to the release of large numbers of people from incarceration. That is to say, people who are incarcerated "re-enter" into society, though perhaps it would be more accurate to say simply that they leave prison and jail (Bushway 2006; Bushway, Stoll, and Weiman 2007). The demographic framing is also helpful because it brings us to a central issue, sometimes referred to as "the revolving door," i.e. people

4

who are incarcerated once are likely to be incarcerated again. Recidivism rates for state prisons hover around 50%, i.e. half of people who are incarcerated typically return to prison within three years.

Consideration of recidivism leads us to a framing of prisoner reentry as a socialization process. According to Petersilia, reentry is a socialization process that begins when someone enters a prison or jail and continues after they have served their sentence that is intended to prevent people who have been incarcerated from returning to prison or jail, i.e., an attempt to reduce rates of recidivism (Petersilia 2003, 2004; Travis 2005). In a concrete sense, this can mean participation in any number of social service programs, including but not limited to areas like housing, employment, education, addiction counseling, physical and mental health treatment, and HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention. Reentry programming is often organized around release dates, involving programming leading up to the release date, as well as programming for someone who is on parole. The rationale is that people who have been incarcerated are most likely to commit crime, and therefore most vulnerable to returning to prison or jail in the immediate aftermath of their release; reentry programming can help to smooth the transition from life on the inside to life on the outside (Petersilia 2003:212). Prison life is highly structured in comparison to life on the outside and people who have been incarcerated are particularly sensitive immediately upon release due to the shock of the event, increasing their likelihood of recidivism (Harper 2011; Irwin 1987; Liebling and Maruna 2005). While sometimes these services can be provided or administered by state bureaucracies, governments will often contract these services out to non-profit

organizations that may be linked to philanthropy, or even faith based organizations.

Arguably, much of what practically occurs under the rubric of prisoner reentry is similar to might want have occurred under the framing of rehabilitation.  However, as Garland argues, a shift in how criminal justice was implemented from the 1980's onwards in the U.S. placed new emphasis on public safety and cost-effectiveness (Garland 2002). Rehabilitative efforts going forward needed a new framing for their implementation in these terms, or else risk being dismissed on the grounds that they were a waste of money and ineffective (Martinson 1974).

In the early 2000's, as mass incarceration began to reach its peak, prisoner reentry as a policy agenda came to the fore.  As a policy agenda, prisoner reentry is backed by a bipartisan consensus in Congress (Gottschalk 2015; Western 2008).  In 2004, President Bush put reentry on the penal reform map in his State of the Union address (Fallows 2004).  In 2008, President Bush signed the Second Chance Act into law, for which Congress has appropriated 300 million dollars of block grants over four years that could be used to fund forms of social service programming under the reentry rubric (NY Times Editorial Board 2014).  In 2012, The House of Representatives appropriated another $70 million, signaling a continuation of bipartisan consensus on reentry in spite of the recent economic recession (Council of State Governments 2012).

These three ways of looking at prisoner reentry are the current ways in which the issue is primarily framed.  Insofar as there is intellectual work on prisoner reentry, it is either accounting for the movement of populations in the context of corrections, work often done by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, program evaluations, which concern how

to provide social services more effectively, and finally historical work on the carceral state, which highlights key policies and political actors that contributed to criminal justice reform efforts like prisoner reentry.  There is room here for a fourth perspective, one that takes into account the sociological dimensions of prisoner reentry from an interpretive perspective.  Scholars have called for interpretations of prisoner reentry at the level of the organization (Wacquant 2010) as well as in relationship to racial stratification (Hallett 2011).  Reuben Miller recently theorized prisoner reentry as a social institution in its own right, alongside the carceral state, particularly in how it constructs the "ex-offender" as a racialized and classed social type (Miller 2015).  Overall though, the notion of prisoner reentry with respect to how it relates to the construction of social meaning has been largely under-theorized.

In this context, this dissertation is primarily concerned with the following question: How do social institutions theorized at the micro and macro levels have an impact on prisoner reentry at the meso level?  In other words, how is the social context and social background of staff and client actors relevant for understanding not only how they interact, but relevant for defining what prisoner reentry is, and how staff and clients understand prisoner reentry?  At the convergence of criminal justice and social welfare, the implementation of prisoner reentry invites broad sociological reflection on the meaning of state formation, social inequality, and punishment.

## Field Site and Methods

Afterward is a prisoner reentry organization in a large northeastern city. Afterward was selected for study because of its particular focus on providing services to

people who were formerly incarcerated. Afterward has a core staff of about ten people: a program director, a deputy director/head of security/chief of staff, training staff, its case management staff, and an employment specialist.[1] While not on Afterward payroll, a public safety deputy with whom Afterward coordinated was located in the same office space. A quarter of the staff is white and under 40, and the rest of the staff is black, with variation in age. Afterward has a budget of approximately $2 million excluding grant money; while it is a larger reentry organization, it is still limited in resources compared to what is needed to meet service demand. About 50-70 clients come in on a daily basis, most of whom are black men. Clients tend to have low socioeconomic status, no greater than a high school education, and court docket sheets with at least one arrest and conviction, but oftentimes multiple. According to a snapshot of Afterward's client rolls, convictions among clients are split approximately evenly between violent crimes, property crimes, and drug crimes. Afterward does not handle people convicted of sex crimes.

Afterward utilizes employment, both part-time/transitional and full time, as the primary mechanism to prevent its clients from re-offending or returning to jail/prison. Afterward is able to compare its clients' rates of recidivism with the city's overall rates of recidivism. Afterward staff claimed this was valuable from a public safety perspective, but also for the city's cost benefit analysis, i.e. one less person in jail or prison means less taxpayer money spent. However, staff members in communication with clients often emphasized how Afterward was not an employment agency, but rather provides a

---

[1] See Afterward Core Staff Organization chart, p 192

sequential program that participants go through in an attempt to transform and empower client-participants. Almost all participants had to go through life skills and job readiness classes. Other components include assessment, case management, education up to GED, mock interviews, and finally employment referrals. On the demand side, businesses were given tax breaks through municipal government to hire Afterward program graduates. Additionally, Afterward leveraged its networks with local employers to provide interview opportunities to clients. Though there was some debate, many staff members tended to regard the programming of Afterward as having a specific sequential order that starts with cognitive behavioral training and education, and moves towards job readiness training, interview practice, and finally seeking employment.

I volunteered at Afterward as an intern on a near full time basis for a little over a year, from April 2013 to July 2014, conducting a total of approximately 1600 hours of participant observation. As a volunteer, my activities included performing mock job interviews, assisting clients with their resume building, and following up with program participants for case managers. These types of activities gave me the chance to sit in on classes and engage in informal interaction with both clients and staff. I was also able to attend staff meetings, which provided insights on dynamics of the organization, including budget concerns and philosophical conflict over service provision. Additionally, I collaborated with case managers on longer term projects related to client retention and solicitation of program graduates for paystubs. I was also tasked with administrative duties including data entry of participant client progression in Afterward service programming and retrieving paystubs from participant client files for the purpose of

preparing for potential audits.  These hands-on experiences gave me a direct idea of the

prioritization of organizational objectives.

Much of my evidence for the study is derived from field notes, the recording of

my experiences as a volunteer intern at Afterward.[2]  From a practical standpoint of

writing fieldnotes I followed the guidelines set forth by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw

(Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995).  I took jottings when I had opportunity to do so, which

was fairly often as a volunteer intern.  After leaving the field for the day, I used the

jottings as the basis for long form narrative field notes.  Additionally, I conducted tape

recorded in depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with 65 clients at Afterward and

10 staff members, for a total of 75 interviews.  In analyzing the data, both interview data

and fieldnotes, I employed grounded theoretical methodology (Glaser and Strauss 2012).

That is to say, I followed open coding procedures when analyzing qualitative data, where

I went line by line and coded phrases using words that referred to relevant theoretical

themes.  I also periodically made use of theoretical memos to apply, generate, and

organize ideas that could then be used in the process of coding.  I used a qualitative

software package, Atlas TI, to facilitate this coding process.  Over time, a combination of

my work from memos, the frequency of different themes, and my own sociological

---

[2] My participant observation and interview research falls under the rubric of research with
human subjects.  As a result, in order to conduct my research, I had to obtain approval
from the University of Pennsylvania's Institutional Review Board [IRB].  In order to
obtain IRB approval, I had to demonstrate that my research practices met standards for
ethical conduct with respect to consent and confidentiality.  In practice, preserving
confidentiality means, among other things, that I use pseudonyms for all research
participants, including the street-level bureaucracy itself.

insight allowed for patterns to emerge which were used to re-code data to tighten the analysis and better organize the data.

Layout of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, each chapter focuses on a set of interrelated themes relevant to prisoner reentry in the context of a street level bureaucracy.  In Chapter Two, I focus on the organizational dynamics of Afterward, i.e. how the organization as a whole pursues multiple and sometimes conflicting goals related to aspects of service provision in a prisoner reentry context.  Goal ambiguity is a common feature of street-level bureaucracies, and in this sense, Afterward conforms to what we expect from the literature on this subject (Lipskey 2010).  Afterward's explicit purpose was to use employment based services to reduce recidivism rates for public safety purposes.  This goal of public safety dovetails with the scholarly definition of prisoner reentry as a socialization process designed specifically to prevent someone who has been incarcerated from returning to prison or jail for a new conviction.  I found that there was a different hierarchy of goals at Afterward, with a primary focus on legitimation of urban governance, a secondary focus on the provision of employment services, and a tertiary focus on public safety.  In particular, I found that public safety was more of a bureaucratic myth that presented potential advantages for Afterward, given its limited resources, in the context of its relationships to other bureaucracies, rather than the ultimate goal of the organization.

In Chapter Three, I focus on structures of security and surveillance present at Afterward.  Though Afterward is a walk-in service provider, and not a prison, in this

section, I argue that its security and surveillance apparatus, including metal detectors, armed security guards, and security cameras, extended aspects of the incarceration experience beyond the walls of prison and jail for Afterward clients. In addition to the direct visual surveillance, I also found that Afterward's relationships with Community Corrections Centers (halfway houses) as well as probation and parole also meant that they cooperated with other bureaucracies in the surveillance of their clients through keeping attendance records. I discuss how the security and surveillance apparatuses are based on implicit racialized and classed premises about Afterward's client population, i.e. that as "ex-offenders" they pose a potential violent threat.

In Chapter Four, I focus more directly on the experiences of the clients themselves, specifically the men, with relationship to employment and their life-course (Pettit and Western 2004) more broadly. In this chapter, I highlight the work histories and skill sets of clients, and their recent attempts at seeking out gainful employment in the context of release from incarceration. What I find is a situation that in some respects is highly precarious in economic terms. In other respects, many of the men I interviewed had accumulated a number of skills over time through various types of trade based employment, such as mechanics, carpentry, etc. However, almost all discussed the barriers that they felt they faced when applying for a job with a criminal record. I also theorize that the provision of employment services at Afterward functions as a form of proletarianization for clients facing economic downward mobility.

In Chapter Five, I focus on desistance narratives as a way in which both Afterward clients and staff socially construct client agency. Among clients I emphasize

two types of desistance narratives that they deploy, redemption scripts, and deterrence scripts. Additionally, Afterward staff have an explicit focus on client decision-making capacities, also a part of the official curriculum of Afterward's reentry programming. I theorize that these sorts of desistance narratives aimed at socially constructing agency are located within the context of the morally laden narratives of culpability within the criminal justice system and the individualized culture of the U.S. more broadly, both of which have implications for the rendering of desistance narratives. Moreover, I also point to how these narratives are part of a broader cultural archetype of awakening narratives.

In Chapter Six, I focus on the experiences of the women who came to Afterward, specifically African American women, in terms of both their labor market integration and desistance narratives. I find that low SES African American women suffer a greater labor market penalty for the criminal record because they are more incorporated into the dominant service sector of the economy than low SES African American men. I also consider the role of violence in terms of both the records of violent crime among African American women clients at Afterward, as well as the significance of violence and sexual victimization in the life course of African American women clients. In discussing these matters, I make reference to intersectional feminist perspectives that acknowledge the significance of the unique forces of social oppression faced by low SES African American women along the lines of race, class, and gender that can mean violence from both the state and men more broadly. This chapter is important for understanding the specific gendered significance of the mark of a criminal record.

In Chapter Seven, the conclusion, I discuss the significance of approaching prisoner reentry from a perspective that portrays the interaction of street level bureaucracies and their inhabitants, as well as the social context within which they operate. I recount the ways in which prisoner reentry is a site of social and sociological significance in an era when 68 million Americans have criminal records, and the effects of mass incarceration are felt primarily by the urban black poor. I conclude with broad statements about the direction of prisoner reentry and criminal justice reform in the U.S. more generally, both of which deserve increasing amounts of scholarly skepticism in light of increased public interest, private dollars, and consensus about what criminal justice reform means.

**Chapter 2: Street Level Bureaucracy: Legitimating Urban Governance, Employment, and Public Safety**

Afterward is a street level bureaucracy organized for prisoner reentry. As a policy agenda, the purpose of prisoner reentry is to reduce the recidivism rates of the participants in a particular social service program. In the case of Afterward, employment services are the means by which the end of reduction of client recidivism rates is obtained. When employment services are framed as a means for reducing recidivism rates, this means-end formulation conforms to classic Weberian standards of how a bureaucracy operates according to formal rationality. In this chapter I argue that this framework is sociologically inadequate for explaining the behavior of bureaucratic actors. Instead, I rely on a neo-institutionalist framework to analyze and interpret the behavior of bureaucratic actors. More specifically, I highlight the extent to which a descending hierarchy of 1) legitimation of urban governance, 2) employment of the client, and 3) public safety, is central in understanding why people do what they do at Afterward.

In spite of its ostensibly clear means-end formulation of providing employment services to reduce recidivism rates, Afterward, like most street level bureaucracies in practice, is a site of goal ambiguity and limited resources (Lipsky 2010). Goal ambiguity and limited resources tend to produce conditions in which it is difficult not only to produce results, but to *know* if results are being produced. Neo-institutionalist sociologists have highlighted the importance of "myth" or culture, in understanding these sorts of "loosely coupled" organizations (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Not being able to

produce results, or know if those results are occurring has some implications for how a street level bureaucracy will operate.  With respect to goal ambiguity, bureaucrats focus on concrete goals that have to do with their every day practices.  With respect to limited resources, bureaucrats end up rationing the resources they have in ways that are creative. I observed both of these patterns at Afterward.  However, a neo-institutionalist perspective (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) can offer us insight into why we see the particular patterns of adaptation by street level bureaucrats that we do.  In the case of Afterward, I will use data gathered from participant observation to show how a hierarchy of 1) legitimating urban governance, 2) employing the client, and 3) public safety, offers sociological and political insight into the behavior of bureaucratic actors beyond technocratic means-ends formulations of prisoner reentry.

## The Hierarchy of Goals

I argue that the most important goal for understanding Afterward is the legitimation of urban governance.  As a walk-in prisoner reentry organization, Afterward is tasked with providing services to people on the back end of the criminal justice system, i.e. after arrest, conviction, and incarceration.  Through its continued existence Afterward contributes to the notion that the municipal government can facilitate the reintegration of people with criminal records into society in spite of their social and economic marginalization (Bushway et al. 2007).  Afterward's legitimation of urban governance has real benefits for the public officials who continue to maintain Afterward's existence, while other sectors of urban governance pursue punitive ends. In particular, the extensive use of "stop-and-frisk" techniques by police in poor predominantly black urban areas and the over-crowding of the municipal jails with indigent pre-trial detainees have both led to

numerous lawsuits in the context of the Northeastern city of my participant observation.

Organizations like Afterward can help to legitimate urban governance in the face of these

issues, while, as Wacquant argues, obscuring the numerous other things that government

bureaucracies could do to facilitate the reintegration process, e.g. furloughs,

commutations, earlier granting of parole, eliminating bail, higher education behind the

wall, etc. (Davis et al. 2013; Wacquant 2010).

While Wacquant argues that reentry organizations like Afterward are a

"bureaucratic charade," in my fieldwork I find that the objective of employment, however

precarious that employment is, was a real tangible organizing principle in every day

practice.  I argue that employment of the client is second in the informal hierarchy of

goals at Afterward.  Employment occupies most of the staff's every day practice and

forms the basis for the client staff service interaction.  While employment is ostensibly a

means for the reduction of recidivism rates, in practice employment of the client becomes

more accurately a practical end.  The caveat here is that the representation of employment

is more important than the *actual and sustained* employment of the client from a

bureaucratic perspective.  This is not to say that the staff does not care about the

employment of the clients—they doubtlessly do.  This is also not to say that clients do

not obtain employment as a result of their participation—they do.  However, in the

context of goal ambiguity, the goal of employment of the client becomes aligned with the

goals of public legitimation of urban governance in making the representation of

employment more significant.

The third goal in Afterward's informal hierarchy is "public safety," concretely rendered through the reduction of the recidivism rates of clients. I assign it the third position in the hierarchy because public safety operates in oblique ways to configure employment service provision rather than forming the basis of employment service provision itself. Rather, I argue that public safety functions as an advantageous bureaucratic myth (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Woolford and Curran 2012) with which Afterward is mimetically isomorphic of other bureaucratic fields (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Fligstein and McAdam 2011). In other words, public safety in the context of Afterward is primarily deployed because managerial actors in Afterward believe it to be advantageous in the justification of its continued existence. While public safety rationales do place some restrictions on the provision of employment resources, as well as informing risk assessment practices, the implementation of these practices demonstrated the way in which it was difficult to say that Afterward was able to influence public safety outcomes.

## Legitimating Urban Governance

In the simplest terms, Sharon was my boss. While I was at Afterward, she was the one who Edward, the program director, had assigned to providing me with tasks to perform. Every ethnographer has their "go-to" person, and by being responsible for my direct supervision, Sharon was that person. Sharon, who was in her late 50's, was originally from Trinidad, and still had a noticeable accent. Not merely my boss, she was the supervisor for the case management staff, whom I was told I would be assisting. Very soon into my participant observation, Sharon assigned me to follow up with clients with whom case management staff had lost touch. However, my assignment changed

very quickly to calling clients who had found employment to ask them to send copies of their paystubs. Initially, Sharon explained to me how I would be following up with hard-to-reach clients in the meeting in which we were introduced:

> Sharon began our conversation with what she wanted me to do, which was follow up on "the deadbeats". She explained that all of the case managers have hefty loads at Afterward. Each case manager, she explained, had a number of clients who had been around for 6 months or longer, who were not responding to their case manager's follow up. However, the case managers have all been able to identify clients who are more difficult to follow up with, and which came to 48 out of the 346 total current clients at Afterward. At Afterward, she explained, it would be my job to reach out to these clients who had to some extent fallen through the cracks. They could be "locked up," she said, or simply not returning Afterward's phone calls and be perfectly employed.

I'd later come to understand that Sharon referred to this practice as "retention." The purpose of "retention" was to make sure that Afterward had done its due diligence in reaching out to hard-to-access clients. In referring to these clients as "deadbeats" Sharon is using some gallows humor, but this is also a classic response from street level bureaucrats to non-compliant clients (Lipsky 2010:56). Sharon explained to me that she wanted to use my following up to make the case to Edward, the program director, that having someone specialize in retention was an important organizational priority. I believed at the time that there was a good chance that clients who case managers had difficulty contacting likely also had a number of issues that they were dealing with. For that reason, I suspected that I would have a tough time making contact with these clients.

Over the next three days, I solicited case managers to provide me with their list of clients who had not been responding to their follow up calls. Unfortunately, the office did not have wireless internet, so I had to go to a coffee shop a few blocks away to sort

through the names.  As I was reformatting the spreadsheet at the coffee shop, I heard

from Sharon about my new assignment.

> I was informed by Sharon that I would need to do something else for Edward, the program director.  She said it was very urgent and that I needed to put the non-responders aside. She said that I'd be able to meet with Matt and Emily after I got back from lunch.  Once I got back from lunch she gave me a spreadsheet with the information that I would need to solicit pay stubs from people who had obtained employment after going through Afterward's program.

I would spend the next couple weeks cold calling Afterward clients who had obtained

employment in an attempt to get them to turn in their pay stubs.  I was not the only

person tasked to do this, as several of the case managers were calling their own clients to

request paystubs from them as well.  There was a concern from Edward, the program

director, that in the event that Afterward was audited, it would not have the proper

records of client employment that it needed to have.  By having case management staff

collect these stubs from their clients, it was Edward's stated goal to have them available

for Afterward in the case of an audit.  While this audit never came, the collection of the

paystubs also provided evidence of Afterward's performance as an organization with

respect to employment placement.

The importance of legitimating urban governance helps to explain my shift from

working on "retention" to working on soliciting paystubs from clients, as well as the case

management staff being required to work on this task alongside their other duties.

Certainly, it seems clear that obtaining paystubs from clients as proof of client

employment is worthwhile for knowing whether or not participation in Afterward results

in employment, the second goal in the hierarchy.  However, this collecting of

employment records is important for the ways in which Afterward extends its survival. Edward and other staff disclosed that they were concerned about an audit, an event which would represent a number of issues for Afterward. So the attribute of the employment goal that helps Afterward maintain its existence best is the paystub—and obtaining this paystub directly contributes to Afterward's ability survive as an organization that legitimates urban governance. Determining whether hard-to-reach clients would benefit from services is only peripherally related to employment, and provides very little in the way of legitimation for Afterward.

This goal of outward legitimation also has consequences for the inward dynamics of Afterward. With case managers already limited in the amount of time they have to perform their duties, it was of benefit to them to ensure that they received some credit for clients on their caseloads who do well. Taking extra time to do the legwork necessary for hard-to-reach clients provides little in the way of this type of benefit. While it's possible that my re-assignment to paystub solicitation for case managers was for the purposes of freeing them up to provide direct services, the fact was that case management staff as a whole had to prioritize getting paystubs from clients at the discretion of Edward, the program director. Additionally, Matt, the employment specialist, disclosed that he had organizationally based financial incentives to employ more Afterward clients. Therefore, prioritizing of paystubs is explained through management based reconfiguration of staff goals to align with the organization's goals of surviving and legitimating urban governance.

My time spent performing the task of reaching out to hard to reach clients is illustrative of the extent to which it was an activity that did not align with the goal of legitimating urban governance, i.e. I did not spend much time doing it. With my shift over to paystub-related solicitation and record keeping taking up much of my time, it took me three months to get in touch with all of the hard to reach clients. The results that I got from this project also confirmed my early suspicions that I would have difficulty getting in touch with the clients. Out of the 48 clients I was assigned to contact, I recommended that Afterward only keep 15 of them. I made this recommendation on the basis that out of the 23 clients I was actually able to speak to, 15 explained that they were actively interested in working with Afterward in the context of their employment-based services. The clients I did speak to who were uninterested pointed to things like caring for children or elderly parents, obtaining employment elsewhere, or working with a different reentry organization. Most of the remaining clients whom I suggested Afterward drop from its rolls had a disconnected phone number, a full voicemail inbox, or simply did not return my call after leaving multiple messages. A small minority had returned to criminal justice supervision, with two clients sent to Community Corrections Centers, and another two sent back to county jail. Out of the 15 clients that I recommended Afterward case management staff keep on their caseloads, the case management staff identified four of them that they did not want to keep on because of interpersonal difficulties or drug use. At the end of the process, I wrote an internal memo to the staff saying that Afterward would only keep 11 out of the 48 clients on their caseloads.

This work may have been significant in the context of Afterward, because it provided justification for Sharon to outsource some retention services to a partner organization operating out of the Afterward office space. However, it was clear to me in practicing retention that while there could be some benefit for the client, there was little benefit there for the case management staff relative to the other things that they could be doing with their time, based on both Afterward's goals as well as case management staff's role within the bureaucracy. In spending time soliciting clients for their paystubs, case management staff was able to document its successes and align itself with activities that would help Afterward survive and legitimate urban governance. This is not to say that the case management staff did not take time to advise their clients—certainly all of the case management staff did this. However, with numerous constraints on their time, there were more organizational incentives for case managers to assign time to soliciting paystubs than there were for reaching out to clients who perhaps are most in need.

My experience as a volunteer as a whole also generally points to the extent to which this recordkeeping meant to safeguard the organization from audit, thereby enhancing legitimacy, was more important than contacting hard-to-reach clients. I spent hundreds of hours, during some of which I was soliciting clients for their paystubs, but also organizing Matt's employment records, and filling out employment verification forms. When I compare the amount of time I spent working with employment paystubs to the amount of time that I spent reaching out to hard-to-reach clients, the former clearly dwarfed the latter. While I certainly did not manage a caseload, my volunteer status gave me direct experiential insight into the priorities of the organization as they played out in

everyday case-management practice. As described earlier, the recordkeeping aspects of

case management that allowed the organization to protect itself, also trickled down to

case management staff and myself in terms of what actions were prioritized and

sanctioned positively by Edward and Sharon. While case management staff had

opportunities to provide advice in the context of their data collection, both my

observations and experience point to the fact that advising was secondary to their role as

knowledge producers in the context of the organization. In collecting data about clients

themselves as well as clients' employment, case managers enabled Afterward as an

organization to have knowledge of clients and be able to point to material results of

participation in their program, all of which were especially important for Afterward's

survival and its continued ability to legitimate urban governance.

There was also the case of the job fair. Jennifer, who was white and in her mid-

30s, was a policy expert from a government public safety bureaucracy. However, she was

housed within Afterward's office, and often cooperated with the staff on various projects.

One of her projects that she pursued in relationship to the Afterward office was a job fair

for people with criminal records. The job fair in particular highlights pursuit and

portrayal of legitimacy through results is paramount in Afterward's informal hierarchy of

goals. During my preliminary fieldwork, I had been to a version of this job fair that was

held in a room in a government building. For that job fair, about 1,000 people, ostensibly

with criminal records, showed up throughout the day to seek employment from selected

private sector employers. From what I could observe, I saw people meeting with

employer representatives, and filling out applications. Throughout that day many of

Afterward's clients were directed over towards the building.  According to statements from one of the public officials who had a hand in the job fair, about half of the people who showed up were eventually offered some form of employment, albeit likely part time wage employment.  It was also tacitly understood that the function of this job fair was a symbolic one for the local government, and that could be used for public relations afterwards.  To the extent that Afterward maintained connections to local government, it also was an active and willing participant in political public relations, i.e. making the local government look good.

A year later in my participation observation, the same job fair had occurred, but with dramatically different results.  While I had not attended, the events were well covered by the local media, and I was also able to get a picture of events from informally interviewing staff.  About 3,000 people showed up in the early morning, much more than expected, because of the extent to which the word had spread about the job fair.  Most were turned away because their sheer number exceeded the capacity of the room inside the building, which meant that a large dissatisfied crowd of people formed outside of a government building.  People's resumes were collected, but ultimately the job fair had to be cancelled that day.  Public officials said they would reschedule the job fair, and Afterward became responsible for planning this event, which would take place in a much larger facility.

In planning the rescheduled job fair, Edward, the program director at Afterward, took control over the project.  Edward's plan was to create a comprehensive experience for job fair attendees that involved not only prospective employers, but also workshops

and public officials as speakers. Edward involved the entire staff at Afterward in the planning process, including me. Edward held meetings to plan for the event, which met approximately every day in the weeks leading up to the job fair. Meetings centered on event planning, logistics, and activating networks. These meetings often occurred after staff had worked a full day, and sometimes the staff bristled at having to do this extra work. Nevertheless, staff organized workshops related to expungement of criminal records, job interview preparation, obtaining GEDs, and debt related legal services. Staff members were also responsible for reaching out to fellow service providers to attend the event. Staff also advertised the event through traditional methods like fliers, and newer methods like social media. Finally, staff members were also responsible for reaching out to employers to attend the event.

In addition to spending time organizing the logistics and planning of the event, staff were also responsible for processing the people who attended the previously cancelled event. Thousands of resumes had been dropped off, and staff members were responsible for organizing them, capturing the data from them, and following up with people with information about the new rescheduled event. In addition, about 200 people were recorded as having attended the cancelled event and having left their contact information but no resume—Edward would refer to this group as "project 200." Staff members were responsible for following up with this group for the purposes of a special orientation in order to determine whether or not they might be eligible for Afterward services. Edward's rationale behind "project 200" was that in showing up to a job fair without a resume, they could be identified as underprepared, and therefore, the likeliest to

benefit from Afterward's service provision program. Many people who were already participants in Afterward, including several of my interviewees, as well as clients in other reentry programs, were solicited to participate in the job fair as volunteer labor.

The day of the job fair was busy. Afterward had shut down that day, with all of the staff being responsible for some aspect of the event. Afterward's clients either volunteered or were asked to participate in the job fair. About three thousand people pre-registered, and about a thousand who were not registered attended. In order to manage foot traffic, Afterward had given participants wrist-bands, so that people could be directed around the large facility in waves. Afterward had the event set up so that people would hear from speakers who were public officials first, then attend workshops, and then have access to a large open conference room where both employers and service providers were set up at long tables. Representatives from about one hundred employers were present in the room, along with representatives from one hundred social service programs. Volunteers were also stationed around the complex, and were able to direct people to where they were assigned to go.

Afterward staff regarded the rescheduled and re-vamped job fair largely as a success, particularly from a public relations standpoint. Among the managers, the staff, and even journalists who covered the event, the consensus was that the fair marked a substantial improvement over the failure that had occurred a few months before. Attendees were able to participate in the job fair largely without issue. What was less clear was the availability of employment from the employers who had showed up, and how many people actually obtained employment through their participation.

Additionally, some of the staff had remarked in later meetings on what they saw as the shoddy treatment of the volunteers, some of whom were not provided lunch and water throughout the day. However, Edward highlighted the positives of the job fair, pointing out that not only had they received a positive reception, but that he had been solicited by other reentry service providers from other cities for instructions on how they would be able to have a similar type of job fair.

The goal of legitimating urban governance is useful in explaining Afterward's behavior as an organization, as well as the individual actors within it. Jennifer's initial logistical failure very quickly became a political failure as the local media responded critically to the inability of the government to make good on promises to provide a particular type of employment based service to people with criminal records. In other words, with respect to legitimizing urban governance, Jennifer's job fair had the exact opposite effect that it was intended to have, in that it laid bare the truism of urban bureaucratic dysfunction. The amount of time and effort spent by Afterward as a whole in organizing a new larger job fair, on top of the provision of their standard day-to-day services, points to the extent to which legitimizing of urban governance is paramount in Afterward's informal hierarchy of goals. In having people with criminal records bypass the standard Afterward service provision process, there is an implicit acknowledgement that employment as an objective is much more significant than service provision configured through public safety rationales of reducing recidivism. Additionally, in putting on the larger job fair, Afterward can legitimate itself by explaining the series of events that led to it in terms of the classical street level bureaucracy dilemma of the

demand for services exceeding the supply, a demand which then legitimized Afterward's attempts to increase its scope of employment services to people with criminal records. There was also a very public and performative aspect to Afterward's job fair as a whole that makes it clear the extent to which legitimizing urban governance is at the top of Afterward's informal hierarchy of goals.

The reality of the situation at Afterward is more complex than a "bureaucratic charade." Even while I argue that legitimating urban governance is an important goal at Afterward, there are real well-meaning actors working to provide material advantages to people with criminal records in a society in which they are highly marginalized. The provision of these services is not a trivial thing that we should brush aside. In the following section I will point to several organizational practices designed to provide advantages in terms of employment to Afterward's clients. The implementation of these practices point to the fact that it was a goal of Afterward to employ clients in real tangible ways that are not solely defined by the ways in which they could possibly legitimize urban governance. However, I will also show how these practices are circumscribed by the context of limited resources and intra organizational politics. In particular, I will highlight the work of Matt, the employment specialist, and Jennifer, a public safety bureaucrat.

Matt was the employment specialist at Afterward. Once clients had completed Afterward's life skills and job readiness program, they got the chance to meet with Matt one on one to discuss their employment prospects. As I was often in Matt's office during

these meetings, I started to get used to their rhythm.  Typically, they were 15 to 20 minutes, and had discussion of the individual's credentials, their work experience, the quality of their resume, as well as their availability.  Matt would usually have a job or two in mind that he would discuss with the client, and he would sometimes indicate what job he thought would be better for the client given their circumstances.  By the end of the meeting, the client would typically have a place, date and time for an interview.  Matt was also not shy about telling clients what to do, and what not to do, in order to secure the job from the interview.  Some things that came up frequently were: 1) set the alarm twice to wake up several hours before the interview, 2) you can smoke before you shower but not before the interview, and 3) Dress professionally for the interview, even if it is a labor job.  Matt would also follow up with clients the day before, leaving voicemails to remind them to go on their interview, a task that I found often fell to me as a volunteer intern.

Though it was less visible to me, I was aware that Matt also followed up with employers on the back end, to see if his clients showed up, and who the employers would want to take. By following cycles of employment in the labor market, and maintaining open communication with employers, Matt was able to provide a much higher probability of employment to clients than they would have on their own by steering them towards opportunities where the clients had been positively sanctioned through completing Afterward's five week program, and the employer had demonstrated a need.  Matt cultivated networks with employers both through the prestige of Afterward itself, but also through the trust of being able to repeatedly provide a relatively reliable workforce.

Matt's networks with employers as well as the relative prestige of Afterward, all translated into tangible material goods for the Afterward client population in the form of employment. In doing so, Matt's actions were primarily directed at the fulfillment of the second goal in Afterward's informal hierarchy, which I identify as the employment of the client. Nevertheless, Matt's ability to facilitate the gainful employment of the client was highly constrained by a number of factors, which presents street level dilemmas for service provision.

For instance, employment opportunities through Afterward were not all equivalent. I had gotten a pretty good idea of the types of jobs that Afterward offered because of the time that I spent organizing employment records for Matt. While it depended on the client, Matt oftentimes described his job opportunities in terms of tiers. For Matt, the first tier jobs were full time jobs that could pay up to $13 an hour. These were typically custodial service jobs. Other full time employment included jobs through a staffing agency, super market jobs, and warehouse jobs. While these paid more than minimum wage, they typically paid less than custodial service jobs. The lower tier jobs were part time employment, which was sometimes referred to as "transitional work" or "seasonal work." These jobs were often tied to specific events like professional sports games, or festivals open to the public. These jobs had a wage that often did not go higher than $10 an hour and were sometimes minimum wage jobs.

In the case of distributing employment opportunities, Afterward as an organization faced the classic street level bureaucracy dilemma of how to ration services when demand for them outstrips organization's supply (Lipsky 2010). Matt's way of

31

providing tiers to employment was an adaptation strategy for him in the rationing of

employment opportunities to clients. There were several instances where Matt had asked

me to be a sounding board for his tiered employment structure. Matt was attempting to

justify his tiered employment in a proposal to a third party he called a "vendor" that

would be able to match his part time employment opportunities with full time work. His

argument was that his transitional work could be used as a low stakes vetting of

Afterward clients for full time work that they could then receive through a partnership

with the vendor. I said to him that I thought that in the case of the highest risk

individuals, that supplying them with full time employment would probably provide the

greatest chance of reducing the risk of a new crime being committed. Matt argued back

that in fact, that benefit might not be there, because a high risk individual might be more

unreliable, and not able to handle a full time job. I then offered that the people with the

greatest risk likely also had the greatest need, and Matt countered that he viewed client's

needs as relatively equivalent.

