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'Falling out of the Rabbit Hole':
Former Long-term Prisoners' Negotiation of Release, Reentry and Resettlement

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'FALLING OUT OF THE RABBIT HOLE': FORMER LONG-TERM PRISONERS'
NEGOTIATION OF RELEASE, REENTRY AND RESETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

In criminological literature a great deal of attention has been given to prisons and to recidivism but there is a dearth of scholarly work which examines successful post-prison resettlement, particularly of those who have served long periods of incarceration. In this ethnomethodological study, 20 Canadian men who had served over a decade in prison and been released at least 5 years earlier participated in semi-structured interviews. They describe their experiences preparing to exit the prison, their time on parole and the challenges and strategies that they employ to succeed in the their post-carceral lives.

Struggle was a prominent theme as the respondents negotiated changing regulatory contexts, were subject to the panoptic gaze and experienced the psychological trauma resulting from their extensive incarceration. These former prisoners dealt with the challenges of finding work as older men with interrupted (or limited) work histories and navigating ever-changing gender roles after years in an almost exclusively male environment.

Using a theoretical approach which weaves together symbolic interactionism, governmentality and critical human geography, this research focuses on former long-term prisoners' sense of place, identity and resistance. For this vantage point, it is evident that the spaces inhabited by the men are not just backdrops to their existence but are fully entangled in their experiences. Considering *place* rather than just *space* allows the mens experiences with freedom, disaffiliation, vulnerability and security to be examined in a textured and nuanced way not typically found in criminology. Further, the men's experiences with self and public identity are complex and complicated by both their anticipation of stigma and that which they actually experienced. Through their stories it is clear that, despite their struggles, the men were not passive entities upon which power acted but rather, were able to exert agency within relations of power. The findings of this research suggest directions for policy and practice within the penal justice apparatus.

The title of this paper is borrowed with permission from Rives (2008).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

My friend is back in prison. So many years behind bars and so few outside. It is ironic that as my days are filled with writing about post-prison success, he sits in a provincial detention centre awaiting transfer back to the federal system where he will likely serve another few years. I know that he is in the minority of those who I have seen go through the process. Most of the guys 'make good'. They have jobs, lovers, families and homes . . . but what is that experience? What makes it different from 'Art's[1]'? Why is it so easy to focus on those who go back rather than the much greater number who do not? Two years on the street is more time than Art has ever had before. Speaking through the glass to him, he still feels like he did okay – that he was successful and this was only a small setback. After all, he has a job, a girlfriend and money in the bank. It was a greater success than most anticipated. Do the others, after all their years on the outside feel successful? Why? How can I make sense of this?

(From Researcher's Journal, December 2007)

Canada has one of the highest incarceration rates in the western world (Mauer, 2003; Statistics Canada, 2007). Not only do we incarcerate many, but we do so for long periods of time. As of March 2007, there were 13 200 individuals incarcerated for sentences lasting more than 2 years (Canada, 2007) and many of these individuals are serving Life[2] or indeterminate[3] sentences. It is no wonder that there is a plethora of research which examines imprisonment and so-called 'pathways to crime'. But what about the men and women behind bars for long periods of time? Political rhetoric and dominant discourse would have us believe that these individuals are caged, not just for punishment but because they pose a

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[1]This is a pseudonym that I have assigned to protect my friend's identity.

[2]A Life Sentence means that an individual is given a minimum period of incarceration but no maximum. Currently there are approximately 4300 individuals with this disposition of the court in Canada. This is an increase of approximately 38% since 1990 and these men and women represent about 21% of all prisoners. (http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/lifeline/w6-eng.shtml)

[3]An indeterminate sentence does not have a fixed warrant expiry date. Individuals who receive Dangerous Offender designations are subject to this type of sentence. Since 1992 there has been a dramatic increase in the number of individuals who receive dangerous offender designations. Of the 427 people who have been so designated to date, only 119 received this label before 1991 (Public Safety Canada, 2007).

threat to the social body (Goff, 2004; Griffiths & Cunnighnam, 2003). The release from prison of those serving more than 10 years is also framed as a risky endeavour requiring multiple levels and types of intervention to ensure that these convicted persons do not recidivate. But upon what facts are these claims predicated?

Unlike the dominant discourse, evidence indicates that the former long-term prisoner is able to return to the community[4] without jeopardizing the safety of other citizens. By and large, the men[5] who because of their crimes receive so much media and political attention, do not return to prison. Most incarcerated people will eventually be released and not return to prison for a new Criminal Code offence; data shows that as of March 31, 2007, there were 4 186 federally sentenced men on extended conditional release[6] and 2 116 on Statutory Release (Public Safety Canada, 2007). Over the past 10 years, 82% of day paroles, over 70% of full paroles and 58% of statutory releases were successfully completed and therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the great majority of these men will never return to life behind the penitentiary wall. It would seem that success is the norm – recidivism the exception. This is even more evident when the data on revocation of conditional release (failure) is scrutinized because the majority of these returns to prison are for technical violations (e.g. breach of conditions) and not new Criminal Code offences (Public Safety Canada, 2007).

Despite this evidence, success is rarely addressed in the literature. In the neo-liberal

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[4]Unless otherwise noted the term 'community' is used to mean a small-scale bounded (physically or through social ties) geographic area.

[5]The same fact is true for women but this dissertation is focused on the experience of adult males.

[6]943 of these men were on day parole and the remainder (3243) were on full parole.

and neo-conservative discourses greater emphasis is placed upon accountability and actuarialization and it should follow that attention should be directed to what is effective; however, the focus on failure and on the few who return to prison remains despite government data which shows the opposite trend.[7] The dominant focus of much of this research has been noted by Richards & Jones (2004) who observed:

> Unfortunately, the emphasis has always been on parole failure, recidivism and career criminals, with too little attention paid to the ex-convicts who 'make good'. Correctional authorities and scholars have failed to document success stories. There has been virtually no effort to interview convicts who have returned to the community to lead law-abiding lives. (p. 226)

This research attempts to add to the 'making good' (Maruna, 2001) literature by examining the post-prison experiences of the successful, male, former long-term prisoner. I want to begin by recognizing that there are negative psychological and social aspects of imprisonment (Cohen & Taylor, 1972; Golash, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Jamieson & Grounds, 2002; Johnson & Toch, 1982), and as such, I see the successful ex-prisoner[8] as exerting agency to endure and transcend the carceral experience. As Blau (2007), a prisoner in the USA, wrote "where the somber walls break some men's spirits, the restrictions trigger creativity in others . . . The same pressure that crushes, forms diamonds; the same fire that devours, forges the finest steel" (p. 14). This research will examine those men, who after years of experiencing the 'pressure' and 'fire', craft a place for themselves outside of prison. I will demonstrate that the focus on recidivism results in the majority of former long-term

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[7]The Report of the Correctional Service of Canada Review Panel acknowledges that ". . . failures are far less than the successes" (Canada, 2007, p. 129) but then spends the remainder of their discussion focusing on failure.

[8]In this work, the term ex-prisoner will refer exclusively to individuals who were formerly incarcerated. The term (ex)prisoner will denote both the person in prison and the person released from prison.

prisoners being ignored in the criminological discourse and that this neglect of success and focus on failure is problematic and contributes to the illusion of the 'dangerous ex-convict'. A climate of pessimism and negativity has been created and as de Malesherbes[9] observed, "we would accomplish many more things if we did not think of them as impossible" (Britannica, 2006).

Research Questions and Methodological Approach

While we will see that there is a body of research which examines the immediate period after release and the specific challenges faced by the "returning captives" (Hagan & Coleman, 2001), very little work extends itself temporally to include the years after release. This attention to release and reentry has left the resettlement experiences of those who were incarcerated for long periods largely unaddressed in the literature. In order to attend to this absence, four broad questions were posed in this research. First, I asked what factors (either positive or negative) conditioned the former long-term prisoners' success and how they understood these experiences. Second, the men's specific preparations and processes for release from prison were questioned, because without these the ex-prisoners could not demonstrate their ability to resettle. Third, it was important to consider the ways that the respondents' time in prison shaped their lives afterwards and the men were asked to reflect upon this. Next, while all of us operate within rules and regulations, these men experience ones which are unique to their situation and it was important to attend to these laws and policies in this research. Therefore, in the final line of questioning, the ex-prisoners were asked how their experiences were mediated by the regulatory context in which they live.

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[9]Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes was a 16th century French prison reformer.

While these four points oriented the research, I was particularly interested in three other areas: geography, identity and resistance. As a woman who has always strongly identified with the places I inhabit, I was particularly interested in how geography influenced the experience of being in and out of the community. Did location impact on their understanding and, reciprocally, did their presence impact on the space? In short, I wanted to place their experiences. The issue of identity and stigma were also areas that I wanted to explore in detail. How did the men see themselves during their captivity, their release and in the periods thereafter? How did they think they were seen to be by those with whom they interacted and by the social body in general? Did they feel the community discriminated against them because of their criminal conviction and/or long period of incarceration? Finally, I was interested in how these men retained control in situations by exerting agency. Given the power relations in which the men have been involved, I wanted to understand whether they engaged in resistance and if so, why and how?

Answers to these questions cannot be achieved quantitatively. That ex-prisoners are able to reintegrate into the social fabric is established by numeric aggregation but, this does not allow for a consideration of the experiences of the process. To get a more textured and nuanced understanding, it was essential that the words of the men who had lived through prison, release, reentry and resettlement be heard. Over the past 40 years, there has been an increased recognition of the value of utilizing qualitative approaches to liberate the often neglected voices of those who are marginalized in society (Kincheloe & McLarsen, 2005; Kobayashi, 2001). By entering the research in this way, subjectivity was centered and the project was epistimologically positioned as pursuing meaning rather than absolute truth. As

Smith (2000) noted in regard to qualitative approaches, the ". . . primary goal is an ability to empathize, communicate and (in some cases) emancipate, rather than to generalize, predict and control" (p. 662). To this end, interviews with 20 former long-term prisoners yielded an abundance of data which forms the foundation upon which this dissertation is built. To augment and contextualize this rich compilation of insights, relevant policies, operating practices and government policies were examined in order to situate the respondent's experiences within the broader penal discourses and processes.

Making Sense of the Journey to Success

In order to make sense of this data and to place it within an academic context, I will first consider the extant research on prisoner release, reentry and resettlement[10]. By attending to the Zeitgeist in which this work is created, attention will be drawn to the idea that the contemporary literature echoes the characteristics of the new penology and the rhetoric of responsibilization.[11] We will see that in much of the literature today focus remains on what 'causes' recidivism with scant attention paid to the processes through

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[10]The term *release* denotes the individual's release from prison. *Reentry* is used here to refer to the period immediately after a prisoner's release from prison when he returns to the community – often to a state-sponsored facility. Resettlement, as it will be used in this work, refers to the period after prison release when the person is an active agent in choosing where he will live without persistent monitoring by representatives of the state. In this research, this period usually commences once the individual leaves the community residential facility. In much of the American and Canadian literature, the term 'reintegration' is used to connote a similar meaning but I have rejected this term as it is often bound to ideas of rehabilitation and behaviouristic discourses. I also use the term resettlement differently than do the British scholars who regularly use this term to refer to all activities and programs from sentencing onward. My use of *resettlement* is perhaps best mirrored in the literature on political prisoners and also that which deals with immigration matters and therefore reflects the more political issues surrounding an ex-prisoners' location in the community.

[11]Responsibilization refers to the idea that "within the context of neo-liberal society we see the construction of social actors. Within this framework citizens emerge as responsible for not only managing their own risk but are also accountable for their 'poor' or 'unfortunate' choices. In effect, this responsibilzation obscures (or renders invisible) social factors and processes and disqualifies questions of advantage/disadvantage" (Bruckert, 2009, personal communication).

which success is realized. Further, attention to return to prison means that many studies limit themselves to studying prisoners who receive short sentences. For this reason, and others which will be discussed in the next chapter, the longer term prisoner and his years after prison are neglected.

Next, in order to make sense of the experiences the former prisoners shared, it is necessary to situate these within a theoretical framework. In the third chapter, I will introduce the three theories which will be employed throughout the analytic portion of the work and demonstrate how they can be integrated together to guide the analysis. I will draw on two theories which are often applied within criminology (governmentality and social interactionism) and incorporate a third approach found within critical human geography. It will be argued that geographic concerns are fully implicated in all social interplays and governance regimes and there is a need to attend to this entanglement. In this way, we can envision spatiality, techniques of governance and the interaction rituals as a trialectic (Soja, 1996, p.73) which surrounds the (ex)prisoner and influences all of his experiences.

In the fourth chapter, the critical scholarship (Kobayashi, 2001) approach which was employed to conduct this research and the methodological issues which arose in making this choice will be discussed. This section will also attend to the links between theoretical orientation and choice of methods and will demonstrate the importance of weaving these two elements together in research design. The discussion will address the specific techniques that were used to obtain the data and to interpret it and since every research approach has limitations, the caveats of this method will also be explored.

Having established the academic, theoretical and methodological context, the next

two chapters will provide the reader with an overview of the general processes involved in being released from prison and in staying out in the community. These chapters are included to provide the reader with a sense of the journey travelled by these men on their way to realizing post-carceral success. In the first of these chapters, we will see that the process of release involves both mental preparation and participation in official processes which are designated by legislation. In the second chapter, the ex-prisoners' negotiation of their post-carceral life will be addressed and the definition of success from the perspective of respondents considered. In these chapters, the non-linearity and the individual specificity of the processes will be highlighted and the multitude of strategies used by these men to successfully negotiate their release, reentry and resettlement will be discussed.

Following these 'journey' chapters, the dissertation will shift direction and, through the consideration of the three key areas (geography, identity and resistance), will apply the integrated theoretical framework to make sense of the experiences of these former long-term prisoners. The first of these chapters will seek to place critical human geography into what has traditionally been an exclusively criminological discussion. By focusing on sense of place, I will argue that geographic components inform the men's feelings of vulnerability, disaffiliation, security and freedom. We will see that the ex-prisoner's ability to find places of belonging are strongly implicated in their successful resettlement and that spatial regulation, in some cases, hinders the men.

The following chapter on identity and stigma will explore the tensions between the men's self concept and the dominant image presented of his 'type'. Far from being blank canvases onto which a public identity is painted, the men actively engage with the creation

of both public and private personas. The men engage in multiple strategies for managing their public identities based on the various forms of capital to which they have access. In this section, I will agree with DeCelis (1982) and Robert & Faugeron (1980) who asserted that media representations should not be confused with collective conscience or with the notion that a singular 'public opinion' on criminality exists. This research will demonstrate that non-criminalized individuals and agents of the state often react differently to the ex-prisoner and this draws attention to the idea that discretion is exercised by people when they choose whether to affirm or refute the essentialization of the 'other'.

The final analytic chapter will explore resistance by the (ex)prisoner and discuss how it influences the release process and the post-carceral experiences. We will see that the ability to exert agency within the relations of power is not limited to the prison environment but instead, continues throughout the ex-prisoners reentry and resettlement. By examining the men's stories, it is clear that resistance takes multiple forms (some more obvious than others) depending on the social, economic and personal capital available to each individual. Further, the importance of their engagement is not always measured by the success in meeting the original objective but more aptly, can simply be about the men assuming some control within various situations.

By way of concluding this dissertation, I will argue that more attention on success is needed within the field of criminology. I also assert that the neglect of place within the discipline is problematic and we should give greater consideration to spatiality and the way that place is experienced and controlled. The implications of these findings for policy and practice will also be discussed and suggestions for improvement offered.

This research also points to the idea that research can contribute to a shift in discourses and through this dissertation, I hope to demonstrate that even after years of incarceration, heightened regulation and surveillance, worries of stigmatization and removal of certain abilities, former long-term prisoners are able to not just survive, but to thrive in the community.

There is life after prison.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

The language which the powerful use to deal with chronic social problems like crime is very special in its banality. Invariably, it tries to convey choice, change, progress, and rational decision making. Even if things stay much the same, social-control talk has to convey a dramatic picture of breakthroughs, departures, innovations, milestones, turning points – continually changing strategies in the war against crime. All social policy-talk has to give the impression of change even if nothing new is happening at all.

(Cohen, 1985, pp.157-158)

A review of the literature on any given topic needs to consider that publications emerge rather than appear. As Foucault (1995) demonstrated in *Discipline and Punish,* it is useful to contemplate the various contingencies which occurred so we can better understand the conditions of possibility under which discourses emerge and become dominant. Rather than being a reflection of the 'Truth', the literature that is produced and published is influenced by a multitude of forces which concurrently permit and omit some knowledge. Following this logic, it is useful for this chapter to begin by drawing upon Cohen (1985) who examined the history of 'control talk' and proposed that there have been two major shifts in deviance control which affect the language and approaches used in the literature.

The first shift starts in the nineteenth century and reflects the optimism of the time. Reformers were filled with the prospect of ameliorating the criminalized individual and this trend leads to what Cohen (1985) referred to as a period of "good (but complicated) intentions - disastrous consequences"(p. 19). [12] The current era begins in the mid-1960s and emerged from the frustration with the apparent gaps between policy and practice in the previous period and the increased levels of pessimism over achieving the established goals.

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[12] Cohen (1985) also refers to this as the "we blew it" version of history (19).

Cohen (1985) referred to this later time as a period of "discipline and mystification" which is dominated by an "it's all a con" mentality (p. 21). The Zeitgeist of this period is one of cynicism – efforts to make change in the criminal justice apparatus were illusory, rhetoric was empty and real change was not going to occur. The penal justice apparatus was seen to have failed to achieve the reformative and rehabilitative goals of the past and as a result, expectations of it were lowered (Feeley & Simon, 1992). The notion of a strong centralized state was challenged and this shift in beliefs ultimately led to the visibility of control becoming more diffused, while a focus on the behaviour of those criminalized was retained.

At this point in the chapter, it is useful to also incorporate the work of Savelsberg & Flood (2004) who, based on a content review of the literature published between 1951 and 1993, asserted two major factors influenced their writings. The first factor, was the aforementioned ideological, sociological and correctional context in which they were produced. In this case, these publications occurred during the shift from rehabilitation to administration. The second factor was the effect of academic cohorts who were educated and trained in one era and then began their publishing careers shortly thereafter. The authors contended that the "penal state cohort" (Savelsberg & Flood, 2004, p. 1018), who graduated in the 1970s and 1980s, conducted far less research on the causes of criminal behaviour and focused more on control. This specific concentration resulted in more publications from this perspective.