Now, Matt's justification for a proposal to a third party vendor might not exactly

correspond with the motivation for Matt's tiered employment structure. Nevertheless, his

explicit justifications for it provide us some insight into the types of functions a two

tiered structure of employment might be able to provide, e.g. low stakes vetting. Of

course, Matt conceded that it would be optimal to have full time employment for all

clients, rather than a mix of full time and part time. Additionally, having more full time

employment opportunities to distribute to clients was the true underlying motivation for

trying to obtain more full time employment from the vendor in question. However, even

as Matt tries to obtain more full time employment opportunities for his clients, he is hamstrung in what he can offer Afterward clients in terms of employment opportunities because of both limited resources, as well as features of the entry level labor market that are outside of his control. In light of these limitations, Matt conceives of the tiered strategy to guide him in the distribution of employment opportunities, the pursuit of which aligns with employment as a goal within an informal hierarchy of goals at Afterward.

In brokering employment resources, Matt was a gatekeeper of sorts. In meetings with clients, he had discretion to evaluate whether or not a client was ready for employment. Case managers would sometimes advocate on behalf of their clients to Matt in order to help their clients obtain employment. While case managers had little in the way of institutional leverage over Matt, they could use their interpersonal relationships, i.e. workplace friendships, as an inroad to cajole him to acting in ways that would benefit clients on their caseload, which I observed several times. Ultimately though, the distribution of employment opportunities to clients fell to Matt's discretion, even as he had established routines in order to guide him in his decision-making.

Afterward also had other direct mechanisms for the pursuit of employment for clients, the second goal in the informal hierarchy. Jennifer, a bureaucrat from a public safety bureaucracy, was responsible for the implementation of a tax-incentive program. In this policy strategy based on a local ordinance, the municipal government provided tax breaks to employers that hired people with criminal records. According to the guideline documents for employers, they would receive an amount equal to $10,000 multiplied by

the percentage of the year that a full time employee worked, and an amount equal to $5,000 in the case of part time workers. In practical terms, this tax incentive would halve the wage cost for the employer of a full time employee making $10 an hour, not counting any benefits they might be receiving. Employers receiving tax breaks for the hiring of employees with criminal records is a clear attempt at pursuing mechanisms to increase employment among those with criminal records, who are typically underemployed. In implementing this program, Afterward is making real attempts at pursuing employment of the client, the second goal in its hierarchy of goals. However, the tax breaks had limits with respect to their efficacy.

In speaking with Jennifer informally about the implementation of these hiring incentives, she disclosed with some chagrin that it was built into the guidelines that employers could only benefit from these tax breaks when hiring employees who had participated in Afterward's programming. She explained that these guidelines would constrain the implementation and effectiveness of the tax incentives, since there are many more people with criminal records seeking employment than those to whom Afterward is providing services. Jennifer attributed this restriction to Edward's desire to have Afterward as an organization benefit from the incentives by attracting more clients, rather than do what was best for the implementation of the policy as a whole. Jennifer's account fits in with the narrative I have presented of an informal hierarchy of goals at Afterward, with Afterward's legitimation of urban governance and survival at the top of the goals hierarchy, with employment below it. Afterward's ability to provide tax-incentives to employers who hire people with criminal records creates a real advantage

that other reentry agencies that focus on employment do not have with respect to obtaining employment for their clients. By keeping these incentives exclusive to Afterward clients, Edward is able to bring some prestige to Afterward and its clients, even though the policy itself might arguably do more to employ people with criminal records were it not exclusive to Afterward.

Matt also expressed a lot of skepticism about the efficacy of tax incentives for hiring. When I discussed the incentives with him, he said that most employers would not be interested in the amount of paperwork, fulfilling the numerous requirements, or opening themselves up to the tax department. According to the 52 page application guidelines, employers had to fulfill a number of requirements, including communication with the tax department, plans to operate within city limits for 5 years, and having qualifying employees for at least half the year that are paid the same as other employees. Both Matt and I agreed, with these types of requirements, it was clear that corporations large enough to have personnel departments were in the best position to benefit from the tax incentive programs in a cost effective manner. The hours of time spent with Matt's employment records also allowed me to observe patterns among employers who were able to take advantage of tax incentives. Employment verification forms had a place where it was noted whether or not the employee was participating in the incentive program. It would become clear in my many hours of reviewing these forms that it was one of the largest corporations in the city that was consistently able to take advantage of the tax incentives, with smaller employees almost never doing so. These tax incentives fit well with a "growth machine" conception of urban governance (Logan and Molotch

1988).  I examine more of the implications of this in Chapter 4, where I situate clients'

employment experiences in the context of their life courses.

With respect to the client more directly, three out of the five weeks of

programming that clients had to go through were focused on preparation specifically for

entrance into the entry level labor market.  These classes focused on things that clients

could do at the individual level to help themselves, and used strategies including mock

interviewing and resume preparation.  While clients often mentioned in my interviews

that they perceived this preparation as useful, and certainly the clients will not receive

employment without a resume and an interview, it is less clear that this preparation

*specifically* is the thing that helps the client to gain employment.  Nevertheless, the

presence of the programming is indicative of the pursuit of the second goal, the

employment of the client.  Arguably of more sociological significance in these classes is

the way in which the five week program invites the client to participate in the social

construction of agency via a focus on individual decision-making, which address more

deeply in Chapter 5.

It is clear that there were real mechanisms available to Afterward that it was able

to leverage in the pursuit of its second most important goal in its hierarchy, i.e. the

employment of the client.  These mechanisms promoting employment included the

networks of the organization to employers, the prestige of the organization itself in the

form of a concrete credential, tax incentives for employers, and employment preparation

classes.  However, in facilitating client pursuit of employment, Afterward faced

constraints.  Afterward could only offer a limited number of opportunities based on

forces outside of its control, with many of these employment opportunities only offering part time work.  Additionally, tax incentives had limited applicability beyond major employers, and likely could not generate the sort of demand for labor from corporations that Afterward would be able to rely upon.  Nevertheless, employment of the client remained a clear objective that can be accounted for by staff members.  Employment also helped resolve the problem of immediate goal ambiguity when faced with the more abstract task of promoting public safety.

## Public Safety Discourse and Public Policy

In a classic rational means-ends formulation, Afterward utilizes employment of the client as a means towards the end of reducing the rates of recidivism of its clients.  Afterward as an organization defines recidivism as returning to jail for a new offense.  Given this definition of recidivism, Afterward can claim, in preventing future crimes with its service mechanisms that it contributes towards the end goal of public safety.  There are certain aspects of Afterward's service provision model that reflect public safety concerns beyond purely employment concerns, which I will explain.  However, I will show how, in implementation, these public safety principles operate under considerable constraints.  Additionally, employment does have a link to reducing recidivism (Uggen 2000).  Nevertheless, in the end, public safety functions more as an advantageous bureaucratic myth, or in the language of neo-institutionalism, a mimetic isomorphism.  When public safety is interpreted in this way, it can easily be seen how it keys into the most important goal of Afterward, the legitimation of urban governance.

There are a number of practices implemented at Afterward with public safety justifications. To put it more concretely, there are services that are designed to reduce client rates of recidivism. Clients go through a five week behavioral skills and employment prep program that goes from 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. on weekdays. There is research that suggests that these courses do reduce recidivism for participants who complete the program (Lipsey and Cullen 2007). Aside from the content of these courses themselves, they are designed as an intervention to get the client habituated to keeping a regular schedule, take up enough time to facilitate psychological investment, and limit time for other activities (Bush, Glick, and Taymans 2011). While obviously some of these things have implications for the client's ability to maintain employment, they are designed with reducing recidivism rates, which has implications for public safety.

Much of the activity of the case management staff also is attached to public safety narratives. In particular, the practice with the most obvious implications for public safety is risk assessment. Eligible clients first interact with the case management staff in the form of an intake interview, where the client provides information about himself or herself to an individual case manager. Case managers make sure to capture relevant pieces of information about the client, e.g. age, race, gender, level of education, housing, family ties, criminal supervision, mental health issues, participation in drug and alcohol treatment, etc. This information forms the basis for risk assessment by the case manager. While this information is entered into a database that can be accessed later, the case manager is also responsible for creating case-notes, which are qualitative and holistic descriptions of clients and their social situations that are supplemented by the

interpretation of the individual case manager. Additionally, after their first meeting, case managers typically have shorter follow up meetings with clients throughout the clients' participation in Afterward's five week life skills program, as well as follow up phone calls after program is over. Follow up meetings and correspondence with clients serve as opportunities for the case manager to gather more data about clients, which would be especially useful in the case of dynamic risk factors (Campbell, French, and Gendreau 2009).

However, the ability of Afterward to obtain public safety related outcomes occurs under considerable constraints. With respect to program implementation, most meta-analyses assume that clients go through a corrections industry standard program, e.g. Thinking for A Change, which lasts for 16 weeks. While I understood that Afterward's programming was similar in conceptual terms to other programs employing the Risk Needs Responsivity model (Ward and Maruna 2007), their whole program only lasted 5 weeks, with only two of those weeks focusing on key concepts related to decision-making. While it is fair to only evaluate programs based on the people who complete them, this sort of analysis also ignores the implementation issue of client attrition, where about 50% of the people who begin the program do not complete it. The reality of client attrition was well known by the case managers and staff—Matt in particular used a 50% attrition rate rule of thumb to forecast how many jobs he would need to have for each incoming cohort of clients. Most meta-analyses also assume that programs are using a corrections industry standard risk-assessment tool, i.e. a questionnaire designed to be able to aid corrections professionals in determining the likelihood of an individual committing

a new crime. At Afterward, case management had told me several time that they were not using such a tool, e.g. LSI-R, and that they had their doubts about the "in-house" risk assessment device's accuracy. More specifically, while Edward liked to say that Afterward took on "high-risk" clients, case managers found that most of the clients they assessed using their tool turned out to be "medium risk." Beyond the issues with the tool itself, according to a snapshot of the client rolls, about two thirds of the Afterward client population did not have a violent crime on their records, i.e. they had either property crimes or drug crimes. While there is something to be said for the fact that perhaps the likelihood of someone who was incarcerated for a non-violent crime committing a violent crime is greater than that of someone who has never been incarcerated at all committing a violent crime (Western 2015), the implications for public safety of reducing recidivism seems diminished if we are limited to evidence of past recorded criminal activity. At a more theoretical level, even if we concede that reducing rates of recidivism is desirable, it is hard to see reduction of client recidivism rates as having more than a marginal effect on neighborhood level patterns of crime, as satisfying as that marginal effect may be for the person who has avoided victimization. Moreover, even if crime rates were to go down while this sort of program implementation was happening concurrently, it would be even more difficult to demonstrate a causal link between the two.

Keeping these issues related to implementation and questions about understanding causality in mind, I argue for public safety as a discursive myth deployed advantageously in the manner of an isomorphism that is mimetic with other public safety and criminal justice bureaucracies, rather than a concrete measureable goal that can be obtained.

Interpreting public safety as a mimetic isomorphism also fits into my larger narrative regarding the organization's formal hierarchy of goals, with Afterward's public safety narrative working for its own survival as well as the broader legitimation of urban governance.

My interview with Edward, the program director at Afterward, was highly instructive regarding the importance of public safety at Afterward as an advantageous narrative.

> In an ideal world, we should be providing services for the highest risk guys, those that we know are going to re-offend and go back to detention as compared to someone that's low risk and in my view the only challenge, the primary challenge that they're facing right now is how they transition to employment. At the end of the day, and this is a paradox, and I think you've heard me say this many times, a guy returning from detention crime free, making the commitment to reunite and be a part of his family, making the commitment to be a part of the community in very productive ways, making the commitment to be employed and pay taxes, we want that to happen. We want that to happen. However, it's not all about that. What it's about, in my opinion, in the rooms that I'm in, number one, it's about public safety. It's about no more victims and that's the way it should be. Miss Rose who's 90 years old should not be afraid to go to church on Wednesday night for bible study because she's going to get mugged by those old hip hop jokers that are looking to victimize somebody. She shouldn't have to worry when she leaves her house, her house is going to be robbed by a break-in. So it's about public safety… Secondly, in the rooms that I'm in, it's about the cost to taxpayers. It is just costing taxpayers too much money to incarcerate. There has to be a reduction in those costs and that's tied to stopping guys from going back to prison.

Edward lays out what looks like the best case scenario for a client, and then diminishes that scenario in comparison to larger goals of public safety and saving tax payer dollars. He paints a clear, if simplistic, picture of what Anderson might refer to as a "decent" victim of crime at the hands of a stereotyped "street" criminal (Anderson 2000). I would argue that this rendering of Afterward's purpose as crime prevention is largely divorced

from the everyday reality of implementing employment based social services at Afterward. Additionally, while employment is obviously known to be important by scholars and professionals alike for reducing recidivism among people with criminal records, goals like reducing client recidivism are inherently probabilistic affairs, particularly for any individual case. There is no *guarantee* that even an employed client with the best of intentions will not return to prison for a violation of parole or probation, or even a new offense. Overall, there are many more reasons to attribute client attainment of employment to Afterward than changes regarding any one client's relationship to the criminal justice system.

However, the social science literature suggests that deployment of this public safety discourse is highly adaptive in nature for social service organizations (Woolford and Curran 2012). In discussing "the rooms that I'm in" Edward here is referring to his responsibility as a representative of Afterward in the context of other government bureaucracies. In order to justify and secure funding for the existence of Afterward, it's in Afterward's best interest for Edward to represent Afterward's purpose in the way that resonates with service to a broader public, and savings for an already cash strapped municipal government. As much as this framing may be a political necessity, the cruel irony is that Afterward's budget has been continually diminished during his time as the program director—over 5 years its annual budget was decreased from 2.4 million down to 1.15 million. As he explained to me in our interview, after accounting for the cost of salaries, rent, security, and transportation passes for clients, Afterward had an operational budget of about $65,000. Edward explained to me in our interview that he was only able

to secure this much of an operational budget by getting a literacy non-profit to do their adult basic education program for free, which allowed him to pay for other programs to make clients (marginally) more employable like forklift certification and line cook certifications. By acting as a liaison for Afterward, Edward will take on the language of public safety, while scrambling to secure employment based programming for clients.

Linkages of Afterward to other public safety bureaucracies become clearer when taking Jennifer's role into account. Jennifer was spearheading a network of criminal justice bureaucracies to focus on prisoner reentry in the city. These organizations included parole, probation, the district attorney, the public defenders' office, the municipal jails, and other similar bureaucracies. Jennifer provided me with an explanation of their policy strategy:

> So this is what we call the funnel. Because everything is funneling down to increase public safety. So we figure, well, step one… until you get people doing evidence-based risk and needs assessments, how are you going to know where to properly refer them to? And then also when—if people are doing evidence-based risk assessments, ultimately we would like organizations to be focusing resources and time and effort on those highest—at highest risk—thinking, well, I mean, if you're focusing on the people that are the highest risk, then recidivism will go down that way. But until you're doing a risk-based assessment, how do you know who's high risk? So until you fix the assessment—and then once you sort of know who your high risk people are and what are their needs, then you need to be able to figure out where and how to refer them to, because you're not going to like—you're not going to send a high risk person to like a crappy organization. And then same thing with you're not going to send a low risk person to a very intensive program. So then how those referrals actually happen and how they happen in between organizations, then we've got to fix that. And then once you have someone, you know, assessed for their risk and need, and then you make the proper referral, then you can get the individual working on their education, employment, housing, which leads them to be self-sufficient, empowered, independent reintegrated, which lead us the outcome of public, increased public safety. So this is basically what the coalition is trying to do is do this funnel.

Here, Jennifer highlights the importance of public safety for the prisoner reentry coalition's agenda, where it is the matter of central importance.   Her explanation relies heavily on the standard means-end rendering of prisoner reentry, with services as a mechanism for public safety.  Later on in the interview, she discusses how the coalition is set up in advance of justice reinvestment, which she frames as primarily protecting money for future criminal justice spending—much different from how justice reinvestment originally was intended for schools and healthcare (Gottschalk 2015:99). Coordination on risk assessment fulfills requirements of "evidence-based" approaches to public safety, but Afterward's participation in this coalition is incentivized by the possibility of seeing grant money.  Given Afterward's diminishing resources, this pursuit of public safety is less well explained by attempts at efficiency and best practices than it is by attempts to survive as a bureaucracy.  Jennifer also explained to me that part of the reason she had her job was because she was instrumental in fundraising for a successful municipal election campaign—it is no surprise that she would be put in a position spearheading the pursuit of criminal justice reform grant money.  With this in mind, Afterward's linkages to other government bureaucracies in pursuit of grant money conforms to the explanation of public safety as a mimetic isomorphism, in this case, in pursuit of organizational survival.

With respect to Afterward's hierarchy of goals, the results of public safety as a rational end are much less clear than the ends of legitimating urban governance, organizational survival, and the employment of the client.  Public safety can explain how services are configured, but it arguably has very little connection to the results produced by the Afterward organization.  From this ethnographer's perspective, the role of

employing the client was much clearer with respect to the organizing purpose of every

day service provision, even though employment was ostensibly a mechanism towards

public safety ends in the reduction of client recidivism. Moreover, it is clear from

Edward's discussion how public safety discourse is seen as necessary to justify his

organization, and how Afterward is linked to other government bureaucracies where

public safety is a stated objective. The importance of these networks becomes even more

clear when their collaboration is based off of the pursuit of grant money, showing that

public safety discourse can be deployed in the pursuit of organizational resources.

Overall, public safety is an adaptive mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983)

for an a street level bureaucracy with limited resources more than it is a concrete reality

to be obtained at the neighborhood level.

### Power and Politics in the Configuration of Goal Hierarchy in Prisoner Reentry

When taken at face value, the explicit goal of Afterward was public safety, with

employment of the client being secondary to that mechanism. I argue here that this

means-ends formulation of Afterward glosses over the real dynamics of the organization.

As a street level bureaucracy, it is to be expected that Afterward would be contending

with limited resources and goal ambiguity. In cases where there is goal ambiguity and

limited resources, sociologists from neo-institutionalism have broadly argued that the

classic Weberian model of formal rationality falls apart when we attempt to describe how

organizations behave. Culture, in its macro-institutional (DiMaggio and Powell 1983)

and micro-situational configurations (Hallett and Ventresca 2006) both has consequences

for how we can understand organizations. More specifically, I have attempted to render

an informal hierarchy of goals that explains how people at Afterward are behaving that is

constructed by macro-cultural institutions as well as the every-day concerns of street level bureaucrats.  I posit the legitimation of urban governance at the top of the hierarchy, followed by employment of the client, with public safety at the bottom of the hierarchy. Legitimation of urban governance is the most important goal in the hierarchy because its absence jeopardizes the ability of the entire enterprise to continue.  The second most important goal in the hierarchy is the employment of the client—employment is something Afterward can use to exert control over the client and it fulfills the need for easily identifiable evaluative information.  The third most important goal is public safety, because of how it configures the social service delivery model—but in the end primarily serves as an isomorphic myth with other government bureaucracies.

One critique of cultural approaches to the explanation of human behavior is that they employ a form of circular reasoning (Wacquant 2002).  As the argument goes, culture is both the cause and the effect of human behavior, so how are we to know where it is coming from?  How does culture allow us to predict things, and how are we to know what culture actually is?  These are all important questions.  For now, I will attempt to tackle the question of how we might explain what counts as culture in this instance, or in other words, what sort of theoretical explanation would be appropriate for understanding a particular cultural configuration?  In more concrete terms, what would explain the informal hierarchy of goals as I have posited them for Afterward?

Already embedded within my explanation of Afterward's hierarchy of goals is the notion of organizational survival, or organizational self-interest.  Many scholars have pointed to the notion that organizations will over time tend to pursue objectives that favor

their own continued existence (Meyer 2010). However, it is important to notice how the pursuit of survival can take on political dimension in the case of a street level bureaucracy like Afterward. Because of Afterward's connections to other bureaucracies of municipal government, it makes sense that the legitimation of urban governance would be of primary importance with respect to decisions made by actors within Afterward. Afterward's legitimation of a municipal government's approach to issues related to criminal justice, joblessness, and poverty broadly could confer material benefits to the political actors in said government. So given the benefits that could accrue to the actors responsible for Afterward's existence, it becomes easily understandable how the legitimation of urban governance is the *sine qua non* for understanding why Afterward and the people working within Afterward act the way that they do.

If we accept the legitimation of urban governance as the primary objective that Afterward is in pursuit of, then it is possible to fall in the trap of rendering Afterward as a "bureaucratic charade." With respect to the pursuit of public safety as an objective, I argue that this critique has merits, which is why I have public safety as third, and least important, in the informal hierarchy that I offer to explain Afterward's staff and management actors. However, I offer evidence that Afterward as an organization is invested in facilitating their clients' obtaining of employment. Certainly, Afterward as an organization is going to favor ways of facilitating client employment that legitimize urban governance over those that do not, e.g. case managers soliciting pay stubs from clients instead of following up with clients who are less accessible, or solidifying public-private partnerships with major corporations through supplying a steady stream of cheap

labor at a discount.  Nevertheless, clients who come to Afterward are often in such precarious and unstable situations, that even part-time employment can function as a life-line.  This is of course to say nothing of the interpersonal relationships developed between staff, particularly case management, as advice givers and potentially mentors, the sociological importance of which scholars acknowledge formally from an inhabited institutions perspective (Hallett and Ventresca 2006) and Anderson acknowledges specifically and substantively (Anderson 2000). All of this is to say that the people who work at Afterward are not primarily motivated by political ambition or self-interest, in that there is some extent to which the employment, but also the general well-being of the client is of both professional and emotional significance to them.  Perhaps more important than this sort of commitment for shaping life course outcomes is the extent to which Afterward utilizes its credentialing capacities and prestige networks to facilitate clients efforts to obtain employment.  Employment of the client is clearly important to understanding the day to day service provision that occurs in Afterward, which is why I put it second to legitimation of urban governance in terms of its importance to Afterward.

I have also argued, that while there are aspects of Afterward's service provision that have public safety justifications, that overall the extent to which Afterward can be said to be producing public safety related outcomes is largely nominal.  In positing public safety as the third in the informal hierarchy of goals at Afterward, I highlight the extent to which the *discourse* of public safety at Afterward is mimetically isomorphic with other government bureaucracies as well as adaptive.  Public safety discourse is also built into the notion of prisoner reentry itself, insofar as that policy project is about preventing

future crime through social service mechanisms. With respect to public safety, the critique of neo-institutionalism is the strongest with respect to the role of networks to other government bureaucracies as well as the broad importance of public safety in criminal justice, and a political explanation most obvious for understanding the meaning of public safety for Afterward.

In this chapter, I have offered an informal hierarchy of goals that have a strong relationship to the politics of urban governance as a way of explaining the actions of Afterward, a prisoner reentry organization, as well as the behavior of the people who work within its boundaries. It is important to note that this informal hierarchy of goals is a product of my fieldwork, my analysis, and my interpretation. In some ways, it directly contradicts the official discourse of Afterward, the discourse of prisoner reentry, which posits social service provision as a means to a public safety end. More specifically in the case of Afterward, this discourse means employment services are mechanism for reducing the rates of recidivism among a client population who qualifies for service based on the possession of a criminal record. In offering this informal hierarchy as a way of explaining organizational behavior, I make theoretical use of the neo-institutionalism in sociology. In the construction of this hierarchy, even as I centralize the importance of the politics of urban governance and organizational survival, I provide evidence of real, albeit constrained, mechanisms used by Afterward to the benefit of its clients.

Some scholars would argue that the benefits obtained from this type of social service provision are purely ostensible, and that this type of social service provision is actually a paternalistic form of social control engineered to regulate the behavior of the

poor (Katz 2002; Piven and Cloward 1993; Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011; Wacquant 2009b).  In highlighting the significance of social service as a form of social discipline of the poor that expressly benefits people in power, and the capacity of such bureaucracies to distract from *meaningful reform*, I think that this critique is fair.  At the same time, if prisoner reentry organizations were suddenly rendered non-existent, I remain unconvinced that this would result in the desired criminal justice reform, or even social movements—social movement organizations and prisoner reentry organizations may not even be mutually exclusive.  This does not take away from the central accuracy of the critique identifying the power relations at stake in street level bureaucracies, but it should dissuade empirically driven sociological inquiry away from dismissing prisoner reentry as a "bureaucratic charade."

On the other end of the continuum are scholars who provide definitions of prisoner reentry that rely on a classic Weberian means-end configuration (Petersilia 2003; Travis and Visher 2005; Visher and Travis 2003) These scholars have legitimacy within the disciplines of sociology and criminal justice, and provide both useful renderings and critiques of the effectiveness of prisoner reentry as a policy agenda.  However, in this present analysis, I depart from this taken for granted means-end formulation of prisoner reentry policy in order to offer an interpretive sociological explanation of how prisoner reentry works in the context of implementation.  I also attempt to bring the political critiques of prisoner reentry to bear on an empirical analysis of the dynamics in a case study of a street level bureaucracy by focusing on the ways in which prisoner reentry functions as a form of political legitimation, even as there may be some benefits to those

who receive prisoner reentry types of services.  In summary, in providing an empirical account of the ways in which a street level prisoner reentry bureaucracy focuses on the legitimation of urban governance, I hope to provide an alternative to the reproduction of the technocratic language of criminal justice and political critiques of criminal justice reform.

**Chapter 3: Security, Surveillance, and the Social Construction of the Ex-Offender**

As a walk-in employment based prisoner reentry organization, most of what can be readily observed at Afterward has to do with staff providing services to clients. That is to say, clients are typically spending their time meeting with case management staff one on one, or participating in one of the life skills classes. However, this service provision interaction takes place embedded within the context of a number of security and surveillance measures, measures primarily directed at the clients. As an ethnographer, I wondered, how do these security and surveillance measures work? How do staff and clients interpret and react to security and surveillance measures? And finally, how can these security and surveillance measures be interpreted sociologically? In this chapter, I describe features of the security and surveillance framework set up by Afterward. Many staff justified the security measures through safety, even as they flouted and ridiculed these measures. Client responses to security were primarily adaptive, in that clients typically worked to minimize their exposure to Afterward's surveillance. Also in this chapter, I discuss coordination between Afterward and Community Corrections Centers [CCCs] as a form of cooperative surveillance.

The security and surveillance measures put in place by Afterward have numerous sociological implications. While Afterward is not a prison in itself, these measures point to Afterward's prison-like qualities. More specifically, Afterward's cooperative surveillance with CCCs, and networks to other criminal justice bureaucracies demonstrate the value of the concept of the carceral continuum in interpreting

Afterward's sociological importance (Shedd 2011). The narrative of safety used to justify security and surveillance measures mirrors the narratives of public safety used both by Afterward and bureaucracies networked to it (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). These security and surveillance practices also play a role in the way in which Afterward is a "people-processing" street level bureaucracy that produces "ex-offenders" (Miller 2015). In other words, security measures produce the "ex-offender" as someone who is dangerous, and needs to be monitored for the purpose of safety, and is labelled as such (Goffman 1986b). Dovetailing with material issues like public criminal records (Pager 2009), as well as the broader social condemnation of blackness as criminogenic (Muhammad 2010) and surveilled (Browne 2014; Fiske 1998), the security and surveillance measures help to construct the ex-offender as a stigmatized social position.

## Security and Surveillance Practices

During my participant observation at Afterward, I had the chance to observe the every-day security measures put in place. These measures included security guards, cameras, and metal detectors, among other things. In what follows, I will describe the situation that clients face as they enter Afterward's premises.

Afterward, like many organizations in urban areas, is limited to one floor of a multiple story building. The first thing that one notices when walking into the Afterward building is that there are two security desks. The desk on the right is specifically manned by security guards contracted out by Afterward to a private security firm. There was a rotating staff of four security guards, all of whom were African American men in their thirties and forties. Based on my observations of security, at any time there must be at

least two security guards on duty, one for the office space itself, and one for the check in desk downstairs.  Typically, there were three guards on duty to allow for flexibility in their comings and goings, e.g. lunch, cigarette breaks, etc.  At least one of these guards also was a police officer, i.e. they had a badge and a gun, while the other two were private security, and did not have weapons.  All of these guards coordinated with Afterward's Deputy Director, Sidney, who in effect operated as their onsite supervisor.

As a walk-in or new client of Afterward, one would have to submit to having his or her photo taken.  Upon having that photo taken, the security guards print out a paper badge with adhesive for that individual, which has that person's name, the reason they have come to Afterward, the date and time at which the badge was printed, and that same photo.  Clients also had to sign in, with their name, signature, and the reason for their attendance in a notebook kept by the security guards.

After signing in, clients were searched.  Clients would be asked to empty their pockets and hold out their arms parallel to the ground.  Security guards then scanned clients with a metal detector wand, patted them down, and asked clients to turn around for another scan.  With twenty to thirty clients arriving in the morning for services, searching clients, signing in, scanning them, and printing out badges for each of the clients could take a half hour or more.  Overall, the situation was analogous to an airport security checkpoint.

A client would then get onto the elevator, go up to the Afterward floor, and walk down a 50 foot hallway to get to Afterward's doors on the right.  Upon entering the

Afterward office space, clients would sign in a second time with an admin-coordinator, with their name, the date, and the time. The admin-coordinator kept attendance sheets with clients' names, photographs, and their reason for coming to Afterward. After signing in for a second time, clients would either go to their class, or have a seat in a waiting room. The waiting room had about 12 chairs, with 3-4 chairs along each side of the walls of the room, and a security guard was almost always present to monitor client traffic and behavior.

The monitoring of behavior in the waiting room extended beyond purely security purposes, and typically included reminding clients to abide by organizational rules, the most common ones including telling clients to put their cell phones away and take off their hats. One guard in particular was so invested in this process that he even told clients to put away their phones as they sat silently texting in the waiting room.

Additionally, there were at least 18 cameras in the hallways outside of Afterward's office and within Afterward's office space itself. I know this because I saw two computer monitors in the chief of staff's office broken up into nine sections, each showed the view from a different camera. While some of the cameras were plainly visible as cameras, others were hidden behind a half sphere of glass tinted black, like the cameras one might find in a retail area. Both staff and clients were subject to this surveillance.

Certainly, there are a number of ways that one could interpret the security and surveillance measures taken by Afterward. Some clients are adjudicated to participate in

Afterward's reentry programming by the court system, or referred to the Afterward by

probation or parole offices. In both of these instances, it's difficult to make the argument

that a client is seeking services entirely of his or her own volition, with a lack of

voluntary client participation being part of what constitutes a street level bureaucracy

(Lipsky 2010). Parole, probation, and the court system are all government bureaucracies

that people enmeshed in the criminal justice system must remain compliant with under

threat of sanctions including fines, warrants, violations, new charges, and potentially

returning to prison. Given these pressures, there's an argument to be made that

Afterward's surveillance and security practices are an extension of ones that might be

seen in a prison and are directed explicitly at those who have criminal records. The

security measures coupled with non-voluntary participation of people with criminal

records put Afterward squarely in the carceral continuum (Shedd 2011). The adhesive

badges in particular provide a material mark of program participation, for which an

individual must have a criminal record to qualify. It is not a sociological stretch to see

these badges at the bare minimum as an open display of the criminal record as a negative

credential (Pager 2009), that has symbolically stigmatizing implications (Goffman

1986b) that go beyond their bureaucratic function.

On the other hand, many clients came to Afterward voluntarily, through word of

mouth, in search of economic stability, rather than compliance with a government

bureaucracy. Additionally, it is possible that some aspects of Afterward's security

measures are quite normal, and to interpret these issues using the frameworks of

governmentality or stigma overly dramatizes the issues at hand (Foucault 2007; Goffman

1986b).  In retail environments, there are semi hidden cameras present throughout the store to catch people who steal merchandise.  As part of an airport check in, or walking into court, everyone has to go through a metal detector.  Moreover, in the era of the NSA's automated digital data dragnet (Greenwald 2014), contemporary mass surveillance practices go far beyond simple visual monitoring.  Do a security checkpoint and a few cameras really warrant sociological consideration in the context of a population who has already been processed in some fashion by the criminal justice system?

These are complex issues that cannot be resolved by one empirical study of a reentry program.  However, attending to the perspectives of staff themselves provides a clue to the meaning of security and surveillance prisoner reentry service provision context.  The following account of a shift in Afterward's security practices shows the extent to which security practices are framed in terms of practical issues of safety.

Early on in my participant observation, there was a full size metal detector and an X-ray bag inspection machine with a conveyor belt—an older version of what one might find in an airport.  This metal detector was present because there used to be a municipal court housed in the same building as Afterward.  This metal detector was manned by an armed police officer security guard.  However, about a month into my observations, the metal detector and X-ray bag inspection machine was removed, since the municipal court had moved to a different location.  This was an issue for Afterward from a security standpoint, and I was at the meeting where this was discussed.  Most of the staff was there, including case management, training, the program director Edward, and the Deputy Director, Sidney.  From my field notes:

Edward talked about tightening up client movement throughout the office, moving the whole cohort from class to class, and making sure people scheduled appointments. "We've got to be more careful about managing the traffic." Edward said, talking to the case managers in the staff meeting. "You can't let guys come back into our office without supervision. They need to be supervised at all times. Guys come in here, they could be off their meds, they could be from rival gangs, you don't know what could happen. It's rare, but we've had incidents before." Edward talked about how if something happened in Afterward he wanted "all hands on deck" and remarked (perhaps) facetiously "I've got a hammer behind my desk," reaching under the meeting table for emphasis. Edward also mentioned the fact that Afterward would make some space for body alarms in the budget, which would be distributed to staff.

After some more back and forth on the subject of security measures, Edward turned to me and asked, "Frank, what do you think?" In staff meetings, Edward would politely ask me for my opinion, even though I had little in the way of say or power. I replied, "Well… is it possible that you'll be creating an anxious or potentially hostile environment with some of these rules? Could the client feel uncomfortable? I just wonder if this stuff will get in the way of you doing what you want to do…"

"Frank, I hear what you are saying, but I'm going to have to cut you off right there. The safety of my staff is the most important thing. With all due respect, I don't give a goddamn if the client is upset." I didn't contribute to the office conversation after that, but I acknowledged Edward's point. I also later apologized, and explained that I was not trying to be confrontational, but merely honest.

The rationale for the security measures in that moment was clear: staff safety is what is most important. While Edward concedes that violence is rare in the context of service provision, he does say that they have had "incidents." I personally did not witness any violent physical altercations in my time at Afterward. Nevertheless, Edward perceives the risks of client-based violence to be real, and exhorts the staff to maintain "supervision" at all times. Edward dismisses out of hand any concerns that the clients might have about security measures as secondary. Arguably what is underneath much of this is a conception of the client as a potentially violent actor.

As the director of the program, Edward's perspective is important for setting the

agenda of the organization.  Additionally, what Edward says has credibility—Edward

was incarcerated for a multiple year sentence in a maximum security state penitentiary.

This is to say that Edward is not ignorant regarding the possibilities that could emerge

from dealing with the formerly incarcerated, but is very intimately aware of the types of

things that could occur.  Certainly, the mental health issues faced by clients are real, and

it's reasonable to consider those issues when configuring organizational practices (Lamb

and Weinberger 1998; Schnittker and John 2007).  Nevertheless, while Edward does

acknowledge the issues that I raised, clearly for him they are secondary.  Insofar as the

clients are seen as a threat, the narrative of safety, both within the bureaucracy, and the

broader public safety has relevance for the practices at Afterward.  Just as service

provision and employment services are intended to benefit "public safety" by decreasing

the likelihood of client recidivism, the security practices are also intended to benefit

safety, albeit, the safety of the staff.  Both safety concerns are based on the client as a

threat.

This narrative of safety continued in an interaction I would have later with the

Deputy Director, Sidney, who was in charge of maintaining security measures.

> Sidney came to me and said, "Frank, I want to show you something."  He led me
> into his office and started to explain to me, "There is a reason why Afterward uses
> metal detectors."  He proceeded to show me digital photographs of items that he
> claimed to have confiscated, which included metal scissors, a box cutter, and a
> packing knife.  "You see Frank, these can be used as dangerous weapons.  With
> the crowd we are dealing with here, we have to take precautions."  He smiled at
> me and nodded looking for some acknowledgement from me.  I thanked him for
> showing me the photos.

Clearly, Sidney believed Afterward's security measures allowed for a safe environment. Moreover, he was not shy about pointing that he perceived the clients to be a potential safety risk, particularly if they had objects that could be used as a weapon. Perhaps it is no surprise Sidney would feel that it is necessary for him to take the precautions that he does, especially given that it is his job to do so, rather than provide services directly to clients. Rather than viewing these objects as the accoutrements of entry level or under-the-table labor, they are viewed as part of a possible threat that must be minimized.

So what about the service providers themselves? How do they make sense of the security measures? Of course, some believed they were necessary and good. I spoke with one of the life skills staff a day or two after the meeting, and he said, "It's not just to keep us safe from them. It's to keep them safe from each other. It helps create an environment where people can come in, and we can actually give them the services that they need, and they don't have to worry." So for that staff member, there was no conflict between security and service provision, in that good service provision required a safe environment. However, Afterward's staff were not subject to these security procedures at the checkpoint upon entering the building, even though they were subject to surveillance from cameras throughout the office space. Typically when staff entered they waved hello to the guards, with whom they had established a rapport, as they walked past the line of clients in the morning. There may be some practical justifications for why this occurred, e.g. staff can't be forced to wait in line because they need to provide services to clients, but if staff were seen as a threat the way the clients were, they would not be permitted to enter without going through security.

The implicit perception of the client as a violent threat is linked to race and class in such a way that it is arguably obvious to a casual observer. In the context of the mostly African American men lining up each morning at the checkpoint, my own experience with the checkpoint as a white male with bourgeois class signifiers, as compared to the experience of another black volunteer, Gerald, who had bourgeois class signifiers, is illustrative. Initially, during my participant observation, I found that I was able to freely bypass the security checkpoint much like the staff, being waved through by the guards, who recognized me from my repeated attendance. However, I found myself at the center of a debate between Sidney and the security guard staff during the morning of one of the new client orientations:

> I stopped to talk to Ruth, a case manager, and Gerald, one of the other volunteers, who were sitting by the security desk waiting to distribute materials to incoming clients. After I finished chatting with them, I was walking past the security guards downstairs by their desks, and Sidney happened to be walking out of the elevator. Sidney asked, "Why doesn't Frank have a badge?" I didn't want to answer immediately so I stiffened up a bit, and one of the guards said, "Edward said that he was staff." Sidney replied "He's a volunteer." The other security guard interjected in a deadpan "Yo, is it because he's white?" We all laughed, and though Sidney let out a chuckle, his expression quickly changed to one of concern, and turned to me saying quickly, "Don't listen to him, he shouldn't have said that, that's not important, that doesn't matter..." I tried to reassure Sidney, saying with a little laughter "Don't worry, I am fine." Sidney commented to the guards how he was going to set Edward straight. Coincidentally, Edward had just walked in the front door of the building, and Sidney had asked Edward if he had authorized Frank to not have a badge, and Edward was replied "You're the boss Sidney, you tell me." Sidney said "As a volunteer, Frank needs a badge and to go through security", and Edward replied "Fine by me!" and continued walking towards the elevator.

After this exchange had occurred, I would go through the security checkpoint as if I were a client, i.e. I would receive a badge, go through a pat down and metal detector, and sign in. When the second security guard interjected, he was highlighting the fact that Gerald,

the volunteer waiting with Ruth, was African American, and he had been told to go through the security checkpoint, while I had not been, since I was recognized as "staff." Granted, this honorary staff status may have been because out of all volunteers I attended with the greatest frequency, and also may not have been granted to Gerald because of his age as a college undergraduate.  Nevertheless, while the guard's interjection highlights a racialized discrepancy, this discrepancy is all the more important because of the context of African American men, particularly those who are Gerald's age, are treated as potentially violent threat by the security procedures.  The inconsistent application of the security checkpoint suggests that it is in fact an apparatus of racialized surveillance, where Gerald, the intern, was not protected by his class status.  Also interesting given this context is Sidney's trotting out of colorblind race discourse (Bonilla-Silva 2001) to safeguard my assumed white fragility (DiAngelo 2011).  Even in a situation where I am only being asked to follow the rules of the organization, it's assumed that I will be offended in being treated how a client is treated.  Contrary to what Sidney says in the moment, the racialized social construction of the "ex-offender" as black, poor, and a violent threat *is important* in how the security apparatus functioned.

Staff also had skeptical responses to the security measures.  One skeptical response was gallows humor, a fairly common theme for many different issues in the Afterward office, security or otherwise.  Scholars have documented the use of gallows humor in high stress settings, e.g. an emergency room, by street level bureaucrats as a coping mechanism (Coughlin 2002; van Wormer and Boes 1997).  The case of body alarms is particularly indicative of this sort of humor.  From my field notes:

Later Cedric, one of the case managers, had set off a body alarm as a joke. Staff had been joking that the body alarms were cheap and ineffective at $9.95. I had heard the alarm and poked my head up out of my cubicle at the time, but I didn't think much of it. A few minutes later, when the case managers were hanging out and chatting, as they often do, Cedric said with fake exaggerated shock, "I set off a body alarm, and no one came to see what was happening!" The case managers laughed. Cedric called over to me, a few feet away at my cubicle saying, "Frank you would have saved me right? You know, if something happened?" He flashed a smile at me, and pointed. We all laughed.

Here we see that the case managers are not taking at least one aspect of the security measures proposed by the organization's senior staff particularly seriously. Cedric's practical joke highlighted the ineffectiveness of the body alarms' ability to get staff attention in the case of an emergency, which Cedric made sure to bring up a few minutes later. Moreover, through his use of irony, Cedric implies that I would be either cowardly or worthless in a potentially life or death situation, which everyone can and did appreciate. Other instances of gallows humor included referring to the security checkpoint as "stop-and-frisk" and referring to clients who didn't call back as "deadbeats." Staff also routinely ignored security measures when they were inconvenient for them. The most obvious one was propping open an automatically locking office door to go and use the one men's bathroom on the floor, so as to not have to walk an extra 200 feet. This propping of the door did not meet the standards set forth with respect to foot traffic by Edward and Sidney, who repeatedly chided staff members not to do this, and even posting signs by the door saying explicitly "Do not 'Prop' the door open." Yet, I saw every male staff member prop the door open without fail, including the security guards themselves. I typically did not prop the door open myself, but I also would not remove someone else's prop so as to avoid irritating staff.

Many of the staff privately shook their heads and rolled their eyes at what they considered to be Sidney's hands-on approach to security measures. This was particularly true when staff found themselves inconvenienced by those measures. Gallows humor was a method used by service provider staff to identify and release tension associated with the cognitive dissonance or discomfort that might surround said practices, given the implication that these practices were designed to minimize the possible threat of clients. Nevertheless, the basic security structure of Afterward remained unchallenged in any practical sense, and sometimes even endorsed by staff. This was true even as its more absurd aspects, like body alarms, brought cognitive dissonance out into the fore.

How did clients respond to the security measures? Client responses to security measures were primarily adaptive. For instance, due to both rules regarding phone use in the office space, and the ubiquitous cameras, clients typically left the building entirely in order to take cell phone calls. With respect to lining up in the morning for the security checkpoint, clients would often arrive early, yet wait outside until the last possible minute, before going in to line up, in order to spend as little time as possible in line. Clients almost always exited the building during their 15 minute smoke breaks, and their lunch breaks. Perhaps most telling was the removal of adhesive identification badges when leaving the building for lunch, or at the end of the day, almost immediately upon exiting the building, sometimes with visible disgust. While a random city dweller would not necessarily know what the badges represent, it seemed fairly clear that the clients did. Even though clients did try to adapt to the security measures, they did not by and large take them personally. The clients would often establish rapport with the guards. They

engaged in banter, debated the latest sporting event, and engaged in occasional informal material exchanges, e.g. a client slipping a guard a loose cigarette. Perhaps this rapport building could be seen as adaptive as well. Having said that, when I asked clients about the security measures themselves, I was usually met with little more than a shoulder shrug.

Cooperation and Conflict in Community Corrections Center Surveillance

Some of the clients who came to Afterward were living in Community Corrections Centers [CCCs]. The core issue with CCCs is how their residents, typically parolees without a home plan, are tracked and monitored. This has consequences for service providers like Afterward. According to my interviews with Afterward clients, in order to leave a CCC, a resident must come up with a reason to do so, such as job seeking or seeing family, and fill out paper work in advance. Even if all of a resident's paperwork is in order, CCCs can deny the resident's request's for departure. For this reason, residents may feel steered towards service providers known by the CCCs, like Afterward, rather than attempting to leave the CCC independently. As a result, service providers like Afterward become responsible for surveillance on behalf of the CCCs of their residents.

We have already seen the robust security and surveillance measures taken by Afterward. It should come as no surprise that the documentation of attendance would be a chief mechanism for the monitoring of Afterward clients who happened to be CCC residents. CCCs can call Afterward to find out if their resident arrived at Afterward as planned, and in fact this does happen. Information gathered by CCCs from

communication with Afterward can be used to justify sanctions against CCC residents, the most common of which was a temporary restriction on leaving the CCC called a "hold." In a service provision context, this could mean that a client might no longer be eligible for participation in Afterward, or if they were, they would have to start from the beginning of the five week program, due to Afterward's policy regarding absences. Since Afterward no longer allowed participants who were absent three times to continue the program, a resident of a CCC put on hold would have to wait until the start of another five week program cycle in order take advantage of Afterward's employment resources.

The cooperative, albeit perhaps obligatory, relationship between CCCs and Afterward was explained to me by a case manager, Eric. From my fieldnotes:

> At some point during this conversation I asked Eric if he had a person waiting. Eric explained that he was making him wait on purpose because he was an hour late to his appointment with him, and that since he was living in a halfway house, he might actually have to report him to the halfway house. One thing he said was that if someone was "stipulated" to participate in Afterward by a court that he would call someone's parole officer if they didn't show up to classes, but not if they were a volunteer. We both agreed that calling a parole officer was not the best idea. He ended our conversation by saying "Ronald Reagan said something—trust, but verify. Trust, but verify."

Eric made it clear that not only would he potentially engage with a CCC in the event that someone was late to an appointment with him, but that he was willing to call a client's parole or probation officer if they were stipulated to participate and did not show. Calling a CCC about a client's lateness could result in a urinalysis, which could potentially lead to a parole violation, or a hold that would prevent them from program completion. Eric's final remarks suggest that case managers typically do not give clients the benefit of the doubt. This lack of trust, albeit perhaps reasonable, emphasizes the

extent to which CCCs and service providers are engaged in cooperative forms of

surveillance of the clients, even as they are acting ostensibly as service providers.

I found that as a volunteer for Afterward, I could potentially be implicated in this

cooperative surveillance, which brought up ethical dilemmas as a researcher. My

collaboration with the case management staff in soliciting interviewees for my study was

instructive in understanding the relationship between CCCs and Afterward. As I began

the research process, I decided to collaborate with case management by having them

recommend a potential interviewee. I did this because I felt that case manager's

professional discretion would give me an easy introduction to the process of interviewing

Afterward's clients, in that they would select a client who would be more amenable to the

process, rather than someone who was having difficulty with the program. Eric had

introduced me to Marquis, who was currently in a CCC, and I was attempting to find him

in the following field note:

> The main reason I actually went to talk to Eric was to see if Marquis was around.
> Before anything happened, I wanted to give him a chance to read and sign the
> consent form, so that we'd be able to commence with the interview at lunch fairly
> quickly. Eric said he didn't know if he was here, but that if he wasn't that I
> should report it to Eric. This definitely gave me pause. I prompted Eric with the
> next question. "How often do you check attendance at Afterward?" I asked. He
> said that at the end of every other week, the case management staff usually gets
> together and goes through the attendance sheets to see if anyone was missing. I
> didn't like this at all. If someone was skipping out on a class, and it would have
> flown under the radar for two weeks, or even potentially be missed, that's one
> thing. But it's another thing entirely to put me in the service of a half-way house
> via case management. As I found out from my interview with Marquis, the CCC
> that he's in is not even run by the government, but privately owned.

Based on a previous conversation I had with Eric, I was concerned that in the event that

Marquis wasn't present at Afterward that day, and I reported it to Eric, he would then

follow up with the CCC where Marquis was staying. Practically, this was a non-issue, because Marquis was in fact present at Afterward that day. Nevertheless, this interaction with Eric highlighted real ethical stakes for me in my actions as a researcher that bumped up against my role in the field as a volunteer intern. While ostensibly Eric as a case manager is acting in the best interests of the client, reporting a client to a CCC for not being compliant with its rules can result in negative sanctions against a client. On the one hand cooperating with Afterward staff was in some sense necessary in order to solicit clients for interviews. In a practical sense, this example shows the risks of having that cooperation become too close, particularly with those tasked for providing services to CCC residents as "vulnerable populations." In fact, I found that soliciting interviewees directly was much better at putting some distance between me and staff, and it is how I proceeded for the rest of the study. Nevertheless, the example is analytically salient for showing the direct relevance of Afterward's cooperative surveillance with CCCs in the context of my dual roles in the field as volunteer intern loyal to Afterward and ethical researcher.

While Afterward was engaged in cooperative surveillance with CCCs, this cooperation was not total. Staff at Afterward complained about some of the more restrictive rules of the CCCs regarding client behavior, and sometimes intervened in cases where surveillance became counterproductive. The following field note provides an example of the aftermath of counter-productive surveillance:

> The representative from the CCC showed up at our office, and was briefly introduced to our staff. I heard from Eric that apparently they had been pushing the boundaries of their relationship with Afterward's clients, calling employers

68

every half hour while they were involved in job training programs to make sure that they were present. It had gotten to the point where it had been a turn off for employers, and the Afterward staff was starting to feel sabotaged. The representative was apparently present for a meeting about reworking some of the halfway house rules.

Certainly, CCCs and their staff are tasked with keeping track of their residents, and occasionally calling work is not unfair. Nevertheless, if an Afterward client loses their employment because of the behavior of their CCC, that scenario presents problems for Afterward. On the one hand, Afterward as an organization is using employment as a mechanism for crime prevention, and employment loss for a client means that Afterward has not succeeded in assisting a client. However, perhaps the bigger issue is Afterward's ongoing relationship with employers who agree to hire large groups of clients at a time. If an employer finds out that Afterward clients can be a nuisance because of their over-zealous CCC surveillance, then that CCC's actions can damage Afterward's relationship with that employer. From an employer perspective, not only are entry level employees easily replaceable, but employees with criminal records come with real risks. As a result, employers can essentially terminate their relationship with Afterward at the drop of a hat with very little in the way of consequence, leaving both Afterward's clients and the organization itself in positions of relative uncertainty and instability. Nuisance surveillance from a CCC is exactly the type of thing that can upset the rapport between Afterward and employers, which led to a meeting at Afterward's office including a CCC representative.

The most generous interpretation of CCCs is that they are designed with the intention of reintegrating a post-release parolee into their community (Routh and

Hamilton 2015; Wright et al. 2012). State prisons, where people serve longer sentences for more serious crimes, are typically hours away from the urban centers. The distance of prisons from urban centers presents an obstacle for people who are incarcerated if they are attempting to maintain social support networks, given that many people who are incarcerated originate from low income urban areas. In contrast to prisons, the CCCs that were relevant for Afterward participants were located within city limits. Additionally, unlike county jails, residents of CCCs were permitted to leave during the day, in order to pursue employment, or see family. CCCs provide a number of tangible benefits to people: housing in the absence of an alternative, proximity to their local milieu, and freedom of movement during the day time to seek out services or employment that can provide stability. Nevertheless, CCCs still function practically like prisons in many ways. One of the key ways in which CCCs are like prisons is through the continued surveillance of their residents. Moreover, the preceding examples show how Afterward is cooperative in CCC surveillance practices through its own security measures, though occasionally pushing back on these practices when necessary.

### Security, Surveillance, and the Meaning of Punishment

Thus far, I have documented the security and surveillance measures taken by Afterward, a post-release prisoner reentry organization. What are the implications of these security and surveillance measures, especially in the context of a bureaucracy whose primary activities are directed at providing services to their clients? I have pointed to how the discourse of safety is crucial as an institutional myth in Chapter 2, and it serves a dual purpose in both framing the structure of service provision as well as justifying the importance of security and surveillance measures. In this way, the

deployment of safety discourse by staff actors can help resolve cognitive dissonance as it

exists for the service providers, even as clients likely observe these measures as simply

an extension of the carceral continuum. However, the co-existence of security measures

and social service provision is not solely a question of a highly particularized prisoner

reentry organization. Rather, as a case study, Afterward offers an occasion to consider

the meaning of punishment, in the context of broader state formation and racial

stratification.

Two key ways of considering punishment are as ambivalent to broader patterns of

state formation (Garland 2002) and as cohesive with state formation in the management

of social insecurity (Wacquant 2009b). In the first perspective, we presume that all

functions of the state are equally undesirable on the basis of an economic logic, and

giving mass imprisonment the status of an aberration (Harvey 2005). Moreover, we also

presume a distinction, both practical and conceptual, between social welfare and

punishment. Along the lines of this distinction, social welfare is ameliorative and

punishment is part and parcel of the state's monopoly on legitimate use of violence.

Mass imprisonment is also a result of a cultural shift in government from the utility of

rehabilitation to the utility of punishment.

In the second perspective, social welfare does not exist as something separate

from punishment. The less radical way of approaching this is simply to say that the most

salient feature of prisons is that they provide services, rather than saying that their

purpose solely exists in punishment, deterrence, containment, or rehabilitation (DiIulio

1990). In point of fact, it is a true observation that prisons provide services, but it is

similar to saying that the most salient feature of the relationship between slave-master

and slave is the house that the master provides to the slave rather than bondage. The

more radical way of approaching this is to see social welfare in general, and rehabilitation

in particular, as a form of punishment in itself in which surveillance is central to the

process, to "punish better" than physical punishment (Foucault 1995). This radical

perspective as it is implemented by sociologists becomes more explicitly materialist, in

which social welfare and prison operate for the purpose of controlling a particular class of

people, i.e. the urban black poor (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992;

Wacquant 2009a). This control is through both surveillance and violence.

Insofar as my fieldwork focuses on surveillance and security practices in the

context of providing social services, it favors the narrative of cohesive state formation

rather than ambivalence. Certainly, this cohesion, as is often the case, is not without its

occasional fissures. Nevertheless, these fissures are not typically explicitly theoretical in

nature, as I have represented the debates here. The one time I did try to make a broader

philosophical point in the field, I received little in the way of staff support, not to mention

a stiff rebuttal from Edward, the program director. In the context of my experience, these

fissures were based in practical concerns, some of which were directly related to service

provision conflicts, in particular with CCC surveillance practices, but others which

primarily owed to simple convenience issues. Additionally, at least in my experience,

these fissures were typically couched in gallows humor that occurred in conversations

between equals, perhaps behind closed doors, rather than being part of the conversation

of a staff meeting. The cohesion narrative also explains better the relationship between

CCCs and Afterward, as they exist as a part of a broader bureaucratic field, which scholars have called the "carceral continuum" (Shedd 2011; Wacquant 2009a).

If we consider prisoner reentry organizations to be providing targeted services to people who have criminal records, and we also take up these social services as a form of punishment, then it follows logically that organizations like Afterward are a form of punishment in themselves. Insofar as criminal justice agents such as judges or parole officers can require, or even strongly suggest that an individual participates in Afterward, or an organization similar to it, to say that Afterward is a form of punishment is not entirely an issue of semantics, as individuals can potentially face sanctions for lack of participation.

If it were left at this, there would be no need for an empirical dimension to the discussion. Additionally, the empirical part matters because there is a considerable potential for variation among organizations that operate under the terms of prisoner reentry (Kaufman 2015). Certainly, not all reentry organizations will operate with the robust security and surveillance protocols that Afterward did, protocols that provided evidence for an argument of cohesion with punitive state formation. However, variation in the prisoner reentry bureaucratic field or marketplace means that there is room for comparative and interpretive approaches in sociological work on prisoner reentry. These comparative approaches would help provide ideal types that could further an ongoing conversation about the relationship that prisoner reentry organizations have to state formation, in particular mass incarceration, whether it is largely one of cohesion or schizophrenia.

73

I have also tried to highlight the extent to which the security and surveillance measures at Afterward reproduced already existent stratification along the boundaries of race and class.  Of particular importance to my study is the social construction of the "ex-offender" as black, male, low socioeconomic status, and a potentially violent threat.  If the clients were not at risk for violence, it would undermine Afterward's public safety justification.  The meaning of race, blackness in particular, is also at stake in discussions of punishment, surveillance, and service provision in the U.S.  Scholars have traced the politically co-constitutive nature of blackness and criminality with respect to both punishment and social welfare (Miller 2013; Muhammad 2010; Pager 2009; Russell-Brown 2008).  With the demographics of the mass incarceration, coupled with the residential segregation of the northeastern city in which these observations took place, the demographics characteristics of client population of Afterward, i.e. black men of low socioeconomic status, do not come as a shock.  Additionally, the service providers were also largely black with diversity in SES background, albeit higher SES than that of the client (Soss et al. 2011).  It is not difficult to see the security and surveillance practices at Afterward as a continuation of other sorts of policing strategies aimed specifically at poor predominantly black urban areas, e.g. zero tolerance policing, which have been extensively documented (Anderson 2000; Goffman 2014; Hagan, Payne, and Shedd 2005; Moskos 2009; Rios 2011; Stuart 2011; Venkatesh 2008).  Much in the same way that punishment and social welfare's overall coherence takes on a racialized dimension in the context of state formation (Omi and Winant 1994), so does the cohesion of security and surveillance with service provision.

In the provision of services to people with criminal records, what is the meaning of security and surveillance protocols? This was one of the questions that I arrived at over the course of a year-length case study of a prisoner reentry organization's post-release service provision. If there was any sense of conflict between security and surveillance protocols, and services provided to Afterward clients, this conflict was not a matter for serious discussion. In the practical everyday sense of organizational operations, this study found cohesion over conflict. Staff members spent most of their time on the job providing services for clients, and therefore focused less on implantation of security measures which were largely routinized as part of the backdrop of organizational culture. In particular, the narrative of staff safety dovetailed with the organization's larger mission of public safety though reduction of client rates of recidivism, as a justification for security and surveillance protocols. One interesting exception is that when faced with the surveillance protocols of CCCs that directly conflicted with Afterward's service provision mechanisms, Afterward was able to intervene on their client's behalf. Nevertheless, the routinized surveillance protocols relied upon by Afterward are made available to CCCs in the event that they are unable to account for one of their residents who is an Afterward client.

In contrast to program evaluation studies, in this chapter I provide a descriptive account of practices central to prisoner reentry organizations that offer empirical specificity to questions of state formation in the context of punishment and social welfare. Insofar as this study contributes to those debates about state formation and racial stratification, the security and surveillance practices in the context of a post-release

prisoner reentry organization point to a practical and philosophical cohesion between

punishment and social welfare, and a reproduction of race and class boundaries with

respect to the social construction of the ex-offender.

# Chapter 4: The Mark of a Criminal Record: African American Men and the Labor Market

In this chapter, I focus on male clients, predominantly African American men and their relationship to employment.  Employment was important because it was a clear motivating factor for participation in Afterward.  Many clients had skills that would clearly transfer to technical working class jobs or even middle class service sector jobs.  At the same time, clients were acutely aware of the difficulty in obtaining employment with a criminal record (Pager 2009).  Prisoner reentry organizations like Afterward could function as a life preserver for a client adrift in socioeconomic insecurity.  Afterward was able to direct clients to employment opportunities once they successfully completed Afterward's program.  However, jobs were primarily entry level de-skilled low wage work.  These jobs offered clients little opportunity to advance, let alone deploy their "human capital," in the most instrumental sense.  I found that the choices available to Afterward's clients, as well as the possible outcomes of those choices, were constrained by 1) features of the labor market, e.g., scarcity, segmentation, etc., 2) the manifold effects of the criminal record, 3) diminished/unstable social support, 4) deep poverty, and 5) rent seeking criminal justice bureaucracies.  For clients, this often meant a continued push into social and economic precariousness that heightened the likelihood of returning to prison or jail.

My insights regarding clients' relationship to employment were derived primarily from my interview data.  Interview data were useful because of the ways in which clients reviewed with me information about their social background and current situation in the

context of a broader life story. In navigating these stories, I relied on the conceptual framework of the life course. Life course perspectives are defined by looking at individuals throughout key life events, which include birth, education, employment, marriage, and retirement (Shanahan 2000). Incarceration is an interruption of the standard life course, an interruption that occurs more often than not for black men that have attained less than a high school education (Western 2007b). The significance of incarceration from a life-course perspective is that educational attainment is delayed, integration into the workforce is impeded, social ties are frayed, marriage is less likely, and being incarcerated again is more likely. In a review of existing scholarship, sociologists have noted the ways in which mass incarceration reinforces already existing trends in social inequality—inequality in status attainment in particular (Wakefield and Uggen 2012). At the same time, criminologists have noted that desistance, i.e. cessation of criminal activity, is a normal part of the life course for people who have previously been convicted of committing a crime (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1983).

Moreover, people who have been incarcerated are also disproportionately grappling with individual level issues, e.g., the traumatic effects of familial abuse or neglect, mental health issues, the effects of drug use, and unstable social ties (Anakwenze and Zuberi 2013; Arditti 2012, 2012; Oliver and Hairston 2008). These issues cluster together, are mutually reinforcing, and tend to emerge out of economic deprivation, i.e., poverty conditions. These issues are also relevant for life course outcomes more broadly, not just because of their relationship to likelihood of incarceration. Additionally, incarceration can exacerbate the effects of these individual psychological issues as well,

given that incarceration in itself is a traumatic experience (Pager 2009). Different

combinations of these individual level issues are also illustrated by my study participants

as part of their life stories in various ways, e.g., sometimes to provide context and

sometimes to directly explain their history of incarceration.

I selected my particular case studies for this chapter on theoretical grounds. The

case studies that I review in this chapter are all men, because of the central relationship

that employment has to dominant conceptions of masculinity (Edin and Nelson 2013:ch

5). Seven out of my nine cases are of black men, because of the ways in which blackness

and criminality are socially and politically co-constituted (Muhammad 2010; Russell-

Brown 2008), but also to reflect the fact that the client population was 86% black men. I

included two other cases, one white and one Puerto Rican, to emphasize the class-based

impact of criminal records, even as the negative credential of the criminal record itself is

undeniably racialized in its social significance (Pager 2009). I draw especially on the

insights of previous ethnographic work regarding the precarious relationship between

employment and working class men, black men in particular (Anderson 2000; Liebow

2003; Newman 2006).

### Clients' Incarceration History at a Glance

Participation in Afterward as an organization required a criminal record as a

qualifying credential. While occasionally clients only had parole or probation on their

record, it was in fact typical for clients to have been incarcerated. While clients' histories

of incarceration varied, there were a couple dominant patterns. The first pattern was

multiple sentences for incarceration multiple times in the municipal jail for less serious

offenses for stays under 2 years.  The second pattern was incarceration in a state prison for a felony, for typically 5-10 years, but sometimes for more depending on the crime.

From a snapshot of case management data, I calculated that 32% of clients had a violent crime on their record, e.g., aggravated assault, assault with a deadly weapon, murder, etc.  Additionally, 36% of clients had a drug crime, typically possession with intent to distribute.  Finally, 30% of clients had been coded for a non-violent crime, such as property crimes like theft, larceny, and burglary.  The remaining clients were not coded.  Among the client population, there was an over-representation of people with records of violent crimes compared to the frequency expected based on criminological theory (Becker 1968).  That is to say, criminological theory indicates that violent crimes occur much less frequently than drug crimes.  If we accept that people commit more crimes than it is possible for the criminal justice system to detect, and we accept that most of the crimes are committed by a small number of people, then it becomes clear that many of the clients at Afterward could be considered a part of that small group.

### Men, Working Class Human Capital, and the Disappearance of Work

Marquis was one of the first people I interviewed for my study.  Marquis was African American and in his mid-thirties.  I interviewed Marquis a diner a couple of city blocks away from the building where Afterward was located.  This was typically where I interviewed clients.  Marquis discussed that he had been convicted of selling drugs in in the suburbs of the larger northeastern city.  He recalled that in his sentencing hearing for his conviction he had to choose between 2-5 years in state prison or 1 year of bootcamp with 5 years of parole.  He chose the 1 year of bootcamp, and came home on parole.  In

our interview, Marquis brought up his acquisition of technical skills through vocational training, some of which he had brushed up on while he was paroled to a halfway house after having come home from bootcamp.

Marquis explained that he violated parole due to charges of public drunkenness and disorderly conduct, which had occurred in a location beyond the parameters of his parole. He attributed these charges to being a result of an argument with his soon to be ex-wife, following a night of heavy alcohol consumption and drug use. He was arrested by the police in the early morning after the argument had taken place. He explained to me that he spent two more years in jail writing back and forth to the courts because of that violation, which I corroborated with the court records. At the time of our interview, Marquis was living in a halfway house, and participating in Afterward's life-skills programming.

In our interview, Marquis placed a special emphasis on his job at a motorcycle factory, mentioning the job at both the beginning of the interview, and when I later asked him about his employment history. It was the most recent job he had held before getting downsized. He described it as a job that gave him the opportunity to use the technical skills that he developed, in spite of the fact he was not a part of the union like the other employees and did not receive any medical benefits. Marquis said that the job paid $17.00 an hour, and that he would have been content to work there. He said, "If I could go back there I would." When I asked him what jobs he had before his motorcycle job he said, "Before my last job, I couldn't really call anything employment, they were more like jobs, like cashier jobs, warehouse jobs, labor jobs. My last job it was more like a job

it was alright, more like a job, *a real decent job.*[3]  It wasn't like I was just doing this until the next."

I saw Marquis about six months later at Afterward, when a custodial services agency was cooperating with Afterward to hire their clients.  I had not followed up with him since my participant observation ended, but when I checked his record later, I could see that he had a technical violation of his parole, perhaps having to do with what appeared to be about $4,000 in outstanding court costs and fines.  I could also see that his requests for parole that he made in the months subsequent to his incarceration in the county jail had been denied.

There are a number of social factors contributing to Marquis' story.  Effectively, Marquis has skills that would be useful in a manufacturing sector of the economy, a primarily working class sector.  He has direct experience of the current scarcity of jobs in this area of the labor market, through being laid off and being unable to join a union. While he is able to procure some employment through Afterward, it is de-skilled low wage work, i.e., the type of work distinct from the "decent" job he held at the motorcycle factory.  Marquis's seeking of employment through Afterward reflects the constraints he faces in a large part due to the negative credential of the criminal record.  Criminal records make it difficult, particularly for African Americans, to obtain any employment, let alone a job that would enable Marquis to use his skills.  While Marquis does have some family support, his story shows how his unstable romantic involvements, as well as his alcohol and drug use, contributed directly to a parole violation.  Finally, a

---

[3] Emphasis mine

combination of economic scarcity and outstanding court costs and fines led to another parole violation.

Marquis was not unique among clients at Afterward, many of whom had working class sorts of skill sets. Economists would refer to these skills as "human capital" because of their direct relevance to the labor market (Becker 1994). Sociologists have been critical of the ways in which social class is absent from this conceptualization of human behavior (Bourdieu 1973; Bowles and Gintis 1975), a criticism which this study accepts as an intellectual given. Nevertheless, the connotation that the term human capital has for identifying qualifying skills directly relevant to the labor market, rather than the diffuse applications of cultural capital e.g. taste, parenting style, credentials, etc., is clarifying for this particular analysis. Many of my male interviewees cited trades, e.g., carpentry, plumbing, electrical mechanics, and auto mechanics as areas in which they had either work experience or specific expertise as a result of vocational training. Nevertheless, the scarcity of working class jobs, the effects of the criminal record, unstable relationships, poverty, and rent-seeking criminal justice bureaucracies all directly impact Marquis' decision-making in a way that impedes desistance, and facilitates his re-incarceration.

Sal, a white man in his late 40s, was another working class client of Afterward. His father was a truck driver and his mother was a waitress. Sal discussed that growing up, he did not have much in the way of supervision, and essentially did whatever he wanted to do in terms of drug use or other illegal activity. According to the court records, he had a record that spanned his adult life since he was 18 years old, consisting

primarily of misdemeanor property offenses. Sal's first major felony was homicide by vehicle while driving under the influence. He explained he was driving his girlfriend's mother to a convenience store to pick up cigarettes when the passenger side of his sedan was hit by a cargo van. Sal had been working as a truck driver at the time, and a few days prior to the accident, he had used meth-amphetamines to help him stay awake during the drive north from Florida. When he was tested by the police after the accident, he said that they found meth-amphetamines in his system, resulting in Sal spending 6 years incarcerated in a state prison. Sal mentioned that substance abuse had been an issue for him in the past, and that he was required to participate in a treatment community. Sal disclosed that, as a result of his conviction, he lost his commercial driver's license and could never work again as a truck driver. Sal accepted and was positive about the loss of this relatively lucrative occupation, because he did not want to be like his father, who was also a truck driver.

When I met Sal he was on work release, i.e., technically incarcerated in the county jail yet permitted to leave during the day to pursue work under restrictions. His most recent conviction according to the court records had been felony burglary, to which he pled guilty. He said that his social worker at jail essentially required him to come to Afterward and participate in its programming. In our interview, Sal said that he had a GED, and his participation in life skills at Afterward rather than adult basic education confirms that. He said that while at first he did not care for Afterward, he was trying to make the best of the situation. He cited wanting to provide for his family, including his

girlfriend of 7 years, who used to work at Walmart but recently became a full time printing press operator, and their three young children.

Sal referred to himself as "handy" in our interview at the diner a couple blocks from Afterward during lunchbreak from classes. He claimed that he received vocational training as a carpenter, but that he had other skills and experience too, including a certification in auto-body repair. Sal said to me that he could always "fall back" on auto-body. When I told Sal that I wasn't particularly handy, he related his skills to an experience he had where he learned how to paint while incarcerated:

Sal: Anybody can be handy. Like I never knew I could paint. When I was upstate, I won an art contest. They took my painting and it traveled around for a year on display in art museums. It was awesome. I gave that painting to my brother. It was a tractor trailer, painted black with flames down the side. Then I had a Harley next to it painted the same way. The theme was "What do you do on your leisure time?" I named the painting, "Rest and Ride," that's what I did on my leisure time. Whenever I was on the road, that's what I did.