In order to focus this literature review, I will draw upon Cohen (1985) and Savelsberg & Flood's (2004) periodizations; therefore, this chapter will contain its

consideration to the research which emerged during the 'it's all a con period'[13] between 1965 through to 2007.[14] Before beginning this review, I want to place an additional parameter on the studies under consideration. Though there is a small body of literature produced during this period which dealt with female (ex)prisoners, (see for example, Carlen & Tombs, 2006; Geiger & Fisher, 2003; Gelsthorpe & Sharpe, 2007; Harm & Phillips, 2001; Leverentz, 2006; Richie, 2001; Shantz & Frigon, forthcoming) these will generally be excluded from consideration in this chapter. This choice is deliberate and reflects a feminist belief that gender conditions imprisonment, release and reentry in significant ways that are, for the most part, beyond the scope of this work; however, where appropriate I will draw attention to the gendered implications in regard to the male experience of masculinities. I would argue that there is space available to develop a review of this female-focused body of literature, but to do so here, would be a disservice and would affirm the old notion that a consideration of criminalized women by criminological scholars can just be done as an add-on. However, where appropriate I will draw the reader's attention to notable works in this area.

This chapter will begin by briefly examining the first writings to emerge in the mid-1960s on the topic of prisoner release, reentry and resettlement and will move on to detail, in a more extensive way, the major foci of later works (1986-2007). The greater consideration of the later works is intentional since all but one of the men in this study were released from

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[13]Cohen (1985), p. 23.

[14]In order to review the corpus of literature, various electronic databases were consulted (eg. Criminal Justice Abstracts, Psychinfo, Sociological Abstracts, Scholars Portal, Dissertation database). Search terms employed were diverse in order to capture as broad a selection of materials as possible and included variations on terms such as: prisoner, parole, prison, recidivism, rehabilitation, convict, inmate, desistance and reintegration. In addition, reference lists from publications were used to generate further sources.

prison after 1985. Viewing the literature in these two distinct phases within the "it's all a con" period makes the shift from the medical and rehabilitative models in criminal justice to the current control and risk modalities evident and allows these works to be situated within the sociological context in which they were produced. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 provide a 'map' of the general shifts which are reflected in the literature.[15]

In this chapter, we will see the above mentioned transition (from optimism to cynicism) is neither immediate nor complete and that it takes several decades for the new rationalities to become dominant in the literature. Therefore, the optimism of the previous era will be evident in the early literature. In the research, concerns about the impact of long-term incarceration are reflected as are worries over the lack of deinstitutionalization and provision of aid to the incarcerated and released individual. Following this discussion, the main concepts found in the new penology will be explored and I will argue that the contemporary literature (past two decades) can best be understood within this frame. The discourses, objectives and techniques that are characteristic of the new penology become evident in the literature on prisoner release, reentry and resettlement. Specific attention will be drawn to the bodies of literature on prediction, motivation, treatment, programming and structure. Finally, I will concur with the quote from Cohen (1985) which opened this chapter and will further argue that while a shift in language and goals is evident, this movement does not result in a complete transformation in focus. The chapter will conclude by asserting that there are theoretical, methodological and conceptual holes in the extant literature which leave the field open for further exploration.

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[15] Appendix A contains a table of the chronology of writings.

Figure 2.1. Context of Early Literature

Phase 1
(Mid-1960s – Mid-1980s)

Liberal Reform Residuals
characterized by bifurcation of penal justice system

Interventions at   ———————   Interventions at
'Hard End'   'Soft End'

Leads to literature on

| Imprisonment | Assistance & Diversion |

- Impact of
  long-term
  incarceration

- Therapy
- Immediate post-prison
  needs
- Social support
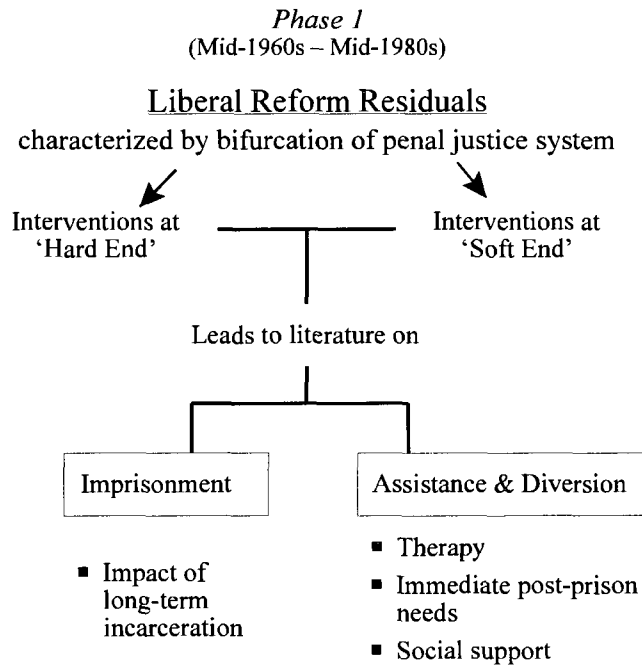
Phase 1 - Liberal Reform and the (ex)convict: Responding to Good Intentions

The 1960s and 1970s have been characterized as a period of immense social change

with a strong impulse towards destructuring (Cohen, 1985). Attacks were launched against

a repressive state and the movement towards more humane, inclusive and community-driven

responses to crime and deviance gained momentum at the level of rhetoric. In practice,

however, since the state could not be seen as lax on crime, the 'hard end' or more serious

crimes were attended to while the 'soft end' was addressed in the way the 'good intentions'

rhetoric permitted. This split, according to Cohen (1985) created conflict and contradiction

and resulted in what Pratt (1999) referred to as a bifurcation of the system. On one end of the

correctional continuum, less serious types of crimes received interventions that aimed to

keep the most 'deserving' out of the correctional apparatus by expanding diversion. On the

other end of the continuum, those convicted of serious crimes were locked away in prisons, for increasingly long sentences.[16] The literature which emerged at this time mirrored this division as some considered the impact of long-term imprisonment on the individual while others focused on aiding those who were amenable to behavioural change and could be assisted in reintegration.

Introduction of the Long-termer

In the literature that emerged during this period, there was a growing recognition that increasingly long prison terms created a specific group of convicts who had particular requirements both in and outside of the prison. In Canada, this focus manifest after the abolition of Capital Punishment and with the implementation of the Life sentence which created a new category of long-term prisoner who would become known as 'Lifers'. Likewise, other countries experienced an increase in both imprisonment and the length of sentences (Christie, 2004, Garland, 2001, Wacquant, 2001). Researchers such as McKay, Jayewardene & Reedie (1979), Pearce (1970) and Banister, Smith, Heskin & Bolton (1973) considered the negative impact of long periods of incarceration[17] while others attempted to create profiles of these long-term prisoners (Gunn, Nicol, Griswood & Foggits 1973[18]) or to explore the area of the long-term prisoners' parole (James, 1971). Duration of imprisonment was considered a major issue in this literature but in more recent works, temporality was

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[16]Cohen (1985) argues that, despite the rhetoric, the system actually becomes more interventionist. He states that ". . . the use of community alternatives actually causes an overall system extension, which might not otherwise have occurred" (p. 49).

[17]McKay, Jayewardene & Reedie (1979) predicted greater prisonization among long-term prisoners and anticipated that this could have ". . . deleterious consequences for the successful re-integration of the inmate" (p. 122).

[18]This trend continues. For example, Weekes (1992) provides a profile of the Canadian long-term prisoner through the use of statistical profiling.

rarely situated as a variable for consideration.[19] Instead, at that time contemporary studies either focussed exclusively on those who have served short prison terms or included both long and short-term (ex)prisoners.

Focus on Assistance

Cohen (1985) argued that by the mid-1960s there had been a return to behaviourism which focused on the individual's actions rather than attempting to change the prisoner's "attitudes or whole person" (p.145). In the studies which occurred between 1965 and 1985 there appeared to be a tension between the dominant bio-psychological approaches that were residuals from the earlier neo-positivist period and the emerging strain, social learning and social control paradigms. As a result, the primary foci of inquiry during this period was on either the individual's cognitive or intellectual abilities (see Banister et al., 1973; Ekland-Olson, Supanic, Campbell & Lenihan, 1983), the strains of release and social factors related to recidivism (see Cordern, Kuipers & Wilson, 1978; Dale, 1976; Hylton, 1981; Liker, 1981) or some combination of the two (see Blackler, 1968; Gunn, et al., 1973; Liker, 1981; Waller, 1974). Much of the research of this period was concerned either with easing the impact of imprisonment or facilitating reintegration, and in many of these studies, a qualitative approach (mostly through interviews with prisoners or parolees) was utilized as a primary data collection technique or as a means to triangulate other data. This methodological

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[19]This inattention leads to a consideration of the disjuncture between practice and research. For example, Hucklesby & Worrall (2007) argued that most resettlement services in Britain were directed at either long-termers or dangerous offenders yet, there is very little research which examines the former long-term prisoners post-release experiences. Interestingly, Williams, Atherton & Sharp (2007) did attempt to focus on long-termers in their study of black and ethnic minority prisoners but found that access to short-termers was much easier and as a result, this group was, despite the researchers' intentions, over-represented in their sample.

choice is not surprising since ethnomethodological, autobiographical[20] and other approaches

which centre the subject became acknowledged as valid sources of knowledge in the arts and

social sciences during this time (Smith, 2000). These methods are particularly notable

because in the body of work that emerges after the mid-1980s the use of qualitative

approaches declines as the social, economic and political milieus become dominated by the

new penology (Feeley and Simon, 1992).

A great deal of the research generated during this early period concentrated on the

needs of prisoners immediately after release from prison. In these studies, financial

(including ability to find affordable housing) and employment concerns were the focus and

many examined either the ex-prisoners' need to find work or the applicability of training

received from the correctional services (Cordern et al., 1978; Dale, 1976; Eckland-Olson et

al., 1983; Erickson, Crow, Zurcher Jr. & Connett, 1973; Hattem, Normandeau & Parent,

1982; Liker, 1981; Maguire, Flanagan, & Thornberry, 1988; Orsagh & Chen, 1988; Pearce,

1970; Waller, 1974; Wengard, 1984). The literature reflected the transitory nature of this

early period as we see a continued focus on the individual's behaviours while, at the same

time, authors positioned social structure as having a strong influence on certain behaviours.

Studies which examined the structural impediments to social mobility and/or economic

stability emerged. For example, Hattem, Normandeau & Parent (1982) considered whether

the presence of a criminal record impacted on an individual's ability to obtain employment

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[20]Unfortunately, the voices of those with lived experience are almost exclusively found in the literature on the prison or release experience and rarely in the resettlement work. This is a trend which continues today with very few autobiographical or ethnographic works continuing beyond the period of incarceration. Where the voices of ex-prisoners are heard (see for example, Murphy, Johnsen & Murphy, 2002) stories are presented but analysis is not offered.

and their findings suggested that factors external to the individual (e.g. sector, size of company, recruitment strategies) had an effect on this compentency.[21]

Another issue that was examined closely was social support, often familial, following release (Blackler, 1968; Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974; Cordern et al., 1978; Dale, 1976; Erickson et al., 1973; Hylton, 1981; Irwin, 1970; James, 1971; Landreville, Blankevoort & Pires, 1981; Liker, 1981; Maguire et al., 1988; Studt, 1967; Waller, 1973, 1974; Wengard, 1984). In these studies, focus was primarily on how family support could emotionally, financially and psychologically assist the prisoner during his release and reintegration. This centring of social support and the earlier concentration on the immediate post-release needs is also very much in keeping with the general social trends evident in the mid-1960s and 1970s. These studies mirror the ideological shift towards minimizing the role of the state and reemphasizing the role of community. Ultimately, this shift did not materialize in practice, since as we see in the coming section, the state increased its control via new technologies and monitoring strategies as the move towards an administrative criminology premised on risk became dominant.

Phase 2 – Discipline and Mystification: Risk and the (Ex)convict

The literature reviewed above emerged in the 'its all a con period' but, since no break is absolute or immediate, residuals from the preceding, more optimistic period could be seen. However, by the mid-1980s the literature appeared rooted in the more pessimistic spirit which is characteristic of the period that Cohen (1985) referred to as discipline and mystification. I suggest that we can best understand this body of literature as manifestations

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[21] This focus reappears in the later literature as well when researchers examine employers' willingness to hire ex-prisoners. For example, see Harris & Keller (2005).

of the new penology (Feeley & Simon, 1992). Therefore, in order to provide context to the literature from 1986 to 2007, this section of the chapter will begin by providing an overview of the discourses, objectives and techniques characteristic of new penology.

Figure 2.2. Context of Contemporary Literature

Phase 2
(Mid-1980s – 2008)

Discipline & Mystification

characterized by

New Penology ———————— Responsibilization

Leads to literature on

Risk Assessment

- Sorted by crime
- Sorted by sentence

Motivation

- Desire
- Redemption
- Disenfranchise-ment
- External

Treatment

- PTSD
- Addiction
- Cognitive skills
- Therapy

Programming

- Evaluation

Structural Intervention

- Geographic structures
- Economic structures

New Discourses and New Objectives

The discourse of risk (borrowed from economic and medical disciplines) was predominant in the literature that emerged in criminology from the mid-1980s forward. In these works a search for an algorithm to predict and control consequences that would arise out of a present (in)action was evident. This activity is linked to the major discourse of the new penology, which is one of management rather than transformation (Feeley and Simon,

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1992). To better understand this discursive shift, it is useful to borrow a car accident analogy from Robert (2001). Car accidents occur and if we are operating under the optimism of the good intentions period, we would speak of eliminating these. Conversely, risk discourse is premised on Bayesian constructs which positions risk as being perpetually present but in varying degrees. The language used is of minimization, control and management (Clear & Cadora, 2001). Under risk rationality there is an acceptance that car accidents will occur and we need to ". . . maximiz[e] areas where knowledge – and hence control – are possible while avoiding areas that are less known and less predictable" (Garland, 2003, p. 68). The discourse is not about whether we need to drive but merely how to do so with the least collateral damage. We attempt to mitigate the impact of accidents by instituting protective measures (like seatbelts) to minimize and make the consequences manageable.

The second major discourse that dominated the period was responsibilization and this runs parallel to the risk discourses considered under the new penology. Governmentality scholars have posited that in neo-liberal society, the individual within the social body must be activated to participate in their own governance. As Pratt (1999) points out ". . . this has involved moving the general burden of risk management away from the state and its agencies and onto the self, in partnership with non-state forms of expertise and governance" (p. 141). To return to our car accident analogy, the individual is required to wear his seatbelt, buy a vehicle with airbags, and avoid driving in 'non-optimal' conditions, else they be considered blameworthy.

Discourses are entangled with practices and objectives which embed them in social

life. According to Feeley and Simon (1992) there is a new ". . . primacy given to the efficient control of internal system processes in place of the traditional objectives of rehabilitation and crime control" (p. 450) and this approach has been the dominant criminological focus over the past 15 years. The objective is no longer eliminating crime, but rather, restricting it to tolerable levels. We meet this goal by reducing the likelihood of recidivism through the discovery and prevention of risk inducing factors or through creation and installation of protective factors.

This dual focus in objectives helps to maximize predictability and positions programs, policies and structural initiatives as both responsive and prophylactic and, arguably, seeks to allow Correctional Services Canada, the National Parole Board (NPB) and other parts of the penal justice apparatus, as much *control* as is necessary to prevent re-offending (Thurber, 1998). We find *The Reducing Reoffending National Action Plan* from Britain exemplifying the state's reliance on both risk reduction and prevention action. Under this policy social service agencies are required to utilize their expertise to focus on "seven pathways"to crime[22] (Lewis, Maguire, Raynor, Vanstone & Vennard, 2007). By invoking the pathways image, one can envision a helpless rogue wondering down a road just waiting for the path to be turned for him (protective factors) or to fall into the potholes (risk factors) of criminal opportunity.[23] The role of the state, and the agencies it funds, is to implement strategies which operate on both contributory and protective factors in order to

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[22]The seven pathways are: mental and physical health; drugs and alcohol; children and families of offenders; attitudes, thinking and behaviour; accommodation; education, training and employment; finance and benefits and debt.

[23]Interestingly this pathway or road image is often invoked in the literature. See, for example, Maruna & Immarigeon (2004), McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich (2001), Reisig, Holtfreter & Morash (2006), Rich & Grey (2005) and Scott, Lurigio & Dennis (2003).

control behaviour and meet the new objective. This is quite interesting since, while there is the residual rhetoric of desire for minimal state involvement (especially at the 'soft end' of the criminal justice system) there is a concurrent 'law and order' trend consistent with a more neo-conservative approach.

It is useful at this point to produce an example through which we cannot illustrate the shift in objectives and as Mary (2007) has pointed out, parole is a logical choice since it has recently been at the centre of reforms. Under the new penology, parole is not challenged in terms of its necessity but rather, state-sponsored researchers seek to pinpoint how to best maintain control and demonstrate the efficacy of the system;[24] the effect of this is two-fold.[25] First it repositions parolees being returned to prison, not as a failure of the system, but as "... evidence of [the] efficiency and effectiveness of parole as a control apparatus" (Feeley & Simon, 1992, p. 455)[26] which must continue to refine its techniques. Enhanced parole supervision[27] is conceived of as a way of ensuring that, through increased surveillance, there is less chance of an ex-prisoner re-offending and this is in keeping with the new penology. An example of this approach is offered by Britain's Prolific Offender Strategy. Under this

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[24]Robert (2001) has traced the emergence of this shift in Canada and points to the Daubney Report (1988) as the first example of the centering of public concern and perception and the need to integrate fear of future conduct (justifying the use of predictive tools) into parole decisions.

[25]Studt (1967) predicted that the effect of the shift away from treatment and onto surveillance would mean that the measure of efficiency for the parole officer would also be transformed. Specifically, the protective dimension inherent in this new approach quantifies success as a measure of those individuals caught in violation. In the rehabilitative model efficiency was measured in terms of those *not* returned to prison and this shifts the standards by which the parole officer will be judged.

[26]Arguably, the effect of this position is to increase and expand the use of imprisonment since we know that the vast majority of those parolees who are returned to prison are there, not for new crimes, but for violations of parole conditions (e.g. abstaining from alcohol or breaking curfew).

[27]Enhanced supervision includes more frequent reporting and takes advantage of new technologies such as electronic monitoring and on-demand drug testing (Travis & Petersilia, 2001).

initiative, a re-conviction reduction target of 15% per year has been implemented and this has led to ". . . more emphasis . . . upon the monitoring and surveillance of high-risk offenders than on their resettlement and reintegration" (Kemshall, 2007, p. 273). As McMurray (1993) pointed out, trends like this one have resulted in parolees feeling monitored rather than assisted and Mary (2007) claimed that because of this shift, some prisoners avoided parole and wait to the end of their sentence instead of trying for early release. The objective of greater control is achieved by increased monitoring which, at least in principle, prevents illegal conduct while it simultaneously detects and punishes those who do not comply. Success and failure both become framed as measures of the efficacy of increased control.