While Sal told me his story of picking up painting to illustrate that I could in fact become handy if I wanted to, the subject matter of his painting clearly refers to his working class employment experience, skills and tastes. Like Marquis, Sal had an appreciation for motorcycles, and would ride his whenever afforded the opportunity. While Sal was no longer able to be a truck driver, and said that he was no longer interested in it, his painting hints at the centrality that this job has had to his identity in the past. I saw Sal around Afterward, and while on a smoke break he discussed with me that he was applying for community college as well as financial aid. Court records show that while Sal eventually left the local jail, the local court system has referred his case to collections

because the courts notices of delinquency in payment of about $900 in fines were returned to the court as undeliverable.

Like Marquis, Sal remains economically beholden to the rent-seeking criminal justice system. At the time of writing, I could not find any record of Sal in jail, but if he does not pay his fines, the court may issue a bench warrant. Unlike Marquis, Sal has the economic and social support of an employed longtime partner, which may prevent him from falling into deep poverty, even as he has to provide economically for three children. Additionally, as a white male seeking working class employment, Sal's chances are likely better than Marquis' for finding a steady job due to both racialized networks (Royster 2003) and employer racial discrimination (Pager 2009). However, Sal's self-disclosed laissez-faire upbringing suggests many of the trends that tend to lead towards criminal activity (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Sal's history of drug use may have an effect on both his decision making and his ability to stay out of jail. Sal also faces a clear legal barrier in his inability to work as an over-the-road truck driver, a more lucrative working class job, albeit one that is increasingly coming under the same pressures as all forms of work (Viscelli 2016), with his drug use being made a clear part of the legal justification. In the end, Sal's choices, even with the support that he does have, remain highly constrained.

Alfonso was 22 years old and Puerto Rican. He said that he had moved from California to the east coast when he was seven. In our interview he disclosed that his mother died from cancer when he was 13, and his father kicked him out of his house soon after that. He said that while he was growing up, he was always working or going to

school. Alfonso graduated from a school that specialized in over-aged students, in his words, an "alternative" school. Alfonso said that he graduated and went to technical school to become an auto mechanic. Alfonso explained, however, that five months into his vocational training, he had to drop out because he could not take care of his son, go to work, and go to school all at the same time. In his words, "I had to put my education down, because if I don't have a job, I can't support my family."

When I met Alfonso he had been sentenced to three years of probation from pleading guilty to a felony drug offense. He also was mandated by the courts to participate in a drug treatment program. In our interview, he framed his conviction as a wrong-place/wrong-time offense, in which his friends had drugs on them and he did not. He said he was currently living with his brother, because he had gotten into an argument with the mother of his child over the fact that he lost his job due to his drug case. Like others, employment in the immediate was his main concern, and his motivation to participate in Afterward's services. He disclosed that he was very grateful for the support that he received from Afterward staff saying, "I honestly think without Afterward I don't know what I'd be doing right now. I'd honestly could say around this time I'd probably still be sleeping or smoking or being on the corner." Alfonso recognized the immediate barriers of a criminal record to employment, which motivated his participation in Afterward. However, for Alfonso, his record, his "case," was clearly felt as stigma:

> Alfonso: After my mishap, everything's been going down the drain for me. It's been crazy. I can't find a job, better my education right now. I pretty much can't do anything without people looking at me differently.
> Frank: Who looks at you differently?

A:     Well, not only my family, my friends, mother of my child, a lot of people look at me differently and it's like, you shouldn't look at me different because of what my actions were.

F:     What do you mean, when you say look at you differently? Do they treat you differently in a specific way?

A:     Yeah, they think I'm a criminal. They think I'm a bad person. I was never a bad person. I was always a good person. Always had honors, first honors. But this one mishap and everybody's turned their back on me. When I asked for help, it's like nobody's there to help me, because everybody thinks I'm going to use the money for drugs or use the money for this or for that. And it's not even about money. It's about I need your support. I can't do it by myself. I'm only 22. I'm still—I don't even consider myself a man, I'm still growing up.

Alfonso illustrates a situation in which he faces pressure to continue to earn an income, while at the same time he has likely little support and trust among those closest to him. Even if we give Alfonso the benefit of the doubt, being rebuffed by his support networks leads him to grapple with his own new social status as a result of his criminal record beyond its instrumental labor market implications. Alfonso's unstable romantic relationship with the mother of his child results in a further destabilization of his housing situation. Also significant is the way in which he reflects on his interrupted transition to adulthood in a gendered fashion, given the significance of the provider role to hegemonic masculine gender identity (Messerschmidt 1993). Moreover, Alfonso does have a work history and some working class skills, i.e., he has developed his human capital with respect to the class-stratified labor market. However his pursuit of the development of those skills is limited because of his responsibilities to provide in the short term for his child. Alfonso loses the opportunity at social stability in the long term to provide support in the short term, which occurs ultimately as a result of his socio-economically precarious position. As of this writing, Alfonso has a newly active drug case for which he has posted bail and will soon face arraignment. While it is difficult to know whether these

new charges are another instance of wrong-place/wrong-time or if Alfonso actually

participated in drug manufacture and sale, it remains difficult to deny the constraints

placed upon Alfonso's options because of his socio-economic precariousness.

Additionally, while Alfonso was likely able to obtain support from Afterward, and likely

employment, it was not enough to stave off his continued entanglement in the criminal

justice system.

Daniel, like Alfonso and Marquis, also expressed the desire to obtain

employment. Daniel was in his mid-forties and African American. Daniel graduated

from a large urban public high school that today would be considered persistently

dangerous. Daniel disclosed that he was incarcerated on robbery charges in the late

1990s, and that he had violated the terms of his parole with a new identity theft offense.

At the time of our interview, Daniel was living with his second wife, though still on

federal parole. Daniel's parole officer effectively insisted that he come to Afterward to

participate in their employment programming. However, Daniel expressed chagrin at

having to participate in Afterward, because he was already able to find employment on

his own:

> Daniel: I see a lot of these jobs [Afterward has] like restaurants and supermarkets, and you know. I'm a tradesman myself.
> Frank: What's your trade?
> D: I'm a laborer by trade. I do carpentry, I do plumbing, I do electrical, I do all that.
> F: Cool.
> D: That's where I make my money. Like being in this program is taking away from me paying my bills, so what I do, like today, I have a job today, a job that I have to finish up that's a paying job. I do it all. Anything that I can do with making an honest dollar, I'm there. My probation officer told me that's not a paycheck.
> F: There's not?

D:      No.  Because I don't get paid.  Now if I get a personal check, they just pay me cash.  I'm not a contractor.

F:      I see.  So your PO's saying "Under the table isn't going to cut the mustard."

D:      Right.

Daniel is frustrated because he is able to obtain some work on his own by deploying his working class skills, or human capital directly relevant to working class jobs.  However, to remain in good standing with his parole officer, he is required to participate in Afterward's service provision.  While he thought it was somewhat useful for helping people get jobs, he recognizes a clear opportunity cost for him, given that he is already employable in some capacity, and is working while not participating in Afterward service provision.  A key factor for his participation in Afterward's services is his parole officer's interest in having Daniel obtain a formal paycheck.  This paycheck is important because Daniel has outstanding court costs and fines, and so his wages can be garnished.  For this reason, Daniel prefers under-the-table work where he can be paid in cash, so he can cover more of his current expenses.  While Daniel's upbringing and schooling may have been difficult, he fortunately has the support of his second wife with respect to housing.  This allows him to avoid the rent-seeking behavior of halfway houses, even though he is still beholden to the rent-seeking requirements of his federal parole, which is insistent upon him having a formal paycheck.  While Daniel has two children, one of them is 26 years old and employed as an air traffic controller, and the other one is 12 and under the care of his current wife.  In other words, neither child is making an urgent financial demand on Daniel such that they would interfere with his getting back on his feet.  To date, I could

find no record of Daniel incarcerated, and he appears to have paid off his court costs and fines.

Sometimes, clients complained because the jobs that they would obtain through Afterward were not in their related field. During smoke breaks that clients would take between life skills classes, I spoke to one of the clients who thought Afterward was deliberately neglecting him because they did not recruit him for some carpentry placements to which he believed they had access. However, quite often like for Daniel, as a condition of parole or probation, Afterward clients were urgently seeking a formal pay check, which could serve as a stepping stone to more optimal employment, e.g., Marquis' motorcycle factory job. For many Afterward clients though, obtaining a working class job that required some skills and being a member of a union, represented a level of stability that I suspected many clients were aspiring towards.

At the same time, clients were mulling over the distinct possibility of downward mobility. Martin, who was African American and in his early forties, is a good example of this. Most recently, Martin was incarcerated for three years on two counts of felony drug charges, though he spent some time in the county jail for misdemeanor drug charges in the 1990s. He was on state parole at the time of our interview. He said that he was married, and had three kids attending magnet public schools. Like some of my interviewees, Martin had a lot of experience with working class employment. He discussed how he would have difficulty getting his technical job back because he no longer had the credentials. He also noted how he pursued illegal activity on the side to supplement his legitimate income:

Martin: I had lots of jobs but the problem was keeping them.  I was an aviation field tech. I used to build airplanes.  Eight years' experience in electronic assembly, you know.  I had lots of jobs.  Now the economy is kind of funny, so jobs are hard to come by.  I don't have my license.  My license has been suspended for a while. I've got to get my license reinstated.  It took ten years, over $2,000.  Back then when I was working those other jobs, nobody asked me about a license. Now that I don't have my license, everybody wants me to have my license. It's kind of something.  Next time I'll keep it. You know, one thing was too much partying, then you're to the point where the hustling makes you feel as though you don't need the job. You stop going to work. Now I know better.

Frank: I guess hustling was lucrative for you.

M: Yes, very lucrative.

Like my other interviewees, Martin had previously held credentials and work experience that were no longer useful as a result of his incarceration.  He discussed how he was pursuing multiple avenues of employment, including those offered by Afterward.  I have pointed towards the de-skilled service sector jobs as a step down from jobs that require some working class technical skills that many of the clients have.  However, these de-skilled service sector jobs are a step up from another employment sector in the United States that is typically held by undocumented Latino immigrant laborers, i.e. work that can have a mix of long hours, unsafe working conditions, and under the table pay at minimum wage or below.  Martin considers an example of this type of employment.

M: Years ago some friends of mine went down to Alaska and went up there and worked and never came back.  My friend Kev, he went up there I think a year, year-and-a-half, came back with enough money to open up his own restaurant.  And I've been doing the research on it too and everything. They'll tell you, you got seasonal positions over the summer. You make like $5-6,000 a month and I'll bring that back if I don't find anything here. That's like my last resort. And they house you up there too if you're working seasonal work.  You get set up a group of guys in a cabin and everybody pitches in and they stay there, so cost of living will be cheap. And then they feed you too.

F: What kind of work is that?

M: It's working in the canneries, salmon canning, or you can go out on the dock and help over there when they bring the fish in and dump the fish, or you can work actually on the boat when they go out fishing, you know.

The salmon canneries in Alaska are well known as a destination for migrant, sometimes undocumented, labor. People work for 12 hours a day, 7 days a week for the possibility of overtime pay, even though it is still a minimum wage job. The employers of the canneries are not especially concerned if people have a criminal record when hiring them. Conditions of work tend to be unsanitary, facilitating injury and illness among workers, and if employees do not finish the entire season they may be left stranded in Alaska without a paycheck (Sanchez 2003). In this way, the canneries are indicative of other types of unsafe, seasonal, hard labor, e.g., agricultural labor and food processing labor (Leduff 2000) that is often held by low skill low SES Latino immigrants (Waldinger 1999). Given that this sort of employment is far outside of Martin's milieu, as well as the potentially hazardous conditions of it, he identifies this employment as a clear last resort. Additionally, the employment services of Afterward can guide people with criminal records into the de-skilled service sector of the local labor market, such that they are able to avoid these conditions, and at the same time remain local.

Thus far, I have described clients who had technical skills, a clear form of human capital, which would benefit them in the working class segment of the labor market. At the same time, I've tried to show the constraints in their options that they face as a result of the scarcity of stable working class employment, discrimination on the basis of a criminal record, unstable social ties, poverty, and rent-seeking criminal justice bureaucracies. While people may go back to jail or prison for new offenses, they may

also simply be undone by economic precariousness that leaves them unable to pay court costs and fines. People with criminal records can come willingly to Afterward in search of employment, but are often referred by other parts of the criminal justice system, and therefore must continue to participate in Afterward's programs to avoid negative sanction. From the example of Daniel, we can also see that there is a clear economic component to this for government, in that the criminal justice system can garnish wages from a formal paycheck in ways that they cannot from under-the-table work. Even so, clients have reasons to want to obtain employment, in addition to remaining in compliance with the criminal justice system. However, clients point out the barriers that they face in obtaining work as a result of having a criminal record. Afterward can help clients obtain employment, but even the best type of employment opportunities that Afterward has to offer are still de-skilled entry level low-wage jobs. For some clients these jobs may be a good match, but for clients with employment history, trade skills, or technical skills, these jobs are a clear step down, and may be seen as a sort of punishment/exploitation/control in itself. Alfonso and Marquis show how people with criminal records can be put in an economic bind where paying off court costs and fines while participating in the legitimate economy is prohibitively difficult, making skipping payments or even engaging in lucrative illegal activity tempting short-term options. At the same time, these jobs may remain more attractive than the conditions of migrant labor, which may not even be an option depending on conditions of parole, by allowing people to stay within their regular milieu.

While it is difficult to know for sure, the age effect, concurrent with steady long-term romantic relationships, seems also to be in effect as the older Sal, Martin, and Daniel remain out of prison and jail, while the younger Marquis violated his parole, and the younger Alfonso has an active case. Both Marquis and Alfonso had difficulties in romantic relationships as well, showing that the lack of or limited support networks can be potentially destabilizing as well. People with criminal records are obviously likely to have numerous issues as individuals with respect to their employability. However, my work here shows that even in cases where there is support, due to forces outside of their control, people with criminal records are constrained in the choices they face, as well as the outcomes of those choices as they try to participate in the labor market. This is to say nothing of the effects of stigma as a form of social disgrace, on which Alfonso reflected. Even in cases where upward social mobility is unlikely, people with records may have skills that make them a good fit for certain types of solid working class jobs, though social forces have made it so that these jobs are much more scarce.

### Middle Class Service, Explicit Legal Barriers, and Credential Mismatch

It's true that many clients at Afterward had skills that made them appropriate fits for working class jobs. However, a number of clients also had skills that would transfer well to middle class occupations in the service sector of the economy. Nevertheless, people in my study faced significant hurdles in entering this service economy. Dominant areas of the service sector with middle class jobs, i.e. medicine and education, as well as working class parts of the service sector like security, are legally barred to people with criminal records (Alexander 2010). Even in the service sector writ large, most desirable jobs require college degrees, attainment of which was rare among Afterward clients.

95

Like many other clients, Zachary, who was African American and in his late

forties, went to a local public school and dropped out.  Zachary had been previously

incarcerated on misdemeanor drug and property charges.  He explained that he got his

GED through Job Corps, where he was also able to learn a trade, plastering.  He

described it as "one of the most beautiful experiences," and was happy with the amount

of responsibility that he was given in traveling between cities.  He talked about how he

also liked to work with food, and would be happy working in a kitchen.  One thing that

stood out in particular was his experience of working with deaf children.

> Zachary: I also wouldn't mind working with the deaf. I have a 16-year-old deaf
> niece and my half-brother and my mom had custody of her for 13 years,
> you know what I'm saying, so for 13 years I know sign language and stuff.
> Frank: I was going to ask—
> Z: Yeah, yeah.  And then I would participate at ___, which is a school for the
> deaf.  I would go up there about two, three nights out of the week just to
> volunteer.

Zachary continued about how when his mom and his brother were taking care of his

niece that they were concerned that because of her deafness she would be socially

isolated and unable to be accommodated.  He discussed how when they all arrived with

her at the school for the deaf that his family was relieved.

When Zachary disclosed his experiences with his niece, and as a volunteer at a

school for deaf children, the first thing that came to my mind was that he should discuss

this with the employment specialists at Afterward, who might be able to help him procure

some type of employment related to sign language.  However, because of his criminal

record, he would likely be legally barred from holding such a job if it were attached to a

formal organization, in spite of his relevant experiences and skills.  Zachary also had

other issues that became obvious during my participant observation. I happened to see him in the Afterward office three days after our interview, and he was in a state of panic because he trying to find a place to live, and would have to resort to a shelter. Afterward staff had witnessed him in a verbal altercation with his romantic partner with whom he had been cohabitating. Case management staff speculated that this argument was likely related to him being forced to find shelter elsewhere. Housing is one of the standard needs for people who are leaving prison or jail, and when that is thrown into question, it can make the whole process of acclimating to life outside prison much more difficult. Afterward was not specifically equipped to provide people with housing, and housing services for people with criminal records are generally limited. Additionally, having some housing is more than just a place to sleep at night. Having a "home plan" is typically a condition of being on parole such that homelessness would be considered a parole violation. Zachary's drug and property offenses were not enough to land him in state prison, and so he fortunately did not have to deal with state parole, which would have effectively criminalized his homelessness.

Even if Zachary had a bachelor's degree, which he did not, he faces an explicit barrier in the educational service sector because of his criminal record. He also faces the same issues of scarcity of working class jobs, and the effects of the criminal record in the entry level labor market. Additionally, he is handling unstable social ties that have brought his housing into question, as well as economic precariousness more broadly. His economic precariousness is only destabilized further by his issues related to long-standing trauma, depression, and drug addiction all of which he disclosed in the

interview. While he is fortunate in not having to handle rent-seeking actions from state

level parole, he still faces the possibility of economic precariousness pushing him

towards criminal activity.

Dennis, like Zachary, was another example of someone facing explicit legal

barriers. Dennis was in his early fifties and African American. Dennis graduated high

school, and got certified to work in law enforcement with lethal weapons. He described

a long career, in which he started work as a doorman, worked as security on hospitals,

college campuses, and car dealerships, worked with security agencies, and finally in retail

"loss prevention." Dennis said that he had been fired from his most recent security job

because he had recently picked up three violent crime misdemeanors.

> Frank: Can you now continue to work in the security industry with misdemeanors
>        on your record?
> Dennis: Right. I'm finding that before when doors were always opened for me.
>        Now I'm having doors close on me. One of the reasons why I partnered
>        up with Afterward because obviously they do a lot in the networking in
>        the city. There's various companies who receive huge tax credits for
>        hiring people in my situation. Right now I'm looking to partner up with
>        [grocery store] for a loss prevention position that they have at one of their
>        stores. [Grocery store] is one of the biggest partners with the city for
>        hiring ex-offenders.
> F:     That's right. It seems like it would be a good fit for you.
> D:     It seems like that would be an excellent fit for me. I'm currently
>        critiquing my resume now.

In his account, these misdemeanors emerged out his frustration in attempting to

physically discipline his live-in girlfriend's child, who according to him had cognitive

and behavioral issues. His attempt to physically discipline his girlfriend's child led to her

calling the police. According to Dennis, her calling the police made him angry, which

led to a violent confrontation with his girlfriend. Dennis said that when the police arrived

98

he was arrested.  He subsequently was convicted of the misdemeanors, and required to pay a civil penalty to his girlfriend according to the court records.  Dennis was also forthcoming about his issues in maintaining a steady relationship as well as his issues with drug addiction, for which he received drug treatment and therapy.  Dennis attributed his drug addiction to childhood trauma.  He also talked about how church helped him.

I confirmed from my participant observation that this supermarket chain was a key partner for Afterward in hiring people with criminal records, usually full time, to work for them.  While typical retail employment might be $8.00 an hour, if Dennis were to obtain a loss prevention job at this supermarket chain, that would very likely pay more and be a continuation of his career.  This would be a lucky break for Dennis, given that he would typically face explicit legal barriers in any sort of security or law enforcement work.  However, he's still in a difficult position.  Assuming he gets the job, it's possible that more spillover from his personal life, whether it be psychological or relationship based, could endanger his potential employment, and possibly result in his re-incarceration. Most other security positions would not consider a violent crime, even a misdemeanor, as acceptable for any candidate in spite of their work history, and so Dennis would likely experience downward mobility.  There are no records of him being currently incarcerated.  Court records show he had some lingering fines, but that they were less than $500.  While he might still be vulnerable to the courts seeking him out for payment of costs and fines due to his economic precariousness, $500 is still manageable given that he already paid off more than half of his bill.

Thus far, I've reviewed clients who had middle class skills or experience related to specific sectors of the economy which place barriers on people with criminal records. However, there are entrepreneurial and managerial skills that are also relevant to the service sector of the economy. I found that one of my interviewees, Jarvis, who was African American and in his mid-thirties, demonstrated that he had skills along these lines. Initially, I had struck up a conversation with Jarvis on the elevator at Afterward. The next morning, I bumped into him on the street outside of the Afterward building, during the break in his life skills classes. He was coming back with coffee, and I was standing outside smoking a cigarette. It was after that conversation that Jarvis agreed to do an interview with me.

Typically, I met people for interviews at the nearby diner during lunch break. However, Jarvis was one of the few people I agreed to meet in the evening off-site, which we did that same day. He told me that he was taking his elderly grandmother to church in one neighborhood, and asked me to pick him up there, and take him to the neighborhood where he currently lived with his brother. Once I picked him up, and got him to sign consent forms, I began to interview him in my car. Like sometimes happens in interviews, interviewees will want to discuss the politics of the racial disparities in the criminal justice system. His suggested solution to the issue gives hints about his own entrepreneurial mindset:

> There are two simple answers to the situation. One: education. True education. And the other one is entrepreneurship. I mean, you look at for instance all major corporations. You know, the thing that commerce and enterprise teaches is that I want the smartest. I want the strongest coming out of any institution whether it be Yale or jail. You know, I want them working for my company. I don't want

them to be a direct, you know, competitor of my company.  So basically what you're doing is if you look at all the prisoners, one of the greatest gifts that's an ongoing fact of what they have is ingenuity and a creative mind.

While he did not say where he went to high school, I know that Jarvis had at least a high school equivalent since he was able to participate in Afterward's life skills program. Eventually, we arrived at Jarvis's neighborhood.  After that, we walked a couple blocks to eat at Jarvis's favorite Jamaican restaurant, and we continued our interview as we ate. After the interview was over, I walked Jarvis back to his brother's house and we discussed his employment prospects. Jarvis said that he was essentially looking for something to, in his words, "stop the bleeding."  He had disclosed after the interview that he had been incarcerated for 12 years for armed robbery, which I confirmed by reviewing the court records.

About three months later, I happened to see Jarvis at Afterward again; he was waiting in line downstairs at Afterward's security checkpoint.  I asked him how he was doing, we exchanged pleasantries, and he told me that he was in a special entrepreneurship program being run through Afterward.  Cedric, one of the case managers, later explained to me that the program was a competition, in which people with criminal records developed business plans, in which the winner would receive a $5,000 grant to start the project.  A few months later, I had found out from Cedric that Jarvis had in fact won this contest, beating out 15 other competitors.

Jarvis' story illustrates how a certain type of person, with a business-oriented skill set, may become incarcerated.  This was something that case management staff also

commented on, particularly when it came to receiving clients who had been in federal prison for drug trafficking. Staff generally felt that people coming out of federal prison had very little issue readjusting, because federal prisons had better resources, and the people incarcerated for serious drug crimes usually had skills that directly transferred to entrepreneurship. At the same time, we can see the effect that social forces are having on Jarvis's life course. He knows he needs to get a job to "stop the bleeding" and what's available to him with a criminal record is going to be limited in scope, outside of de-skilled service work that he might obtain through participation in Afterward. Certainly, Jarvis had some reasonable social support through his brother who was able to provide him with free housing. Additionally, Jarvis was able to clearly demonstrate skills that would be of benefit to him in the dominant service sector of the economy, as demonstrated by his winning of the $5,000 grant. However, he is missing a key credential of a bachelor's degree, essentially a requirement for most service jobs. Even if he did not have a criminal record as a barrier, he would lack the requisite credential, and the path to his getting that credential remains murky. Jarvis appears to have an active social media account, a sign that points to his remaining outside of prison and jail. At the same time, it is clear that Jarvis will face significant constraints on his decision-making due to his economic precariousness, such that the short-term gains of lucrative criminal activity may nudge Jarvis to turn a blind eye to the possible long term consequences of re-incarceration.

Charles alluded to an entrepreneurial mindset similar to Jarvis'. Charles was in his early thirties and African American. Charles had a middle class family background,

with a mother who was supervisor at a medical clinic, and a father who ran a boxing

training program out of a local racial justice non-profit organization. In our interview, he

talked about how he had gone to Catholic school up until high school, when he went to a

large public school. While he did not discuss his offenses specifically, he referenced his

"young-boy laziness", "greed" and "wanting to "cut corners." While this was going on,

he actually worked at the medical clinic where his mother had a job. He said that

fortunately he had not ended up incarcerated, but that he had been arrested many times.

He cited his support networks, saying, "But I never made it to jail. I always had money

here, someone looking out for me had some money…" Charles pointed to having

worked "bullshit jobs" in the past, but that he had also worked at the medical clinic where

his mother worked. He also discussed his entrepreneurial and economic aspirations:

> I have a business mind. Because, I know how, you know, money accumulates,
> you know what I mean? Because the guy who saves might beat the guy who earns
> a real lot, a whole lot. So, yeah, you know, you might not make much, but at the
> end of the year, you might wind up doing better than the next man, because of the
> decisions you made with your money.

Again, we see an entrepreneurial mindset that is similar to what Jarvis had. He also had

clear connections through his mother to a middle class sector of the service economy,

which he has taken advantage of in the past. However, with a criminal record, he may no

longer be able to use those connections to the medical field, let alone accumulate any

significant capital for a business venture. With respect to entering the middle class

service sector of the labor market, the effects of the criminal record amount to legal

barriers in addition to Charles' lack of college education.

Charles also had a number of issues related to parenting. Charles had a 13 year-old son, who was in the custody of his ex-girlfriend, and two daughters with another woman, with whom he had relationship, albeit a contentious one. He said that the mother of his two daughters had "anger issues" and was not willing to work. He attributed these issues to her younger age of 24 and low socioeconomic status relative to him, and considered them to be stumbling blocks for their continued relationship. He also mentioned that her father had recently died and that her brother was incarcerated for a life sentence, in an attempt to both make her appear more sympathetic, but also to emphasis her strained social position and psychological stressors. Charles recognizes that because of his class background he has advantages over others like the mother of his two daughters. Charles' narrative of downward mobility through criminal activity is one that is well worked out in the literature, where middle class blacks are much less stable economically that middle class whites, and much more likely to socialize cross class (Pattillo-McCoy 1999). Charles' frayed social ties will also likely play a role in what is a likely diminished ability to stay out of prison or jail.

Charles, Dennis, and Zachary all had human capital relevant to the middle class service sector of the labor market in medicine, security, and education. However, all possess a criminal record. In these middle class service sectors, people with criminal records face explicit legal barriers that go beyond issues of employer-based discrimination on the basis of a criminal record. While Jarvis might not face the exact same legal barriers with his own entrepreneurial goals, his lack of a bachelor's degree effectively keeps him and the others out of most middle class service jobs. Additionally,

they all face some variation of economic precariousness, though stable social ties can help mitigate the worst of this precariousness through the provision of stable housing, e.g., Jarvis' brother house being part of his home plan. Rent seeking criminal justice bureaucracies also continue to be a factor in the life courses of these men as well. Even with human capital applicable to middle class occupations in the service sector, that seems like it could lead to upward social mobility, a number of social forces combine to constrain the possible life outcomes of these men. When faced with the decision of entry level de-skilled labor through Afterward, or the deployment of entrepreneurial skill sets in comparatively lucrative criminal activity, Afterward clients may choose the latter, thereby heightening the likelihood that they return to prison or jail.

## Workforce Discipline and the Life Course

In his critical account of prisoner reentry as a social institution, Miller usefully identifies the way in which workforce development, as a form of building up human capital, is a major feature of the contemporary prisoner reentry bureaucratic field (Miller 2014). In workforce development, when people with criminal records are educated in the appropriate ways of conducting themselves in acquiring employment, that will facilitate their ability to then obtain said employment, which then allows them to transition more easily to living outside of prison. Implicit in this framing is that people with criminal records lack the necessary skills to participate in the labor market. What my research in this chapter shows is that, quite often in fact, people who are participating in prisoner reentry programs may already have human capital in the form of technical skills or even middle class skills that surpasses that which is required for the de-skilled employment opportunities towards which Afterward will likely forward them. While this is not

105

always the case, my research shows that for numerous clients at Afterward this downward mobility was not unusual. I argue that a combination of downward mobility and recruitment into a de-skilled labor force constitutes prisoner reentry's workforce development as a case of proletarianization.

From a Marxist perspective, proletarianization is considered to be the degrading/deskilling of the quality of work under industrial capitalism such that it results in the growth of the working population. For Marx, proletarianization is concomitant with pauperization, because wage labor is ultimately a form of theft from the working class. For Marx, pauperization is a form of downward mobility. Marx also considered "criminals" part of the lumpenproletariat, i.e. the unemployed and underemployed, a concept which has been revisited as with Wilson's "underclass" with similar amounts of moralizing overtones to Marx (Katz 1992; Wilson 1990). If we presume people with criminal records to be lumpenproletariat, then workforce development functions by recruiting people into the working class through wage labor that they might not have otherwise obtained. While there's room to see this lumpenproletariat recruitment into the workforce as a type of social control, and it is certainly the case that there were Afterward clients who lacked working class skills, or human capital, there were also some who did have these skills. It is arguably clearer in these cases that there is a classic case of Marxist proletarianization occurring, facilitated by a combination of the criminal record and the service provision of organizations like Afterward.

In the case of "late" capitalism, developed economies like those found in the United States are primarily dependent on their advanced service sectors. Sassen points to

106

global cities as a locus for specialized service provision for high finance (Sassen 2006).

Scholars have also pointed to the extent to which cities rely on education, sports (Delaney

and Eckstein 2003), entertainment (Grazian 2011), and tourism (Grazian 2005, 2015) to

support their economies and governments (Logan and Molotch 1988). As a result, there

is a demand for a de-skilled service labor that serves a place-specific foundation to

support the more sophisticated and lucrative functions of the service economy.

Organizations like Afterward are in a position to supply a ready-made workforce. This

availability of a deskilled workforce ultimately benefits multi-national corporations who

receive very cheap labor, especially with tax breaks. Against a backdrop of poverty,

violence, and pressure from the criminal justice system, it's perfectly reasonable for any

one individual to desire employment for safety and stability. At the same time, resistance

to wage-labor is difficult for individuals to conceptualize at the social level, let alone

channel institutional means, e.g., labor unions that have effectively been crushed over 40

years in the United States (Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2009). Any sort of "resistance" is

much likelier to be individualized, and channeled towards criminal activity (Bourgois

2002; MacLeod 2008).

The question remains, why would someone participate in an organization like

Afterward, if they know they are qualified for something better? The clearest answer is

that the criminal record constitutes a barrier to employment, as a result of employer

discrimination such that it makes downward mobility almost a given. The effects of

employer discrimination exacerbate those already existing effects of labor market

segmentation and education labor mismatch that are relevant for individuals seeking

working class employment. Additionally, employment may be necessary specifically

because the criminal justice system requires it. Criminal justice bureaucracies, like

probation and parole, make obtaining a formal paycheck a necessary aspect of being in

bureaucratic compliance, i.e. a condition of avoiding further punishment. In this way,

criminal justice bureaucracies function as rent-seeking institutions, garnishing paychecks

to cover an individual's court costs and fines. Given that in most cases people with

criminal records are already contending with economic precariousness, this situation is

very clearly a case of disciplining the poor into the workforce (Soss et al. 2011).

However, even as the concepts of lumpenproletariat or underclass may not

adequately capture the extent to which people with criminal records may have working

class skills, it may accurately characterize their social position of incomplete integration

into the labor market. Even as labor market integration is analytically salient for

understanding the life course trajectories of people with criminal records, labor market

integration is only a part of what contributes to desistance, i.e. when people stop

committing crime. There are a number of studies that focus on desistance among the

formerly incarcerated (Fader 2013; Leverentz 2014; Maruna 2001; Sampson 2003;

Sampson and Laub 1995). One of the key findings among criminologists is that people

tend to desist as they age, sometimes referred to as the age effect. While explanations of

the age effect vary, theories on social ties, from close personal ties, to broader notions of

collective efficacy, are relevant when it comes to understanding what could prevent

someone from returning to prison or jail. In this particular study, I have pointed to the

stability of social ties as a feature that varies across cases that can inform us about

potential life course outcomes. At the same time, scholars recognize that desistance is a

process, and that even among those cases that I have identified as returning to prison or

jail, they may in fact desist in the long term in spite of their short term economic

precariousness and incarceration.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have pointed towards the relationship that Afterward clients have

to employment. Specifically, I have focused on how clients have human capital that

would qualify them for solid working class jobs, and potentially even middle class jobs in

the educational and service sector. At the same time, I have pointed to a number of

interacting issues that constrain clients' decision-making including 1) the scarcity of

employment overall, 2) the many effects of the criminal record, 3) unstable social ties, 4)

poverty, and 5) rent-seeking activity by criminal justice bureaucracies. Clients are

dealing with various combinations of these issues as they enter into a relationship with

Afterward, a street level bureaucracy focused on prisoner reentry. Because of labor

market demand for de-skilled work that supports the more sophisticated aspects of the

service sector, Afterward is limited in the opportunities that it is able to provide its

clients. Moreover, participation in Afterward is not always voluntary. While clients may

be motivated to participate out of economic precariousness alone, many clients are

specifically sent to Afterward as a part of both punishment and rent-seeking activity on

the part of the criminal justice system.

Whether a client is simply unable to obtain employment because of employer

discrimination at the entry level, or explicit legal barriers in the case of middle class

service work in medicine, education, and security, the end result of downward mobility is the same. I have argued that this downward mobility and recruitment into the de-skilled workforce is a classic case of proletarianization. At the same time, I have argued that the concept of lumpenproletariat is useful for understanding the broad social position of people with criminal records, even if it is not necessarily an accurate characterization of human capital, i.e., labor market relevant skills, held across individuals with criminal records. Nevertheless, labor market integration is not the sole, or necessarily even most important, criteria for desistance over the life course. People with criminal records disproportionately have a number of individual level issues which are relevant to desistance as well, as I have explored with these case studies. The combination of individual level issues, economic precariousness, and a mark of a criminal record over the life course, makes it such that entry into the de-skilled workforce remains insufficient for preventing recidivism, and sometimes is a form of fiscal discipline. Given these circumstances, clients faced with constraints on their options may choose economically motivated criminal activity as an alternate and readily available option in spite of the associated risks of returning to prison or jail. Some clients may even become incarcerated simply due to not being able to cover living expenses and satisfy the fiscal demands of the criminal justice system. While desistance may be a long term social fact for people with criminal records, my study points to the short term difficulties that people with records face in attempting to ward off socioeconomic insecurity.

**Chapter 5: Facing Down the Reentry Dilemma: Redemption, Deterrence, and the Social Construction of Agency in Desistance Narratives Among Men**

In this chapter, I focus on narratives that discuss the social process of desistance. Specifically, I focus on the way in which these desistance narratives are deployed by both clients and staff at Afterward. I argue that these narratives are thematically unified by what amounts to attempts to socially construct agency. In this way, I put an emphasis on the particular things that clients say about their own behaviors, as well as the perspective of case management staff on client behaviors. There is some literature that leads us to believe that desistance narratives are relevant for rehabilitation per se (Leverentz 2014; Maruna 2001), even as desistance as a process is likely influenced by a number of material and social factors among which narratives themselves are one. This is interesting, and it reflects findings regarding the psychological significance of self-efficacy (Bandura 1977) as well as collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997).