Secondly, in order to mesh with the social desire to evade possible harm and given the limited reach of the state, paroled individuals and the general public must participate and cooperate. As governmentality scholars have clarified, the individual citizen is responsibilized to protect themselves and the social body and I argue that this obligation is true for both the incarcerated and the free citizen. While studies conducted during the rehabilitative era demonstrated a focus on the individual as the target of interventions designed to *assist* him, there is a transformation in which, rather than framing the individual as being in need of aid, he is responsibilized and required to accept programming to learn to manage his own imputed dangerousness (Robert, 2001). As Hannah-Moffat (2005) argued, this new objective manifests at the day-to-day level as ". . . offenders are placed in a variety of generic programs designed to target the need area, enhance their ability to self-govern, and prudently manage their risk of recidivism" (p. 41). As a result, risk reduction emerged

as the primary focus of corrections and the goal became affecting individual behaviour so risk decreased. However, a disjuncture in the discourses and objectives and accompanying practices is apparent because as Austin (2001) has noted, we require individuals to self-regulate their behaviour while not trusting them to do so.

We also see that the objectives under the new penology require the creation of roles in order to achieve the emergent goals. As Hannah-Moffat (2005) suggested, the newly created 'risk manager' role is adopted and in the case of evaluation research, multiple people assume this job. That is, the evaluator/researcher is placed in a dual role whereby she/he is, through evaluation of the program, a prudent risk/needs manager while at the same time, evaluating others who are seen to be doing this on a daily basis within their individual programs. This multiple tasking is in keeping with the principle of dispersal that is highlighted in the work of governmentality scholars; not only must the 'risky' subject be responsibilized, but the population must also be mobilized to manage the risk by ensuring the program outcomes are optimized. This is an endeavour which the Task Force on Reintegration of Offenders (1997) argued was more difficult to enact and discuss than designing assessment tools. It is to a discussion of these tools, and other techniques, to which we turn.

New Techniques

The above mentioned discourses and objectives are accompanied by new techniques through which they can be realized in practice. In this era, expectations of success are lowered and attention is directed towards the development of more cost-effective technologies to manage crime. As such, under the new penology one manifestation of the

desire to make risk predictable and manageable is the development of quantifiable

"inventor[ies] of risks to be avoided" (Beiras, 2005, p. 175). Much of the literature of the

late 1980s through to the present, adopted the position that reliance on the opinions of

professionals in individual cases was no longer an acceptable strategy for managing risk.

Case managers were no longer meant to exclusively use their professional judgment in

determining an individual's readiness to be released from prison since this technique was

subject to human error, manipulation by individuals and, of course, some unpredictability.

As Foucault (1980a) argued these non-scientific knowledges become "... disqualified as

inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated" (p. 82). They become seen as "naive

knowledges, [which are] located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of

cognition or scientificity" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 82).

Instead, priority under this new penology is afforded to certainty, non-randomness

and, perhaps more importantly, erring on the side of false positives (Clear & Cadora, 2001).

This need for predictability is stressed in training manuals and guides for practitioners which

emphasize the importance of relying on objectively measured factors in order to ensure

success (see for example, Bogue, Nandi & Jongsma, 2003). Focus is on variables (both

malleable or fixed) which might contribute to failure (defined as future recidivism).

To this end, new technologies (such as the Level of Service Inventor-Revised,

Community Intervention Scale or Reintegration Potential Reassessment, computerized data

banks and drug testing capabilities)[28] were developed with the goal of "... provid[ing] a

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[28]For example, "the LSI-R is a quantitative survey of offender attributes and their situations relevant to level of supervision and treatment decisions. . . . the LSI-R helps predict parole outcome, success in correctional halfway houses, institutional misconducts, and recidivism. The 54 items are based on legal requirements and include relevant factors needed for making decisions about risk and treatment. . . .The LSI-R can be used . . . to assist in the allocation of resources, help make decisions about probation and placement, make appropriate security level

standard and tested risk criterion for decision-makers to employ under conditions of uncertainty" (Clear & Cadora, 2001, p. 55). As Sullivan (2001) has pointed out, this approach is premised on a commercialized conception of the business of corrections[29] where the consumer "gets what they deserve" (p. 39). If the public is seen as deserving as much safety as possible then the prisoner's risk of recidivating must be considered as a threat to be foreseen and minimized.

It is further evident that, as a result of this actuarialization, the subjective elements of the system (such as parole boards) become constructed as incidental or expendable (see Smith, 2003; Travis, 2000, 2001) and discussions around the techniques of 'fixed sentencing' or 'truth in sentencing' gain discursive and policy momentum. For example, in the United States, to encourage this non-flexible approach, Congress introduced legislation and financial incentives to meet 'truth in sentencing' goals (Ditton & Wilson, 1999). In Canada, rather than adopting completely determined sentences, the trend has been towards implementing more mandatory minimum sentences; this approach is evidenced in the Fall 2007 Throne Speech in which the government pledged to introduce the "Tackling Violent Crime Bill" which included more mandatory prison sentences for those who commit gun crimes. These initiatives can be seen as removing judicial discretion and, as Feeley and Simon (1992) have asserted, this reflects a the shift in correctional ethics from a

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classifications, and assess treatment progress." (Andrews & Bonta, 1995, np). Similarly, CSC states that "Reintegration Potential Reassessment is based on the Statistical Information on Recidivism - Revised 1 (SIR-R1) scale, the level of intervention based on static factors, the level of intervention based on dynamic factors, the security reclassification scale outcome and the level of motivation." (Cormier, 1997, np)

[29]This capitalist structure has been referred to in the literature as the 'prison industrial complex' (Schlosser, 1998).

humanitarian and reform approach toward a less individualistic 'warehousing ethic'. This ethic is based on the sorting and programming of bodies according to assessments of risk.

The New Penology Reflected

In the next section we will return to the literature to consider how, within the context sketched above, these shifts are reflected in studies from the mid-1980s to the present. We will explore the release, reentry and resettlement literature which examined: 1) risk assessment, 2) the criminalized individual's motivation to behave in a law abiding manner after imprisonment, 3) approaches to treatment, 4) programming and 5) the role of social structures in reducing risk.

Risk Assessment

In both the government publications and the academic literature,[30] we see that a prisoner's future reentry is judged, not against their own progress and ability, but against the past behaviors of ex-convicts presented as an actuarial norm. (See Austin, 2001; Barnett, Blumstein & Farrington, 1989; Barry, 2000; Christie, 2004; Clear & Dammer, 2000; deVogel, de Ruiter, van Beek & Meed, 2004; Doren, 2006; Grant, Motiuk, Burnet &

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[30]In this review, the literature and studies published by the government and those published in academic journals are not always separated. The decision to keep these works integrated reflects the coupling of the academic discipline and the objectives of the various ministries. Rarely do we have a variation in the themes addressed in the two types of empirical studies over a period, nor do we see the authors of government reports publishing 'in house' exclusively. For example, both the Department of Justice and Correctional Services Canada have their own researchers who publish in academic journals while they also hire academics to author reports for their own publications. For example, in 2001, Jeff Latimer an employee of the Department of Justice, co-authored a document for his employer titled "The effectiveness of restorative justice practices: A meta-analysis". In 2005, he (and the same co-authors) published an article in *The Prison Journal* which is a shorter version of this initial report which even has the same title. Further, the material put out in publications like *Forum*, get informally reviewed by scholars who cite them in their own works. Thus, while government publications are not subject to an official peer review process, I argue that they achieve this status defacto by the integration of these materials into reputable journals. Further, I would argue that the studies which are published often receive funding from these government departments and as such, frequently run tangentially to the direction of the government at the time.

Lefebrve 1996; Luciani, Motiuk & Nafekh, 2004; Maruna, 2001; McMurray, 1993; Motiuk & Nafekh, 2000; O'Connor, Ryan & Parikh, 1998; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Simon,1993; Taxman, Young & Byrne, 2004; Travis, 2000, Travis & Petersilia, 2001). In order to derive the tables against which the individual will be judged, it was necessary to sort and classify types of criminals and crimes, and this task was a feature of much of the risk assessment literature. Ostensibly, the quantitative sorting of criminals by various factors, gives the impression of greater attention to detail and increased omnipotence and becomes a way of deploying the technique rationally. As a result, we see that some studies grouped individuals by the type of crime committed and then attempted to analyze the factors which led to the crime so that these could be manipulated or managed. For example, Gottlieb and Gabrielsen (1990) and Schwaner (1998) focussed on those individuals convicted of violence, homicide or manslaughter and their risk of re-offending.[31] Other researchers examined recidivism factors related to sex-offenders (Doren, 2006; Fazel, Sjostedt, Langstrom & Grann, 2006; Hanson, Scott & Steffy, 1995; Kruttschnitt, Uggen & Shelton, 2000; Sjostedt & Langstrom, 2001). Some studies attempted to create profiles of the 'typical' offender of x crime[32] and while this was be presented as merely creating a description, it begs the question 'to what end?' Arguably, these typologies provide a template upon which risk assessment tools can be generated and future parole decisions made.

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[31]This focus also occurred in the government reports of the era. For example see Correctional Services Canada (1992).

[32] See for example Motiuk & Nafekh (2000) for a profile of long-term prisoners, or CSC (1995) for a typology of armed robbers.

Other studies examined risk in relation to length of prison term (Porporino, 2004; Smith, Goggin & Gendreau, 2002) and asserted that longer criminal sentences may actually increase the likelihood of post-release recidivism.[33] Porporino's (2004) meta-analysis argued that this outcome was not because incarceration was in itself detrimental to the mental or emotional functioning of the individual prisoner. Rather, he argued that 'pre-existing vulnerabilities' became evident as a result of incarceration and therefore, risk factors existed at the micro-individual rather than structural level.

These studies can be critiqued on numerous fronts including their over-generalized application, reliance on positivism and loss of experiential knowledge. For example, Gagliardi, Lovell, Peterson & Jemelka (2004) challenged the general imposition of risk scales. These authors contended that the applicability of generic scales to the mentally ill prisoner exemplified the error of homogenetic applications. Their conclusions were based on a review of Washington state records in which they found individual files were as effective as the more complex generalized risk tools in forecasting recidivism (Gagliardi et al., 2004). Interestingly, while generic application was challenged by some researchers,[34] the actuarial aspects of tool development was not. Instead, expansion of actuarialism has occurred as *specific* tools were developed for use with *particular* populations.

A second critique is that, in developing ever greater specificity, these studies rely on positivist tendencies which remove the subject from consideration and transform him into an

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[33]Given this information, how then can we make sense of the fact that, according to most statistics, most long-termers do not recidivate? Can this be simply attributed to maturational effects? Without an ethnographic consideration of resettlement where temporality is a considered variable, it is difficult to postulate an answer.

[34]See for example Lowenkamp, Latessa & Holsinger, (2006) for a discussion of the validity of the level of service inventory-revised with criminalized Native Americans.

object to be scrutinized. Rooted in notions of objectivism, determinism and absolutism, the experience or individual-level interpretation of these risk factors cannot be considered. For example, based on probability tables, a person's childhood sexual victimization[35] is considered to be a factor which can contribute negatively to future conduct; the individual's own interpretation and utilization of the event(s) is not afforded legitimacy as a predictor of behaviour. Importantly, there is an absence of studies which attempt to understand the subjective experience of imprisonment. For example, that duration of imprisonment conditions post-release experiences is only considered in relation to risk factors that can then be scaled. The *experience* of release, reentry and resettlement after lengthy confinement is not considered in these quantitative approaches and leaves a significant void in the literature.

In summary, the risk literature that emerged between 1986 and 2007 was dominated by the desire to improve the tools of prediction and to increase their levels of precision. Greater specificity and classification occurred without much consideration of the philosophy which lay beneath. While these works were primarily concerned with developing quantitative measures, another major part of the literature was devoted, not to the objectively based goals above, but to the less concrete area of (ex)prisoner motivation.

Motivation

A great deal of attention in the literature during this period was placed on the (ex)prisoner's motivations wherein, the problem of re-offending was located within the person's (in)ability to choose (not) to commit crime. This positioning of responsibility is in keeping with the techniques of governance which require self-regulation and as Cruikshank

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[35]This variable is a particularly gendered phenomenon since proportionally more women disclose a history of sexual abuse than do men and this is particularly evident in the Canadian prison population.

(1999) argued, helps to defray social costs by responsibilizing the individual to self-actualize.

Thus, a prisoner's motivation became a point for consideration. The literature of this period demonstrates a concern with those factors that may have led an individual towards criminal behaviour or distracted him from becoming an esteemed member of society. There is a considerable body of literature which centres the released prisoner's actions (or external compliance) around their desire to not re-offend (Bazemore & Erbe, 2003; Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes & Muir, 2004; Brown, 2004; Burnett & Maruna, 2004; Byrne & Trew, 2005; Daugherty, Murphy & Paugh, 2001; Dhami, Ayton & Loewenstein, 2007; Gadd & Farrall, 2004; Gillis & Andrews, 2005; Maruna, Imarigeon & LeBel, 2004; McMurray, 1993; Nelissen, 1998; Piquero, MacDonald, Daigle, Dobrin & Cullen, 2005; Raynor, 2007; Uggen, Manza & Thompson, 2006; Ward & Brown, 2004). Through predominantly qualitative methods, these studies examined the relationships between recidivism, desistence, lack of pro-social psychological motivation and insufficient levels of social interest. In the next section, we will discuss the sub-groups of this literature which examined motivation 1) as a way of mitigating contributory risk factors, 2) as a way of overcoming stigma, 3) as being jeopardized by structural impediments and 4) as operating on the individual through external agents.

Motivation and Risk Mitigation

The first group of studies was aligned with the notion of the responsibilized citizen and spoke to how the individual had to 'want not to commit crime' in order to overcome the other factors that might contribute to his recidivism. Most of these studies operate under an

"offender responsibility" model (Raynor, 2007) wherein links are made between the individual's choices and internal thoughts. For example, McMurray (1993) interviewed young parolees who had served short sentences and the subjects reported wanting to have a 'change in lifestyle' and to being motivated to make this happen. Similarly, in their study of adult probationers, Bottoms et al. (2004) equated desistence with a forward-looking mentality in which the criminalized person sought out a better life than they had previously experienced. In another study, Besozzi (2000) argued that the loss of liberty could not be perceived as something which protected them from their everyday lives and which would undermine their motivation to 'make good'. Perhaps it should be expected that, in keeping with the need for efficacy, the mounting evidence on the importance of motivation led to work which sought to optimize its effects. For example, in Nelissen's (1998) study of prisoners in the Netherlands, he considered when, during a prison term, individuals are most motivated to 'reform' and, in reflecting the goal of efficiency and prudent management, he concluded that the beginning of a sentence was the best time to target the individual for intervention.[36] In these studies we see a focus, almost exclusively, on the individual being motivated to change and how this sentiment can be operationalized to mitigate against the multiple other risk factors the individual encounters.

Motivation and Stigma

Tangential to these studies is a second group, rooted in social constructionist and existentialist arguments, which based on interviews with prisoners or ex-prisoners, indicated that individuals were motivated to forge a new, untainted identity which allowed them to

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[36]This finding was thought to be especially applicable to cognitive programming (Nelissen, 1998).

become viewed as either 'reformed' or 'redeemed'[37] (Harding, 2003; Maruna, 1997; Maruna et al., 2004). In these works there was some recognition that the master status[38] of (ex)prisoner is one which is tainted and this creates a sense of purposelessness, or crisis in identity, which undermines motivation to desist from criminal activity or similar 'risky' activities (Ekland-Olson et al., 1983; Geiger & Fischer, 2003; Hagan & Coleman, 2001; Maruna, 1997). Making explicit the focus on behaviour that Cohen (1985) stressed were studies such as Uggen, Manza & Behrens (2004) who claimed that if the individual was motivated to adopt these reformed roles, he could become a ". . . productive and responsible citizen . . ."(p. 266) and this increased his likelihood of desisting.

Motivation and Structure

The third group of studies examined disenfranchisement and other legislative bans as factors which undermined the pro-social motivation of (ex)prisoners. While legislators conceived of disenfranchisement as a deterrent, the loss of the right to vote was shown in the literature to have the opposite effect as it made people more likely to recidivate. Scholars such as Brenner & Caste (2003), Travis & Petersilia (2001), Uggen, Manza & Thompson (2006) and Visher & Travis (2003) argued that retaining the right to full civic participation had the effect of increasing social attachment to society and should be seen as a protective factor. In the literature, this argument was extended to other legislative initiatives. For

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[37]This theme is also picked up in media accounts of those ex-prisoners who 'make good' and then want to 'give back' (see for example Robinson-Oliver, 2005 and Loya, 1997). In doing so, these individuals are set apart from other successful ex-prisoners because of their motivation to improve society. Not surprisingly, many of the efforts featured are framed as 'crime prevention' by the men themselves (i.e. 'if I can prevent a young man from doing the same thing as me . . . ') and are part of what Maruna (1997) has referred to as "redemption scripts" in which the individual accepts responsibility for his previous actions and now has a higher purpose.

[38]According to the Dictionary of Sociology (1994), "a master status of an individual is one which, in most or all social situations, will overpower or dominate all other statuses" (p.315)

example, Hagan & Coleman (2001) argued that legislation (such as the Safe Families Act of 1997 in the USA) designed to protect the children of felons by terminating parental rights had the effect of removing a protective factor, and hence, de-motivating the ex-felon. They argued that their identities as fathers and mothers were important to those returning to their communities and helped insulate them from contributory risk factors. Horner (2007), a prisoner in the USA wrote about how the state's program to provide mentors to children of prisoners is misguided since the incarcerated men need to feel part of their children's lives in order to maintain their motivation to get out of prison. This body of literature, as well as the one that follows, can aptly be described as falling under the "opportunity deficit" model (Raynor, 2007) wherein external factors impact upon the individuals ability and motivation to be law-abiding.

Motivation and Other External Factors

The focus on external motivating factors was present in the fourth section of this body of literature. As governmentality scholars have highlighted, the techniques of government have become dispersed and it is not surprising that, in addition to the broad community, we see the use of family emerge as a strategy of governance. Using a neo-Foucauldian approach, Silverstein (2001) argued that the family has become an inexpensive and ". . . fundamental instrument in governing troublesome populations" (p. 395). Indeed, we see that family support, or lack thereof, became a point of consideration in release planning as the state relied on the gaze of the family to keep the prisoner's post-carceral behaviour law-abiding. In the literature, lack of contact with or concern for family or children gets framed as a potential risk factor that could be targeted. (Mills & Codd, 2007;

Paylor & Smith, 1994; Visher & Travis, 2003). Some studies concluded that those without

children or family considerations or responsibilities were less inspired to abstain from

criminal activity (Hughes, 1998; Visher & Travis, 2003)[39] and others, in a quest to greater

specificity, assisted in prediction by clarifying that it was not the mere presence of a partner

or child but the *quality* of the relationship which mattered (Farrall & Bowling, 1999; Mulvey

& Aber, 1988; Rand, 1987; West, 1992). For the most part, these studies were premised on

social bond and attachment theories which hold that low commitment and attachment to

others correlated with deviant or criminal behaviour. Further generalizations were made in

some research to extend these theories and motivations to individuals who felt hopeless, had

low social interest or felt detached from society (Bazemore & Erbe, 2003; Burnett &

Maruna, 2004; Daugherty et al., 2001; McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath, 2004; Ryan, 2002).