Nevertheless, these narratives as they are deployed can be interpreted from a sociology of culture perspective as drawn from a cultural toolkit or repertoire (Swidler 1986, 2003) that individuals develop through broader socialization. These types of narratives are not exclusive to the case of people with criminal records in constructing accounts of desistance, but instead reflect a broader social type of awakening narratives (DeGloma 2014). The desistance narratives that I present in this chapter, as well as awakening narratives more broadly, are also laden with moral and emotional content, relevant from both psychological perspectives on moral development (Kohlberg 1958) as

111

well as sociological perspectives in which morality and emotions are co-constitutive (Collins 2005; Durkheim 1995; Maruna 2011). Additionally, these concerns reflect classical issues raised by the sociology of deviance with respect to stigma and identity formation (Becker 1997; Goffman 1986b; Lofland 2002).

<center>Desistance Narratives</center>

I encountered two types of desistance narratives among client interviewees. The first narrative from clients focused on admitting of wrongdoing and personal transformation. This narrative can be understood in terms of what criminologists have referred to as a redemption script (Leverentz 2014; Maruna 2001). The second type of narrative focused more squarely on the desire to not return to prison. I have framed this second type of narrative as a "deterrence script." In addition to client narratives of desistance, I also describe Afterward's narratives about client desistance. These narratives typically focus on client decision-making.

Importantly, desistance narratives themselves are not sufficient criteria for ceasing criminal activity. In other words, simply because an individual says they have changed or expresses fear of returning to prison or jail, does not mean that they will not in fact be incarcerated again. Similarly, simply because a case manager says that a client has the capacity to make better decisions, does not mean that a client will in fact make decisions that are not self-defeating. In Chapter 4, I reviewed clients' attempts at obtaining employment, and the way in which that employment is not only difficult to obtain, but also not enough to satisfy clients' pressing economic needs. This creates a dilemma for Afterward clients in which they perceive short-term economic benefits to crime while

<center>112</center>

simultaneously recognizing the increased likelihood of incarceration, which comes with clear material and social costs. The deterrence script, as a type of desistance narrative, can frame the costs of committing crime, e.g., returning to prison, fraying of social ties, economic downward mobility, etc., as outweighing the benefits of committing crime. Scholars acknowledge that while people tend to desist from crime in the long term over the life course, desistance is a process with stops and starts (Leverentz 2014). Moreover, in discussing these narratives, I do not wish to suggest that they are indicative of redemption, deterrence, or agency in any empirical, material, or ontological sense. Nevertheless, these desistance narratives are an important part of the experience of providing and receiving services in a prisoner reentry organization. These narratives are also interesting and informative because of their cultural and ideational components. In highlighting the individual as both a site of wrongdoing/fault and a site for transformation, these desistance narratives reinforce the dominant assumption that individuals are responsible for their social position through the social construction of agency.

<div align="center">Redemption Scripts</div>

In *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*, Shadd Maruna offers the concept of the redemption script as a way that people in the Liverpool Desistance Study who have committed crimes explain that they will stop committing crime (2001). According to Maruna, unlike people who continue to commit crime, long-time "persisters" who claim that they will stop committing crime naturally invite skepticism, contributing to their need to develop an explanatory narrative. Maruna conceptualizes a redemption script as a way of making a coherent story that individuals

who have previously committed crime can tell to friends, family, and perhaps most importantly, to themselves, as to why they will stop committing crime. For Maruna, three key components of the redemption script are: establishment of the core belief of a true self, optimistic perception of control over one's life outcomes, and the desire to "give back" to society (2001:88). It is also important in the redemption script to identify previous conduct as wrong—even as the individual actors themselves are not taken as morally wrong or fundamentally criminal as a result. A foundationally good core self can also be asserted by presenting the dilemmas faced in previous situations, usually a result of material deprivation, that help to explain, though perhaps not excuse, an individual's criminal activity. These are features of an ideal type of narrative and while not all parts of the script are found in each case, it is a useful conceptual apparatus for understanding narratives of people with criminal records.

Thomas was African American and in his mid-twenties, and he deployed a redemption script in the context of our interview. Court records show that Thomas had been convicted of felony possession of drugs with intent to distribute, and was incarcerated for a year. With respect to his family background, Thomas explained that he was adopted by his aunt after his mother relinquished legal custody when he was two years old. While he did not know his father personally, Thomas claimed that his father, who had been in the Navy, routinely sent money. He explained that he was romantically involved with a young woman who became pregnant with his child. He expressed that his impending fatherhood was part of what motivated him to try to gain employment.

Thomas wanted to be able to provide for his child without the assistance of this young

woman's father, who also happened to be a pastor.  In our interview, he reflected on this:


>  Thomas: When I got her pregnant, [her father] stopped taking me out.  He'd take
>  me out now but my thing is I don't like to ask. I don't want to ask.  I want
>  to do it on my own. I'm in my late twenties and I'm going on a straight
>  path.
>  Frank: Are you feeling responsible for this child?
>  T:      I'm very responsible.  I just make dumb choices in my life and I'm trying
>  to get over that and make a way to fix that problem.  I was a drug bug.
>  But I never carried guns. I never kept one on me but I just, I did drugs, I
>  liked the things that came from selling drugs.
>  F:      Right. There's a lot of money.
>  T:      There's all kinds of stuff, but I just came home.  I just did almost a year…

Thomas then elaborated on how the service provision at Afterward taught him skills that

he did not have, i.e., interviewing skills, resume building, and professional email

composition.  I followed up asking him about the program:


>  F:      So you feel like it's very helpful, the program overall.
>  T:      Oh yes.  My whole thing is I would start something and have a sidetrack
>  which means I might get locked up.  I'm locked up and I can't do what I
>  wanted to do, and that always happened to me my whole life.  And every
>  time I'm in jail I think about that.  My last placement, I just picked up a
>  book.  And that's another thing, I never picked up a book on the street, in
>  school.  I never did homework.  I didn't have F's but I didn't have A's.  I
>  was like right in between, always I was looking for the shortcut.
>
>  F:      But now you feel like you want to learn more.
>
>  T:      Yes because there's some stuff I don't know. I'm trying to make sure I do
>  it because I'm about to have a kid now.

In our interview, Thomas deployed some features of the redemption script.  He distances

himself from previous conduct, and frames himself as responsible.  He also interprets his

selling of drugs as primarily a secondary mode of economic support, while at the same

time recognizing it as a "shortcut" of sorts.  He highlights his previous behavior as

indicative of "dumb choices," now attempting to stay on a "straight path" due to his responsibilities that he has due to his soon-to-be-born child. To date, there is no record of Thomas returning to the criminal justice system—though he may soon face new pressures to provide economically for his new child. Luckily for him, he may benefit from the social support that the mother of his child receives from her family, a level of support he disclosed in the interview that he did not have for himself. Thomas' desistance narrative in which he explains previous conduct is also an attempt to represent himself as an agentic social actor by avoiding future criminal activity and incarceration.

Another one of my interviewees, Charles, also utilized a redemption script in explaining his past behavior and attempts at future desistance. Charles was in his late forties and African American. Charles was married, but also had two children who were in the custody of their mother, a previous romantic partner of his. Charles said that he had been incarcerated twice in state prison. Court records confirmed that Charles was incarcerated in state prisons during the times that he disclosed, in both cases for felony drug charges, i.e., distribution. Most recently, he pled guilty to some misdemeanors, i.e., driving under the influence of alcohol [DUI], and possession of drugs. Records also showed that he had been to court many times for other offenses which were listed as either not guilty or withdrawn, which included DUI and misdemeanor assault. At the time of our interview, Charles was on house arrest at his mother's house, which he explained meant that he was only allowed to leave his mother's house to come to Afterward, see his parole officer, or go to a doctor's appointment. In our interview, Charles described an upbringing where "hustling" was part of what it meant to be in his

family.  He described having an uncle introduce him to hustling.  Charles disclosed that

he met his father for the first time while the two of them were incarcerated at the same

prison.  Like many male members of his family, including uncles and cousins, Charles'

father was serving a 20+ year sentence in state prison.  After hearing about the Afterward

program from another parolee, Charles sought to participate.  From our interview:

> As a matter of fact, I turned back around and I went and talked to my PO.  I told him I want to get into the program so he gave me—he told me I can come down and see what it's good for.  So I came down.  I just enrolled myself, because I already knew what I wanted to do.  I knew I wanted to get into some type of program and better my life.  If nothing changes man, nothing changes.  [It felt like] living insanity; I was doing that all my life, doing the same thing expecting different results.  You know what I mean?  Now I try to do it the right way.  I had to learn that for myself.

Charles' case of his involvement in Afterward is indicative of how relationships between

criminal justice bureaucracies and Afterward can have an impact on client behavior.

Afterward is one of the few places that Charles is permitted to go while under house

arrest, and it also allows him to demonstrate initiative to his parole officer.  However,

Charles' stated motivation goes beyond compliance with the criminal justice system.  He

refers specifically to wanting to "better" his life, and trying to do things the "right" way,

implying that his previous conduct was wrong.  These expressed sentiments are

indicative of a redemption script.  In our interview, Charles describes how these

sentiments are linked to the curriculum of the life skills course in which he is currently

enrolled.  Charles singles out one of the instructors, Gerald, for his perspective, then

linking it to his own.

> Charles: Yeah, Gerald.  He talks about a lot of stuff that will help you build up your inner you.  Help you see you for you.  I like that.

117

Frank: What do you mean inner you? Or like build up your inner you?

C: When I say inner you, he teaches you, see, a lot of us like don't know the real us. We think we do because we've been born here and we've been raised up here. But once you get to know the real you, then you start changing. You stop accepting certain things at face value. You start seeking more than just standing there taking. You start adjusting yourself. You know change, you make change in your life—it becomes different. I don't know if you understand me, but you become different. You start thinking differently.

F: You undergo a personal transformation.

C: Exactly. You said it.

F: I guess you overcome the desire to continue to do profitable, illegal activity, something along those lines?

C: All that, because once you get in touch with your inner self, you get to realize that you can do other things. Because see, growing up, where I come from, I was always taught "you ain't shit, you ain't ever going to be shit." Excuse my language, but that's the expression that I was taught. You know what I mean? You were a product of your environment. All I knew was drugs.

Charles' discussion of the "inner you," as something distinguished from his environment, based on a change in thought patterns, as well as a move away from "taking" illustrates his continued deployment of a redemption script. Along the lines of giving back, a feature of the redemption script, Charles stated that not only would he like to be able to provide economically for his children, like Thomas, but that he would like to be able to act as a role model. Charles indicated that although they were not his biological children, he said that he was responsible for raising his previous romantic partner's children in addition to the ones they had conceived together. Charles also disclosed that the oldest of these children, his previous partner's biological child, was incarcerated for a 20-year sentence. Fathers attempting to "make up" for tragedy in the case of children from previous relationships with new children has been documented recently in urban ethnographic sociological literature (Edin and Nelson 2013). This falls in line with

clients' attempts to socially reconstruct their own agency with respect to a particular social role.

In our interview, Nathan also utilized a redemption script, which was in many ways similarly derived from his role as a possible provider. Nathan was African American and in his early forties. In our interview, Nathan explained that he has three children with three different women, and he is in a special fatherhood program which is designed to facilitate his compliance with child support requirements. In our interview, Nathan was critical of what he perceived as the lack of social services available in prison, services that would have supported his ability to function in a provider role had he been able to receive them.

> So, I mean, they've taken a lot of the programs and things from people in prison. So what are you expecting, what are you, like what are we supposed to do? Like is it, is it you just feel like we don't deserve a second chance? You know, not everybody that made mistakes will continue to make mistakes. You know, some people, like myself, I know what I did. I don't need anybody to tell me whether it was wrong or right. I know it was wrong. But now I'm here and I still want to take care of my kids. So now what? What do I do?

For Nathan, there was a clear tension. On the one hand, he expressed interest in being able to provide economically for his children, and to be there for them. At the same time, he criticizes himself in our interview for committing crimes that led to his incarceration, but which also enabled him to act in a provider role.

> Nathan: I've learned that the best thing I could have done for my family was stay out of prison. You understand what I'm saying?
> Frank: Yes.
> N: But, at the time, I couldn't see that. All I could think about was how much diapers cost, how much milk cost. It was a… I don't know what to call it.
> F: That's not trivial though.

119

N:   I don't know what to call it. I mean, as a father your intention is to do right by your children, but, you know, sometimes we choose the wrong way to go about it. And that was basically what I, I just chose the wrong way to go about it.

F:   Okay.

N:   Now, you know, I don't go to the same places I used to go. I don't, I've totally changed what I used to do. But I find it hard to reinsert myself into this world.

F:   What makes it hard?

N:   One of the things that makes it hard is temptation.

F:   Okay.

N:   You know, when things get, things get tough, my first reaction is, you know what, I could go, I could go back to what I was doing and if I do it better, I can avoid those consequences.

F:   I see.

N:   That's not really true. That's not really true. You can't do bad things and expect good consequences. That just doesn't work. So now, my focus is on trying to make better decisions and stop, don't let the pressure get to me. It's a lot of pressure coming out here. Still got to provide for these kids, you know, in, in some way, shape or form. And so there's a monkey on my back all the time.

Nathan articulates the dilemma he previously faced, in attempting to provide for his children through crime, and risking incarceration. Nathan currently identifies his previous conduct as wrong, but explains his motivation given his circumstances. This sort of explanation of previous motivation on the basis of circumstance, while re-interpreting previous conduct as wrongdoing is a key feature of the redemption script, which Nathan deployed in our interview. It is also clear that Nathan is still struggling with the economic pressures of re-establishing himself outside of prison, not to mention providing for his children. Nevertheless, later in our interview Nathan demonstrates optimism in the face of adversity, which is also indicative of a redemption script.

So I won't give up. There's no give up in me. There's no give up in me. It may hurt, it may be hard and I may have some things stacked against me, but I won't quit and I don't believe that I'll fail. That's just my out, that's, that's who I am. That's my outlook on things. I won't, I won't give up, never, and I won't fail,

ever. I may fall. You may, I may stumble, but I won't fail. And I wish my brothers and sisters had that much confidence in themselves because even though it's hard out here and even though it seem like the system is made to stack everything against you, if you keep pushing, and you keep your faith in whatever higher power you believe, it will get better. This is what I have to tell myself in the mirror every day for me to be able to make it down there, for me to not go back to the things that I've done, for me to be, you know, a better person. It can happen. You just have to believe that it will happen.

Nathan is obviously aware that he currently faces a number of dilemmas. In the short term, it is unlikely that he will be able to provide economically for his children in any way that is close to adequate. He faces numerous barriers to employment with a criminal record, and maintaining functioning relationships with three different children, let alone their mothers, is a tall order. Nathan invokes religiosity broadly while re-affirming his commitment to being a "better person," in a way that points to the emotional importance of this redemption script for himself, as well as a sense of self-efficacy (Bandura 1977). Nathan's deployment of the redemption script for purposes of self-efficacy fits is an attempt to socially construct agency and an account of desistance.

Alfonso, from Chapter 4, also deployed a redemption script in our interview. He recognizes previous acts as wrong, and reflects on the importance of "attitude":

Before I was ignorant. I didn't care about a lot of things. Looking back, it's like I did a lot of bad things to myself. I pushed a lot of people away and I want to better myself, so I can better other people. It's about me focusing my attitude, because attitude is key. Without attitude, you can go to a store, or you can go to a job and start working customer service and you have a bad attitude, nobody wants that. You've got to have a good attitude. You've got to change your ways. If you want to make it out here in this world, attitude plays a major role in life. I feel a change in myself. It's a good change. Day by day I feel better about myself.

Attitude takes on a dual role for Alfonso—both a presentation of self at his workplace, but also an internal disposition. His discussion of attitude and a change in his behavior is indicative of a redemption script. However, with Alfonso, we get a clear sense of how a redemption script may not matter much for contact with the criminal justice system, since as of this writing he was awaiting trial for a new offense. Moreover, attempts at socially constructing agency bump up against real material dilemmas which my interviewees have illustrated.

In their use of redemptions scripts, people attempting to desist from criminal activity tell a story about their past that helps to explain their behavior in a way that leaves them foundationally good. Previous criminal activity is judged as wrong, even if understandable due to dilemmas arising out of the intense pressure of material deprivation and social marginality. Redemption scripts can also exhibit optimism, and a desire to give back at the level of family, or "community" writ large. I have also argued that they are attempts to socially construct agency. However, redemption scripts are one possible type of desistance narrative—in the next section I offer an alternative, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, desistance narrative emphasizing the criminological concept of deterrence.

## Deterrence Scripts

Criminologists have used the concept of deterrence to illustrate how the criminal justice system can prevent people from committing crime. Deterrence effects have been studied through different mechanisms of the criminal justice system, from policing strategies to sentencing (Braga and Weisburd 2012; Kennedy 2012; Levitt 1996;

Paternoster 1987). To a degree, deterrence theories rest on rational actor assumptions about human behavior. That is to say, if individuals are able to determine that committing crime is not in their own best interest, then they will avoid doing so.

People who are leaving prison or jail typically face a dilemma. Issues such as labor market barriers, family instability, and spotty housing create a situation of socioeconomic insecurity. This type of situation can arguably provide short-term incentives for people to re-offend in order to stabilize their situation in the case of economically motivated crimes. At the same time, people who have been incarcerated can often recognize that it is not in their long-term best interest to be incarcerated again, regardless of possible short-term benefits. This recognition occurred as a narrative script in my interview data, and I use the term "deterrence script" as a concept to interpret client narratives. Like the redemption script, the deterrence script is a desistance narrative aimed at resolving a dilemma regarding the possibility of committing a crime. Like the redemption script, its deployment is not tantamount to a behavioral outcome, i.e., an individual who recites a deterrence script may very well return to prison or jail. Like the redemption script, the deterrence script is interesting in how it relates to broader cultural constructs.

In our interview, Stan deployed a deterrence script in explaining his reasoning for planning to cease criminal activity. Stan was in his early forties and African American. He talked about how when he was a teenager, he started committing stick-ups and robberies with his older brother and his close friend. In committing these crimes, he described himself as "completely out of my mind at the time, being that young, engaging

in that type of activity." At age 18, he explained, he and his brother were arrested,

charged with robbery, and convicted. They were incarcerated for seven years in state

prison. As he described, upon his release from prison, Stan came back home, worked at a

hotel, and sold drugs on the side to cover his living expenses. In the context of a long-

term romantic relationship, his first child was born. At the same time, he disclosed, his

involvement in the drug trade escalated, such that he was inclined to carry a gun to

protect himself. When stopped by police for a search, he tried to run, but was eventually

arrested. He ended up being incarcerated in federal prison for 13 years on felony

possession of a firearm as a part of a special criminal justice program aimed at reducing

gun violence. Now staying with his family, Stan said:

> I'm on my best behavior, I get to see my son periodically, I get to eat home
> cooked meals, and chill with my family. It's been kind of challenging. Me and
> my sister are clashing. But I'm home. I don't have any intention of ever going
> back to prison. A friend of mine told me yesterday, he said that he was riding in a
> car with dudes that also had prior convictions, but he's been licensed to carry, so
> my friend said, 'what are you saying?' He said, 'are you saying that you have
> something on you?' He said, 'yeah. I'm saying I got something on me.' My
> friend said, 'yo,' pulled his car over. Hopped out of the car in the middle of
> traffic and hailed down a cab. My sentiments exactly.

It's clear here that Stan does not want to go back to prison having been incarcerated for

two lengthy stays. Stan expresses being motivated by not returning to prison, as opposed

to having experienced a personal transformation, or being motivated by wanting to be

around for friends and family. At the same time, from our interview it's clear that Stan

isn't quite yet acclimated to life outside of prison, describing people as "Facebook and

iPhone zombies." In the excerpt above, he illustrates how his friend almost got into a

wrong-place/wrong-time situation, and immediately got out of a car. Nevertheless, in our

interview, he also discussed how the mother of his child, while not approving of him

being incarcerated, appreciated the money that he provided while he was engaged in

criminal activity.  Staying with his sister, Stan is in a somewhat stable situation, though

he may face pressure to earn an income in a labor market in which his lengthy record of

violent crime and spotty work history may prevent him from earning that income via

legitimate means.  Still, in our interview, he deployed what I have identified as a

deterrence script in order to explain why he would avoid future criminal activity, or even

social situations that were borderline.  Additionally in describing how he would avoid

criminal activity, arrest, and incarceration, Stan socially constructs his agency through a

recognition of a capacity to avoid crime.

Ethan was in his early twenties and African American, and he also utilized a

deterrence script in our interview.  Ethan indicated that he had been expelled from high

school after repeatedly failing to attend class.  Ethan was most recently incarcerated for

an assault charge.  Ethan is currently staying with his mother; she used to be a nurse, but

had to stop working because she was struggling with the effects of leukopenia, i.e., low

white blood cell count that weakened her immune system.  Ethan's mother currently

receives an income through disability benefits.  Ethan, like many clients at Afterward

expressed his desire to obtain employment in the immediate, in his case, so that he could

get out of his mother's house. "Even though I'm going through this right now, I'm 22

years old, I plan on continuing to live with my mom, because I can't do anything.  I feel

like a kid." In the context of Afterward, Ethan was working on his GED.  He said that he

had plans to continue his education through community college, and eventually attain a

bachelor's degree. He discussed his cousin's paying off court costs using drug money, and how his friend's incarceration, with whom he was engaged in criminal activity, made him realize the dangers of continued criminal activity.

> Ethan: He had to come stay with us for a few months until he paid it off or until he could get his own house. Even him, he can't get a job like that, so he's selling drugs right now. That was going to be my plan at first, but if I do that, I got five years facing me to walk off. So if I get caught again, it's going to be another violation because I have five years, so I chose not to do it.
>
> Frank: It's a big risk.
>
> E: Big risk. Really big risk. I just keep my head up, man. Stay positive. Try to find a job. I'm not going to lie, I tried to get back out there and do what I do. It's just that ironically the guy I was going to go with got locked up.
>
> F: Was that like a sign for you?
>
> E: Really was. It was like man, come over and pick it up. I get to the corner, the cops had his house surrounded, and I'm like, yep, that's pretty much my sign right there. They caught him with everything. He had about $200,000 worth of drugs, $16,000 worth of cash, and about another $10,000, $15,000 worth of drugs. They caught him with all of that.
>
> F: He's screwed.
>
> E: Yeah, it's a bum deal.
>
> F: He's probably going to go to federal prison.
>
> E: Oh, he's there now.

In Ethan's understanding of why he no longer intends to engage in criminal activity, the concept of a deterrence script is a useful organizing principle. Ethan does not necessarily make a claim on himself as a moral actor. Rather, he focuses primarily on the economic dilemmas of his situation, not to mention how he feels infantilized, and likely ashamed, having to live at his mother's house while she collects disability benefits for a chronic disease. One solution to the dilemma is criminal activity, which he points to his cousin engaging in solely to pay off court costs and fines. Ethan disclosed that he was engaged in criminal activity, until his partner in crime was arrested by the police. When an

individual decides not to engage in crime because of a vicarious experience, that is

known as "general" deterrence (Stafford and Warr 1993). Ethan's deployment of a

deterrence script in our interview would fall under this general deterrence classification.

However, Ethan also exhibits specific deterrence in his script as well.

> E: I can't do it. I refuse to go back to jail. Because they treat you like dirt. I understand we're criminals, I understand that, but at the same time we're human beings. Guards shouldn't be telling us to strip every day.
>
> F: Every day?
>
> E: Every day. You know it's coming, because an inmate on the block, he'll yell out "shakedown." When he yells "shakedown," all the drugs that's on the block get flushed. If the CO hear you flush drugs, they make it worse. In jail, they woke us up at 7:30 in the morning, told us all to go to the gym, you go the gym, you play ball. We came back, we had our beds, our sheets, our clothes and a bunch of trash in the middle of the block. The block has about 80 cells on it, it's 3 beds to a cell, every bed was in the middle of a block, everybody's clothes was piled up together, trashed, they pissed on our clothes—
>
> F: What?
>
> E: Yeah. They pissed on our clothes. They let the dogs come in. The dogs came through and pissed on our clothes. Chewed up some of the inmates shoes and stuff like that. They're rough like that. Told us we had to clean it up. If we didn't clean it up, we'd have gone to the hole. So we had to spend about three hours cleaning the entire block.
>
> F: That doesn't even make sense. Was it reported or anything?
>
> E: It's supposed to be. I thought it would be one day, because we had to write a grievance. When I heard what happens to those grievances, I stopped writing. The COs had a mole, an inmate who's actually working for them, so every time a block writes a certain amount of grievances they take it to the warden like they're supposed to, that guard gets fired on the spot. Well, I found that those grievances go down to the intake room first, the inmate opens it, see how many are in there and throw them in the trash. The warden never found out about it. Every single time.

In this excerpt from our interview, Ethan dwells on the abusive aspects of incarceration

as reason for his not wanting to return. In contrast to explaining his non-participation in

criminal activity via his friends' arrest, Ethan's desire to not return to jail stems directly

from the routinely traumatizing experience of incarceration. Because this narrative

focuses on his direct experience, it would qualify as script of "specific" deterrence. Ethan does not explicitly refer to a personal transformation—rather he sees the system as corrupt. Beyond simply the conditions of prison, later in the interview, Ethan discusses his public defender who, according to Ethan, made him take a bad deal, and then disconnected his phone number. His criticism of the criminal justice system in many ways takes the place of a personalized narrative of transformation, rather than as a way of explaining previous behavior. Moreover, in Ethan's deployment of deterrence scripts, in both general and specific instances, there is an important social construction of agency insofar as Ethan articulates a capacity to cease economically motivated criminal activity in spite of socioeconomic instability in the short term.

While in these previous cases the deterrence script and the redemption script were mutually exclusive, that was not always the case. Ted was in his mid-thirties, African American, and originally from the southeast part of the U.S. Ted disclosed that he had been incarcerated in federal prison three separate times in his adult life, for drug and gun related convictions. Ted also disclosed that he was raised by his grandmother, because his mother was an alcoholic. He says that he was referred to Afterward by his federal probation officer. In attempting to desist, he discusses the dilemmas for desisting posed by his situation:

> Ted:  It's crazy having a record. It's like I'm staying positive because I have good job, but it was because I knew someone, not by me going into a company, filling out an application, and they hire me like that. The criminal record affects me in lot of ways. So when I tell you I'm locked up for drugs and guns, you don't want me at your company because I might be selling drugs in your company or I might bring a gun and hold it somebody's head or something. So you don't want to hire me. That was a

mistake or a choice I made. I'm a different person now, but you still won't hire me because of what I did ten years ago. If I go through ten companies and they turn me down like that it's hard, because you're thinking in your mind, "okay, what do I know how to do? I know how to rob. I know how to sell drugs." I don't want to do it, because I don't want to go back to prison and then [someone like] you [would] be taking care of my family and my kids will be calling you dad. So, it's a hard tug of war, man. Just trying to stay focused and not get back into the street because [I] know how to do that and you won't give me a job. So if you won't give me a job, or she won't give me a job and I'm trying and trying and trying, it's crazy. But to take you back to how I feel, I don't want to go back to prison. But then you got your wife in your ear, "baby needs this," or "kids need this" or "rent's due" or "there's a light bill," and you don't have any money. What are you going to do? It's tough. Lose your family so you can stay free or jeopardize your freedom to keep your family for a little while.

Frank: That's a dilemma.

T:      But you don't understand that. Fuck you, I ain't hiring you. But you don't understand that I'm a changed man. You don't know that, because you won't give me a chance.

F:      They just see a piece of paper.

T:      What I did ten years ago. That discouraged a lot of people. I fight it real hard, but I don't let it discourage me, because I know I don't want to go back. I would rather be sleeping on the streets with a bum rather than go back to prison.

A key theme for Ted is the difficulty he has obtaining employment in the regular economy, most of which he attributes to his criminal record. Exhibiting some features of the redemption script, Ted refers to his criminal past as a "mistake." Ted's narrative illustrates very well the dilemma facing many of the clients at Afterward—stay free and broke and risk losing your family, or risk incarceration to maintain relationships in the short term. In the past, Ted was clearly torn between the immediate economic demands of providing for his family and the possibility of incarceration if he attempts to use illegal means to help cover his expenses. Ted's struggles echo themes articulated by clients from Chapter 4. At the same time, while Ted does say he is a "changed man" he also

very clearly does not want to go back to prison, and is now willing to risk poverty, even homelessness, to avoid incarceration. In this way, Ted has features of both the redemption script and the deterrence script. In our interview, Ted accepts responsibility for his actions, and cites Reggie, one of the facilitators at Afterward, saying that clients should "always own this" and stop "pointing the finger" at police and parole. At the same time, Ted is critical of the structural barriers that have made it close to impossible for him obtain employment via legitimate means, even as he is determined to avoid incarceration. Ted's articulation of his experiences with structural barriers works as a deployment of a deterrence script by showing a transition in how he perceived the benefits of economically motivated criminal activity. While in scholarly research, the family is conceived of as promoting and supporting desistance (Naser and La Vigne 2006), in the context of Ted's particular deployment of a deterrence script in explaining past actions, we can see how an individual's understanding of familial demand for resources can be also connected to a rationale for committing crime. Nevertheless, Ted's use of a deterrence script permits him the social construction of his own agency as a rational actor, while his use of the redemption script allows him to acknowledge higher order moral concerns. Both of these scripts as Ted deploys them in our interview contribute to Ted's desistance narrative, in which he is actively creating a coherent construction of moral and rational agency.

Timothy, African American and in his late forties, also offered in our interview a combination of redemption and deterrence scripts. Timothy explained that he had a history of robbing and stealing, which started when he was 11 years old. While Timothy

had been paroled, taking his violations into account, he had served a total of 20 years in

various state prisons. Most recently, he explained, he had received probation for a

misdemeanor assault charge as a result of a physical altercation with his current wife's

ex-husband. When I asked him if he was stipulated to participate in Afterward as a result

of his probation, he replied:

> I was released after 20 years in July of 2013, so I've been actively searching for a
> job since. I couldn't find one, so I decided to take the opportunity to see what this
> program was all about and maybe it could help me to, you know, move on in life
> and put that past behind me. I also made a conscious decision in my life to change
> my life probably around 32 years old. I was in prison and I decided that this was
> not what I wanted for my life because I've lost a lot over the years. Like, seeing
> all the things that I've lost, my children growing up without me. My mother died,
> sisters dying, aunts dying, cousins dying, uncles dying, and not being able to be
> there with them when they were going through the problems that they were going
> through, not being able to share laughter with my daughters, going to father-
> daughter dances or, you know, taking them out to the movies, you know, or
> teaching them life lessons and things that they should know. I wasn't there for any
> of that. So it all came to me one day and I was like, "Whoa, I have to change my
> life, I cannot keep going through this." I did not want to sit here and end up like a
> lot of guys that I've seen that was in jail for life. And I knew if I had kept on the
> path that I was going, that was my future and I did not want that. One of the
> greatest things that I ever got out of life was taking my daughters to the movies,
> you know; several things, taking them to the movies, taking them out to dinner.
> At the end of the day they tell me like `dad,' and like, whoa, I felt so good.

While in jail 15 years ago, Timothy claims to have experienced a transformation. He

elaborated that he had been a heavy drug user, in addition to the crimes that he had

committed, and that he no longer wanted to go back to jail. He specifically identified his

children as motivating factors for him to want to stay out of jail, in addition to his familial

connections. He also identified the lifers in prison as a warning sign. Understanding

Timothy's story in terms of a deterrence script is useful in making sense of these

issues—his direct experience of deprivation of familial contact, and not being able to be

there for them, is pointed to by Timothy in his narrative as a key turning point for wanting to stay out of prison. Later in the interview he said he believed what he was doing was right at the time, because it enabled him to provide for his family; he explains that later he viewed these choices as the wrong ones, because of the time that he lost, and the people close to him that died while he was incarcerated. While admitting wrongdoing is a key part of the redemption script, the deterrence script is more applicable to Timothy's narrative, since for him, the crime itself is not wrong, but rather the consequences of the crime's impact on Timothy's family, and his conception of his role in his family, are undesirable. Additionally, both the deterrence and redemption scripts that Timothy deploys are building up a social representation of agency that implies the capacity to cease criminal activity in the face of socioeconomic insecurity.

Deterrence scripts are a type of desistance narrative in which the focus is placed on how the perceived costs of criminal activity outweigh the perceived benefits. Sometimes these costs are individualized, i.e., a traumatic experience of incarceration leads an individual to not want to commit crime again. In other cases, costs can be framed as failure in a role to family members, particularly a provider role. In this way, deterrence scripts and redemption scripts can be fused. Individuals, men in this case, perceive a personal psychological cost of not living up to their socially ascribed provider role, while at the same time recognizing that by living up to this provider role, they are also able to "give back," a key part of the redemption script. However, the significance of the provider role can also have adverse effects, as many men interpret their previous criminal activity as part of the fulfilment of this role. At the same time, the key leverage

132

of the deterrence script is in the recognition that incarceration comes with obvious and heavy costs to fulfilling this provider role that outweigh the short term economic benefits of criminal activity. The deterrence script is based on a concept of a self-interested rational actor, with a much greater emphasis on costs and benefits. In this way, it diverges conceptually from the redemption script, which is more explicitly moral (deontological) in its representation. To a degree, the distinction between the two mirrors Kohlberg's stages of moral development, with deterrence scripts aligned with pre-conventional morality and redemption scripts aligned with conventional morality and post-conventional morality, which in this context I find useful as ideal type classifications (Kohlberg 1958). At the same time, the deployment of the deterrence script either alone or in conjunction with the redemption script are part and parcel of social representations of agency from clients at Afterward.

### Better Decisions: Staff Practice and Perspective on Client Agency

Thus far, I have illustrated the dilemmas faced by clients as they leave prison or jail. As clients described their motivations behind their actions, it was typical that they would deploy desistance narratives, i.e., stories explaining their intentions to cease criminal activity and their particular motivations for doing so. In these narratives, clients utilized redemption scripts, and what I have termed deterrence scripts. Underlying both scripts, and arguably desistance narratives overall, is the attempt to socially construct agency. Desistance narratives among clients tend to highlight individual capacities for efficacious decision-making, a definitional component of sociological concept of agency at the individual level, regardless of the particularities of the script. Afterward, both staff members and the organization as a whole, similarly to Afterward clients, made efforts to

reinforce the social construction of agency by deploying its own set of narratives that emphasize the importance of individual level decision-making. Both staff and clients understood that because of social forces outside of clients' control, as well accumulated effects of social forces over the life-course at the individual level, clients faced difficult situations. The material implications of the sorts of situations that I have documented thus far invite a healthy skepticism regarding the real significance of deploying any concept of agency. Additionally, a major implication of the social construction of client agency, is the assumption of personal responsibility for the client. This makes the social construction of agency, a product of social interaction in which clients and staff participate, all the more sociologically interesting. It also reflects one of the classic outcomes of client failure in street level bureaucracies, i.e., assigning blame to the client.

At Afterward, there were a number of symbols decorating the office that were indicative of the social construction of client agency. These symbols included several of the classic motivational poster genre, with large pictures with one word and a caption below each picture. However, rather than scenery, these posters featured photographs of Booker T. Washington [captioned: SUCCESS: Success waits patiently for anyone with the determination and strength to seize it], the Tuskegee Airmen [captioned: UNSUNG HEROES: The ultimate judge of a person's character is to exceed expectation when little recognition or praise is given], and civil rights protesters with fire hoses turned on them [captioned: COURAGE: Cour·age, n: The mental or moral strength to persevere, and withstand danger, fear, or difficulty]. Additionally, there were several framed photographs of graduating program cohorts featuring both staff and local elected

officials. There were also stock black and white photographs of people in office and warehouse working environments along the wall. Finally, there were several paintings on the office hallway's walls that featured professionally done portraits of Afterward clients created by a local art non-profit, with various background scenes painted by the clients themselves, e.g., a football game, a desert landscape, etc. In many ways, these posters and paintings might be similar to what one might find in an urban public school. They are particularized in a way that reflects the experiences of the staff, who are predominantly African American, as well as the clients, and civil rights imagery is meant to convey solidarity. At the same time, they work as displays that key into the organizational attempts at socially constructed narratives of agency. Arguably, these images have been commodified, and in deploying them in the context of the social construction of agency at the individual level, they are effectively stripped of their original collective meaning and rendered along self-help, individualistic, bourgeois lines (Reed 1979).

One of the issues faced by the facilitators was that the clients were very distrustful of the criminal justice system, in particular the police. One of the ways that Afterward tried to mitigate this was by employing facilitators who had criminal records. Reggie was perhaps the archetype of the "professional ex" (Brown 1991), i.e. an individual whose criminal record and social background serves as a positive credential with respect to obtaining employment in organizations that provide services to people with criminal records. Like many of the clients, Reggie had grown up from a young age engaging in drug crimes. Reggie described himself as "running wild" in the streets, claiming to have

first used a gun at 11 years of age. Court records show that Reggie had been in and out of jail from the late 70's to the late 90's. Reggie told me that while he was in prison, he met an 18 year old who was serving a life sentence. He described this experience as shocking to him, and that it gave him an opportunity to reflect. Additionally, he cited his pursuit and completion of a GED while in his 40s to be a life-changing experience. From there, Reggie explained that he had committed to not going back to prison, and earned a bachelor's degree after attending community college. At the time my observations, Reggie was attending night class at a local university in order to obtain his master's degree. Several of my interviewees found Reggie's biography compelling as an example of, "If I can do it, so can you" type of role modeling. This obviously is relevant for the social construction of client agency, as it provides evidence that it is possible to deploy agency in the legitimate economy. Additionally, Reggie enacted a direct and confrontational facilitation style, partially rooted in aspects of a hyper-masculine "street" presentation of self (Anderson 2000). While this was intended to grab clients' attention, demonstrate emotional commitment, and build solidarity among clients, this did not always work.

During the summer, Reggie had decided to run a pilot program with young men identified as high risk, whom he identified informally as the "thundercats." With about 10 people sitting in the room, Reggie made attempts to convince the clients that it was okay to go to the police in life threatening situations, and that family ties needed to be more important than the ties of the street. When clients argued back that they would never snitch, Reggie countered that clients needed to consider their family ties to be of

primary importance. In an attempt to critique masculinity based on honor or reciprocal violence, Reggie presented clients with a scenario where they had been raped while incarcerated, and then later had the opportunity to retaliate violently. However, as a result of this hypothetical violent retaliation, they would face a lengthier stay in prison, which would not allow them to be there for their families. Reggie loudly punctuated this story by aggressively repeating throughout, "What would you sacrifice?" The implication was if a client acts out of anger that it could be self-sabotaging and sabotaging of family as well, even if understandable and satisfying in the moment. His forceful questioning did not go over well, with one of the clients replying wearily, "Why are you yelling at me?" This response gave Reggie pause; he apologized and explained that he was not trying to attack the client personally, and was only trying to offer perspective.

Reggie's facilitation is indicative of attempts to socially construct client agency at Afterward through face-to-face interaction. His presentation of self, the themes of his facilitation, and his status as a person with a criminal record, all buttress a narrative regarding client agency that focuses on individual level decision-making to avoid criminal activity in situations where it otherwise might be deemed appropriate. In offering narratives where clients are forced to make difficult decisions, Reggie is attempting to prepare them for when they will face dilemmas in which criminal activity appears to be a reasonable option. As many of my interviewees have pointed out, much of their sense of personal efficacy, particularly when linked to provider roles, derives from criminal activity. Reggie's instruction is aimed at having clients consider

alternative social constructions of agency for their repertoires. The unfortunate irony for

Reggie is that due to his sometimes aggressive presentation of self, he clashed with other

staff. Eventually, this proved to be too much for Afterward, and Reggie was let go a few

weeks before I ended my formal participant observation. As a "professional-ex" Reggie

was able to find work quickly in a similar service provision setting focused on workforce

development. While his situation is in many ways clearly superior to the clients, with his

agency having clear material outcomes in the labor market, his loss of employment bears

resemblance to the difficulties faced by the clients, with a particular aspect of his identity

impacting his material well-being.

The conflict of not being able to find work, pressure from family members to

provide economically, and the associated risks of returning to prison for criminal activity,

often economically motivated, are at the core of what is typically addressed by clients'

desistance narratives. Case management staff understood these dilemmas, while still

pointing out areas where they believe clients could make "better decisions." The social

construction of agency has implications—if clients have real efficacy, then the

implication is that they also have real responsibility when things go wrong because of

something they did. Eric, a case manager who was in his mid-thirties and African

American, discussed these dilemmas:

> Eric: A lot of the people, they want to resume the role that they had when they left, and their role has been recreated for them in some cases. Their kids, in some cases are five, ten years older. You have a son, and he's like "I've been the man of the house for all these years, so who are you coming in now and demanding me to obey and demand me to do this, and where have you been?" You may not have the moral authority to do this, so you have to earn it. And that's some of the things that they learn in the classes.

Frank: I see. How to go home and handle some of those interactions.

E: Absolutely. Some of them, you were belittling mom when you left, you come back with mom when you're home; but mom is struggling to pay the bills herself, so that's another issue you run into. So we require these classes 9 to 3, but their children's mothers and their mother is like "I don't have time for you to go to some class, I need you to work. I've held it down for you as they say for all these years, so the least you can do is go out there and get a job and help."

F: And they're saying, 'Hey, I've tried to get a job. I can't.'

E: Right. So in this program, they're mandating that I do these classes. Of course they probably say, 'I'll get a job after it's over,' which we do not guarantee.

F: But they have to tell their family something so they can get off their back.

E: Absolutely. Now some, I've had people in the family really didn't believe that they were in a program because they're used to being manipulated for years. That's the family dynamic. Then you have the community, you have your friends. So I tell some people, 'You're going to find some people in the exact same place they were ten years ago when you left. You may not be able to change your neighborhood, but you can change your circle of friends, you can change your circle of influence. You can just surround yourself with positive things.' Besides most people who come home are on probation or parole.

F: So they're already being monitored.

E: Right. You're being monitored, so what counts as a violation, the bar is very low. You hang on the corner—Look, I've seen people that were hanging on the corner, the police stopped them, got arrested, the charge is dropped, but that alone can be a technical violation just because you made a poor judgment. Why were you hanging on that corner? Why were you around those people?

Eric highlights the difficulties experienced by clients attempting to reunify with their families from an outsider's point of view. He highlights the areas in which the services provided at Afterward may be useful for advising clients as they grapple with these issues, as well as the dilemmas they pose. It's clear that the family can be as much of a source of conflict as it is a source of stability. At the same time, Eric attempts to highlight the things that the clients can do to help themselves, which exemplifies the ways in which the Afterward organization is participating in the social construction of

client agency. Criminological literature emphasizes the significance of peer groups in predicting delinquency (Akers et al. 1979; Matsueda 1992; Matsueda and Heimer 1987). Thus, avoiding peer groups known to be engaged in criminal activity is not unsound advice, particularly in light of the likelihood of a parole violation occurring as described by Eric. While acknowledging the myriad of issues facing the client, Eric's perspective emphasizes the things that the clients can do as individuals to improve their situations, creating a narrative in which a failure of a client to improve their situations is because of the decisions or actions of the client.

Cedric, a case manager who was African American and in his late forties, points to the role of decision-making in client outcomes. While never incarcerated, Cedric had his own struggles with growing up in foster care, drug addiction, and homelessness. I asked him what his experience of case management was like, and his reply emphasized client decision-making.

> Frank: What has your experience of case management been like with respect to the stereotypical picture?
> Cedric: In this business, in this field, rather, there's a lot of failure. A lot of failure. And initially for me, I took it personally. I really did. I never forget my first client I worked with that recidivated. I remember going into my supervisor's office crying, literally like "What did I do? What happened? This guy was doing well, he was working." He made a choice, a decision, and I took it personal. It's like, wow, something I didn't do. I had to get past that. That was tough for me to get past the fact that you work with somebody, you see success and with this client population you may look up and get a call tomorrow, 'John Doe's back in prison.' How did that happen?
> F: [As if] I just saw him the other day.
> C: Just saw him the other day. Happens all the time. I got two guys now. Gave them a chance. There in job readiness training, two of these guys, and they came and they're 'Mr. Cedric, I got family responsibility, really need employment.' Against my best judgment, I said, 'You know what,

I'm going to give you guys a chance.'  So when this opportunity became available for them to work, I guess this convention that's in town and then January the next convention, I gave them a chance.  Do you know these guys—and the question was, 'Can you pass the drug test.'  'Oh, Mr. Cedric, no problem.  No problem.'  They failed.  Actually, not even they failed; they put water in the cup.  I haven't addressed it yet with them, I will, before the weeks out.  Probably Friday.

F:      So they're still coming in for class?

C:      Mm-hm.  I will continue to work with them.  I guess what I've been deciding is how am I going to address it.  I'll be ready for it come Friday.  But it's like situations like that, come on.  If you can't pass it, it's okay, because come January there will be some more opportunities.  Not only did you mess it up for these three days, four days' work, but when January comes, I doubt I'll even refer you there, because you lied to me.  So you get situations like that, but again for me, case management is not being judgmental, but again, trying to get guys to see that you have choices and you have decisions.

When I ask Cedric about his job, he acknowledges the many failures that come along with doing case management for people with criminal records.  Case managers can only see clients for small amounts of time, and this limits the amount of impact that they can have on any one client if the client does not act in good faith.  Even among the case management staff, a fairly altruistic group, Cedric had an intense emotional commitment to the job, as demonstrated by his own first experience with a client returning to prison.  While all case managers valued interaction with clients, the lead case manager Sharon often noted with both sympathy and concern that Cedric spent too much time advising and interacting with clients, relative to the paperwork that he needed to do.  Cedric also had the highest caseload at 90 clients.  At the same time, he cites an example in which clients could have been honest with him, but because they were not, ended up sabotaging themselves.  Cedric's stories emphasize that while Afterward attempts to participate in the social construction of client agency, that when clients fail or are uncooperative, it may very well be their own doing.

141

In this chapter, I have considered how people with criminal records deploy desistance narratives in explaining both previous criminal activity and future plans to avoid such activity or incarceration, and interpreted them sociologically as an attempt to socially construct agency. Importantly, these attempts do not occur in a vacuum. As clients participate in Afterward's prisoner reentry programming, these sorts of desistance narratives are reinforced by program curriculum and interaction with staff members. At the same time, these narratives arguably have a much broader social origin than individuals with criminal records or even prisoner reentry organizations themselves.

To begin with, the numerous rituals of the criminal justice system that assign culpability for crimes to individuals are powerful in their social significance. This is especially the case for interaction with police, courts, and prisons, all of which are highly dramatic and center on a story of individual culpability and social blame. From the standpoint of the sociology of emotions, the punitive rituals of the criminal justice system that assign culpability are much more powerful than those that have to do with any individual's eventual return to society and desistance from crime (Collins 2005; Maruna 2011). Theoretical views on punishment as retribution often acknowledge its emotional and moral salience (Durkheim 1995; Foucault 1995; Garland 1993; Nietzsche 2009). These social processes of punishment also result in individuals who are broadly stigmatized by society (Goffman 1986b) in addition to being labelled as deviant (Becker 1997). Maruna argues that this imbalance in ritual significance could potentially be changed given different institutional arrangements. The rituals of culpability on the front

142

end of the criminal justice system, however, are reflected in pronouncements of agency on the back end of the criminal justice system where prisoner reentry occurs.  This connection of culpability with agency mirrors the broader social process of deviance according to classical perspectives, i.e. becoming deviant and then becoming "normal" through socialization (Lofland 2002).  Culpability notwithstanding, my work in previous chapters shows a number of dilemmas when it comes to considerations of agency in any serious material sense, such that changing the institutional arrangements of the criminal justice system would need to be socially contextualized with the real situations of individuals with criminal records, which are rife with poverty and violence.  This dovetails with critiques of the social construction of agency among prisoner reentry client participants as a form of "responsibilization" (Miller 2014).  In no way do I mean to downplay the emotional or psychological significance of a desistance narrative for any one individual, or suggest that they are wholly due to interaction with the criminal justice system, in the manner of a "cultural dope."  Rather, by interfacing with a field tasked with what is effectively a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence (Weber 1958) people who end up having criminal records have faced intense and coercive socialization, that has real implications for both identity formation and any attempts at constructing agency.

One interesting implication of the coercive socialization of the criminal justice system is that people may not necessarily utilize desistance narratives entirely in earnest. That is to say, people with criminal records may perceive that in deploying desistance narratives that conform to the discursive standards of criminal justice bureaucracies, they

are likely to face less in the way of negative sanction or interference from bureaucracies. It is possible that the performance of these kinds of narratives, if not entirely in earnest, particularly the redemption script, may require emotional labor for believability (Hochschild 2003). This sort of interpretation fits into a broadly Goffmanian understanding of situation based social interaction, where individuals try to recognize implicit social rules that they should abide by in order to get what they want (Goffman 1959, 1986a). My evidence from this chapter shows the ways in which some of these issues vexed case management staff, who adapt by diminishing the extent to which they trusted clients. As a volunteer, I was not immune to these effects myself. This sort of canny utilization of desistance narratives only reinforces how their deployment could produce a form of socially constructed agency, even as many may deploy desistance narratives in earnest. However, the ideational content of desistance narratives themselves does not owe solely to the criminal justice system.

Both the clients of Afterward and the criminal justice system as a whole are embedded within a broader social context. This is apparent in that philosophies of criminal justice vary based on nation state, with Scandinavian countries often being cited as an especially rehabilitative oriented criminal justice system, whereas the U.S. is critiqued for being excessively punitive (Lappi-Seppälä and Tonry 2011). The U.S. also has a specific cultural context where social capital related to civic engagement is dwindling (Putnam 2001) and the individual is put at the foreground (Bellah et al. 2007). This social and cultural backdrop has implications for how any actor attempts to construct their agency, i.e., typically as an individual, as well as the social institutions

with which that individual is interacting. Even as these macro cultural distinctions are important for emphasizing the individualized aspects of the desistance narratives that I have found in my study, I also recognize how they are a part of a broader ideal type of awakening narratives (DeGloma 2014).

More specifically, the organization of Afterward was structured according to the "Risk Needs Responsivity" model, which is typically used by correctional programs (Ward and Maruna 2007). Ward and Maruna criticize this model for its focus on deficits, and suggest an alternative "Good Lives" model, based in principles of positive psychology, emphasizing strengths (Peterson and Seligman 2004). However, with the positive psychology concept of "grit" (Duckworth and Quinn 2009; Duckworth and Seligman 2006) spilling over into informing the practices and evaluation of students in urban no-excuses franchise charter schools (Tough 2013), about which there is contentious political debate to say the least (Duckworth 2016; Goodman 2013), there is reason to believe that positive psychology applications would have issues for other areas where social services are provided to people of low socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, both sorts of programs are engaged in the social construction of agency at the individual level. When the social construction of agency is occurring with people who have little in the way of agency to begin with, there are obvious sorts of individualistic politics at work (Fairbanks II 2009; Katz 2002; Piven and Cloward 1993; Soss et al. 2011; Wacquant 2009b). Moreover, one final feature of the sociology of deviance that this current study finds useful is its explicit normative orientation, particularly in rendering what counts as "atypical," in this case the experiences of people with criminal records, in a sympathetic

fashion, as a counter-balance to the dominant tendencies in which people with criminal records are discussed, i.e., as criminals.

## Conclusion

In Chapter 4, I focused on how manifold social forces and social relationships make recidivism highly likely among Afterward clients. In this chapter, I've focused on the stories that clients tell themselves about how they will not let their situations get the best of them, by driving them to return to criminal activity. These sorts of stories are desistance narratives. In my data, I found two kinds of scripts that were followed in desistance narratives: redemption scripts and what I term deterrence scripts. While redemption scripts involve admitting wrongdoing, they also involve a reconstruction of the self as fundamentally good through explanations of previous behavior. They also often involve irrational optimism and a desire to "give back." In deterrence scripts, clients focused on not wanting to return to prison as the reason for desisting. The deterrence script may also include criticism of both the criminal justice system and society at large, in an attempt to render an individual less morally culpable of criminal activity. The script ultimately assesses the impact of incarceration to be more costly than any short-term gains made by criminal activity. Sometimes these costs extend beyond the individual's experience of incarceration per se, and towards friends and family; in this sort of narrative, redemption and deterrence could be connected, through an individual's desire to "give back" to one's family.

In addition to desistance scripts offered by clients themselves, I have discussed some of the symbols, interaction, and discourses utilized by Afterward as an organization

in their endeavor to participate in the social construction of client agency.  These efforts in the social construction of client agency are intended to help reinforce clients' desistance narratives as ways of making clients' dilemmas intelligible and possibly resolving them.  At the same time, the social construction of client agency implies that when clients fail, concepts like "better decisions" and "personal responsibility" can be deployed that highlight the client as a locus of blame, rather than the society at large.  I have argued that this is especially easy to do in the case of people with criminal records, who are generally assumed to have deficiencies in character that are directly related to past behavior, even as there are clear and obvious cases where individuals can engage in behavior that is self-sabotaging or harmful to others.  While this is the case, I have tried to point to the extent to which the social construction of client agency thematically fuses clients' desistance narratives to Afterward's organizational discourse and practice, primarily as an exercise in self-efficacy, rather than assigning culpability.  Nevertheless, even as these attempts to socially construct client agency through desistance narratives and organizational practices transpire, these efforts often result in minimal good in material terms, since clients are likely to return to prison in the short term, in spite of long-term trends towards desistance.

**Chapter 6: African American Women with Criminal Records: Life Course and Intersectional Perspectives**

In this chapter, I focus on the perspectives and experiences of the African American women who were clients at Afterward. In particular, I examine the experiences of seven different African American women with criminal records who I interviewed. In this chapter, I utilize concepts that I developed from the previous two chapters, which were focused on men with criminal records, primarily African American men. Drawing on the conceptual framework of the life-course perspective, in this chapter I focus on education, employment histories, familial ties, and histories of incarceration. Also relevant from a life-course perspective are desistance narratives of African American women, a concept which I built upon in Chapter 5 as a way of socially constructing agency in the face of the material dilemmas of social marginality. In broad ways, the issues faced by African American men with criminal records and African American women with criminal records in my study are similar, i.e. struggles with obtaining employment, familial instability, drug use, mental health issues, etc. In addition, like the men in my study, there was an overrepresentation of women with violent crimes on their record who received services from Afterward.

While broadly similar, the specifics of the experiences of African American women with criminal records, as well as their perspectives on those experiences, diverge from those of African American men with records. African American women are also the fastest growing demographic group in the U.S. prison system, which houses a third of the total incarcerated women in the world (Gottschalk 2015). These issues warrant the

consideration of intersectional feminist perspectives (Collins 2015). The labor market penalty of the criminal record is arguably greater for low SES African American women than it is for low SES African American men. Low SES African American women are more incorporated into the dominant service sector of the labor market, where legal barriers are greatest, as well as more incorporated into the labor market overall than low SES African American men (Katz, Stern, and Fader 2005). This is true even as African American women as a group have lower wages than white women and African American men (Browne 1999). Thus, for African American women, the criminal record can quite often result in downward occupational mobility, which I have theorized as a type of proletarianization in Chapter 4 in the case of male clients of Afterward. Findings in this study that indicate both downward occupational mobility and limited upward occupational mobility buttress ethnographic findings from previous work that point to the precarious nature of black middle class existence (Pattillo-McCoy 1999). While Wacquant argues that the penal state is primarily focused on African American men, he overlooks the ways in which African American women with criminal records can be sanctioned by the criminal justice system and the foster care system simultaneously, which can amount to a criminalization of black motherhood as part of a broader historical trend dating back to the era of chattel slavery (Roberts 2014). In addition to discriminatory and sometimes abusive treatment faced by low SES African American women from the police and the criminal justice system (Goffman 2014; McCorkel 2013; Taylor 2016), they are also subject to sexual violence (Crenshaw 1991). For this reason, I will consider a case of an African American male client who was incarcerated for a sex offense, as well as female client who responded to the sexual victimization of herself and

later her niece with retributive violence. For low SES African American women, I interpret violence primarily as a social adaptation and in this broad sense, it is similar to why low SES African American men may engage in violent activity (Anderson 2000; Jones 2009). However, the threats to which men and women are adapting diverge, primarily in that women face victimization by men.

The findings in this chapter confirm much of the black feminist theorizing on the concept of intersectionality. That is, low SES African American women face social marginalization along intersecting axes of race, class, and gender that combine for an effect that is both unique and more severe than those faced by other socially marginalized groups, such as African American men or working class white women (P. H. Collins 2008). Black feminist theorizing is particularly useful when it comes to looking at the effects of the criminal record, which clearly exacerbate already existing forms of social marginality for low SES African American women.

## Legal Barriers: African American Women and Service Sector Employment

In the latter portion of the 20th century, low SES African American women became much more integrated into the labor market than low SES African American men (Katz et al. 2005). This macro level issue was borne out in my interview data, among African American women clients who had either already been in the service sector, or aimed to enter the service sector. While I am not suggesting that my interview sample was statistically representative, it was much more common for men to be focused on working class occupations that required technical skills, than it was for them to have

human capital relevant for the various sectors of the service economy. For African American women in my study, the opposite was true. For them, the consequences of the criminal record were more severe, because many intended to enter the medical field, an area in which there are explicit legal barriers for participation for people with felonies on their record, or other areas of the service economy where criminal records are scrutinized. The result of this was downward occupational mobility or limited upward occupational mobility.

One example of an individual interested in the medical field was Nina. Nina was in her mid-forties and African American. In our interview, she explained that she had been married for 20 years to her husband, who managed a formal clothing store. She had two children, one step daughter in her mid-twenties and a young teenage son, who almost died because of chronic health problems. In our interview, she said that she had been incarcerated for a felony level offense for retail theft. She explained, this was after she was caught stealing several times and convicted of summary offenses. Her story matched the court records. In our interview, she mentioned that she had been incarcerated in an overcrowded private prison, and had to be escorted everywhere because the prison was not properly gender segregated. At the time of our interview, she was on house arrest, only able to leave her home between certain hours while not participating in Afterward's service provision. She talked about how she had been deeply horrified by the experience of incarceration, and was motivated to change:

> I have a husband, a house, so if I keep stealing, I'll go to jail--I can't keep putting my family through this. My husband is just heartbroken by all this. It's sad. I lost family members while I was in there. It's insane and I can't deal with it. I'm

getting older. I can't deal with it. I made a change and I'm a totally different person today.

Like some of the men in my study, Nina deploys a deterrence script in our interview to explain why she will stop stealing, and it is based in wanting to remain connected to her family. However, divergent from the men, she does not explain her initial criminal activities in terms of economic motivation to provide for her family. She also cites her age as a factor, an issue well known in the literature to be associated with desistance. While she was not anxious regarding her employment prospects, she did discuss how she would no longer be able to work as a nursing assistant, and that she could no longer pursue her goal of becoming a registered nurse.

Frank: You said you were in nursing.
Nina: Mm-hm.
F: How long were you a nurse?
N: I'm a Certified Nursing Assistant, but I stopped working towards my RN [degree]. I had 30 more credits to go. I worked at [large hospital]. I have good quality skills. I'm a caring, compassionate person. It takes one to do that kind of job. In the 80s, the most important person in a patient's life in working at the hospital, so it's just like [gets choked up] I couldn't do it. I couldn't do it. I have to realize that either I go back to school; I have to transition over to clerical work, so I'm able to do criminal justice, something like that, or business management, you know, just transition.
F: To a different field?
N: With my nursing. I'm alright though, whatever. I'm alright with it.
F: If you have a conviction you can't work in the field is that what it is?
N: The state government, they're not going to renew my license. I can pay all that money and go take my boards, but it won't go any further, because you can't have any felonies working in a hospital. It was kind of hard even when I was a Certified Nursing Assistant getting recertified. I had to go through a lot and I only had a summary offense.
F: I see.
N: But now that I have 30 credits toward my associates it's like I'm at midway where I could transition over into a different degree. Yep. So I'm going to go back, but I'm going to find me a job that pays tuition reimbursement.

Nina is facing an explicit legal barrier because of her felony conviction. In particular, she her options are being limited by occupational licensing laws (May 1995). She discusses how she has previously, even as a nursing assistant, had because of her summary offenses. She expresses awareness that even if she completes the required exam to be a registered nurse, she will never be hired. Nevertheless, Nina has strong social support from her husband, and a clearly articulated back-up plan, i.e., to transition into a new field where her felony conviction is less of an issue. These factors, along with her age, are predictors of desistance, and her support specifically may shield her from the worst of economic downward mobility, even as she will be unable to pursue her goal of becoming a registered nurse, clearly limiting her upward occupational mobility.

With respect to barriers to employment in the medical sector, Celeste's story was similar to Nina's. However, Celeste's social ties were notably less stable. Celeste was in her early forties and African American. She had four children, two teenagers and two pre-teens. In our interview, she proudly discussed that one of her daughters was attending a local Catholic university on a scholarship, and how one of her pre-teen sons was on honor roll. However, she also discussed that her relationship with the father of her children was abusive, how it drove her to drink, and then drive away after they would fight. The conflicts between her and her partner, as well as the drinking, as Celeste explained it, led to her pleading guilty to driving under the influence of alcohol on several occasions, as well as misdemeanor assault. Court records show that she also pled guilty to endangering child welfare. These convictions resulted in her incarceration in jail several times. At the time of our interview she was on probation.

When I asked Celeste about her expectations of Afterward, she replied that she was seeking to further her career. She discussed specifically the barriers she faced with her criminal record:

> I did dialysis for years. Long story short, the day I had to come to orientation at the Afterward program, I had a job interview. I went there, I told them I had a background. I told them about my habit. I told them everything. And also I was 15 minutes late. And [the interviewer] called me and said, 'Are you still coming in?' and he said, 'Well, you know, my time is valuable. You should have called me when you knew you were going to be late.' So I get there, he says, 'I'm not convinced that you're the person that I'm looking for.' So I said, 'Okay, well, I'll be looking forward to hearing from you,' whatever. I get on the train. I didn't even get far and he called me. He said, 'Come back tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock and work on the floor for three hours.' It was a test. I was there. To make a long story short, I got the job. I got the job. And I did the drug test, I did everything, and the welcoming lady, the person who runs your background, checks everything out, told me to send him a copy of my diploma. I sent him a copy of the diploma and he called me back five minutes later. He's like, 'Unfortunately, there's things on your record that's prohibiting us from hiring you and we have to take the offer back.' And it was for making $17 an hour. I was so hurt. I was so hurt.

Celeste details her experience of almost getting a job in the medical field, where she had previous work experience. Even with her late arrival to the interview, it was clear that she was a qualified candidate, such that she was offered a job, and asked to come and work. However, once the employer did a background check, the offer was rescinded, due to legal barriers on work in the medical field for people with criminal records. Later on in the interview, she described herself as lucky, because she was able to rely on her mother to provide shelter for her and her children, so they were not put into the foster care system—though clearly she was at risk for intervention from child protective services. At the same time, she expressed that she felt deeply ashamed of having to rely on her mother in this way. As a result of Celeste's conviction, she is experiencing downward occupational mobility. Her housing situation is somewhat stable, but

victimization as a result of domestic violence and overall instability in her romantic relationships played catalyzing role in her convictions.

Like Celeste and Nina, Joyce also had designs on the medical sector that were cut short by a felony conviction. Joyce was African American, and in her early twenties. Joyce has two children, a five-year-old son and a newborn child. Previously, Joyce had been incarcerated after pleading guilty to possession of drugs with intent to distribute, which I confirmed using court records. She explained that while she was in jail, she was five months pregnant, and eventually moved to a local hospital when it was time for her to give birth. She described the experience of being pregnant while in jail as "horrible," and "the worst," adding that "I really say to this day, they should not put people that's pregnant in jail because they don't have the proper care." In our interview, she explained that after the birth of her child she was moved to work release, i.e., technically incarcerated, but able to leave during the day for programs. She also explained that her five-year-old son was currently staying with his grandmother, and that her newborn son was with his father.

Joyce said that being incarcerated had changed her mindset, and while the experience was difficult, she talks about how it was good to have been "sat down" or things could have gotten much worse for her.

> I've had my experience with being incarcerated and I don't think I want to do it again. I think I'm done. I'm done. Some people, like for me I'm glad that I got, I'm not glad to be away from my kids and everything like that, but I'm glad that I got sat down, because if I would have just got a pat on the back, I probably wouldn't have seen that this is not the way that I want to go. You don't—when you get a pat on the back, it's like, all right, that little bit of time I did, all right,

155

maybe I did two weeks or a month, all right, all I'm going to do is go back out there and do it again. You get six months of probation. All right, I'm going to still be doing the same thing, because I didn't learn my lesson. I learned my lesson because I had to sit down. I've been locked up over a year and a half and this is my first charge.

Joyce deploys features of both the redemption script, in terms of "lesson learned," and a narrative that falls along the lines of specific deterrence script, i.e. realization upon incarceration that pursuit of criminal activity was not worth the risk of incarceration. She also talked about how Afterward had been helpful to her, and she had been sent to Afterward by her social worker from work release as a way of being outside of jail and still being monitored. She had also been stipulated to get her GED while incarcerated, which she did. When I asked her about her plans, she discussed how her plans to go into the medical field as a nurse were no longer possible because of her felony conviction.

Frank: What are you looking to do now?
Joyce: Re-enter back into society. Being incarcerated help change my mindset. Even though I, of course, the things you do you know is wrong, but you don't ever think that the consequences of it are going to catch up to you.
F: How long had you been [selling drugs]?
J: For about two years. So you know, first you think, I see everybody else getting locked up, oh, that ain't going to be me. I'm too smart for that. Then it happens to you, you're like, really? But now, I really want to go back to school. And now that I have my GED—
F: Like go to college?
J: Yeah. But the thing about that is really when I thought about college, I didn't think about going to, doing anything other than like the medical field, but with a felony, no, it's out of the picture now. I don't think anything else really interests me.
F: You're figuring out then what the next steps are.
J: Yeah.

Joyce continues with features of both the redemption script, in terms of her changed mindset, and the deterrence script, specifically pointing out the perceived risk of incarceration as a significant feature of her perspective. While Joyce differs in that she

had not yet participated in the medical field, she now must change her future plans because of her felony record. Joyce fortunately has some childcare support from her grandmother and the father of her child, which can free her up to pursue her education and employment, and allow her children to avoid an unknown foster family. With a GED and plans to pursue a college education, Joyce could be on the path to desistance. However, Joyce has limited her upward occupational mobility because of legal barriers on hiring people with felony convictions in the medical field. She also faces some economic demands because of her children, and a drug conviction specifically bars her from public housing and certain types of public assistance.

Of course, the medical field is only one part of the service sector where a felony is an automatic legal disqualification. There are other areas of the service sector, where people with some convictions may no longer be able to work in their previous field. One example of this is the career of Michelle. Michelle is African American, in her early forties. She had three sons with her ex-husband: one who is a district manager for a McDonalds, another in college in South Carolina, and one who dropped out of high school, got his GED and now works for her eldest son at McDonalds. In the past, Michelle had struggled with drug addiction. At the time of our interview, Michelle was on house arrest, permitted to leave to participate in Afterward's programming. In our interview, she discussed the circumstances that led to her arrest, her career, her pro-bono lawyer, and the barriers that she is now encountering due to her pleading guilty to robbery and terroristic threats.

Mich:  If you want to know, the charges against me were robbery.  Somebody owed me money, and they gave me their stuff.  When her brother, who was a cop, that I didn't know, found out that her stuff was going out of her home, he came to my house and arrested me himself. It was a mess. I was on drugs, so it seemed like everything just fit together. And I'm like, "I've done things in my life that I didn't get caught for," so I don't want to go to jail. But I did not know that I'd be charged with felonies and it would stick on my record. And the kind of work that I do, I'll never be able to work again the way I want to with these charges on my record, and I didn't know that.

Frank:  What kind of work?

M:  I was assistant bank teller for six years, and I was assistant to the CEO when I ran a security company for ten years.  Yeah. I did payroll, accounts receivable, hiring, firing – I did everything. Like, I basically did every last thing at the company except for be on sites. I scheduled people – everything. I no longer, I will no longer ever be able to do that again, because I took a deal, because now, looking back on and hearing things and doing research, if I would have gone to court, I'd have beat the case. So that's bad.

F:  Yeah, that's difficult. You don't know when you're in that situation, and everybody's--  They, did they--  Did your lawyer pressure you to take a deal?

M:  Yes! And that's the thing. I'm like, "You're supposed to be working for me." He's like, "Just take the deal," because he didn't want to do it anyway.

F:  Yeah, he didn't want to go to trial.

M:  He didn't want to do it anyway.

F:  Yeah. Yeah, some guy from a firm doing *pro bono* stuff doesn't want to go to trial. That makes sense.

M:  I don't come from a family where people are getting locked up. My dad is a pastor; my mom's had a job at [urban university] for over twenty years. And, I know that because I was on drugs at the time that I was living a bad life anyway, so I had to, like, kind of, chalk it up, because the girl did owe me the money, and maybe she did feel a little pressure when I went to her house; but she actually helped me take the stuff from her house and put it in my car, so how's that robbery and assault? There's no way.

In our interview, Michelle lamented the loss of her ability to find employment in the service sector.  She has had a middle class career path for over a decade, and comes from a middle class family.  In banking and in security, a robbery conviction makes it impossible to be hired in spite of her work history.  Michelle found the circumstances of

her felony conviction unjust, i.e., her arrest for a crime she claims not to have committed and her dealing with an uninterested court appointed lawyer.  At the same time, she pointed towards her drug use as the context for the incident.  Michelle's situation is illustrative of the tenuous nature of black middle class SES (Pattillo-McCoy 1999). Effectively, Michelle is experiencing downward occupational mobility because of her criminal record, which can more broadly destabilize her socioeconomic status.  She may be able to rely on her eldest son for support, and her house arrest status indicates that at least she has housing.   She can also share child rearing obligations and expenses with her ex-husband, though that may be a source of social instability as well.  To date, Michelle has no active cases.