As we would expect in a period of neo-liberalism, the community is positioned as

both responsible for and the site of governance and this is in keeping with N. Rose's (1996)

assertion that we have seen a shift from the social to the community. Some studies located

motivation as a part of a quest for self-actualization that needed to be encouraged by the

community to prevent re-offending (Gadd & Farrall, 2004; Maruna et al., 2004; Ward &

Brown, 2004). Studies by Celinska (2000), Cesaroni (2001), Clear & Dammer (2000) and

Hucklesby & Worrall (2007) indicated that volunteer involvement and links to the

community were the most important elements in programs designed to help with prisoners'

reintegration. This type of work positions the community as the source of social capital and

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[39]Some researchers have argued that the connection to family and children in particular, is gendered and that this is more evident and a greater motivator for women prisoners. Geiger and Fisher (2003), for example, argued that "motherhood is part of the centre of female offender's awareness . . . they idealized motherhood as a permanent and unchangeable essence . . ." (p. 510).

in so doing, these studies indicated that the community needed to be more strategically integrated into the reentry process of prisoners (Bazemore & Erbe, 2003; Hucklesby & Worrall, 2007; Marbley & Ferguson, 2005). We see in these works some consideration of the criminalized individual's opinions and this is important in terms of understanding how this social capital is experienced and used but, as we will discuss later in the chapter, this subject-centered approach is still rare with more attention on objectifying community characteristics.

While the researchers, whose work was presented in the previous section, framed their work as an examination of motivation, I argued that the discourses and objectives of the new penology permeated many of their considerations and this seepage also holds true for the majority of research which looked at treatment.

Treatment

Since the break from the rehabilitative model that dominated the literature in the 1960s and 1970s was not absolute, an ongoing focus on the treatment of the individual is evident in the works from the mid-1980s onward. We will discuss that while some studies adopted the earlier psy-based approaches and examined Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), most of the literature can be seen as examining the tools by which the individual can self-monitor his behaviour and reduce the risk that was present because of the individual's addictions or 'pathologies'.

There was a small body of clinical criminology literature concerned with the impact of incarceration on post-carceral coping. Qualitative researchers considered psychological traumas and in particular the presence of PTSD manifesting in ex-prisoners. Jamieson and

Grounds (2002; 2005) explored this issue in their work with the wrongfully convicted, as well as with political or long-term prisoners. These researchers found that the experience of being a prisoner was similar to being a soldier in war and as such, the prison experience itself was so damaging that it was difficult to resettle afterwards. Similarly, McEvoy et al.'s (2004) work with 100 ex-prisoners indicated that a high proportion of the subjects experienced PTSD symptoms and Irwin and Owen's (2005) field work in California prisons pointed to anger and frustration emerging out of the prison experience. PTSD also emerged in Visher, LaVigne & Travis's (2004) study of the process of reintegration for released prisoners in Baltimore. In this study, approximately 20% of the participants experienced PTSD symptoms within three months of release. While these studies prove to be a welcome exception to the risk dominated literature, one might envision a time when, like sexual victimization, the fact of having suffered in prison will be considered a risk factor to be integrated into prediction tables.

More common in the contemporary literature were studies which situated treatment not in terms of rehabilitative ideals but in terms of risk management. Specifically, addiction and drug use were framed as contributory risk factors that conditioned (un)successful reentry or resettlement. For example, Abbott, McKenna & Giles (2005) argued that gambling addictions could commence during imprisonment and therefore, treatment programming in prison needed to target this issue before release in order to prevent recidivism. The need to develop quantifiable predictive instruments led to evidence-based research to justify treatment approaches. For example, in Cartier, Farabee & Prendegast's (2006) study (in which they interviewed imprisoned people whose file indicated a history of substance use)

they concluded that methamphetamine use was a *statistically significant* factor in predicting recidivism and self-reported violent crime. Similarly, based on research with prisoners, ex-prisoners, their family members and community residents in Baltimore, Visher, Lavige & Travis's (2004) asserted those who received drug treatment in prison were less likely to use drugs after release and therefore concluded treatment mitigated the risk.

Also evident were studies which examined treatment through psychological counseling or cognitive skills intervention (Arditti & Few, 2006; DiPlacido, Simon, Witte, Gu & Wong, 2006; Irwin & Owen, 2005; McEvoy et al., 2004; Nelissen, 1998; Pogorzelski, Blitz, Wolff, & Pan, 2005; Porporino, 2004; Visher, LaVigne & Travis, 2004). The link to risk rationalities and the residual elements of the rehabilitative model were made explicit in some work. For example, in the DiPlacido et al. (2006) experimental study with incarcerated gang-affiliated men, they concluded that " . . . appropriate correctional treatment that follows the risk, needs and responsivity principles can reduce gang violence both in correctional institutions and the community, and *effective* correctional treatment should be considered as one of the approaches in the *management and rehabilitation* of incarcerated gang members" [*emphasis mine*] (DiPlacido, et al., 2006, p. 111). As these authors alluded to, treatment was only one area in the correctional plan which was developed to reduce the convicted person's chances of recidivism. Indeed, in contrast to risk inducing factors which needed treatment, we see that a consideration of other protective factors (those

which minimize jeopardy) emerged in the post 'nothing works' literature[40] and these writings addressed issues of programming and structural interventions.

Programming

One of the key principles of the actuarialization models is the need for accountability and this need became apparent in the literature which considered pre and post release programming. The rhetoric of accountability which so dominates government agendas[41] has lead to an increase in the prevalence of program evaluation literature. In these works, programs were subjected to evaluations of their efficacy and efficiency using the principles of evidence-based research[42] (see Cesaroni, 2001; Lewis et al., 2007; Millie & Erol, 2006; O'Connor, Ryan & Parikh, 1998; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Taxman, Young & Byrne, 2004). The crime-focused program evaluation literature mirrored risk assessment approaches as researchers developed tools to evaluate programs against other programs rather than on their own merits.[43]

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[40]In 1974, Martinson published and promoted a study he had done on intervention/rehabilitatively-oriented programs for the criminalized in which he concluded that "nothing works". While the content of the article was actually much more complex and nuanced, the title of the article became the major theme and dominated the discourse of the era.

[41]To demonstrate this priority, the current government's first initiative was to introduce a piece of legislation titled "The Federal Accountability Act" , the goal of which was to "ensure transparency and accountability to Canadians." (http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/feature.asp?pageId=41)

[42]Correctional Services Canada acknowledged that a manifestation of this quantification has been decreased enrollments of prisoners in programs and that this attrition "is partly attributable to CSC's efforts to address offender-specific needs, through the use of research-based, accredited programs" (CSC Performance Report, 2004). Therefore, it is evident in the literature that programs which were previously run in-house have disappeared, not because of their applicability, but because they were not suitability accountable or professionalized (CSC Performance Report, 2004).

[43]For example, Seiter & Kadela (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of prisoner re-entry programs to see if the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods (MSSM) for crime prevention could be applied to evaluate program efficacy.

The evaluation research focused primarily on either the economy of the programs or their potency. This body of research highlighted the particular strengths and weaknesses of programs for ex-prisoners (Celinska, 2000; Hercik, 2004; 2004a; O'Connor, Ryan & Parikh,1998; Smith, 2003; Smith, Goggin & Gendreau, 2002). One of the areas that was often examined in the program evaluation research was communication and coordination between agencies. Several studies indicated that risk could be minimized effectively if agencies shared information more regularly or in greater detail (Austin, 2001; Millie & Erol, 2006; Smith, 2003) but the effect of this on the ex-prisoner is not considered. She/he is simply objectified and the access to her/his file increased.

It was never problematized that these evaluations only provided a survey of programming and support available to ex-prisoners and that they were often too localized to be of use except to those running or planning to implement a similar program. Arguably what we see in this literature is a transition from 'nothing works' (Martinson, 1974) to the 'what works' (Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996) and now to 'what works best' in order to minimize, control and manage risk.

Within this body of literature a critique arose that challenged the need for objective criterion upon which to base program decisions. One problem noted in this literature was that only certain types of data were considered valid. For example, both O'Connor et al. (1998) and Mears, Roman, Wolff & Buck (2006) attempted to examine the impact of faith-based programs but found that the demand for evidence-based approaches meant that they had insufficient quantitative data to make accepted claims. The result of this need for quantification is problematic since at some level, it delegitimizes the experiential knowledge

that gained acceptance during the earlier years (mid-1960s-1985). The importance of centering the experiences of those at whom the program is aimed, was illustrated in the studies by Sabbath & Cowles's (1990) and Visher, LaVigne & Travis (2004). In both of these evaluative studies, the targets of the programming intervention had views which were in stark contrast to the other individuals who were interviewed.

While this body of work was concerned with how to provide direct services to (ex)prisoners, there is another body which looks at external, structural factors and the release, reentry and resettlement of (ex)prisoners.

Structural Intervention

In the parts of the literature concerned with structural level interventions, the management of risk is a persistent theme. Bottoms et al., (2004) defined structures as those ". . . social arrangements external to the individual which enable or limit action by that individual" (p. 372). Within these structures, power over situations was considered outside the control of the individual and intrusions into the individual's autonomy were seen as justifiable in order to prevent failure. As Savelsberg & Flood (2004) noted, these approaches focus on informal social controls but where these mechanisms were insufficient, ". . . demand for governmental control strategies [was] the logical conclusion" (p. 1021). Emerging largely out of the social disorganizational and social control approaches, work done in this area focused on the impact of environmental dereliction, housing, economic conditions and social controls. We will see that the contemporary literature used risk rationality to position spaces as either dangerous or suitable and also that the ex-prisoner experienced structural barriers to financial stability which in turn defined him as risky.

Dangerous Spaces and Suitable Environments.

Emerging through the early work of the social disorganization theorists[44] (see for example Burgess, 1916; Park, Burgess & McKenzie, 1925; Shaw and McKay, 1942), geographic concerns in criminology have largely focused on physical spaces and this continued through to the current social ecology strands of criminology (see for example, Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993, 2000; Greenberg, 1986; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006; Mustaine, Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006). Historically, geographers or criminologists examining structural variables focused on territorial communities (Willmott, 1987) as a cause or conduit of crime due to risk factors. This approach is in keeping with Cohen's (1985) idea that the focus on spatial patterning allowed for the creation of an area, and subsequently a group of people, to be targeted as dangerous. Following in this tradition, researchers like Baril (1977), Bursik (1986), Davidson (1981), Domenach & Gatti-Montain (1986), Greenberg (1986), Harries (1980), Kubrin & Stewart (2006), Linsky & Straus (1986), Maruna (2001), Stark (1987) and Taylor (1990) have linked delinquency and criminality with neighbourhood deterioration, housing types or availability or city size and composition.

The contemporary literature referred to policies which prohibited an individual from gaining parole if the neighbourhood to which he wanted to return was 'unsuitable' – defined as being high risk or dangerous. I contend that the notion of an *underclass* lays beneath the surface findings in much of this research. Feeley & Simon (1992) have argued that the underclass ". . . is viewed as permanently excluded from social mobility and economic

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[44]Also referred to as the Chicago School theorists.

integration . . . [and is characterized by racial and ethnic minorities] . . . living in

concentrated zones of poverty in central cities, separated physically and institutionally from

the suburban locus of mainstream social and economic life . . ." (p. 467).

Some researchers have examined the areas to which ex-prisoners return (by choice or

by legal restriction) and have argued that those defined as 'disorganized' or 'unstable' did

not protect the parolee from the structural elements which may have contributed to their

initial criminal act (Petersilia, 2001a, 2001b; Richie, 2001).[45] Austin & Hardyman (2004)

made the link between community and individuals under risk rationality when they wrote:

> . . . just as prisoners can be assessed along the dimensions of risk, needs, and
> stability, so too can the communities to which they are released from prison . . .
> Stable neighborhoods are more likely to have thriving businesses and effective
> neighborhood organizations as well as residents that know one another, interact on a
> regular basis, and look out for and protect each other's property. (p. 18)

Similarly, Travis, Solomon & Waul (2001) have claimed that the problem of recidivism is

exacerbated by the "the cycle of removal and return of large numbers of individuals, mostly

men, [which] is increasingly concentrated in a relatively small number of communities that

already encounter enormous social and economic disadvantages" (p. 1). The literature also

considered the lack of financially-supported social initiatives in these communities[46] as

increasing the riskiness of recidivism, and this has led some authors to question the wisdom

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[45]This study had a sample composed exclusively of women and is cited here because of its remarkable similarity
in findings to those which examined geographic impact on men.

[46]Availability of affordable housing is a factor that is addressed frequently in the literature (Baldry, McDonnell,
Maplestone, 2006; Dewan, 2007; Gates, Dowden & Brown, 1998, Harding & Harding, 2006; Nsanze, 2007;
Petersilia, 2001a; Roman & Travis, 2006; Wodahl, 2006). While halfway houses provide temporary shelter for
some parolees in Canada, in the long term or in areas where this service is not available, prisoners have
consistently identified finding suitable housing as a challenge. In some cases, prisoners experienced landlords
who did not want to rent to them because they were seen as risky (Harding & Harding, 2006) or because of low
vacancy rates (see Wodahl, 2006 for an examination of return to rural areas).

of returning prisoners to these areas (Blitz et al., 2005; Petersilia, 2001a, 2001b; Richie, 2001).[47]

Problematically, rather than acknowledging that it reified the dangerousness of an area, this work is positioned by the authors as examining protective elements of community. Forcing the ex-prisoner to move to an area that is more stable was seen as a mechanism to insulate him from potential criminal activity and thereby improve his chances of success (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). Indeed, Blitz et al. (2005), Clear, Rose & Ryder (2001), Petersilia (2001a) and Travis & Petersilia (2001) and have argued that the intersection between individual and community preparedness (in terms of communities' ability to meet health and financial needs) was key to successful reintegration. What is not questioned in the literature is whether the ideal community for return really exists. Drawing on Cohen (1985), we can argue that the research which questions the suitability of some neighbourhoods was premised on a quest for a community that was nostalgic rather than realistic and illuminated a focus on how life *should* be led rather than how *it is*.

Economic Considerations

Economic stability is an area that has received relatively constant attention throughout the 'it's all a con' period. In this section I will argue that the literature on education and vocational training, as well as those works which examine the ability to be financially self-sufficient, have undergone a shift which reflects the emergence of the new penology.

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[47]Race becomes a factor considered in many of these studies since many of the neighbourhoods to which these ex-prisoners will be returning are predominantly composed of racial and ethnic minority groups.

Prior to the shift to the new penology, the policies established by the government and research published by academics during the rehabilitative era showed that education and vocational training programs were considered to be key interventions. It was believed that these initiatives could assist the individual in his reformation by addressing, and possibly remedying, individual deficit areas. Appropriate literacy and workplace skills were considered essential elements in the prisoner's future resettlement and, not surprisingly, vocational and educational concerns did not disappear in the latter phase of the literature; instead, the studies were reconfigured to frame the discussions in terms of responsibilization and risk. For example, to be consistent with demands for accountability, rehabilitative language was replaced in the literature with behaviourist terms like "opportunities model" (Collins, 1995; Cormier, 1989; Ignatieff, 1981) or "active intervention" (Barrados & Brittain, 1996).

We see in the literature that the ability of returning ex-prisoners to financially support themselves in their community continued to be a major area of consideration (Albright & Denq, 1996; Gillis & Andrews, 2005; Griswold & Pearson, 2005; Huebner, 2005; Jamieson & Grounds, 2005; Kethineni & Falcone, 2007; Kurlychek, Brame & Bushway, 2007; Lynch & Sabol, 2001; Needles, 1996; Nsanze, 2007; Petersilia, 2001a, 2001b; Rauma & Berk, 1987; Solomon et al., 2004; Visher et al., 2004; Visher & Travis, 2003; Wodahl, 2006). While the ability to contribute economically is expected in a neo-liberal society, we can see that the literature problematized it in two ways.

On one hand, if the individual parolee was unable to find employment they were seen as placing their community at risk. This position may be inappropriate since, as Lynch &

Sobol (2001) argued "within the metropolitan areas to which ex-prisoners are returning, access to jobs and competition with welfare leavers for skill-appropriate jobs may impose further constraints on the capacity of communities to reintegrate ex-prisoners" (p. 3). The literature noted that training needed to be considered in relation to the broader economic structure since the work for which individuals trained while in prison may be very difficult to obtain because of limited vacancies or, more seriously, may no longer exist. (Gillis & Andrews, 2005; Solomon et al., 2004).

On the other hand, some of the studies highlighted that the ability of the parolee to find work was prevented by policies which banned him from certain professions because of his criminal record. Interestingly, supporting the earlier work of Dale (1976), Harris & Keller (2005) reviewed the literature and concluded there was no evidence to indicate that ex-offenders posed a greater risk in the workplace than non-convicted individuals and the legislation which was designed to protect the community was contradictory to reintegration. Other research focussed on means to counter these structural impediments. We see this attention in the work of Kethineni & Falcone (2007) who suggested that incentives be offered to employers in order to increase the ex-prisoners' chance of success. Again, there is an absence of studies which examined the ex-prisoner's experiences of, and strategies for, dealing with the structural barriers and protective factors.

Absences and Unanswered Questions

In the western world, rates of incarceration have seen a dramatic increase in the past twenty years (Christie, 2004) and with few exceptions, all these prisoners will leave the carceral environment. Given these facts, one would expect to find a plethora of research on

release, reentry and resettlement; yet, a review of the extant literature indicates a relative

lack of attention to this area. While the pockets that exist provide some interesting findings,

they tend not only to be narrowly conceptualized and focussed, but they also leave large

thematic gaps. The literature of the last 50 years has reflected and shaped the discourses,

objectives and technologies of the new penology. Responsibilization and risk became the

major conceptual tools around which research on release, reentry and resettlement was

discussed and this mirrored the shift away from rehabilitation and onto administration. As a

result, a large body of the literature is focused on the development of techniques to deal with

what Landreville (1982) referred to as an obsession with recidivism.

Referring back to the quote that opened this chapter, I want to argue that there are

two premises upon which the literature is based that are faulty and result in the 'same old

thing'. The first major problem of the research on release, reentry and resettlement to date,

has been the primacy of recidivism and factors contributing to its existence. There seems to

be a presumption that if the factors which increase the likelihood of re-offending are

tabulated, then strategies to negate these can be developed. This thought, of course, is based

on a faulty logic that success is the absence of failure[48] – that if risk factors are inversed we

prevent crime. As Gadd & Farrall (2004) have pointed out, by focusing on risk and

protective factors as quantifiable entities, subjectivity is lost; we can not know from the

actuarial tables how these factors are experienced at the individual, rather than aggregate

level. I contend that these studies do not leave room to consider that to *succeed* is

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[48]Indeed defining 'failure' in this body of literature has proved problematic. Most used some measure of
recidivism as a variable but the way this was operationalized was not consistent across studies. Some studies
define non-recidivism as the absence of any new arrests, charges, reincarcerations, reconvictions or technical
violations (Gates, Dowden, & Brown, 1998) while other studies utilized at the person not committing the same
crime as their definition.

experienced differently than to *not fail*. To exemplify the point let us resurrect fabled 'Little Johnny' in the classroom. The teacher gives a test and Johnny scores 51%. He has not failed. On the next test, Johnny scores his highest mark ever, 82%. Again, he has not failed. In either case, has Johnny experienced a sense of success? If we only ever define one in relation to the other (the absence of failure in relation to success), the argument becomes tautological and we cannot fully explore the sensation of success.

Second, when in the literature desistence is used as a frame, it has two underlying premises which limit the discussion. The first of these tenets is that success never becomes appreciated since the individual could 'slip up' again at any time. The discussion, thus conceptualized, has the effect of creating a master status (offender) from which the person cannot be emancipated until death. It also presumes that the person to whom it was applied was someone who was engaged in crime multiple times prior to their 'desistence'. Again, it is useful to invoke 'Little Johnny' to clarify the faulty nature of this logic. If Johnny smokes one cigarette and never does so again, do we consider him a smoker (master status) who has quit (desisted)? It is clear that many of the men currently serving long prison sentences did not graduate from minor transgressions to amass a cumulatively long sentence. As Boritch (2005) pointed out in her study of recidivism in Ontario in the late 1800s, the men convicted of the most serious crimes (eg. murder) had not previously been incarcerated and the same holds true of criminalized men two hundred years later.

Also problematic is the lack of current research which design their studies to include temporal divisions. Few studies make distinctions between the post-prison experiences of those who were incarcerated for a long period of time and those who were incarcerated for

short periods. Similarly, despite Buikhuisen & Hoekstra's (1974) assertion that longitudinal approaches needed to be employed to really understand the individual's post-carceral experiences, research in this area seemed to end less than 5 years after incarceration. Despite the recognition in the early studies that longer sentences could have distinct and troubling effects, it is only in the very recent literature that this begins to be examined (see for example Jamieson & Grounds, 2002, 2005; McKeown, 2001). While temporality is beginning to emerge as a factor in experiences in these studies, it has not yet become absorbed into the literature on reintegration and resettlement and this is an issue since, even in these few studies where these long-term ex-prisoners are consulted, a different experience emerged.

Drawing on the previous research it is clear that there are absences in the body of work to which attention is overdue. It is evident from a review of the extant literature that research needs to be undertaken which does the following:

I.   recognizes those serving long sentences as a distinct group of prisoners and ex(prisoners);

II.   recognizes that planning for release and reentry and the subsequent experience of resettlement is different for members of this long-term group;

III.   recognizes that temporality does not cease to matter at the prison gates and that long-term experiences may be distinct from those in the immediate period after release;

IV.   integrates geography in non-cartographic ways;

V.   prioritizes the lived-experience of these men over the ability to predict success/failure and

VI.   rejects recidivism as a focus in favour of one that recognizes the majority of ex-prisoners – those who succeed in resettling.

This research will develop a theoretical framework and methodological approach which positions itself to address these gaps.

CHAPTER THREE
PLACE, IDENTITY AND POWER: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR
CONCEPTUALIZING THE RELEASE, REENTRY AND RESETTLEMENT
EXPERIENCES OF FORMER LONG-TERM PRISONERS

Questions which begin with 'how' and 'why' may be answered by applying a

theoretical framework. Why does one action occur and another does not? How is an action

regulated or spoken of? How does a person experience an event? How and why does

certain behaviour become accepted here and not there? In order to formulate answers to

these types of questions, it is essential to develop a theoretical approach which attends to the

multiplicity of experiences since, as Taylor (1990) has argued:

> . . . an important responsibility of any social science remains that of extending the
> complex and sometimes very uneven, confusing relationship between what we may
> call the dominant political and cultural rhetoric of any historical moment, and the
> real complexity of social experience in that particular historical moment. (p. 6)

To develop a more textured and layered understanding of the lived experience of

(ex)prisoners, the approach presented here speaks to the need to integrate both micro and

macro theoretical approaches and to merge various concepts, not in terms of selective

appropriation of key concepts, but rather, of creation of a symbiotic relationship among

them. In doing so, a set of conceptual levers is employed to apply multiple points of

pressure with which we can pry open the meaning of acts. Seen this way, integrated

theoretical approaches allow ideas developed in one discipline to be utilized in tandem with

others developed elsewhere and this combination allows for interpretation on a broader

level.

Certainly this amalgamation is not new but in contemporary criminology, integrative

approaches have tended to rely on combining concepts that are already well established

within the discipline. For example, in Elliott's Integrated Theory (Elliott, Huizinga & Ageton, 1985) elements of the frequently utilized differential association, social disorganization, socialization, attachment and strain theories are combined. Similarly, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) General Theory of Crime amalgamates control, routine activities, psychological, biosocial and rational choice theories. While these, and other,[49] attempts are significant in that they draw attention to the complexity of making sense of the social world and reject the idea that one approach can provide a grand narrative which accounts for all crime or deviance, they are arguably limited by drawing only on the standard, oft employed frameworks. I would contend that criminology benefits from a new "angle of approach" (Massey, 1999, p. 7) which draws upon the work being done in disciplines other than psychology, economics and sociology. More precisely, I argue that a starting place for this expansion can be found in geography. Throughout this work, I will argue that the absence of spatial interpretation leaves an important point of consideration out of the conversation and the inclusion of geographic concepts is critical to understanding the phenomenon of prisoner release, reentry and resettlement.

Towards this end, this chapter will propose that the integration of theories emerging from critical human geography, governmental and symbolic interactionist traditions allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under consideration. I will argue that geographically focused approaches provide a useful point of entry since all actions and reactions occur 'somewhere' and these places, and the interactions contained therein, are

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[49]Other notable integrated theories include Integrated Structural Marxism, Age-Graded Theory, Social Development Model and Farrington's Theory of Delinquent Development. This is not intended to be a comprehensive listing but merely a sample of the directions that integrated approaches have taken.

informed by each other. The ex-prisoner is not merely moving between places and people but is creating, shaping and reflecting them and his ability to engage in this process is influenced by power relations and by dominant rationalities.

In order to set the stage for this integrated approach, this chapter will begin with an overview of each of the three theoretical traditions and will commence at the most proximal level by arguing that understanding and narrative are rooted in, and inseparable from, geography. To complement and extend the analysis I will, by incorporating the work of symbolic interactionists, consider how these understandings are socially constructed and are reflective of power relations. The overview will conclude by attending to the work emerging out of the governmentality scholarship and this focus will allow us to examine the regulatory strategies and dominant discourses which enable us to make sense of experiences at the broadest, most distal, level. Finally, this integrated theoretical approach will be employed in an examination of the key concepts of identity and stigma, resistance and transgression, and risk and responsibilization.

Making Space for Place

Geography acted as the support, the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate. (Foucault, 1980b, p. 77)

As noted in the literature review, with the exception of environmental criminology, geographic concerns have largely been overlooked within the discipline; indeed, Agnew (1993) and Domosh & Seager (2001) have argued that a major caveat of the social sciences is that they view space merely as a setting or backdrop for social actions rather than being "implicated *in* social processes" (Agnew, 1993, p. 264). Massey (1999) addressed the problematic nature of this absence:

. . . we need also to recognize that you cannot think multiplicity, you can not imagine difference, you cannot recognize the possibility of the existence of alterity, without really taking on board space and spatiality and the social construction thereof. (p. 11)

So, in much the same way that gender as an issue was long overlooked in criminology, some geographic concerns have, despite their obvious presence, been left unexamined. By focusing on 'spaces' which are somewhat objective conceptions of physically bound areas, criminologists have neglected 'places' which are ". . . subjectively defined, existential and particular understanding of areas" (Duncan, 2000, p. 582). Many geographers have made a distinction between these two concepts and I will draw upon Entrikin (1991) to clarify the subjective and ideological aspects of *place*:

> . . . places are specific because each place is fused with meaning and cultural significance. In other words, place becomes specific as we give them meaning in relation to our actions as individuals and as members of groups. Places are significant not because of their inherent value, but rather because we assign value to them in relation to our own projects. (p. 16)

We will return later to a more lengthy discussion of the role of place but, first let us acknowledge that the cartographic[50] criminologies have been guilty of ignoring place by assuming that the key contribution of geography is simply the ability to map crime trends. As we saw in the literature review, these approaches rely on objective ideas of space and employ a top-down view of sites to approach the study of crime. While they are useful in discussing crime 'hot spots' or for crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), they are insufficient in explaining how those 'spaces' become constructed as 'places' and therefore understood and experienced by individuals or groups. For example, in criminology, various and competing descriptions of the prison experience have been offered.

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[50]Refers to the art and practice of making maps.

If prisons are merely seen as objectively defined parameters in which one lives, the *essence* of the experience is lost. We would expect that a different prison design would be understood by prisoners in unique ways; instead, despite the variety of architectural carceral spaces, we do see some transversal experience of imprisonment.[51] While some prisons are designed on the Auburn Model and others as townhouses, the meaning, or inherent value is understood similarly by those inside them. It is not simply the space, but the place, that allows for existential variation and commonality and we cannot, therefore, evacuate the broader spatial context from the discussion.

It is not my argument that criminology should replace spatial analysis with conceptions of place; rather, I would argue that both elements need to be incorporated into our work. We can begin to do this by recognizing the spatial nature of memory and then building upon this understanding to conceptualize social actions existing at various scales within geographic parameters.

<u>Spatiality As Basis of Experience and Narrative</u>

It has been argued that human experience is inextricably spatialized (Couclelis, 1992; Malpas, 1999). From within this position, it is understood that memory (which is the pre-condition for narrative understanding and for action) is organized spatially:

> . . . place-based ordering allows for the nesting of things or places within other places, and in relation to other things, [and this] indicates something of the way in which such ordering allows for a unifying of diverse elements within a single structure. (Malpas, 1999, p. 104)

Recollection then can never be separated, or treated as independent, from its

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[51]For example, the reader is referred to the Journal of Prisoners on Prisons where, through ethnographic writings, the experience of incarceration across the world is addressed and common threads such as denial of human rights, dehumanizing treatment and its effects, prisoners' struggles for justice and "collateral consequences of imprisonment" (Travis, 2002) are evident.

geographic embeddedness. There is an affective bond, partly biological (neuro-physiological) and partly psycho-social, between people and place (Malpas, 1999). Analysis of human thought, behaviour and action can be understood as *spatially nested* and we draw upon this placement when recalling past events. The ability to remember events, and the emotions related to them, relies on a spatial layering wherein one memory is located inside of another. When we ask ex-prisoners about their experiences with release and re-entry, they will draw upon geographical references to locate the memory. For example, release planning becomes related to (or is nested in a memory of) the space and place they were in when particular elements of their plan were conceived or realized. By recalling the prison they were in, individuals may remember a set of emotions, their cell block and their relations therein. We see that place actually 'domesticates the memory'[52] by creating trigger points which aid in information retrieval. Our ability to tell a narrative can be conceived of as being dependent on a spatially organized metaphorical file cabinet of memories.

Conceptualizing Scales of Space and Place

It is important to expand the discussion from these geo-philosophical underpinnings to a broader geographic scale. Scale has been defined as ". . . one or more levels of representation, experience and organization of geographical events and processes" (Smith, 2000, p. 724) and is used here in reference to ". . . specific processes in the physical and human landscape . . ." (Smith, 2000, p. 725).[53] In short, there are multiple and concurrent geographies to be considered – from the micro-geography of the body to the macro-

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[52] This term is borrowed from Marc Brosseau.

[53] This distinction is important since as Smith (2000) has noted, scale can also be used in a methodological way or as a cartographer's tool.

geographic concepts of county, nation and world and we can examine spaces and places at various levels of specificity. The ex-prisoner's experiences operate on his physical being, in his house, his community and his parole district and at each level those encounters will be conditioned by social and structural factors. In order to explore spatial considerations, human geography, which is "concerned with the spatial differentiation and organization of human activity and its interrelationships with the physical environment" (Johnston, 2000, p. 353), will be utilized.

Critical Human Geography

Human geography enjoys a multitude of formulations; the version employed in this research is best described as taking a critical form which draws from a variety of theoretical approaches and is deliberately political. Painter (2000) noted that:

> critical human geographers emphasize the roles played by social relations of domination and resistance in the production and reproduction of place, space and landscape, and the reciprocal impact of space, place and landscape on the production, reproduction and legitimation of relations of domination and resistance. (p. 126)

I contend that critical human geography is an interesting perspective to adopt since the prison and parole experience can certainly be defined in terms of extreme relations of power and, as we will discuss later, this approach allows us to consider the ways these manifest in the day-to-day lives of the ex-prisoner. The positioning of this research within this realm also allows a variety of theoretical templates (some more traditionally used in criminology) to be interlaced with the discussions of spatiality. As the above quote by Painter (2000) suggested, human activity operates in a dialectical relationship between the individual and their surroundings providing a point of entry for incorporating the work of symbolic interactionists.

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Considering Social Interactions

Early symbolic interactionists (Becker, 1963; Goffman,1959, 1961a, 1961b, 1963a, 1963b; Lemert, 1951) focussed on the manipulation of symbols (some of which are spatialized, gendered or classed) as a way of creating meaning and allowing individuals and groups to situate themselves within a social milieu. It is through interactions with others that the individual comes to assume a role (or roles) which mediates both how he sees himself (personal identity) and how he is seen to be by others (public identity).

Another major contribution of the interactionist theorists is their focus on not only how deviance becomes defined but also how labels are applied and the consequences of this exercise – it is the latter of these foci with which this work is primarily concerned. Clearly, for those who are criminalized the rituals and ceremonies surrounding their conviction are designed to strip them of their "social citizenship" (Bosworth, 1999, p. 116), re-socialize them and re-define their position in society. Cohen (1985) recognized the link between the symbolic interactions and spatiality when he wrote:

> whether prisons were built in the middle of cities, out in the remote countryside or on deserted islands, they had clear spatial boundaries to mark off the normal from the deviant. And these spatial boundaries were reinforced by ceremonies of social exclusion: prisoners were sent away or sent down, their 'bodies' were symbolically received at the prison gate, then – stripped, washed and numbered – they entered another world. (p. 57)

By virtue of their conviction, the men in this study are labeled as dangerous and are required to be separated from the masses for extensive periods of time. Locked away in a prison (one of the most symbolic and persistent architectural structures), the convict is expected to 'rehabilitate' and prepare for his release to the community. For over a decade, these men have primarily socialized either with similarly marked others or with control

agents of the state and following release, the ex-prisoner is placed in a conundrum wherein he must navigate new and confusing or contradictory post-prison interactions; often, he does so with few resources to draw upon (Arditti & Few, 2006; Blitz et al., 2005; Dale, 1976; Ekland-Olson et al., 1983; Hagan & Coleman, 2001; McMurray, 1993; Petersilia, 2001a, 2001b; Richie, 2001; Solomon et al., 2004). He is referred to as a parolee (and required to carry his parole card as a symbol of this) while simultaneously he is expected to 'fit in'. Yet, according to the previously discussed release statistics and the extant literature, we know that men do successfully navigate this terrain and 'make good'; this study seeks to understand these interactions and to place these within particular social contingencies.

In order to achieve this understanding, it is essential to recognize that interactions are fluid and responsive to a variety of forces, including the dominant practices of the state. That is, interactions among individuals, and the understanding of those engagements, are conditioned by spatial considerations, dominant discourses and state regulation. This idea speaks to the importance of examining the practices of governance, particularly as they apply to the criminal justice system and its impact on the ex-prisoner and his interactions.

Considering Governance

To make sense of the experiences of ex-prisoners it is important to explore the complex assemblage of techniques that collectively constitute the regulatory context in which the individual is situated. In order to do so, it is useful to examine strategies of governance which Foucault (1982) defined as the governing of ourselves and others ". . . to structure the possible field of actions of others"(p.790). Dean (1999) has proposed that developing an analytic of governance allows us to examine:

the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed . . . these regimes also include, moreover, the different ways in which these institutional practices can be thought, made in the object of knowledge, and made subject to problematizations. (p. 21)

In this research, I am interested in how the former long-term prisoners are governed and self-govern at a particular historical moment (Dean, 1999). In order to achieve this objective, I will draw upon the genealogical analysis of governmentality scholars and the work of Michel Foucault. I will begin by briefly outlining the three regimes of governance (sovereign, disciplinary, and government) which Foucault (1980/1991) identified. We will consider that Foucault (1980/1991) observed the shifts to be partial (rather than full) ruptures; this is similar to Cohen's (1985) assertion (from chapter two) that transformations in the state and social body are not characterized by immediacy or by completeness. We will see that a layering of the regimes provides a point of entry to help understand the release, reentry and resettlement experiences of ex-prisoners.

The earliest approach to governance which Foucault (1980/1991) presented was that of sovereignty. Under this regime a monarch maintained control and authority over a principality by force. Attention under this regime was not on the members of the principality but rather was on territory and the protection and extension of the resources contained therein.

During the Enlightenment period, this sovereign approach becomes disrupted and it is usurped, but not fully replaced, by a disciplinary regime wherein the newly developed bureaucratic apparatus manifests as a way to wisely manage the social body. A dominant feature of disciplinary governance was a focus on the efficient management of the economy and by extension, the production of labour. As Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) argued, this

shift was important because "without the insertion of disciplined, orderly individuals into the machinery of production, the new demands of capitalism would have been stymied" (p.135). Therefore, one technique of disciplinary governance is the creation of "docile bodies" which are defined as those ". . . that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (Foucault, 1995, p.136) and this was achieved through observation, examination and the imposition of a normalizing judgment. Another technique of a disciplinary regime is self-discipline wherein individuals control themselves in relation to the panoptic gaze.[54] For example, an individual is less likely to speed if they are aware that a police officer is using radar on the road along which they are driving. It is the idea that one is likely to be watched, and hence, detected, which creates the condition under which the person takes their foot off the gas pedal or attends more intently to their speedometer.