As was true for the men, Afterward was able to leverage their connections to local businesses to facilitate their employment.  In what follows, I describe the experience of helping a group of women apply online for jobs at a local cleaning company, with which Afterward, through Matt the employment specialist, has a connection.  One day, after I had finished an interview, I returned to Afterward office space and checked in at the computer lab.  There, I saw about 20 African American women sitting at computers with Matt standing at the front of the lab.  He was going over the basics of the application process for a cleaning company position.  When he was finished talking, I approached Matt, and he asked if I could facilitate the application process, briefly introducing me to the group.  Matt had explained to me later that some of the women were Afterward clients, but others were from another local reentry organization.  He also explained that the cleaning company needed women hires—though he did not specify exactly why.  For

the next two hours, I helped the clients fill out their job applications, and tried to answer any questions they had about the process. During the process, I felt overwhelmed by the number of questions, as I kept hearing "Mr. Prior? Mr. Prior?" while moving from client to client. Additionally, I attempted to focus on the women who were further behind in the application process, while leaving those who were more proficient with respect to both technological skills and literacy to handle the application on their own. I also saw the clients informally helping each other throughout the process.

After the clients finished filling out the job application, and an 80 question subjective psychological evaluation, they had to complete an Afterward form that documented their fast tracking, i.e., skipping the standard five week program, as well as a W2 form. Matt had said, "Tell them they need to be honest on our form, full disclosure, and to be more careful on the W2." After women finished completing these forms, they signed out and received a public transportation pass. The clients finished their applications at varying times, signing out, and leaving. Matt also had me put the remaining few clients' W2 forms in their files along with several forms of identification that would be relevant for the cleaning company's hiring process.

As I discussed in Chapter 4, Afterward had a stable of jobs that it could draw upon and distribute to clients. Among the de-skilled entry level service sector job opportunities to which Afterward had access, the ones at the local cleaning company were among the best in terms of pay, particularly if given full time hours. Additionally, there was a clear demand for women's labor in these jobs, which may help the cleaning company meet gender-based hiring quotas. Afterward also did not have enough women

clients by itself, though it was able to draw on its networks with other reentry organizations to bring in their women clients to help meet this cleaning company's demand for female employees.

For some clients, these jobs represent the area of the labor market where they would be most competitive, i.e., they may have educational attainment of high school or less, limited human capital, spotty work history, low levels of literacy, etc. From the literature, we know that even low SES African American women are more incorporated into the service economy in ways that low SES African American men are not. Some of my interviewees bear this out when discussing their previous work experience. Therefore, the criminal record becomes of even greater significance to low SES African American women, because of the more stringent requirements regarding criminal records in the service sector. The criminal record is much more likely to drive downward occupation mobility in the case of low SES African American women given their experience in the service sector of the economy, like Nina, Celeste, and Michelle and limit the upward mobility of those transitioning into adulthood, like Joyce, who is looking to enter the service sector.

### Adaptation and Self Defense: African American Women Convicted of Violent Crimes

In this section, I focus primarily on African American women clients at Afterward who have a violent crime on their record. I also continue to focus on employment and desistance narratives here as well. As I have stated earlier, low SES African American women are especially marginalized, facing intersecting forms of oppression both

historically and in the contemporary moment. I have suggested that the marginal social position of low SES African American women makes them targets for various types of violence. Most women, African American women included, who have criminal records get them for property and drug offenses, rather than violent offenses. Therefore, it is worth examining the perspectives of women who have committed violent crimes, and how they understand their experiences. In some cases, the women I interviewed offered a self-defense explanation. In other cases, there was little attempt to explain the circumstances that led to violence. Self-defense narratives notwithstanding, it makes the most sense to view violence as a situational adaptation, a point of leverage for women who have little in the way of efficacious agency.

The explanation that Tanya offered of her offense was a fairly straightforward self-defense narrative. Tanya was in her mid-fifties and African American. She had three children, two daughters and a son. Her son was killed at 25 years of age by neighborhood gun violence. Her younger daughter, who is living with Tanya's sister, is in school locally, and her older daughter is now in graduate school at an elite public university. At the time of our interview Tanya was in 12 step program for cocaine use. Tanya claims to have raised her sister's daughters while her sister was coping with drug use, to which her sister reciprocated during her incarceration. In our interview, Tanya explained that she was interested in getting a job through Afterward. She also discussed her struggles with cocaine addiction. Tanya has a murder conviction. She explained how she shot someone because her house was being robbed:

Tanya: Mm-hm. I have a record. I haven't got in trouble for about eight years.

Frank: So you had a brush with the law prior to your latest conviction, but it wasn't—and you had been upstate before, but not—

T: That was before my children was little. Because I was under attack. I wound up shooting somebody, and they wound up shooting me. I just walked my probation off and that was 20 years ago

F: When you say under attack?

T: Somebody came in my house to rob me.

F: Oh, I see.

In our interview, Tanya explains that she was the victim of a robbery in her house and shot the person who tried to rob her. Clearly her narrative is one of self-defense, where she described being under attack, and using violence to protect herself. The facts of her actual case may be different from her explanation given her conviction by a jury for murder. Nevertheless, her narratives stands on the premise that she was under immediate threat. Tanya also says that she has her own house—while I was not sure whether she was technically a home owner, that would put her in a unique class among Afterward clients, almost all of whom were forced to rely on the halfway house system or friends and family for a place to live.

Tanya also had a number of other offenses on her record. After she was released from prison, she pled guilty to misdemeanors in separate instances including simple assault, possession of marijuana, and theft, for which she received probation. Court records show that about a year after our interview, Tanya pled guilty to felony criminal trespassing, so as to avoid felony burglary chargers. At the time of this writing, Tanya is currently incarcerated in a state penitentiary. This is the same prison where she was incarcerated for murder in the early 1980s, a sentence which she said lasted until the late 1990s. She described how they would not allow any of the prisoners to have furlough, i.e., leaving prison for brief amounts of time to see family, unless they worked on a farm

near the prison.  Farm labor in the context of incarceration has obvious historical parallels to what occurred historically while slavery was legal, and while her prison was not a case of this, some penal farms still exist (Oshinsky 1997; Ridgeway 2011).

Another one of my interviewees, Lois, also had violent crimes on her record. Court records say that she pled guilty to aggravated assault and endangering the welfare of children in the late 1990s, for which she was incarcerated in a state penitentiary.   In 2012, she was convicted again of endangering the welfare of children.  Lois was African American and in her early forties.  At the time of our interview, she explained that she was living in a women's shelter.  In our interview, she said that she lost her family due to her behavior related to alcohol abuse.  She has four children.  Her two twin boys are with their father.  She also has a daughter and son, who are with their father's sister.  She explained that her family was broken up because of her incarceration, though her children were at least placed with her relatives rather than an unknown foster family.  She explained that her parole officer sent her to Afterward.

In our interview, Lois talked about "attitude" and "acting right," in relationship to her post incarceration conduct, deploying aspects of a redemption script. She worked previously as a bill collector, which she described as a very demanding job.  She also discussed that the demands of being on call put a strain on her and her children, which may have contributed to her charges.  Lois also mentioned that she liked to work with computers.  She was considering community college and getting financial aid to support her education, after which she may try to get a job related to computers:

Lois:   So I want to be able to have a career that I can have my own schedule so I won't go into the same problems that I was going into when I had my children, because I was dropping them off at one end of the city and me going to work at another end of the city. We were waking up at 5:30 in the morning and not get back home until 12:30 at night. This was every single day. Kids' grades were going in the toilet. We were always tired. We were just trying to live. So I'm not trying to do that again. So now since I have the time where it's just me, I want to be able to get a career so that when I get the kids back, I won't have to go through that struggle anymore, because it was hard. It was hard on all of us. I just don't want to have to go through that again. That's the reason why I want to go back to school and try to get a degree under my belt and hopefully someone will hire me, because I have a degree and hopefully I have some experience, because in the IT world, it's mainly all about experience. You can have as many degrees as you want, but if you ain't got the experience to back you up ain't nobody going to hire you. That's what I would like to do while I have time to do it.

Frank:  You said that you had gotten into computers. When did you get into that?

L:      I'd say about 2002.

F:      Have you been putting together computers for a while?

L:      I had a P4. My first computer was a P4. My first computer was a P4. Actually, my very first computer was a TRS80 that was when I was younger like when I was a kid. I learned machine and basic language but there's only so much you can do with a TRS80 so. But that's where my fascination first stemmed from and then I went to Windows 2000. I dabbled in that for a minute.

Like my other women interviewees, she has plans to seek out employment in the service sector, has some clear work experience as a bill collector, and has skills related to computers. However, her criminal record will likely serve as a barrier in these sectors of the service economy. She also discusses issues struggling to take care of her children, and how she hopes to overcome those in the future. While her children are in the care of family and previous romantic partners at the moment, she has plans to use employment to regain custody of her children. She mentions support from her brother and that she paid off her court costs and fines. Like Celeste, her incarceration also interrupted her role as a mother, though her children were placed within the family, as opposed to an unknown

foster family.  While court records show that she remains out of prison or jail, Lois may

find it difficult to regain custody of her children, particularly if it is attached to her

obtaining gainful employment in the service sector.

Sexual Victimization in the life course of African American Women with Criminal Records

To the extent that women at Afterward used violence in terms of self-defense, one

of the groups of people they defend themselves from are the men in their lives and in

their neighborhoods.  Sexual violence is one of the ways in which people can be

victimized, and this applies especially to women.  Afterward's services were not

available to people convicted of sex crimes.  However, that does not mean necessarily

that clients at Afterward were not capable of, or had not committed sex offenses.  I will

offer two cases: one case of a man charged with rape, and another case of a woman

charged with homicide of someone who had sexually abused her.

Initially, I had met Vincent as a volunteer at Afterward, before I had started my

formal participant observation.  Vincent was in his early thirties and African American.

We were doing mock interviews, where I was acting as the employer, and Vincent as the

potential employee.  About a year later, when I was doing my formal participant

observation, I saw Vincent at Afterward again, in search of employment.  When I asked

where he went to high school, he said that he had gone to an urban public school well

known to be persistently dangerous and underfunded.  In our interview, Vincent disclosed

that he had shot someone who had gotten into a physical altercation with the mother of

his child, which resulted in him being incarcerated in state prison for 11 years on gun

charges. Vincent had come to Afterward in search of employment, saying that he knew it would be difficult for him to get a job with violent felony on his record. Through Afterward, Vincent was able to obtain contract based employment maintaining the railroad, i.e., picking up trash. Unfortunately, Vincent lost his job due to downsizing, and had returned to Afterward. He very much wanted to gain employment.

> Vincent: That's the only problem I got now is like getting a permanent job. I want a stable job.
> Frank: Those are hard to come by.
> V: Full time job. Yeah, that's all I want. Like no contract job. It's a piece of work. Bunch of contract run out, you don't even know if you'll be working again. They might not get the contract again and then you got to be you know running around discombobulated worry about where your next job is coming in.

Vincent said that he was generally doing okay in the interview, that he could not complain, that he had paid off his court costs and fines with family assistance, and in general had received a lot of support from his family. While he had less than a year of parole, he said he had 9 years of probation.

I followed up later, checking Vincent's record, and I saw that he had been charged with a number different felonies related to a rape case, and was being detained pre-trial in a local jail. When I attended Vincent's hearing, he was not there, but his public defender was. I spoke with Vincent's attorney, who explained to me that he was going to get his trial date delayed, and that Vincent was being charged with the rape of a 16 year old girl. Vincent ended up pleading guilty to felony assault and unlawful sexual contact with a minor to avoid the forcible rape charges, among other things. He is currently incarcerated in state prison.

Like many of my other interviewees, Vincent was struggling to find employment, and had very limited prospects for upward economic mobility. He was unique in my study for his recidivism for a serious sex crime. Sex crimes are obviously not unique or specific to low SES African American men, or to low SES African American neighborhoods (Breiding, et al. 2014; Sanday 2007). At the same time, I include Vincent in this study for theoretical reasons, in that his recidivism for a sexual offense represents an extreme case of the type of victimization faced by women who have criminal records. Vincent's recidivism for a sexual offense is important because of the way in which gender plays a role in the social construction of his crime, with a male perpetrator and a female victim. This is in contrast to his first incarceration following the shooting of someone who was in a physical altercation with the mother of his child.

Sexual violence typically occurs from people who are known to the victim, and sometimes even close (Crowell and Burgess 1996; Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). Urban areas in the north-eastern U.S. are also particularly segregated by race, especially for African Americans (Massey and Denton 1993), segregation which is related to patterns of concentrated poverty (Quillian 2012). Therefore, in cases of sexual victimization in which low SES African American women are the victim, the likeliest perpetrator is a low SES African American man due to proximity. There are also a wide range of sexual offenses, from statutory rape, to child molestation, that vary in severity, yet are faced with some of the same sanctions, e.g., sex offender registry and civil commitment, a kind of double incarceration (Gottschalk 2015:ch 9). Women can of course be convicted of sexual offenses as well (Freeman and Sandler 2008), but because of the nature of my

program, which did not admit sex offenders, and the relatively small number of women

with a criminal record of sex offenses to begin with (Breiding, et al. 2014), I did not find

any women convicted of sex offenses.

These patterns of victimization apply in the case of my interviewee Carla. Carla

was in her early thirties and African American. Carla described her upbringing as

"rough." She had been through the foster care system because both of her parents were

incarcerated. She explained that prior to her criminal charges, she never got in trouble

for anything major, just a few citations. She explained that she was molested when she

was 12 years old by a man that she knew who lived in the neighborhood. When she was

in her mid-twenties she learned that this same man had raped her niece. Carla explained

that this had infuriated her, and she went to this man's house with the intention of beating

him up; her cousin, a few years younger than her, accompanied Carla. She came armed

with a handgun, noting that she had a license to carry, but instead decided to give her gun

to her younger cousin in the event of escalating violence. She said that the man attacked

her with a knife, and that her cousin shot him in response. Carla explains how she

responded:

> My cousin had the gun and I acted on impulse. My cousin [had] shot him and I
> snatched the gun from my cousin and I started shooting him myself. Because I
> didn't want my little cousin, who was only 20, and I didn't want my cousin to go
> to jail.

Carla went over to enact retribution on the man who had both molested her and raped her

niece. From her interview, it seemed as though she had only intended to cause him

injury; however, when the conflict escalated with Carla being stabbed, her cousin shot the

man, in the manner of a forward panic (R. Collins 2008). After her cousin shot him, Carla shot him multiple times thinking that, because he had stabbed her, she would be immune to prosecution even if she happened to kill him. She explains how she felt she was naïve of the law:

> I figured that because I was licensed to carry that nothing would really happen, but what I didn't know was the law. And not knowing the law, put me in that situation. Because a lot of us say "I'm licensed to carry, I wish a motherfucker would." But what they don't tell you is, when you're licensed to carry, you still have to do the time. It doesn't matter the situation, it just means that the law is going be lenient to you, because we have no self-defense laws.

Carla explained that when she went to trial, she was charged with murder in the first degree, meaning that the state felt her killing was premediated, and that she also faced the death penalty. While incarcerated awaiting trial for first degree murder, she was written up 18 times, and described instigating fights frequently. She and her attorney, who was not a public defender, worked out a deal where she pled guilty to murder in the third degree.

Carla is an example of someone whose sexual victimization became directly relevant to her offense in a way that was also extreme, even as her victimization itself was not unique, i.e., her victimizer was someone in her neighborhood that she knew well enough to find later to enact retributive violence. Having said that, most victims of sexual violence do not go on to commit violent crimes, even though victimization, as we have seen from some of my examples, is not uncommon among women who have committed violent crimes. Carla's case is also interesting because of the way in which it parallels that of Marissa Alexander, an African woman in Florida who was convicted for

170

a minimum 20 years for aggravated assault with a deadly weapon for firing a warning

shot as a result of spousal abuse (Dahl 2012), before having her conviction overturned by

an appellate court (Eastman 2015). This case prompted outrage because it appeared that

self-defense laws did not apply for African American women (Blow 2013), even as the

application of these laws resulted in the acquittal of George Zimmerman being acquitted

of murder in the case of Trayvon Martin's killing. Even if there had been a "stand your

ground" law in the context of Carla's story, she may not have benefitted from its

implementation.

In our interview, Carla claimed that the judge in her murder case said that there

was a program in prison that she wanted her to participate in, and if she did that, she

would be out in the minimum time, four years. Carla explained that she was angry about

being incarcerated at all. However, she said that she tried to make the best of it, and that

the relationships she developed with lifers transformed her outlook. During our

interview, she offers the experience of leaving prison, having just found out that one of

her mentors, who had been incarcerated for a life sentence, had died in prison after

having her sentence overturned:

> That's when I came home—the day that I came home, a lifer died, they just
> overturned her sentence. Ms. Sheila. They overturned her sentence, she was
> coming home a month after me, and I was just sitting talking to her the night
> before she gave me her information, she said, "Baby girl, when I come home, you
> gotta do my hair and take me out so I can know where to get all the fly clothes
> from." And I said "Ms. Sheila I got you." That same day that I was walking, my
> box, it was weary feeling, and everybody walking and crying, and I was like
> "what is going on?" the lieutenant was like "keep walking, don't look back, keep
> walking" and I was like, "what is going on, lieutenant, tell me what is going on"
> he said "Duchess, keep walking" I said "no lieutenant what is going on" He said
> "Carla, I demand that you keep walking" because he knew if I found out what was

going on, I was going to turn around "Carla, this is a direct order, If you want to leave turn around and keep walking" When I got to the halfway house, somebody hugged me and said Sheila just died.

It's hard when you transition to being in the county, to being upstate, to reconnect with friends, the friends you connect with died, to leave them all behind, to have to rebuild, to me it hurt because I grew up in foster care, because I would always develop a bond with this person, then this person, so to me it was like childhood all over again…. [crying] I pushed a lot of people, so to lose Sheila was like… hard. It's because of these women that are up there doing the rest of their life…You pay homage to them and respect them.. If it wasn't for them I wouldn't be standing here right now, I'd be up there for the rest of my life.

In our interview, Carla formed a coherent desistance narrative centered around a redemption script. In Carla redemption script, her incarceration was her opportunity to have a "lesson learned." She takes her direction from the judge in her case, but also from the bond she made with a mentor while incarcerated. The death of her mentor is painful for Carla precisely because of the extent to which Carla felt Sheila had given her the ability to emotionally manage the experience of incarceration. Carla will be unable to share the experience of life outside of prison with Sheila, owing Sheila a debt that she now cannot repay.

It will likely be a struggle for Carla to integrate into the labor market with a conviction for third degree murder. Nevertheless, court records show that she is currently not incarcerated. I happened upon Carla about a year after our interview, while I was conducting another interview in the same diner where I had interviewed her. We exchanged pleasantries, and she was laughing and smiling, seemingly in good spirits. Searching online, I found evidence of an active social media presence, as well as evidence of civic engagement in collaborating with a local non-profit community based organization that works with people with criminal records.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused specifically on the experiences of African American women clients at Afterward. In many ways their experiences parallel that of men, with socioeconomic precariousness, difficulty finding employment, familial instability, drug use, and mental health issues. However, in other ways their experiences diverge dramatically. The women I interviewed were much more incorporated into the service sector than their male counterparts, which meant that the criminal record in some ways had a more severe labor market penalty. Service sector employers are less likely ignore a criminal record than employers for under the table jobs that some of the men in my study held. Additionally, while most of the women in this study avoided foster care placement of their children as a result of incarceration, a way in which low SES African American mothers are typically further punished by the state (Roberts 2002), it is likely that they had some interaction with the state when it came to deciding upon who would act as the legal guardian of their children while they were incarcerated.

The women were also like the men in their use of violence as a social adaptation. However, the women were unlike the men in that not only did the women face violent repression at the hands of state actors, they also faced the threat of violence and sexual victimization from men in the neighborhood, community, and in close relationships. Not all of the women in my study who had violent crimes on their record claimed to be victims of violent crime. However, we know that regardless of gender, victimization is prevalent among those who have committed crimes, even though most people who have been victimized do not go onto commit crime (Weeks and Widom 1998). Overall, I found much in my participant observation evidence to buttress black feminist theorizing

on the carceral state, the criminalization of low SES African American motherhood, and

the role of the criminal record in the life course of low SES African American women.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

With the world's largest prison population, and some of the highest rates of recidivism, prisoner reentry continues to be a major concern in understanding both the U.S. criminal justice system and the broader social landscape of the U.S. FBI estimates suggest that there are 68 million people with criminal records currently living in the U.S., i.e. about one in every six people has a criminal record. At the same time, criminal records are not randomly distributed throughout the U.S. population, with low socioeconomic status African American men being overrepresented within the criminal justice system. Many scholars have argued that this context has continued the history of racialized oppression in the United States that comes out of slavery, Jim Crow in the South, and racialized residential segregation and employment discrimination in the north.

In Chapter 1, I offered three ways of considering prisoner reentry: one demographic definition focused on the population leaving prison and jail, one definition focused on the socialization process of people with criminal records, and a final definition focused on public policy. To these I would add a sociological approach that places prisoner reentry in its broader social context. This social context includes street level bureaucracies like Afterward, which suffer from street level dilemmas and goal ambiguity. This social context also includes the conditions of concentrated urban poverty and joblessness among African Americans, a result of global free trade deals, a shift from a goods producing to a service economy in the U.S., and an education labor mismatch among low SES African American men in particular. This social context is also made up

of families, partners, neighborhoods, and communities. These can be a source of material stability against a backdrop of socioeconomic precariousness, as well as the basis of desistance narratives for people with criminal records, which typically involve the social construction of agency. However, these social institutions can also be a source of instability when returning from prison, as well as the source of histories of trauma and victimization. In this dissertation, through participant observation and interview evidence, I have demonstrated how these issues come together in the experiences and perspectives of both people with criminal records and street level bureaucrats.

Overall, I found that prisoner reentry organizations and their participants are subject to social forces outside of their control in ways that constrain both the possible outcomes and the likelihood of the outcomes available to them. Like schools, a much stronger and more universal social institution and meso-level street level bureaucracy than the diffuse and variegated bureaucratic field of prisoner reentry organizations, prisoner reentry organizations tend to take on the features of their milieu in both a material and a cultural sense. In my participant observation at Afterward, an urban street level bureaucracy focused on prisoner reentry, I found classic street level bureaucratic dilemmas related to limited resources and service provision that one would come to expect from providing services to a group typically both poor and stigmatized, with typical adaptations, like the rationing of services. Additionally, I found that the manifest and latent objectives of Afterward diverged dramatically. Using a neo-institutionalist framework, I submit that Afterward's means-end formulation of reentry service provision for public safety purposes is a bureaucratic myth, and that the main goal of the

organization is the symbolic legitimation of the municipal government. At the same time, I argue that the most important goal of the organization on a practical day to day basis is the implementation of its service mechanisms related to employment, which were in fact effective.

From a sociological perspective, the way in which Afterward provides employment opportunities for people with criminal records is a mixed bag. On the one hand, the criminal record presents a clear and obvious barrier to most types of employment, such that the Afterward organization can provide a valuable service for people who would otherwise struggle to make ends meet. Employment clearly has some relevance to desisting from crime, in that it is necessary, but perhaps not sufficient for doing so. This understanding of Afterward's material value to clients is perhaps the most sympathetic rendering one can make of it, and it is at the basis of why some people with criminal records come to Afterward in the first place.

On the other hand, there are easily a number of issues with this sort of employment. The most obvious point is that the jobs offered by Afterward were entry level, low wage, de-skilled work in the service sector, with no opportunities for advancement. Effectively, they were jobs that would be one step above the kind of below minimum wage, under the table labor performed by undocumented Latino immigrants, i.e. agricultural labor or food processing. From a Marxist sociological perspective, I argue that the employment opportunities utilized by Afterward function as a form of proletarianization, in that they effectively recruit people who are dealing with downward economic mobility as a result of their criminal records into the workforce. In fact, this

sort of recruitment might be beneficial to some with limited human capital, who would not otherwise be competitive in the labor market. At the same time, many of my interviewees pointed to their previous work experience and skills being applicable to more lucrative sorts of employment, confirming downward economic mobility as an effect of the criminal record. Additionally, while the employment opportunities offered by Afterward are generally understood to be a sort of stepping stone, representing to employers that an individual with a criminal record was able to obtain some employment after incarceration, the stigma of the negative credential does not diminish when the tenure of the ultimately temporary job through Afterward comes to an end. The use of tax breaks by Afterward to solicit major corporations to hire people with criminal records at a substantial discount also follows along the line of growth machine critiques of urban governance, as well as more Marxist ones. Issues of employment among people with criminal records are also not solely a matter of exploitation, but also a matter of bureaucratic compliance. Individuals with criminal records often have court costs and fines, and are pushed by parole and probation to obtain a formal paycheck such that their wages can be garnished. This creates an economic dilemma for low SES individuals with criminal records, such that they may feel inclined to more criminal activity in order to maintain a tolerable standard of living. When elements of criminal justice bureaucratic compliance are combined with economic insecurity and proletarianization via street level bureaucracy, the process of prisoner reentry takes on social control dimensions.

In the case of Afterward, I also observed how these social control and surveillance dimensions played out in the spatial organization of Afterward. The use of name badges,

security checkpoints, and cameras all suggested that clients were perceived as threats. These perceptions were made vocal when it came to justifying these security apparatuses, in addition to the strict rules regarding movement of clients throughout Afterward office space, as well as other smaller behaviors related to cell phone use, wearing hats, etc. These were rules that the staff themselves also generally viewed as a nuisance when having to abide by them, and not only were they frequently flouted, but they were also ridiculed. It was also clear from my own experience especially as a white volunteer at Afterward that the way in which the threat of client violence was understood was clearly racialized. The significant surveillance that I observed went beyond the confines of Afterward, as Afterward was frequently in contact with other criminal justice bureaucracies including parole, probation, and halfway houses regarding client whereabouts. Afterward was accountable to these other criminal justice bureaucracies, but they could conflict with them, e.g. when the surveillance demands of halfway houses interfered with Afterwards employer networks, one of the few materially efficacious mechanisms that Afterward had as a bureaucracy.

The material dimensions of returning from prison to the larger society are especially important for understanding the experiences of people with criminal records. At the same time, there are cultural, narrative, and perspectival components to the experience of prisoner reentry, that emerge in response to the material issues of prisoner reentry. The most salient cultural feature of participation in and social interaction within in Afterward is the attempt to socially construct client agency. This theme informs much of the curriculum of the five week program that Afterward clients participate in,

particularly the first two weeks of life skills courses.  Attempts to socially construct

agency are also a crucial part of the desistance narratives that clients offer.  In this study I

document the appearance of redemption scripts, which offer a rearticulated sense of self

in which previous criminal activity is explained and understood.  I also document the

appearance of deterrence scripts, in which desistance is reached through the realization

that an individual no longer wishes to be incarcerated or the perceived risk of

incarceration as a result of criminal activity.  While these scripts have different moral

implications, they ultimately both are attempts by clients to form conceptions of agency

that can help buttress them against the implications of material dilemmas and the

instability of social ties.

Overall, my study has a focus on low SES African American men because they

are the most directly affected by mass incarceration, and they made up the greater portion

of Afterward clients.  However, in Chapter 6, I focus on the experiences of low SES

African American women who are clients at Afterward.  In some ways, the experiences

of these women are similar to the men in my study, in that they are struggling to find

employment, and explaining their perspectives on why they intend to no longer commit

crime.  At the same time, I found that women faced a stiffer labor market penalty for a

criminal record than African American men.  Low SES African American women are

more incorporated into the dominant service sector of the labor market than low SES

African American men, and therefore, are likelier to suffer downward occupational

mobility as a result.  My interview evidence bears this out, with occupational licensing

laws in the medical field being a major issue for low SES African women in my study.

Low SES African American mothers who are incarcerated also face sanctions from behavioral services and the foster care system, both of which came up in my study. Finally, while low SES African American women with criminal records may face violence from the state, they also may have histories of having to face violence and sexual victimization in a way that low SES African American men with criminal records do not. While not all violent offenses by women in my study were motivated by victimization, and certainly most people who are victimized do not enact violence themselves, some of the women in my study did frame their use of violence as a form of self-defense. Largely, I interpret the use of violence by low SES African American women as a form of social adaptation, in that sense, much like that of low SES African American men. However, my results also confirm much of the intersectional feminist scholarship in this area that shows that Low SES African American women with criminal records face an intersecting form of social oppression simultaneously along the lines of race, class, and gender that differs from that faced by low SES African American men with criminal records.

## On the Politics of Representation

Discussing the lives of people with criminal records, in particular with respect to issues of familial instability, violence, and victimization, is not solely an issue of social science, but additionally, an issue of the politics of representation. In the late 1950's Oscar Lewis put forward arguments about a culture of poverty when studying sexual behavior and violence in the context of Puerto Rican and Mexican families (Lewis 1968, 1975). These arguments were then picked up by Assistant Labor Secretary Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who in his infamous report, described the African American family

living in poverty as a tangle of pathology (Labor 1981).  In response, Moynihan was critiqued by both scholars and politicians for trafficking in racial stereotypes and victim blaming (Ryan 1976).  Certainly, to blame single female heads of households themselves for their own socioeconomic condition is outrageous and politically indefensible victim blaming, even as it is part and parcel of how African American mothers have been treated historically (Roberts 1991).  Nevertheless, many urban sociologists (Massey and Denton 1993; Sampson 1987, 2012; Wilson 2010) have argued that Moynihan's arguments regarding the linkages between family disruption and poverty were not wrong per se, even as they were neither solely cultural arguments, like the type made by political conservatives who had appropriated his work (Murray 2015), nor solely applicable to low SES African American families, but rather applicable to low SES families of any race. At the same time, these scholars have had their own contemporary interlocutors as well (Coates 2015; Greenbaum 2015; Reed Jr. 1988).

These debates have migrated into sociology proper regarding ethnographic depictions of low SES African Americans, particularly those engaged in violence and criminal activity.  Some have argued (Wacquant 2002) that social constructionist scholarship on low SES African Americans (Anderson 2000; Duneier, Hasan, and Carter 2000; Newman 2000) have tended to sanitize the conduct of their study participants, due to the politics of representation, and also dichotomize their study participants, reifying conceptions of worthy and unworthy poor.  Urban ethnographers operating out of a social constructionist tradition have responded to these critiques as both factually incorrect in their substance and ideologically motivated (Anderson 2002; Duneier 2002).  On the

other side of this debate, Alice Goffman's recent urban ethnography (Goffman 2014), which focuses on the criminal activity of a group of young low SES African American men attempting to evade law enforcement Philadelphia, was critiqued for, among other things, reproducing a colonialist "jungle book" trope (Rios 2015) as well as re-affirming stereotypes about African American men as inherently criminal (Russell-Brown 2008), most of whom are not incarcerated.

The consequence of these debates, both in academia and in the broader public sphere, is that conducting participant observation on low SES African Americans, and the subsequent distributing of urban ethnographic manuscripts can be a politically fraught affair.  This is particularly the case when the researcher shares little in terms of social background with the participants.  Taking my cues from classical sociology of deviance perspective (Lofland 2002), I lean towards presenting study participants in the most sympathetic and humanizing light possible, given their marginal social position, as well as the morally stigmatizing effect of a criminal record.  As I have argued, the stigma of a criminal record is clearly linked to the decision-making and behavior of an individual in a way that other kinds of stigma, e.g. racial stereotypes, are not, even as in practice we see how interpretations of the criminal record are obviously racialized, i.e. a white person with a criminal record just made a mistake, but a black person with a criminal record is a criminal.

At the same time, in interviewing clients, I made extensive use of court records as a mode of verifying my study participants' narratives and as a check against the effects of social desirability bias.  As a scholar, I put a high premium on factual correctness.

Additionally, I do not intend to condone, excuse, or sanitize the criminal activity of my study participants—to do so would be an exercise in condescending paternalism. Overall, I have tried to be as fair to my study participants as possible, while recognizing that the history of portraying socially marginalized people of color obligates both moral vigilance and a recognition of the consequences of my own privileged status as a bourgeois, Ivy League educated, white male has for both my particular experience of a researcher, and how I stand to benefit from the difficulties faced by the people in my study.

## On Policy and Politics

This dissertation is an on-the-ground look at the implementation of a specific type of criminal justice public policy, prisoner reentry. The widespread implementation of prisoner reentry as a form of criminal justice public policy has a great deal to do with its justification in terms of public safety and cost benefit analysis (Gottschalk 2015:ch 4). That is, an individual that has successfully desisted from committing crime is good for public safety, in that one less person is committing crime. It is good for municipal government, because it is one less incarcerated person that the municipal government, and therefore taxpayers, have to pay for. This diverges from the discourse of rehabilitation, in which the reformation of an individual is an end in itself, even as the everyday practice of prisoner reentry and old school corrections based rehabilitative programs may be very similar, giving some credence to the "old wine in new bottles" point of view (Lipsey and Cullen 2007).

Nevertheless, this discursive shift is significant, as it is part of a broader trend of viewing criminal justice policy through a technocratic and actuarial lens (Garland 2002; Harcourt 2006). There is something to be said for viewing criminal justice policy from this viewpoint. If academic studies and policy experiments can show us that there is a way to actually promote public safety and save taxpayer dollars that involves keeping people out of prison, then it is reasonable to pursue that. It is unclear that the opportunity cost in pursing this sort of criminal justice reform is sweeping decarceration, particularly in light of the charged and gridlocked partisan politics at state and federal levels of government. At the same time, the limits of this sort of reform have to be recognized, chief of which among them is that they will not lead to decarceration, the most desirable policy goal in the context of mass incarceration.

It is also worth noting that criminal justice reform is currently en-vogue for a number of reasons. One of the major shifts in interpreting the significance of the criminal justice system has been the effects of the great recession on already cash strapped state budgets, whose general assemblies tend to be dominated by political conservatives due to gerrymandering (Alexander 2010; Manza and Uggen 2006). Recent arguments have also pointed to how recession more broadly shifted hard line conservative libertarian ideology to the forefront of GOP politics (Prior 2014; Skocpol and Williamson 2012) and that this had relevance for criminal justice reform as well (Dagan and Teles 2016). In this context, political conservatives have come to the table to seek ways of scaling back corrections budgets, as a way of broadly cutting government spending. At the national level, this has included the formation of initiatives like "Right on Crime" which emerged

out of a conservative think tank, and garnered support from hard line conservatives like

Newt Gingrich and Grover Norquist (Bauer 2014).  The apotheosis of attempts at

bipartisan criminal justice reform was the Koch Brothers efforts at reducing prosecutorial

authority because of their own prosecution for environmental and white collar crimes,

after which they had consulted with a marketing professional and decided that criminal

justice reform could soften their image (Mayer 2016).  All of this is to say that when it

comes to criminal justice, that attempts to avoid politics are in themselves a form of

politics.  For this reason, many have been skeptical of this kind of bipartisan criminal

justice reform, which may be warped in implementation not only by street level

bureaucracies and their bureaucratic actors, but also economic and political exigencies of

government that go beyond criminal justice.