By the mid-1800s to the present, a third rationality emerges and Foucault refers to this as government. Government comes into being for many reasons and Foucault (1980/1991) concluded that in contemporary society, the population, and the ability to use and optimize it, becomes the focus of governance. This new regime emerges, in part, because the technologies developed under the disciplinary regime are improved and it is possible to more effectively employ the anatomo-politics of the human body (e.g. training, energy management) and bio-politics of populations (e.g. demographics, wealth appraisal, birth rate) to advantage (Foucault,1980/1991). The state is able to develop more precise

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[54]The panoptic gaze refers to a sense that it is always possible for the individual to be watched though whether or not this occurring is unverifiable. It was a notion developed by Foucault (1995) who recognized that the panoptical design of prison conceptualized by Bentham was an idealized example ". . . of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system; it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use . . . it acts directly on individuals; it gives 'power of mind over mind'" (pp. 205-206).

information about the population and as a result, the possibility of exerting greater control through regulatory strategy is increased. The key difference between the previous regimes and government is rather than power being exercised over the population, it is exercised through them. We see that responsibility for security of the population becomes diffused and as Cohen (1985) noted it utilizes:

> . . . all those social processes and methods through which society ensures that its members conform to expectations. These normally include internalization, socialization, education, peer-group pressure, public opinion and the like, as well as the operations of specialized formal agencies such as the police, the law, and all other state powers." (pp. 2-3)

Importantly, the neo-liberal principle of the minimal state is promoted and permeates this regime despite the evidence that social control has actually intensified (Cohen, 1985). Governance relies not only on the state, the experts or the institution, but on the individual as a resource and as Foucault (1980/1991) pointed out:

> we need to see things not in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and subsequent replacement of disciplinary by a society of government; in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security." (p. 94)

That these three rationalities co-exist is an important point for consideration as this overlap allows the management of territory, economy, bodies and the population to all be targets of governance. For Foucault (1982) the state continues to be important:

> It is certain that in contemporary societies the state is not simply one of the forms or specific situations of the exercise of power – even if it is the most important – but that in a certain way all other forms of power relation must refer to it. But this is not because they are derived from it; it is rather because power relations have come more and more under state control. . . . In a certain way all other forms of power relation must refer to it. (p.793)

In the coming chapters I will demonstrate that the former long-term prisoner's

experiences provide a clear example of the intersection of the three rationalities and of the pervasiveness of the state. The body of the convicted man is targeted and manipulated. His ability to move through territories and his relations with the state are constrained, often by forces reminiscent of sovereign regimes. He learns to self-regulate his conduct in order to avoid punishment or have his behaviour read as normal. We will see throughout this work that the goal of social control apparatuses becomes not only the exercise of sovereign power, or the discipline of individuals, but also the responsibilization each individual so that he is amenable, accountable and answerable. Those who are convicted are positioned such that they must be open to reform/rehabilitation, pay for their crime and accept responsibility.

Arguably, we must consider the ways in which self-governing practices intersect with control over the individual to shape and mediate their experience. While the contemporary rhetoric speaks of inclusion and integration,[55] the associated practices become those of compliance and self-regulation. It is therefore important that in examining governance strategies, we consider the discourses under which these emerge.

Responsibilization and Risk Discourses

Discourses may be understood as:

> a specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized . . . discourses are heterogeneous . . . regulated . . . embedded . . . situated . . . performative . . . discourses shape the contours of the taken-for-granted world: they 'naturalize' and often implicitly universalize a particular view of the world and position subjects differentially within it. (Gregory, 2000, p. 180-181)

As Huxley (2007) argued, it is important to examine the underlying rationalities and mentalities which give rise to the broader dominant social discourses since it is through

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[55]See for example, Correctional Service Canada's (2008) *Report on Plans and Priorities (2008-2009)*.

these that social interactions are shaped, influenced and fashioned. Further, we can

understand that discourses are implicated in the creation and maintenance of particular

places and will affect the interactions therein.

As previously discussed, risk is now a central concern in the social body and risk

management becomes the accompanying discourse. Indeed, in the mission statement of the

Correctional Services of Canada (1999), risk management emerges as a priority in regard to

discretionary release:

> Strategic Objective 2.7: To ensure that the risk presented by the offender is taken
> into account when making decisions, particularly in matters relating to reduction of
> security and conditional release. (p. 11)
> Strategic Objective 2.10: To ensure the offender, while in the community, is
> adequately supervised and that any risk is addressed promptly through the use of
> appropriate means of intervention and assistance. (p. 11)

Risk – the potentiality of harm – is created/managed by individuals, corporations

and government and, given the limitations of the state's reach, individuals must be relied on

to police themselves and others through a complex system designed to foster collective

responsibility. The prisoner is increasingly required to demonstrate, not just his

rehabilitation, but his ability to manage the dangerousness imputed to him. The generic risk

scales utilized by the state (e.g. Level of Service Inventory-Revised or LSI-R)[56] set out his

risk factors and require him to assume responsibility for managing these; he is expected to

monitor his mobility, his associations, and his 'criminogenic factors' and to actively engage

in anticipating and controlling any potentially negative impact. As Kaminski (2002) pointed

out, the effect of this engagement is to transform the (ex)prisoner from one who is culpable

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[56]Elden (2007) noted that modes of governance are bound to these techniques which require a knowledge of "state-statistics". (p. 563)

to one who is capable.[57] This shift can be problematic given that, as Garland (2003) noted, risk, rather than being a tangible, static entity which is defined and managed by the state, is a socially constructed phenomenon and therefore, is susceptible to change. So while the state delineates between static and dynamic factors, the items which make it onto those lists evolve and become increasingly specific. In short, the ex-prisoner must maintain a static (i.e. minimized risk) state in a fluid environment.

Techniques of government require knowledge of the population and the actuarially-motivated coding required to garner this intelligence is made possible through the participation of individuals, households and communities. As a result, sometimes these shifts and changes occur because of variation in the encoding techniques (such as classification and categorization) employed rather than a change in phenomena. Interestingly, scholars of geography have argued that these techniques are realized through locational geo-coding of the world. Specifically, geographic coding and territorialization are means of defining and operationalizing governmental rationalities. Rose-Redwood (2006) argued that:

> the ordering of space is itself one of the requisites for *producing* governmental power/knowledges . . . the bio- political project of managing 'populations' by examining statistical regularities and mapping these patterns out cartographically (i.e. totalization) is only possible once a population has been individualized (via record keeping practices of various kinds), which in turn depends on being able to locate 'individuals' spatially. (p. 480)

While this dissertation will not be specifically dealing with the broader issues of mapping, it is important to consider that the movements and surveillance of the ex-prisoner are predicated on these geographic techniques of governance and on the participation of the

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[57]Thank you to Prof. Sylvie Frigon who brought this concept to my attention.

population. As we will detail in a later chapter, geographic boundaries have specific manifestations in the lives of prisoners as the state uses these as a means of regulating the mobility of the ex-prisoner. For example, a parolee living in Ottawa, Ontario cannot simply travel into Gatineau, Quebec (a distance of a few kilometers) since it is across the provincial border; instead, he would have to approach his parole officer, give a rationale for crossing the bridge, provide exact locations (which are pre-assessed for 'riskiness'), dates and times and only then, if approved, he would be issued a travel permit. This type of control over mobility requires the individual to self-regulate his movements while it simultaneously affirms his 'dangerousness' and the need to confine it in order to manage risk.

The above noted dispersal of governance fits with Dean's (1999) argument that "risk has been to some extent desocialized, privatized and individualized" (p. 191) and that it is no longer the exclusive power of the state to surveil since this action is now diffused throughout the social body. Rimke (2000) spoke to this when she stated: " liberal government of a polity becomes intrinsically linked to the regulation of self-governing 'responsible' citizens . . . governing psychologized subjectivities through liberal political choice, freedom and autonomy ensures that norms of obligation, accountability and responsibility continually turn the subject back on itself " (p. 72). This monitoring is accomplished by individuals governing themselves and by others engaging in surveillance activities. In order for self-governance to be adopted, a sense that the panoptic gaze is upon the individual must be present.

In addition, the monitoring of others becomes expected under risk rationalities and this is particularly important aspect for ex-prisoners who are likely to be the target of

shifting surveillance. That is, under current risk management modalities, the line between surveilled and surveillor becomes blurred resulting in the channels of power becoming diffused and thus, more dynamic. Certainly this is not a new phenomenon for men released from prison since, while incarcerated, the prisoners are asked to provide information on others with whom they live and are rewarded for so doing. Somewhat ironically, the state has implemented a 'crimestoppers' program which operates within the prison and provides ". . . .a vehicle to anonymously supply the police [or correctional officer] with information about a crime or potential crime of which they have knowledge" (Crimestoppers, 2004). This diffusion of power has led some to theorize that the panoptic gaze is more of an omnioptic gaze (Joyce, 2003) where the 'viewing' occurs by many at several levels. For example, the release of information about paroled individuals by police departments allows the general public to, passively or actively, surveil concurrently with the official agents of the state and indeed, with the individual himself.

In sum, we see that 'reality' is shaped through various mechanisms and techniques; specific rationalities (one of which is 'risk') lead us to govern actions in particular ways and through specific technologies (see Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1980/1991, 1983; O'Malley, 1996; N. Rose, 1996). In later chapters I will demonstrate that this rather dense theorization does not exist solely at the level of abstraction but manifests in the daily lives of (ex)prisoners and as such, allows us to formulate answers to the 'why' and 'how' questions which began this chapter. As Foucault (1977) noted, ". . . theory does not express, translate or serve to apply practice. It is practice." While the upcoming chapters will provide a detailed and explicit examination between the former long-term prisoner and these theoretical constructs, it is

useful to now broadly sketch three key areas (place, identity and resistance) in order to demonstrate the applicability of the integrated framework and foreshadow the analysis.

Creating a Tapestry: Weaving Theory Together[58]

We've discussed the idea that, through the application of symbolic interactionist theory, we can make sense of meaning in social interplay and this knowledge is critical when we are examining the experience of a particular phenomenon. It is also essential to acknowledge that these interactions are placed within a spatial component which influences, shapes and modifies them. I have argued, following in the footsteps of critical geographers, that actions and interactions also create place and as such, it is useful to draw upon Philo (2000) who proposed that this is a type of *spatial ontology* ". . . which proceeded by imagining a hypothetical space or plane across which all of the events and phenomena relevant to a substantive study are dispersed" (p. 218). However, it is critical that the analysis not stop there; interactions occur and indeed exist in particular forms because of the influence of various governance strategies while at the same time being constitutive of those techniques. I contend that by melding these three major frames together, we are in a better position to interpret the experiences of men released from prison and to demonstrate this point I will now begin a broad level theorization of place, identity and resistance.

Experiencing Place

Following from the earlier discussion that spatiality is bound up with experiences and narratives, it is important that 'place' be centered in order to add to our understanding of resettlement issues. To structure this discussion, it is useful to draw upon Agnew (1993)

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[58]This tapestry metaphor is borrowed from Frigon (1994).

who, recognizing that 'place' has both objective and subjective elements, considered it to have three components (location, sense of place and locale), each of which needs to be examined in order to get at the texture of prison to post-prison transitions and experiences.

Location

Location is the most objective of the three components and refers to the geographic area or setting for interactions. Long used as a concept in economic geography,[59] location refers to a particular point in space which is relative to other points[60] and is often employed in relation to labour analysis, demographic calculation or political distinctions. The scale of the location will of course vary. For example, depending on his objective, a politician may speak of multiple locations such as his overall riding or a particular neighbourhood of constituents. While these spaces are at some level objective, they also need to be considered as political since, as Elden (2007) noted, they are ". . . owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered, and controlled" (p. 578). Certainly the relevance of location is evident when we consider that the men in this study have experienced spaces[61] seldom witnessed by the general public. Further, following the lead of some human geographers, it is necessary to attend to the body as a primary geographic site (Curry, 1999; Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Longhurst, 1997; Price-Chalita, 1994). It is the body which is imprisoned and is acted upon as a site for violence, for resistance or for self-mutilation.[62] We need to examine how the

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[59]A discussion of location in economic geography is beyond the scope of this paper but the reader is directed to Stroper & Scott (1986) and Dicken & Lloyd (1990) for further exploration.

[60]Tuan (1975) defined location as ". . . a unit within a hierarchy of units within space" (p. 151).

[61]Castel (1995) referred to these as places of expulsion wherein the individual is in a closed space cut off from the world.

[62]For an interesting examination of this, see Frigon (2003, 2007) who has drawn attention to the body as a site of resistance for women prisoners.

body's ability to move within spaces conditions the response to reentry and resettlement and how at the most micro-geographic level, the ex-prisoner's physicality (the use of his body in particular ways) shapes and conditions his (post)carceral experience.

Locale

Drawing upon the earlier work of Gidden's (1984), Agnew (1993) incorporates *locale* as a second component of place. Locale was defined by Entrikin (1991) as ". . . the environment to which actors give meaning in defining particular social situations" (p.52) and as such, it creates a particular context for interaction. We will see in later chapters that in different social spaces, different identities emerge and certain behaviours and actions become seen as 'in place' while others are viewed as 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996). By recognizing this place-ment, the link between geographic and symbolic interactionist scholars is evident and an overlap between Creswell's (1996) notion of 'out of place' and Goffman's (1963b) idea of forbidden or out-of-bounds places which are defined as spaces:

> . . . where persons of the kind he can be shown to be are forbidden to be, and where exposure means expulsion – an eventuality often so unpleasant to all parties that a tacit cooperation will sometimes forestall it, the interloper providing a thin disguise and the rightfully present accepting it, even though both know the other knows of the interloping. (p. 81)

Domash & Seager (2001) extended this concept by pointing out that these places may be gendered and used to replicate patriarchal rationalities which limit access based on sex. For example, it is accepted that women can be in the home or school while their presence in the driver's seat of an Indy racecar or in the USA's White House are seen as contestable.[63]

These previous works opened a window through which we can explore the 're-place-ment'

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[63]For example, in Senator Hillary Clinton's bid for the nomination of the Democratic Party, she encountered protestors who urged her to 'iron their shirts' – a clear reference to a woman's place being in the home.

experiences of the male "returning captives" (Hagan & Coleman, 2001, p. 352) who will seek an in-place-ness after years of being physically and metaphorically 'out-of-place'.

It is possible for the discreditable person to find an 'in-place-ness' through the discovery or creation of what Goffman (1963b) termed "back places":

> where persons of the individual's kind stand exposed and find they need not try to conceal their stigma, nor be overly concerned with cooperatively trying to disattend it. In some cases this license arises from having chosen the company of those with the same or similar stigma. (p. 81)

Sense of Place

The final and most subjective component which Agnew (1993) incorporated emerged in the earlier work of cultural geographers (see for example, Tuan, 1975) who addressed issues around the emotional connection, both positive and negative, to particular spaces and refer to them as *sense of place*.[64] Sense of place does not rely on a knowledge of the physical space, rather it is bound up with feelings of what could be or what is. Emotions like fear, disgust, attachment, contentment and 'homeness' become attached to or "expressed and concretized in place" (Cosgrove, 2000, p. 722). Sense of place both influences and is the outcome of our yearning for, or avoidance of, particular areas and is ". . . as much social as personal, and a product of interaction between people at a specific location as much as the physical properties of that location" (Cosgrove, 2000, p. 722). It should come as no surprise that the prison as a place evokes emotional responses from those who live within its walls, but it is critical that the analysis not stop in that particular location. The emotional

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[64] Sense of Place is similar to Frémont's (1976) earlier concept of *espace vécu;* however, in some ways the latter transverses *location* and *sense of place* since it does encompass physical space where we engage in day-to-day activities ("espace de vie") but is most associated with the emotional attachments.

connection to place continues into the community and into the men's homes and, as will be

demonstrated in a later chapter, influences how they experience resettlement.

Integrating Place

Place can then be understood both in terms of material conditions as well as social

and psychological ones – it is both metaphorical and lived. Creswell (1996) recognized that

place mirrors and shapes the hegemonic landscape when he wrote:

> place is produced by practice that adheres to (ideological) beliefs about what is the
> appropriate thing to do. But place reproduces the beliefs that produce it in a way that
> makes them appear natural, self-evident, and commonsense . . . Thus places are
> active forces in the reproduction of norms — in the definition of appropriate
> practice. Place constitutes our beliefs about what is appropriate as much as it is
> constituted by them. (p. 16)

Place can also create, reflect and disrupt power and gender imbalances, capitalist

structures, identities and subjectivities. Conceptualizations of space and of place are not

objective realities – rather meaning is created and maintained through power relations.

Creswell (1996), Blunt & Wills (2000) and Listerborn (2002) argued that it is through power

relations in the social realm that space, and the meaning of place, emerges and Listerborn

(2002) further asserted that ". . . relations of power operate through symbolic connotations

of places and spaces with the physical environment itself being of little importance" (p. 39).

It is possible to extend the argument by drawing on the work of N. Rose (1996) in his

analysis of the emergence of community. In his work, he argued that the development of

communitarianism requires the responsibilization of individuals by creating (through

education, moral campaigns, etc.) personal allegiances to spaces[65] and moral communities

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[65]Given the geo-political analysis N. Rose (1996) is undertaking, "space" seems like a misnomer in that he is actually
discussing socially constructed venues which are more aptly considered "places" within geographic linguistics

which require the individual to shape their identity around these. Place itself becomes a means of governance by acting as one of the channels through which regulation of the self and of others is achieved. As such, we can expect that ex-prisoners will become active in their own governance which N. Rose (1996) termed "government through community" (p. 332). The transformation in governance, which we discussed in the literature review (from a welfare model to a neo-liberal one) created a dialectical relationship between the individual and communities[66] and required the adoption of actuarial methods aimed at greater optimization, prudence, and increased discipline (and education/ transformation) of those on the margins of being 'in place'. As we will discuss next, these techniques of governance manifest at both distal and proximal levels of place.

At a macro-geographic level, Foucault (1980b) stated that it is through the use of spatial metaphors that the transformations of discourses can be understood and further, that "once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power" (p. 69). By remaining at the level of abstraction, Foucault misses the real manifestations of geography in which space is more than metaphorical. As the current 'spatial turn' indicates, geography provides useful linguistic tools for discussion of socio-political concepts, but more importantly, it has concrete applications. Huxley (2007) drew our attention to this as she argued that space is not just a means of control but is a product of power and governance and thus, is integral to "the exercise of power and the conduct of conducts" (p. 199). This is not to say that we can

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[66]As we discussed earlier in the chapter, this does not mean the state is not present but rather it remains, in large part, 'unseen'.

substitute spatial arguments of power and control and power/knowledge for sociological

ones but that we must recognize that they are "inextricably intertwined" (Agnew, 1993, p.

261).

Foucault (1980a), speaking to the micro-geographical level, argued that "the

individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power

exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces" (p. 74) and I argue that

prisoners and ex-prisoners provide a particularly striking example of how the regulation and

surveillance of the body is used to control and to subjugate.[67] Under current strategies of

governance, control over the body is assumed by the state (in terms of regulatory practices),

by the community (through strategies of surveillance) and by the individual (through self-

regulation). While documented for prisoners (Foucault, 1995), the body released from

prison receives less attention though this is an important area of consideration. For example,

control over mobility, as is often experienced by parolees, can be seen as a clear example of

"spatial politics" (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 106) which is the exercise of power to control the

body and emphasize that certain bodies belong only in certain places (Domosh & Seager,

2001).

By examining the three components of place in tandem with symbolic interactionism

and governmentality approaches, we can formulate new questions such as: How do ex-

prisoners come to be 'in place'? In what ways do prisoners regulate or have their bodies

regulated by particular state impositions? How does the omnioptic gaze condition the

resettlement experiences of former prisoners?

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[67]I am certainly not the first to make this assertion; indeed, Foucault's (1995) *Discipline and Punish*, makes this
point in considerably more detail than can be afforded here.

We must be careful however to not assume that the facets of place 'wash over' the individual. Foucault (1982) argued that agency is always possible where there is freedom. Therefore, we should expect that the ex-prisoner will resist efforts at disaffiliation (Castel, 1995), exclusion and other forms of oppression. It is to these issues that we now turn our attention.

Conceptualizing Resistance

Work by resistance scholars indicated that prisoners resist domination and oppression while confined (Bosworth, 1999; Bosworth & Carrabine, 2001; Crewe, 2007; Faith, 1994; Fox, 1999; Gaucher, 2002; Hepburn, 1985; McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath, 2004; McKeown, 2001) but little indicates what forms this resistance takes outside the prison walls. Does resistance cease, transform or transfigure and why? In which ways does the different post-prison environment condition resistive acts? Does the understanding of resistance remain the same or change when the deprivation of liberty ceases? To provide a framework through which these questions can be answered, this section will first define resistance and discuss the difficulties of examining resistive acts by ex-prisoners. Next, it will be argued that resistance takes uniquely geographic forms and therefore we must incorporate spatial links.

Resistance has been defined as action (including inaction) and discourse meant to challenge the dominant or oppressive order (Pratt, 2000) either from a position of consciousness or not (Jackson, 1994). In his work, Jackson (1994) argued that rituals of resistance exist in a multitude of forms including the symbolic, spatial, linguistic and political. Resistance is often conceptualized as a reaction to power, but it will be argued

here that power and resistance are mutually constitutive and that each reaffirms the other.

Rather than simply accepting Foucault's (1982) assertion that power can be seen through analysis of resistance against it, I propose that each reveals itself in the other. This position rejects the binary designation the purpose of which Shinkel (2003) argued is to ensure ". . . a consensus regarding the legitimate positional logic" (p. 223). Resistance is not merely a reaction to dominating forces or a subset of power but, rather, is co-constitutive, is active and not just reactive. Sharp, Routledge, Philo and Paddison (2000) take us on this path when they made a distinction between dominating power (". . . which attempts to control or coerce others, impose its will upon others, or manipulate the consent of others, p. 2) and resisting power (". . . which attempts to set up situations, groupings and actions which resist the imposition of dominating power", p. 3). I would argue that rather than dividing power this way, it is more useful to see resistance and power as one entity.

Resistance is understood to be enmeshed at every level of society and at every level of interaction. Faith (1994) asserted that "wherever power is infused across the range of disciplinary sites, there it simultaneously intersects with the force of resistance, even at the most microscopic, cellular and capillary levels of existence" (p. 38). I would modify Faith's (1994) argument to recognize that it is not an intersection but rather a concurrentness. Resistance does not exist in relation to power – it is part of it.

Questioning Intentionality

It is useful at this point to attend to the ongoing debate regarding questions of intentionality and consciousness. Does the social actor need to be aware of the relations of power in order to challenge them? Does the (ex)prisoner's challenge need to be purposeful

or contemplated? Cresswell (1996) and Jenks (2003) contended that acts do not have to be conceived of as resistance by the actor in order for them to challenge normative boundaries or power structures; instead, they spoke of transgressive acts which give priority to the reaction to the phenomenon rather than to the intentions of the actor. Placing social response as a central point of consideration provides an alternative position, but it is critical that it not be the only defining characteristic. It is entirely possible that an ex-prisoner will act in a way that he considers to be resistive but that this action, or inaction, will not be perceived as such by those at whom it is directed nor will it have any discernible impact. Conversely, an action which seems benign to an individual on parole may be read as resistive by the state. In short, the experience, management and negotiation of power relations by ex-prisoners is too complex to distill into simple discussions of intentionality, and thus must embrace both the notions of intention and reaction and both of these are encompassed under the definition of resistance which I previously offered.

Forms of Resistance

The forms of resistance are complex and as Bruckert (2004) argued they ". . . can be classified along the axis of individual/collective, passive/violent and everyday/exceptional" (pp. 844-845). Since there is very little written on post-prison resistance a consideration of the ways in which it manifests in prison provides a useful point of entry. Cohen & Taylor (1972) conceptualized resistance in prison as a means of "fighting back" which allowed the incarcerated individual to adapt and survive imprisonment. One of the individualistic forms that this resistance took is self-protection which ranged from "habitual attempts to make life more bearable in the prison . . . to active or passive individual refusal to cooperate with the

staff (intransigence) and deliberate challenging of staff rules" (Cohen & Taylor, 1972, p. 144). Other individualistic acts included escapes and hunger strikes. Resistance also took collective forms which required some group solidarity and these included formalizing grievances through confrontation, campaigns and escapes (Cohen & Taylor, 1972).

Adding another level to the analysis is Scott (1990) who drew our attention to the idea that resistance can be overt (public) or covert (hidden). The public transcript refers to the open engagement that occurs within relations of power and which ". . . by its accomodationist tone, provide[s] convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse" (Scott, 1990, p. 4). At the same time that the (ex)prisoner is legitmating the structures, the hidden transcript can be operating to subvert or challenge, (either intentionally or not), these through ". . . gesture, speech, practices . . . ordinarily excluded from the public transcript of subordinates by the exercise of power" (Scott, 1990, p. 27). The publicly silenced hidden transcript often finds sound in the "offstage" (Scott, 1990, p. 4) areas where it can grow and we can see these spaces as both nurturing and an achievement of resistance.

Thus, we can argue that resistance becomes symbolically transformed through the place in which it is situated and this element is important since relations of power are integral to the process through which some people are considered 'in place' while others are seen as 'outsiders' (Becker, 1963). It can then be argued that the consequence of making spaces a site of control is that they necessarily become sites of struggle and, ultimately power/resistance (Creswell, 1996; Foucault, 1982). Drawing upon the earlier work of sociologists like Becker (1963), Cresswell (1996) argued that by studying the margins of

actions and resistance/transgression to those boundaries, either through behaviour or language, we come to understand the normative landscape and the ". . . authority [which] connects a particular place with a particular meaning to strengthen an ideological position" (Creswell, 1996, p. 8).

To stop our investigation of resistance at this point would be an error since it would miss a critical micro-level analysis. It is important that this analysis consider how the individual does (or does not) find or reveal his sense of self within these relations of power. Resistance and transgression position the subject to adopt, or have imputed to him, identities based on the (in)actions which he undertakes. Of course, this identity will be accompanied by other conceptions of self which affirm or deny each other and it is to this broader discussion of identity that the discussion will now turn.

<center>Conceptualizing and Engaging the Self</center>

As the review of the literature revealed, identity and stigma have been identified as key areas of concern for the prisoner and the ex-prisoner but much of the work presented analyses only from a symbolic interactionist approach without providing a consideration of broader social discourses or of the ways that they are geographically conditioned. Dean (1999) spoke to the potential conjunction of governmentality and symbolic interactionism in regard to questions of identity:

> one of the points that is most interesting about this [governmentality] type of approach is the way it provides a language and a framework for thinking about the linkages between questions of government, authority and politics, and questions of identity, self and person. (p. 13)

Problematically, Dean's (1999) approach is spatially void and therefore, in order to demonstrate the importance of place-ment, the next section of this paper offers an integrated

theoretical framework through which the critical issues of identity and, tangentially, stigma

can be analyzed.

Identity

Taylor (1990) argued that in previous eras, identity was likely to be established at

birth and through capitalist structures; it was the result of social conditions and was

inherited. In contrast to this, Sayers (1999) asserted that in a post-modern climate, identity

is formed and developed "in and through the particular way in which the emerging self

assumes and lives the different and conflicting roles which the surrounding world presents –

affirming some, resisting others" (p. 155). Therefore, identity is not formed as a unified

whole but rather, it is divided, fragmented and disjointed. Like all others, the ex-prisoner's

identity will be multi-layered, relational, dynamic and negotiable based on normative social

order and place.

Speaking to this fragmentation and to the ascriptive and elective components of

identity, and making a geographic link, Malpas (1999) wrote that

> . . . the very identity of subjects, both in terms of their own self-definition and their
> identity as grasped by others, is inextricably bound to the particular places in which
> they find themselves and in which others find them, while, in a more general sense, it
> is only within the overarching structure of place as such that subjectivity as such is
> possible. (p. 176)

Recognizing that multiple identities are available to the individual within various locations

means that to understand the individual, we must understand him within a spatial frame – a

"situatedness" (Entrikin, 1991, p. 3) through which the ex-prisoner comes to define himself

and be defined by others. For example, within the prison milieu, a person's identity may be

understood as being 'a stand-up guy', 'tough guy' or 'Lifer' whereas the individual's post-

prison identity may be seen as 'parolee' or 'working guy'. The spatial frame directly influences sense of identity both in terms of conception of self and public persona, and its degree of specificity will vary by location, locale and sense of place and the interactions occurring therein. Within a particular locale an individual may designate himself an ex-prisoner whereas in 'backspaces' (Goffman, 1963b) or in a setting filled with 'insiders', he may identify as a 'Lifer'. This level of precision will also vary according to scale since different locations will trigger different parts of identity and, as we will see in a later chapter, ex-prisoners choose locations strategically in order to manage their public and private identity.

At this point, it is useful to draw upon the work of feminist geographers who have argued that it is the body upon which meaning is inscribed and understood, and that this corporal element shapes identity. Smith (1993) wrote that " the place of the body marks the boundary between self and other in a social as much as physical sense, and involves the construction of a 'personal space' in addition to a literally defined physiological space" (p. 102). Longhurst (2005) expanded upon this idea in her discussion of the corporeal condition when she wrote "bodies are always situated in multiple psychoanalytic, discursive and material spaces" (pp. 249-250). This focus on the body is particularly relevant when examining prisoners since their bodies are stripped and contained within cells, within blocks, and within prisons. Arguably, this containment of the body is designed to inscribe upon it a particular identity which disrupts any other that was previously held. Tangentially, we know that prisoners mark their bodies as both a reaction to their confinement and as a way of illustrating an alternate identity (Demello, 1993; Hunt & Phelan, 1998; Kent, 1997).

Given this, we must expand the field of exploration to the emancipated body to understand how this freedom conditions their presentation of self and sense of identity.

By 'placing' identity we can conceive of it as context specific. Goffman (1963b) argued that the social world is divided into spatial frames of reference (places for recreation, places for work, places of residence, etc.) through which social identity is constructed and through which an individual can manage the various contingencies upon which his individuality is based. It is within these places that the individual can exert some form of control over information about personal identity and, in particular, resist stigmatization or pass as non-discreditable (Entrikin, 1991; Goffman, 1963b). It must also be recognized that identity is not solely influenced by actions within society but, moreover, that it is also conditioned by non-actions. Mullaney (2001) noted:

> "not doings" are not merely absent acts, but ones that involve resistance to a behavior perceived to be desirable or tempting in some way. In other words, just as we recognize norms upon their violation, we become more aware of the impact of "not doings" on identity when one encounters and actively defies temptation. (p. 4)

Given the often strict limitations imposed on ex-prisoners, particularly those on parole, it is important that this conception of in-action as choice, or as actively engaged in, be incorporated into the theorization of identity. By making this allowance, room is left to consider that the ex-prisoner may define himself as successful because he does *not* go to bars, does *not* associate with those actively engaging in criminal behaviour or does *not* violate conditions of his parole.

Greater explanatory leverage can be applied if we also consider the ways former prisoners engage in the creation of a post-prison identity and how their choices and

(in)actions are influenced by regulation. Dean (1999) made an important link between

personal identity and the regimes of government when he wrote:

> regimes of government do not determine forms of subjectivity. They elicit, promote,
> facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities and statuses to particular
> agents. They are successful to the extent that these agents come to experience
> themselves through such capacities . . . qualities . . . and statuses. (p. 32)

By drawing upon theorists from different disciplines (such as Dean, 1999; Entrikin, 1991,

Goffman, 1963a, 1963b & Taylor, 1990), we can conceive of identity formation and

adoption as being rooted in historically, locationally, socially and discursively situated. We

can draw upon all these influences in order to conduct an analysis of identity, and in

particular, to focus on the stigmatized identity of the ex-prisoner.

Stigma

> *Going into prison at 17 years old and then right off the reserve, and then going to
> prison for 15 years and coming out and seeing the city life was quite an adjustment.
> It felt like I was, I had a big tag on my head saying that I am inmate from William
> Head Institution. (Aboriginal ex-prisoner quoted in Devalk, 2000)*

Erving Goffman (1963b), in his seminal work *Stigma: notes on the management of*

spoiled identity, focussed on the interaction between 'normal' individuals and those who are

tainted or marked in social situations. In this book, Goffman (1963b) identified stigma as

". . . an attribute that is deeply discrediting. . . " (p. 3) and can result in the individual's

identity being spoiled which is defined as segregating this person from society " . . . so that

he stands a discredited person facing an unaccepting world" (p. 19). The individual who

possesses this spoiled identity is thus aware of his flaw and anticipates a negative reaction.

It is important to note that an individual's public identity can be spoiled, not through their

own actions or attributes, but by association with others who are stigmatized. Thus, at the

most micro level of analysis, we come to understand stigmatization as developing through interactions between 'perceivers'[68] and the' targets' of that stigma.

Pirès & Digneffe (1992) noted that social interactionists have been largely unconcerned with the genesis of stigma and do not sufficiently locate the individual within broader power structures. This is problematic since, as Foucault (1995) argued, knowledge does not emerge spontaneously at a particular moment in response to a specific event; rather, he argued that knowledge is bound to power and so 'truth' needs to be understood as emerging out of it. Given this conceptualization, the interpretative possibilities are, at any given time, bound and constrained.

Hannem (forthcoming) noted the importance of incorporating both the work of symbolic interactionists and Foucault in order to avoid caveats in understanding:

> Individual experiences may constitute a form of "truth" without becoming knowledge and being integrated into the larger social structure of understanding, while power may create knowledge that is not in fact "true".

She further asserted that structural stigma (which results ". . . out of an *awareness* of the problematic attributes of a particular group of people and is based on an intent to manage a population that is perceived, on the basis of the stigmatic attribute, to be 'risky' or morally bereft.") (forthcoming) provides a point of entry for considering the dialectic relationship between stigma and structure.

Stigmatization may require the individual to be adept in managing his public identity in order to successfully 'pass' as one of the 'normals'. In attempting to do so, (Goffman,

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[68]Goffman (1963b) used the term 'normals' in his work but Dovido, Major & Crocker (2000) have pointed out that term 'normals' is misleading in that it doesn't recognize that the person doing the stigmatizing may also be stigmatized in some way. They propose the use of the term 'perceivers' since it recognizes the active nature of stigmatizing without negating the normalizing effect of stigma.

1963b) argued the stigmatized 'other' will become hyper-aware of social situations, will feel torn between attachments to others in his stigmatized group and the 'normals' and his attempts at management will have implications for his personal relationships. This phenomena is particularly relevant for the men in this study since Goffman argued that this passing will be further complicated if an individual was stigmatized as a result of institutional incarceration and if the state continues to maintain some form of control over the person. This position was further developed by Cobden & Stewart (1984) who argued that while considerable time was spent discrediting an individual and getting him to adapt to this new spoiled identity, there is no comparable process for re-crediting him; this is problematic as he is expected to reintegrate at the same time that he is told that he must be monitored and supervised because he is dangerous and feared.[69] Approaching an analysis from this perspective allows us a framework for how the essentialization of the criminal mediates the experience of reintegration of former long term prisoners.

We can posit that the stereotype of the criminalized individual as inherently a threat to society finds support in a neo-liberal society which prioritizes risk and responsiblization and as such, it is important to consider the ways in which the techniques of governance can confirm and intensify the sense of stigma. We can consider that the management of stigma becomes further complicated under the omnioptic gaze and with new and more dynamic surveillance techniques. The prevalence of new technologies facilitates the transmission of case biographies and renders it imperative that we examine how the new rationalities of surveillance impact on both an individual's ability to manage stigma and on contemporary

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[69]This point was also taken up by Castel (2000) who spoke about the difficulty of moving between zones of disaffiliation, of vulnerability, of assistance and of integration.

society's power to essentialize the criminalized 'other.' Whereas in previous eras ex-convicts could control information flow by employing various techniques (including passing, relocation, etc.), current policy and practices may require greater disclosure of their discreditableness. Massey (1999) and Massey & Jess (1995) addressed this issue in relation to globalization and contended that space is less contained in contemporary society since bodies and information are perpetually flowing between locations. In this way, we get a sense that space is winning over place. This then leads one to question how individual ex-prisoners manage stigma and identity in a risk-centred society. Specifically, in what ways do the new regulatory technologies impact on the day-to-day identity management strategies used by former long-term prisoners?

As we saw in the literature review, stigma and identity management continue to be a major area under consideration within the work on reentry and reintegration, yet the analysis needs to be expanded to examine a much broader range of areas where stigma impacts on the lives of ex-prisoners. For example, one might wonder how stigma shapes and mediates the ex-prisoners' interactions with social supports designated to assist them. Further, we need to consider how stigma is seen, and identity managed, over time by those deemed to have successfully reintegrated. Also, resistance to stigmatization, while recognized by Goffman (1963b), is an area that has received scant attention and needs to be incorporated into an examination of the reentry and reintegration process of former long-term prisoners.

Moving from Conceptualization to Application

This chapter has called for the release, reentry and resettlement experiences of ex-prisoners to be examined as complex and dense phenomena requiring multiple approaches to

be applied to improve our understanding. The concepts found in critical human geography, symbolic interactionism and governmentality work can be utilized in tandem to open new fields for exploration and to expand the analysis of the particular experiences of former long-term prisoners. In utilizing an integrated approach, we create :

> . . . a means by which to appreciate the meaning as well as the form of space and society, an opportunity to focus on social and spatial boundaries in terms of the power relations which sustain them, and the beginnings of a fuller appreciation of the relationship between structure and action which is appropriate to the interpretation of spatial relations as it is to the understanding of social interaction." (Jackson & Smith, 1984, p. 208)

In the end, this chapter has proposed a framework through which we can better understand the phenomenon of release, reentry and resettlement of those sentenced to long periods of incarceration. By applying the integrated framework to look at the general areas of place, identity and stigma and resistance, we have established the groundwork through which we can examine the specific experiences of male long-term ex-prisoners. The next important point for consideration is how to gather data upon which this theoretical approach will be applied and it is to a discussion of methodological considerations that this dissertation now turns.