The counterweight to the pursuit of this kind of criminal justice reform has been

the robust social movement mobilization that has been occurring in the United States

since the recession occurred.  The increasing video documentation and dissemination of

law enforcement violence against unarmed African Americans resulted in contentious

mobilization and protest in Ferguson and Baltimore, and other related social movement

mobilizations across the United States, particularly in urban areas.  Eventually, these

mobilizations would be framed as #Blacklivesmatter [#BLM], a new generation of

radical black liberation politics, framed in explicitly intersectional terms by black queer

women activists (Taylor 2016).  Since these contentious politics have occurred, we have

seen a Department of Justice investigation of the Ferguson Police Department (DOJ

2015), as well as attempts by elected officials seeking office to frame their messaging in

terms that directly address the concerns which #BLM has attempted to bring to the fore.

While there is not an official party line set of grievances for the #BLM movement, many

of the issues that are highlighted in their public messaging around criminal justice issues

are exactly the social consequences of mass incarceration that this study documents in

highlighting the experiences of people with criminal records as they interact with a street

level bureaucracy focused on prisoner reentry.

## Future Research

Prisoner reentry is an area that is ripe for sociological study. As there has

effectively been a call for qualitative and ethnographic research on prisoner reentry, to

some degree, that call is beginning to be answered. My own research is an ethnographic

case study of one prisoner reentry organization, a public street level bureaucracy. The

goals of the organization, the ways in which people are monitored, social backgrounds of

clients, as well as their struggles and dilemmas may not be universal to organizations that

fall under the rubric of reentry, or even poverty governance more broadly. Though there

has been some recent research in this area (Halushka 2016; Kaufman 2015; Mijs 2015;

Miller 2014), more qualitative and ethnographic research needs to be conducted on

prisoner reentry organizations, in addition to more comparative ethnographic work

between prisoner reentry organizations themselves, and other kinds of street level

bureaucracies, and social service providers. Comparing organizations across

geographical locations will likely have relevance to the social context in which prisoner

reentry takes place, which in this study I have argued is highly important for prisoner

reentry itself. The context of concentrated urban poverty, joblessness, and racialized

residential segregation is very much the story of a northeastern city in the United States,

such that reentry organizations compared at the national, or even international level,

could produce interesting kinds of sociological scholarship.

# Appendices

# Appendix A: Afterward Core Staff Flow Chart

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Program Director   │
                    │      Edward         │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
        ┌─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┐
        │                     │                     │
┌───────────────┐   ┌───────────────────┐   ┌───────────────────┐
│ Employment    │   │ Deputy Director-  │   │ Deputy for public │
│ Services      │   │ Security          │   │ safety            │
│    Matt       │   │    Sidney         │   │   Jennifer        │
└───────────────┘   └───────────────────┘   └───────────────────┘
                              │
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
              │                               │
    ┌───────────────────┐           ┌───────────────────┐
    │ Manager of Skills │           │     Manager       │
    │ Training          │           │  Case Management  │
    │     Reggie        │           │     Sharon        │
    └───────────────────┘           └───────────────────┘
                                              │
        ┌────────────┬────────────┬───────────┼────────────┐
        │            │            │           │            │
┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐
│ Case      │ │ Case      │ │ Case      │ │ Case      │ │ Case      │
│ manager   │ │ Manager   │ │ Manager   │ │ Manager   │ │ Manager   │
│  Cedric   │ │  Emily    │ │  Ruth     │ │  Eric     │ │  Sierra   │
└───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────┘
```
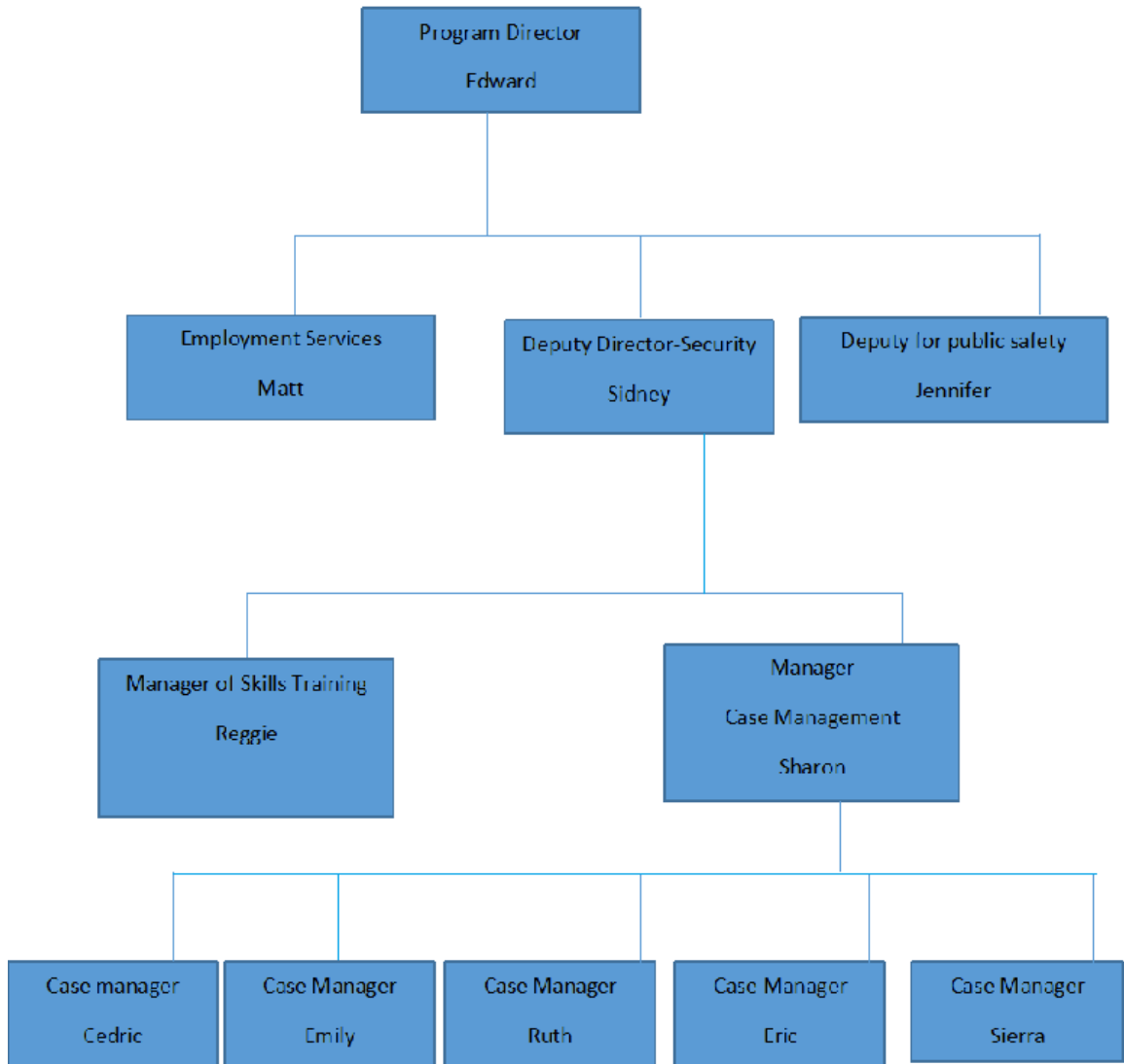
Note: This organizational chart is based off of an internal document. Pseudonyms are used for the purpose of preserving confidentiality.

Appendix B: List of Clients for Chapter 4

| Name | Age Group | Race/ethnicity | Gender | Conviction |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marquis | Mid 30s | Black | Male | Drugs |
| Sal | Late 40s | White | Male | Drugs, Vehicular homicide |
| Alfonso | Early 20s | Puerto Rican | Male | Drugs |
| Daniel | Mid 40s | Black | Male | Robbery |
| Martin | Early 40s | Black | Male | Drugs |
| Zachary | Late 30s | Black | Male | Drugs |
| Dennis | Early 50s | Black | Male | Assault (misdemeanor) |
| Jarvis | Mid 30s | Black | Male | Robbery |
| Charles | Early 30s | Black | Male | ? |

Appendix C: List of Clients for Chapter 5

| Name | Age group | Race/ethnicity | Gender | Conviction |
|------|-----------|----------------|--------|------------|
| Thomas | Mid 20s | Black | Male | Drugs |
| Charles | Late 40s | Black | Male | Drugs |
| Nathan | Early 40s | Black | Male | (unclear but felony) |
| Alfonso | Early 20s | Puerto Rican | Male | Drugs |
| Stan | Early 40s | Black | Male | Robbery |
| Ethan | Early 20s | Black | Male | Felony Assault |
| Ted | Early 30s | Black | Male | Drugs and guns |
| Timothy | Late 40s | Black | Male | Robbery |

Appendix D: List of Clients for Chapter 6

| Name | Age Group | Race | Gender | Conviction |
|------|-----------|------|--------|------------|
| Nina | Mid 40s | Black | Female | Theft |
| Celeste | Early 40s | Black | Female | DUI/Assault |
| Joyce | Early 20s | Black | Female | Drugs |
| Michelle | Early 40s | Black | Female | Robbery and Terroristic Threats |
| Tanya | Mid 50s | Black | Female | Murder |
| Lois | Early 40s | Black | Female | Felony Assault<br><br>Endangering child welfare |
| Vincent | Early 30s | Black | Male | Attempted murder<br><br>Aggravated Assault & unlawful contact with minor |
| Carla | Early 30s | Black | Female | Murder 3$^{rd}$ degree |

**Bibliography:**

Akers, Ronald L., Marvin D. Krohn, Lonn Lanza-Kaduce, and Marcia Radosevich. 1979. "Social Learning and Deviant Behavior: A Specific Test of a General Theory." *American Sociological Review* 44(4):636.

Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. 1st ed. New Press, The.

Anakwenze, Ujunwa and Daniyal Zuberi. 2013. "Mental Health and Poverty in the Inner City." *Health & Social Work* hlt013.

Anderson, Elijah. 2000. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. Reprint. W. W. Norton & Company.

Anderson, Elijah. 2002. "The Ideologically Driven Critique." *American Journal of Sociology* 107(6):1533–50.

Arditti, Joyce A. 2012. "Child Trauma Within the Context of Parental Incarceration: A Family Process Perspective." *Journal of Family Theory & Review* 4(3):181–219.

Bandura, Albert. 1977. "Self-Efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change." *Psychological Review* 84(2):191–215.

Bauer, Shane. 2014. "How Conservatives Learned to Love Prison Reform." *Mother Jones*, April. Retrieved May 25, 2016 (http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/02/conservatives-prison-reform-right-on-crime).

Becker, Gary S. 1968. "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 76(2):169–217.

Becker, Gary S. 1994. *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education, 3rd Edition*. Third Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1997. *Outsiders: Studies In The Sociology Of Deviance*. Free Press.

Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton. 2007. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. 3rd ed. University of California Press.

194

Blow, Charles M. 2013. "Standing Our Ground." *The New York Times*, July 24. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/25/opinion/blow-standing-our-ground.html).

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2001. *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1973. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." Pp. 71–112 in, vol. 10.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press.

Bourgois, Philippe. 2002. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1975. "The Problem with Human Capital Theory--A Marxian Critique." *The American Economic Review* 65(2):74–82.

Braga, Anthony A. and David L. Weisburd. 2012. "The Effects of Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of the Empirical Evidence." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 49(3):323–58.

Breiding, Matthew et al. 2014. *Prevalence and Characteristics of Sexual Violence, Stalking, and Intimate Partner Violence Victimization — National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, United States, 2011*. Washington D.C.: Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, CDC. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/ss6308a1.htm?s_cid=ss6308a1_e).

Brown, J.David. 1991. "The Professional Ex-: An Alternative for Exiting the Deviant Career." *The Sociological Quarterly* 32(2):219–30.

Browne, Irene, ed. 1999. *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Browne, Simone. 2014. "Race and Surveillance." Pp. 72–79 in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, edited by K. Ball, K. Haggerty, and D. Lyon. Routledge.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2005. *Strategic Plan FY 2005-2008*. U.S. Department of Justice.

Bush, Jack, Barry Glick, and Julia Taymans. 2011. "NICIC.gov: Thinking for a Change: Integrated Cognitive Behavior Change Program." Retrieved (http://nicic.gov/library/025057).

Bushway, Shawn D. 2006. "The Problem of Prisoner (Re)Entry." *Contemporary Sociology* 35(6):562–65.

Bushway, Shawn, Michael A. Stoll, and David F. Weiman. 2007. *Barriers to Reentry?: The Labor Market for Released Prisoners in Post-Industrial America*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Campbell, Mary Ann, Sheila French, and Paul Gendreau. 2009. "The Prediction of Violence in Adult Offenders A Meta-Analytic Comparison of Instruments and Methods of Assessment." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 36(6):567–90.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2015. "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration." *The Atlantic*, October. Retrieved May 6, 2016 (http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/10/the-black-family-in-the-age-of-mass-incarceration/403246/).

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2008. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 1st ed. Routledge.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2015. "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology* 41(1):1–20.

Collins, Randall. 2005. *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton University Press.

Collins, Randall. 2008. *Violence: A Micro-Sociological Theory*. Princeton University Press.

Conley, Dalton. 2009. *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth, and Social Policy in America*. 10 Anv. University of California Press.

Coughlin, John Joseph. 2002. "Gallows Humor and Its Use among Police Officers." Psy.D., James Madison University, United States -- Virginia. Retrieved September 4, 2015 (http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2187/psycinfo/docview/305454930/abstract/2A95F51CF5F14279PQ/1?).

Council of State Governments. 2012. "House Funding Bill Includes $70 Million for Second Chance Act." Retrieved October 4, 2015 (http://www.corrections.com/news/article/30664-house-funding-bill-in%20cludes-70-million-for-second-chance-act-).

Crenshaw, Kimberle Williams. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241–99.

Crowell, Nancy A. and Ann W. Burgess. 1996. *Understanding Violence Against Women*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.nap.edu/catalog/5127).

Dagan, David and Steven Teles. 2016. *Prison Break: Why Conservatives Turned Against Mass Incarceration*. Oxford University Press.

Dahl, Julia. 2012. "Fla. Woman Marissa Alexander Gets 20 Years For 'warning Shot': Did She Stand Her Ground?" *CBS News*. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.cbsnews.com/news/fla-woman-marissa-alexander-gets-20-years-for-warning-shot-did-she-stand-her-ground/).

Davis, Lois M., Robert Bozick, Jennifer L. Steele, Jessica Saunders, and Jeremy N. V. Miles. 2013. *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education*. Retrieved October 4, 2015 (http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR266.html).

DeGloma, Thomas. 2014. *Seeing the Light: The Social Logic of Personal Discovery*. University of Chicago Press.

Delaney, Kevin J. and Rick Eckstein. 2003. *Public Dollars, Private Stadiums: The Battle over Building Sports Stadiums*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press.

DiAngelo, Robin. 2011. "White Fragility." *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3(3). Retrieved September 4, 2015 (http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ijcp/article/view/249).

DiIulio, John J. 1990. *Governing Prisons*. Free Press.

DiIulio, John J. 1995. "The Coming of the Superpredators." *The Weekly Standard*, 23.

DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48(2):147–60.

DOJ. 2015. *Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department*. United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division.

Duckworth, Angela. 2016. "Don't Grade Schools on Grit." *The New York Times*, March 26. Retrieved April 18, 2016 (http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/27/opinion/sunday/dont-grade-schools-on-grit.html).

Duckworth, Angela Lee and Patrick D. Quinn. 2009. "Development and Validation of the Short Grit Scale (Grit–S)." *Journal of Personality Assessment* 91(2):166–74.

Duckworth, Angela Lee and Martin E. P. Seligman. 2006. "Self-Discipline Gives Girls the Edge: Gender in Self-Discipline, Grades, and Achievement Test Scores." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 98(1):198–208.

Duneier, Mitchell. 2002. "What Kind of Combat Sport Is Sociology?" *American Journal of Sociology* 107(6):1551–76.

Duneier, Mitchell, Hakim Hasan, and Ovie Carter. 2000. *Sidewalk*. 1st ed. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Durkheim, Emile. 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Free Press.

Eastman, Susan Cooper. 2015. "Florida Woman in 'Warning Shot' Case Released from Jail." *Reuters*, January 27. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-florida-selfdefense-idUSKBN0L02NQ20150127).

Edin, Kathryn and Timothy J. Nelson. 2013. *Doing the Best I Can: Fatherhood in the Inner City*. University of California Press.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Fader, Jamie J. 2013. *Falling Back: Incarceration and Transitions to Adulthood Among Urban Youth*. Rutgers University Press.

Fairbanks II, Robert P. 2009. *How It Works: Recovering Citizens in Post-Welfare Philadelphia*. 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press.

Fallows, James. 2004. "The State of the Union Address." Retrieved October 4, 2015 (https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/2004/01/sotu-address.htm).

Fantasia, Rick and Judith Stepan-Norris. 2009. "The Labor Movement In Motion." Pp. 555–75 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Wiley-Blackwell.

Fiske, John. 1998. "Surveilling the City Whiteness, the Black Man and Democratic Totalitarianism." *Theory, Culture & Society* 15(2):67–88.

Fligstein, Neil and Doug McAdam. 2011. "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields." *Sociological Theory* 29(1):1–26.

Foucault, Michel. 1995. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd Edition. Vintage.

Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population*. Tra. edited by M. Senellart, F. Ewald, A. Fontana, and A. I. Davidson. Palgrave Macmillan.

Freeman, Naomi J. and Jeffrey C. Sandler. 2008. "Female and Male Sex Offenders A Comparison of Recidivism Patterns and Risk Factors." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23(10):1394–1413.

Garland, David. 1993. *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory*. 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press.

Garland, David. 2002. *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. University Of Chicago Press.

Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. 2012. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Aldine Transaction.

Glaze, Lauren E. and Danielle Kaeble. 2014. *Correctional Populations in the United States: 2013*. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Goffman, Alice. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago ; London: University Of Chicago Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. 1st ed. Anchor.

Goffman, Erving. 1986a. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern.

Goffman, Erving. 1986b. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Touchstone.

Goodman, Joan F. 2013. "Charter Management Organizations and the Regulated Environment Is It Worth the Price?" *Educational Researcher* 42(2):89–96.

Gottfredson, Michael and Travis Hirschi. 1990. *A General Theory of Crime*. 1st ed. Stanford University Press.

Gottschalk, Marie. 2015. *Caught: Race, Neoliberalism, and the Future of the Carceral State*.

Grazian, David. 2005. *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*. University Of Chicago Press.

Grazian, David. 2011. *On the Make: The Hustle of Urban Nightlife*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Grazian, David. 2015. *American Zoo: A Sociological Safari*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Greenbaum, Susan D. 2015. *Blaming the Poor: The Long Shadow of the Moynihan Report on Cruel Images about Poverty*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Greenwald, Glenn. 2014. *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State*. Metropolitan Books.

Hagan, John, Monique R. Payne, and Carla Shedd. 2005. "Race, Ethnicity, and Youth Perceptions of Criminal Injustice." *American Sociological Review* 70(3):381–407.

Hallett, Michael. 2011. "Reentry to What? Theorizing Prisoner Reentry in the Jobless Future." *Critical Criminology* 20(3):213–28.

Hallett, Tim and Marc J. Ventresca. 2006. "Inhabited Institutions: Social Interactions and Organizational Forms in Gouldner's Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy." *Theory and Society* 35(2):213–36.

Halushka, John. 2016. "Work Wisdom: Teaching Former Prisoners How to Negotiate Workplace Interactions and Perform a Rehabilitated Self." *Ethnography* 17(1):72–91.

Harcourt, Bernard E. 2006. *Against Prediction: Profiling, Policing, and Punishing in an Actuarial Age*. Reprint edition. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Harper, Jessie. 2011. "The Effects of Prisonization on the Employability of Former Prisoners: First-Hand Voices." Ed.D., University of Pennsylvania, United States -- Pennsylvania. Retrieved October 30, 2013 (http://search.proquest.com/docview/868180165/abstract?accountid=14707).

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. First Edition. Oxford University Press, USA.

Hirschi, Travis and Michael Gottfredson. 1983. "Age and the Explanation of Crime." *American Journal of Sociology* 89(3):552–84.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2003. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling, Twentieth Anniversary Edition, With a New Afterword*. 2nd ed. University of California Press.

Irwin, John. 1987. *The Felon*. University of California Press.

Jones, Professor Nikki. 2009. *Between Good and Ghetto: African American Girls and Inner-City Violence*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press.

Katz, Michael B., ed. 1992. *The"Underclass" Debate*. 1St Edition. Princeton University Press.

Katz, Michael B. 2002. *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State*. 1st Owl Books Edition, 2002. Holt Paperbacks.

Katz, Michael B., Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader. 2005. "The New African American Inequality." *The Journal of American History* 92(1):75–108.

Kaufman, Nicole. 2015. "Prisoner Incorporation: The Work of the State and Non-Governmental Organizations." *Theoretical Criminology* 1362480614567172.

Kelling, George L. and James Q. Wilson. 1982. "Broken Windows." *The Atlantic*, March. Retrieved December 3, 2012 (http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/).

Kennedy, David M. 2012. *Don't Shoot: One Man, A Street Fellowship, and the End of Violence in Inner-City America*. New York: Bloomsbury USA.

Kennedy, Randall. 1998. *Race, Crime, and the Law*. Reprint. Vintage.

Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1958. *The Development of Modes of Thinking and Choices in Years 10 to 16*. University of Chicago.

Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research U. S.Department of. 1981. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. New edition. Greenwood Press Reprint.

Lamb, H. R. and L. E. Weinberger. 1998. "Persons with Severe Mental Illness in Jails and Prisons: A Review." *Psychiatric Services (Washington, D.C.)* 49(4):483–92.

Lappi-Seppälä, Tapio and Michael Tonry. 2011. "Crime, Criminal Justice, and Criminology in the Nordic Countries." *Crime and Justice* 40(1):1–32.

Leduff, Charlie. 2000. "At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die; Who Kills, Who Cuts, Who Bosses Can Depend on Race." *The New York Times*, June 16. Retrieved March 13, 2016 (http://www.nytimes.com/2000/06/16/us/slaughterhouse-some-things-never-die-who-kills-who-cuts-who-bosses-can-depend.html).

Leverentz, Andrea M. 2014. *The Ex-Prisoner's Dilemma: How Women Negotiate Competing Narratives of Reentry and Desistance*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Levitt, Steven D. 1996. "The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence from Prison Overcrowding Litigation." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 111(2):319–51.

Lewis, Oscar. 1968. *La Vida*. 1st Vintage Bks Ed. Feb. 1968. Vintage.

Lewis, Oscar. 1975. *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. Basic Books.

Liebling, Alison and Shadd Maruna. 2005. *The Effects of Imprisonment*. Willan.

Liebow, Elliott. 2003. *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*. 2nd ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Lipsey, Mark W. and Francis T. Cullen. 2007. "The Effectiveness of Correctional Rehabilitation: A Review of Systematic Reviews." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 3(1):297–320.

Lipskey, Michael. 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service, 30th Anniversary Expanded Edition*. 30 Anv Exp edition. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lipsky, Michael. 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service, 30th Anniversary Expanded Edition*. 30 Anv Exp edition. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lofland, John. 2002. *Deviance and Identity*. Clinton Corners, N.Y: Percheron Press/Eliot Werner Publications.

Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch. 1988. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. University of California Press.

MacLeod, Jay. 2008. *Ain't No Makin' It: Aspirations and Attainment in a Low-Income Neighborhood, 3rd Edition*. 3rd edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Manza, Jeff and Christopher Uggen. 2006. *Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Martinson, Robert. 1974. "What Works? Questions and Answers About Prison Reform." *The Public Interest* (35).

Maruna, Shadd. 2001. *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform & Rebuild Their Lives*. 1st ed. American Psychological Association (APA).

Maruna, Shadd. 2011. "Reentry as a Rite of Passage." *Punishment & Society* 13(1):3–28.

Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Harvard University Press.

Matsueda, Ross L. 1992. "Reflected Appraisals, Parental Labeling, and Delinquency: Specifying a Symbolic Interactionist Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 97(6):1577–1611.

Matsueda and Karen Heimer. 1987. "Race, Family Structure, and Delinquency: A Test of Differential Association and Social Control Theories." *American Sociological Review* 52(6):826–40.

May, Bruce. 1995. "Character Component of Occupational Licensing Laws: A Continuing Barrier to the Ex-Felon." *North Dakota Law Review* 71.

Mayer, Jane. 2016. "New Koch." *The New Yorker*, January 25. Retrieved May 26, 2016 (http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/01/25/new-koch).

McCorkel, Jill A. 2013. *Breaking Women: Gender, Race, and the New Politics of Imprisonment*. New York: NYU Press.

Messerschmidt, James W. 1993. *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Meyer, John W. 2010. "World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1):1–20.

Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(2):340–63.

Mijs, Jonathan Jan Benjamin. 2015. *The Missing Organizational Dimension of Prisoner Reentry: An Ethnography of the Road to Reentry at a Nonprofit Service Provider*. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Retrieved May 25, 2016 (http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2701506).

Miller, Reuben Jonathan. 2013. "Race, Hyper-Incarceration, and US Poverty Policy in Historic Perspective: Race, Hyper-Incarceration, and Urban Poverty Policy." *Sociology Compass* 7(7):573–89.

Miller, Reuben Jonathan. 2014. "Devolving the Carceral State: Race, Prisoner Reentry, and the Micro-Politics of Urban Poverty Management." *Punishment & Society* 16(3):305–35.

Miller, Reuben Jonathan. 2015. "Prisoner Reentry as a Social Institution." in *Section on Crime Law and Deviance Paper Session: The End of the Beginning or the Beginning of the End?  Race and Decarceration*. Chicago, IL.

Moskos, Peter. 2009. *Cop in the Hood: My Year Policing Baltimore's Eastern District*. Princeton University Press.

Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. 2010. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press.

Murray, Charles. 2015. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*. Basic Books.

Naser, Rebecca L. and Nancy G. La Vigne. 2006. "Family Support in the Prisoner Reentry Process." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 43(1):93–106.

Newman, Katherine S. 2000. *No Shame in My Game: The Working Poor in the Inner City*. 3/26/00 edition. New York: Vintage.

Newman, Katherine S. 2006. *Chutes and Ladders: Navigating the Low-Wage Labor Market*. First Edition edition. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 2009. *On the Genealogy of Morals: A Polemic. By Way of Clarification and Supplement to My Last Book Beyond Good and Evil*. Oxford University Press, USA.

NY Times Editorial Board. 2014. "Committed States Have Reduced Recidivism Rates." *The New York Times*, June 27. Retrieved January 6, 2015 (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/28/opinion/committed-states-have-reduced-recidivism-rates.html).

Oliver, Melvin and Thomas Shapiro, eds. 2006. *Black Wealth / White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. 2nd ed. Routledge.

Oliver, William and Creasie Finney Hairston. 2008. "Intimate Partner Violence During the Transition from Prison to the Community: Perspectives of Incarcerated African American Men." *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma* 16(3):258–76.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd ed. Routledge.

Oshinsky, David M. 1997. *Worse than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. Free Press.

Pager, Devah. 2009. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Reprint. University Of Chicago Press.

Paternoster, Raymond. 1987. "The Deterrent Effect of the Perceived Certainty and Severity of Punishment: A Review of the Evidence and Issues." *Justice Quarterly* 4(2):173–217.

Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1999. *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class*. 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press.

Petersilia, Joan. 2003. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Petersilia, Joan. 2004. "What Works in Prisoner Reentry? Reviewing and Questioning the Evidence." *Federal Probation* 68(2):4–8.

Peterson, Christopher and Martin Seligman. 2004. *Character Strengths and Virtues: A Handbook and Classification*. 1 edition. Washington, DC : New York: American Psychological Association / Oxford University Press.

Pettit, Becky and Bruce Western. 2004. "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69(2):151–69.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 1993. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books.

Prior, Francis. 2014. "Quality Controlled: An Ethnographic Account of Tea Party Messaging and Action." *Sociological Forum* 29(2).

Putnam, Robert D. 2001. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. 1st edition. New York: Touchstone Books by Simon & Schuster.

Quillian, Lincoln. 2012. "Segregation and Poverty Concentration The Role of Three Segregations." *American Sociological Review* 77(3):354–79.

Reed, Adolph L. 1979. "Black Particularity Reconsidered." *Telos* 1979(39):71–93.

Reed Jr., Adolph. 1988. "The Liberal Technocrat." *Nation* 246(5):167–70.

Ridgeway, James. 2011. "God's Own Warden." *Mother Jones*. Retrieved February 26, 2012 (http://motherjones.com/politics/2011/07/burl-cain-angola-prison).

Rios, Victor M. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New York University Press.

Rios, Victor M. 2015. "Review of On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(1):306–8.

Roberts, Dorothy. 2002. *Shattered Bonds: The Color Of Child Welfare*. Reprint edition. New York: Basic Civitas Books.

Roberts, Dorothy. 2014. "Complicating the Triangle of Race, Class and State: The Insights of Black Feminists." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(10):1776–82.

Roberts, Dorothy E. 1991. "Punishing Drug Addicts Who Have Babies: Women of Color, Equality, and the Right of Privacy." *Harvard Law Review* 104(7):1419–82.

Routh, Douglas and Zachary Hamilton. 2015. "Work Release as a Transition: Positioning Success Via the Halfway House." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 54(4):239–55.

Royster, Deirdre A. 2003. *Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue-Collar Jobs*. 1st ed. University of California Press.

Russell-Brown, Katheryn. 2008. *The Color of Crime*. 2 edition. New York: NYU Press.

Ryan, William. 1976. *Blaming the Victim*. 2nd ed. Vintage.

Sampson, Robert. 2003. "Life-Course Desisters? Trajectories of Crime Among Delinquent Boys Followed to Age 70." *Criminology* 41:301–39.

Sampson, Robert J. 1987. "Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption." *American Journal of Sociology* 93(2):348.

Sampson, Robert J. 2012. *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. University Of Chicago Press.

Sampson, Robert J. and John H. Laub. 1995. *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points through Life*. Harvard University Press.

Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science* 277(5328):918–24.

Sanchez, Casey. 2003. "As Bad as It Comes, as Good as It Gets." *The Stranger*, December 18. Retrieved March 13, 2016 (http://www.thestranger.com/seattle/as-bad-as-it-comes-as-good-as-it-gets/Content?oid=16586).

Sanday, Peggy Reeves. 2007. *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege on Campus*. 2nd ed. NYU Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2006. *Cities in a World Economy*. 3rd ed. Pine Forge Press.

Schnittker, Jason and Andrea John. 2007. "Enduring Stigma: The Long-Term Effects of Incarceration on Health." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 48(2):115–30.

Shanahan, Michael J. 2000. "Pathways to Adulthood in Changing Societies: Variability and Mechanisms in Life Course Perspective." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:667–92.

Shedd, Carla. 2011. "Countering the Carceral Continuum: The Legacy of Mass Incarceration." *Criminology & Public Policy* 10(3):865–71.

Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2012. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. 1St Edition. Oxford University Press, USA.

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race*. Chicago ; London: University Of Chicago Press.

Stafford, Mark C. and Mark Warr. 1993. "A Reconceptualization of General and Specific Deterrence." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 30(2):123–35.

Stuart, Forrest. 2011. "Race, Space, and the Regulation of Surplus Labor: Policing African Americans in Los Angeles's Skid Row." *Souls* 13(2):197–212.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51(2):273–86.

Swidler, Ann. 2003. *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters*. University Of Chicago Press.

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2016. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Haymarket Books.

Thompson, Anthony C. 2009. *Releasing Prisoners, Redeeming Communities: Reentry, Race, and Politics*. NYU Press.

Tjaden, Patricia and Nancy Thoennes. 2000. "Prevalence and Consequences of Male-to-Female and Female-to-Male Intimate Partner Violence as Measured by the National Violence Against Women Survey." *Violence Against Women* 6(2):142–61.

Tonry, Michael. 1996. *Malign Neglect: Race, Crime, and Punishment in America*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Tonry, Michael. 2011. *Punishing Race: A Continuing American Dilemma*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, USA.

Tough, Paul. 2013. *How Children Succeed: Grit, Curiosity, and the Hidden Power of Character*. Reprint edition. Mariner Books.

Travis, Jeremy. 2005. *But They All Come Back: Facing The Challenges Of Prisoner Reentry*. Urban Inst Pr.

Travis, Jeremy and Christy Visher, eds. 2005. *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*. Cambridge University Press.

Uggen, Christopher. 2000. "Work as a Turning Point in the Life Course of Criminals: A Duration Model of Age, Employment, and Recidivism." *American Sociological Review* 65(4):529–46.

Uggen, Christopher, Jason Schnittker, Sarah Shannon, and Michael Massoglia. n.d. "Institutional Effects of Incarceration: Spillovers from Incarceration to Healthcare." *(Under Review)*.

Venkatesh, Sudhir. 2008. *Gang Leader for a Day: A Rogue Sociologist Takes to the Streets*. Reprint. Penguin Books.

Viscelli, Steve. 2016. *The Big Rig: Trucking and the Decline of the American Dream*. Reprint edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Visher, Christy A. and Jeremy Travis. 2003. "Transitions from Prison to Community: Understanding Individual Pathways." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:89–113.

Wacquant, Loic. 2002. "Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality, and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography." *American Journal of Sociology* 107(6):1468–1532.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2009a. *Deadly Symbiosis: Race and the Rise of the Penal State*. Polity.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2009b. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Duke University Press Books.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2010. "Prisoner Reentry as Myth and Ceremony." *Dialectical Anthropology* 34(4):605–20.

Wakefield, Sara and Christopher Uggen. 2012. *Incarceration and Stratification*. Annual Reviews.

Waldinger, Roger. 1999. *Still the Promised City?: African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York*. Harvard University Press.

Ward, Tony and Shadd Maruna. 2007. *Rehabilitation: Beyond the Risk Paradigm*. Routledge.

Weber, Max. 1958. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford University Press (Galaxy imprint).

Weeks, Robin and Cathy Spatz Widom. 1998. "Self-Reports of Early Childhood Victimization Among Incarcerated Adult Male Felons." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 13(3):346–61.

Western, Bruce. 2007a. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. Russell Sage Foundation Publications.

Western, Bruce. 2007b. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Western, Bruce. 2008. "From Prison to Work: A Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program." (December).

Western, Bruce. 2015. "Lifetimes of Violence in a Sample of Released Prisoners." *Working Paper for Boston Reentry Study*.

Wilson, William Julius. 1990. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. University Of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William Julius. 1997. *When Work Disappears : The World of the New Urban Poor*. 1st ed. Vintage.

Wilson, William Julius. 2010. *More than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Woolford, Andrew and Amelia Curran. 2012. "Community Positions, Neoliberal Dispositions: Managing Nonprofit Social Services Within the Bureaucratic Field." *Critical Sociology*. Retrieved November 8, 2012 (http://crs.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/03/15/0896920512439728).

van Wormer, Katherine and Mary Boes. 1997. "Humor in the Emergency Room: A Social Work Perspective." *Health & Social Work* 22(2):87–92.

Wright, Kevin A., Travis C. Pratt, Christopher T. Lowenkamp, and Edward J. Latessa. 2012. "The Importance of Ecological Context for Correctional Rehabilitation Programs: Understanding the Micro- and Macro-Level Dimensions of Successful Offender Treatment." *Justice Quarterly* 29(6):775–98.

Zimring, Franklin E. and Gordon J. Hawkins. 1993. *The Scale of Imprisonment*. University of Chicago Press.

Zuberi, Tukufu. 2003. *Thicker Than Blood: How Racial Statistics Lie*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press.