CHAPTER FOUR
INTERROGATING INTERROGATIVES: SEEKING ANSWERS ON QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

That initial sensation has not left me. Am I 'whoring' my friends, and friends of friends, and men previously unknown to me, for my own gratification . . . for some letters after my name. In the moments after, when I am just Melissa, and not "The Researcher", they assure me that they trust me, that the work is important, that it's good to be asked about something positive for a change. I guess that I'll cling to those assurances because I know, at least at an academic and political level, that their stories need to be put on the record.
(Excerpt from the Researcher's Journal, November 2005)

The search for sociological knowledge is complicated and one is well advised to

remember Berger's (1963) first law of sociology – things are not always as they seem and

therefore one must constantly question what seems obvious. If we look only at the dominant

accounts of the resettlement of ex-prisoners, a picture would emerge of recidivism concerns

and risk management. Yet, there must be more to this story since the majority of

criminalized men do leave prison and re-enter the community and 'make good'. Indeed, the

literature reviewed indicated many questions remain un-asked and un-answered in regard to

the resettlement experiences of ex-prisoners. Toward this end, Professor Bruckert and

Professor Frigon obtained funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council to

conduct research on this topic. This portion of that project focused on the resettlement

experiences of successful, male, former long- term prisoners who currently live in Ontario.[70]

The main research questions were: what factors (either positive or negative) conditioned

their post-prison success; how did the prisoners prepare for their release from prison; how

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[70] The larger project was titled "Release and Reintegration after prison: negotiating gender, culture and identity" and examined the reintegration experience of both male and female prisoners in Ontario and Quebec. It also examined the experience of support people, family and partners of released prisoners. Key support officials (e.g. Parole officers, in-reach workers, halfway house staff, etc.) were also interviewed by the principle researchers and their research assistants to get a broader perspective on the experience and the confines under which prisoners are released and supported.

did the ex-prisoners experience the periods of time after incarceration; in which ways did their time in prison shape their lives afterwards; and how are these experiences conditioned by the regulatory context in which they are situated.

Before describing the specific techniques that were used to answer these questions, the research will be ontologically and epistemologically situated and placed within a broader theoretical frame. Next, given my belief that no research is objective or apolitical, I will locate myself within the project in order to explore the issues of reflexivity and positionality.[71] The final three sections will explore the particular techniques that were utilized to conduct this study. The data collection section will introduce the qualitative processes which were employed and the research process section will examine the technical aspects of instrument development and sampling. Subsequently, the process of analysis will be discussed with particular attention to the ethical and practical considerations inherent in this approach. The chapter will conclude by reflecting on the limitations of the research approach and techniques.

On the Question of What Is Knowable

It is important to begin with a discussion of the methodological context in which the particular research techniques are situated. Consideration of these broader issues should begin by examining the assumptions about what is knowable (the ontological position) since this underlies both the techniques and theories that will be employed (Guba, 1990). The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology offers the following definition of ontology:

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[71]Positionality refers to the notion that "where we are located in the social structure as a whole and which institutions we are in . . . Have effects on how we understand the world" (Harstock, 1987, p.188).

Any way of understanding the world, or some part of it, must make assumptions (which may be implicit or explicit) about what kind of things do or can exist in that domain, and what might be their conditions of existence, relations of dependency, and so on. Such an inventory of kinds of being and their relations is an ontology. (Marshall, 1994, p. 367)

In some social science research, findings are presented in the positivist tradition as truth which has been arrived at through careful, scientific and objective observation. This belief is premised on the idea that the world is directly accessible; this sense of being all-knowing, all-seeing and objective is referred to by Mohammad (2001) as a "god-trick" (p. 103) and is in marked contrast to the stance taken here. This research is premised on the ontological belief that there is no 'real' world waiting to be discovered and explained in terms of causation or fixed principles. As Demerrit wrote, "the phenomenon of reality depends on how it is represented to be. . . . Truth is whatever we agree to call it, there is no Archimedean point from which to observe the world that is independent of it" (cited in Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002, p. 2). Laws which govern behaviour are not sought; rather, the main aim of this research on release, reentry and resettlement of former long term prisoners is to make sense of their understandings of their own post-carceral experiences.

It is recognized that there is no 'one truth' but, instead, multiple truths are available to the researcher. Accepting this premise also acknowledges that human action and behaviour is much too complex and nuanced to ever be fully known; therefore, this research recognizes the partial nature of knowledge and no claims of being *the* definitive study of resettlement are made. To borrow an analogy from Pires (1997), the goal of this research is not to illuminate an entire field but merely to provide sparks from which we may gain a glimpse.

On the Question of Framing Experiences

From these glimpses, interpretations are made and these, according to Popper (1968), are arrived at through theory. According to Hoggart, Lees & Davies (2002), our understanding of our environment is mediated by preconceived theory and practice and as such, it is essential that research be firmly situated within a theoretical framework that justifies the use of particular approaches to knowledge creation, production, and elicitation. Since the major theoretical constructs have been discussed elsewhere, they will be reflected upon here only as they relate to methodological issues.

Using the symbolic interactionist frame requires an analysis not only of the actions of the ex-prisoners but also of how these are shaped by the reactions of others and of agents of the state. To facilitate this examination, this research is conceptualized as belonging within "active-subject socially-oriented theories" (Bottoms, 2000, p. 29) which "study the conscious and meaningful actions of people who change in response to their own understanding of how they are understood" (Hoggart et al., 2002, p. 26). The search for meaning embedded within these philosophical and theoretical approaches requires that a type of ethnomethodological approach be used. Bottoms (2000) has argued that this approach has three major premises: a focus on the nuanced understandings, a rejection of the scientific and an ". . . emphasis . . . on the meaning of social actions to actors and on their detailed understandings of particular contexts" (p. 30).

In order for researchers to ask about an individual's understandings, we are reliant on a person's ability to recall or access memories. Given Malpas' (1999) conditions of memory and the premises of ethnomethodology outlined by Bottoms (2000), to examine the

experience of release, reentry, and resettlement of long-term prisoners, research must necessarily commence at the level of the narrative.[73] By attending to the (ex)convicts' stories, we can start to shed light on the multiple actions and strategies through which these men realize success.

In order to appreciate the context of interactions a researcher needs to recognize and understand that the research process is embedded within the power/knowledge construct (Foucault, 1980a). While the intent of this research is not to construct a genealogy of the emergence of these constructs, it is important to acknowledge their presence, any obvious transitions and the way that power relations are implicated in the men's experiences. By placing the voices of the ex-prisoner against the dominating discourses, tensions can be explored and as Foucault (1980a) stated, we can attempt to "emancipate historical knowledges from that subjection, to render them, that is, capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse" (p. 85). This research attempts, as Smith (2001) has argued human geography should, to place ignored and non-dominant knowledges onto the research agenda. As will be discussed later in this chapter, this goal will be pursued by recognizing the current lived experience of former long-term prisoners and then situating these experiences within a socio-historical frame so that the emergence of the particular rationalities can be examined.

However, before discussing strategies that were used to hear these voices, it is critical that I address my place in the work because as Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) argued:

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[73] This term is used to specify the stories the men told rather than the method of narrative analysis.

the more effectively we can understand the account and its context – who produced it, for whom and why – the better able we are to anticipate the ways in which it may suffer from biases of one kind or another as a source of information. (p. 107)

Thus, at this juncture it is imperative to question and discuss myself in relation to the project.

On the Question of Reflexivity and Positionality

Like all who engage in research, I do not come to the work as a 'blank slate'. I bring my life experiences, beliefs, prior knowledge and relationships to the research. Because of this, my work can never be fully inductive, yet, the notion of deductivity does not seem to completely fit either -- creating a tension which Layder (1998) argued is the result of a false distinction between the two. He asserted that theoretical forms adapt reflexively to new information and become reconfigured. In what he termed adaptive theory, he stated that "induction and deduction must be conceived as equally important and mutually influential approaches to knowledge, according to different empirical and theoretical circumstances. These latter will reflect the ongoing nature of particular research projects" (Layder, 1998, p. 136). This research is situated within this adaptive theory as it moves freely between my pre-conceived theoretical suppositions and new, sometimes contradictory, information which required that I adapt my understandings. In some cases, the experiences of which the men speak did not fit with my expectations or ideas. While sometimes surprising and difficult for me to resolve, these contradictions between the expected and the actual responses led to some of the most nuanced parts of the analysis. The chapter on identity and stigma in this dissertation is a prime example of this tension and its resolution. I had fully expected to hear multiple stories of being stigmatized and the crippling effect upon

reintegration; when these did not manifest, I was forced to examine my own positioning (and the data contained within the literature) and reconfigure my own understandings until I found a way of making sense that was reflective of the experiences that had been shared with me.

In the same way that adaptive theory recognizes the dualistic nature of information generation, there is another dyad that must be acknowledged: the effect of the researcher on the research and the effect of the research on the researcher. While I want to avoid creating texts about the texts, and creating autoethnographies where the intent is not to do so, I also recognize that to not situate myself within the research is at best problematic and at worst unethical. Reflexivity is essential because, as Avis (2002) argued, it links the "idea of self to the process of knowledge construction" (p. 205).

In regard to the first part of the dualism, my impact on the research, it is necessary to note that in the sixteen years prior to conducting this research I was engaged in political activism which focused primarily on human rights issues and as part of this engagement, I became involved in prisoners' rights work. I met, worked with, and became friends with several men who were serving long term prison sentences and who were subsequently released into the community on some form of parole. I recognized their struggles with release, with reentry and with resettlement and their success in negotiating these obstacles. This work arises from bearing witness to their processes and in wanting to get their, and others', success stories on the record. I see my involvement as an activist and friend as being in keeping with Mills' (1959) sentiment that sociology is about locating the personal within the political or the public domains. As a feminist, I do not see a separation between

my day-to-day life, my work or my political activities – all are fully entangled. This approach has a lengthy historical precedent as we can see from this 1949 quote from Jones in her work on African-American women in the United States: "to place the question as a 'personal' and not a political matter, when such questions arise, is to be guilty of the worst kind of Social-Democratic, bourgeois-liberal thinking . . ." (Jones, 1995, p. 117). Like the scholar/activists who have preceded me, this research emerges from a political place and is meant to have a political end.

Committed Scholarship

In situating this research in this way, it is understood as "committed scholarship" (Kobayashi, 2001, p. 58) which requires that research be conducted using qualitative methods, from a critical perspective, and that it be linked to activism. Kobayashi (2001) argues that it is morally imperative that a qualitative approach be used in order "to recognize that subjects' lives are multifaceted, interconnected, contextually situated and deeply meaningful, in ways that cannot be conveyed easily by simple descriptions such as those achieved quantitatively" (p. 58). Within this research, this criteria will be met through the use of in-depth interviews which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The second component, critical research, is defined as "scholarship that conveys the social consequences of the situations that we study, and that attempts to uncover the tensions and contradictions faced by people in those situations" (Kobayashi, 2001, p. 55). In a time of growing responsibilization of individuals and the emergence of particular risk management rationalities, successful negotiation of reintegration is clearly an area where the incongruities and strains must be considered. With regard to the third component, it is useful to draw

upon the work of Friere (1971) who wrote that "there is no true word that is not at the same time praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world" (p. 77). While I would prefer the term 'truths', the sentiment encapsulates the activist principle required with committed scholarship and the approach which is present in this sharing of post-prison narratives.

Being 'In' and 'Out' of the Know

In adopting this committed scholarship approach, I recognize that I both deliberately and unintentionally shape this research in ways that make it unique. Some of the interviews were conducted with the friends who inspired the work, while most of the others are direct referrals from this core group.[74] In a few cases, the stories they tell, and the experiences they had during their reentry and resettlement, include me; not only does my presence influence the research in the present, but in some instances, it shaped part of their past experiences. McKeown (2001) a former IRA prisoner doing research on similar others speaks to the benefits of this 'insiderness':

> From the starting point of a researcher, being knowledgeable about the prison and its history, put me in an advantageous position as I could easily identify the main people I wanted to speak to. I knew most of them on a personal basis, and some were close friends. Those I did not know so well or not at all were at least aware of my history. This meant that no time was lost in getting to know one another and where we were coming from . . . . We could all share in the same conceptual framework, speak a familiar language and be aware of the particular nuances that an 'outsider' might miss. (p. 5)

My role was not as clear as McKeown's (2001) as I was neither fully an insider (I was not a man who had served a long prison term and been released), nor fully an outsider (I had participated in a few of their releases/resettlement processes and had some insider

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[74] This sampling method will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

knowledge). Certainly, direct access was easier for me than it had been for other researchers because I already knew some former long-term prisoners and had their contact information. While there may have been some common language and a few shared experiences that helped to get at nuances that may have otherwise been missed, I could never be fully sure what information was not communicated in order to protect themselves or conversely, shield me from parts of the experience. Two other points should also be considered in relation to this point: assumption of shared knowledge or position and impact of gender. It is possible that we assumed a common understanding of terms or symbols that did not get explored as a result of this type of presupposition. Also, as a woman (even a partial insider) interviewing men, it may be that gender relations played a role in what information was shared or withheld. The protection or assertion of their masculinity may have been an issue which figured into which issues they felt comfortable discussing. It is important to acknowledge that the power to decide which stories to tell remains with the teller and this control is in keeping with presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) and with the psychological literature that indicates that people may withhold information in order to protect others (DePaulo, Kashy, Kirkendol, Wyer, & Epstein, 1996; Lippard, 1988). Thus, the transmission of information operates in a place between protecting the self and protecting others.

While an unknown researcher may not have had access to some of the men interviewed, those who participated may have disclosed different information to a previously unknown researcher creating"different phenomenological realities" (Tewksbury & Gagne, 1996, p. 80). In addition to being known already, various other factors (location, gender, appearance) can influence the content of the interview and shape how the interviewer is

perceived. Sometimes the presence of another person, extraneous to the intended interview, can influence the interview's course[75] and how the interviewer is viewed. One particularly clear example occurred during an interview with a man I had not met prior to our exchange. During our discussion, another former prisoner called to invite me to dinner and the tone of the interview changed dramatically following the call; the respondent became much more forthright and collegial. It would appear that my relationship with another ex-prisoner had given me an insider-type status that changed how this interviewee participated in the process. The discussion proceeded in a different way which included variation in the language used (more 'jailhouse speak'), a more relaxed physical position, and a seemingly more frank approach to the narrative.

Given my position that knowledge is always only partial, I must accept that the information given to me is mediated in ways that will, in part, remain unknown and that I can only work with the stories as they are shared. It would be both arrogant and naive to assume that the stories shared during our interview were 'The' stories,[76] yet they do provide glimpses into an experience while concurrently recognizing the active agency of both myself and the men who agreed to share their stories. Arguably, while positionality is spotlighted in qualitative research, the same context-specificity applies to quantitative methods as well. Certainly researcher characteristics shape the way that individuals complete surveys or questionnaires in their presence. Fractionality of knowledge and reactivity are important

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[75] During one interview, the interviewee asked that his wife be present and on occasion she would intervene to 'correct' some factual detail and this would, at least temporarily, alter the narrative.

[76] Because I was part of a broader research project, it should be noted that 4 of the interviews were conducted by Prof. Chris Bruckert or her researcher assistant. The interview conducted by Professor Bruckert with a man previously known to her flowed very similarly to the one's I conducted. The three conducted by the Research Assistant spent more time on the period of imprisonment but otherwise, the content was similar. While the tone of the discussion may have varied between interviewers, the emergent themes were not substantively different.

points to acknowledge but are not issues which nullify the findings. On the contrary,

throughout the process of analysis I recognized that I was getting distinct information in a

distinct setting and I attributed value to this.

Negotiating the Ethics of Receiving Stories

It was on this last point, the sharing of stories, that an important ethical dilemma

emerged. Who was I to ask for/take the men's stories, code and decode them, structure and

theorize and present them – to conduct an act that has been referred to as "epistemological

violence" (Raju, 2002, p. 174). I would be asking the men to recall their success but in so

doing, they needed to revisit their struggles and I worried that this would have a negative

impact on them after I left.[77] As a feminist, I was firmly committed to recognizing

'authentic voices' and giving space for 'neglected voices' to be communicated. I was also

keenly aware that prisoners and ex-prisoners are rarely given a venue to have their stories

heard and, even more rarely, published.[78] Still I ended up having a quandary of conscience

(Clark & Scharf, 2007) as I questioned whether I was the person who should be presenting

the men's stories from my own place of privilege. To partially resolve this dilemma,[79] I

answered the question posed by Raju (2002): "do the privileged remain silent even if their

speaking, however tinted and biased their voices might be (assuming that they would be),

makes a difference?" (p. 174) I answered, 'no' and attempted to employ a research process

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[77]In order to mediate this potential risk to the subjects, I tried to be very attentive, not just to the words the men used but, to their body language and other cues of possible distress. I reminded them that we could stop the interview at any time and turned off the tape-recorder at my their request or when I felt we needed an 'off the record' break. I tried to make sure that I could stay and chat after the interviews to ease the transition out of the interview. Also, because I believe in committed scholarship, I followed up with the men in the days after the interview and when their transcript was sent to them.

[78] For notable exceptions to this statement see for example, the Journal of Prisoners on Prisons, Prison Legal News and the work in Convict Criminology.

[79] I use the term 'partially' because I still struggle with this issue.

that was respectful of the men and which would allow their own truths to emerge while still

critically engaging with their stories. This position is supported by Ong (1995) who states:

> given our [researchers'] privileges, there is greater betrayal in allowing our personal
> doubts to stand in the way of representing their claims, interests and perspectives.
> The greater betrayal lies in refusing to recognize informants as active cultural
> producers in their own right, whose voices insist upon being heard and can make a
> difference in the way we think about their lives. (p. 354)

Dis-ease and the Researcher Self

The second part of the aforementioned dyad, the effect of the research on the

researcher is an area that is often overlooked when discussing reflexivity. Conducting the

interviews had a profound impact on me. I was not prepared for the influence that their

stories would have on me as a person. In many cases I felt their pain, not in a detached,

therapeutic-relationship type of way, but as a friend. I experienced guilt as they told of

painful memories and struggles; I wished that I had been more aware and helpful to them at

that time. I felt shame for exploiting these men for their experiences which I would use to

form this dissertation. Had I had prostituted them and left a $50 honorarium for their time?[80]

In an attempt to maintain some semblance of an official researcher/interviewee dichotomy,

and to not unduly influence the research process, I resisted the urge to cry with them even

though I knew that to do so might have been the more human and appropriate thing to do. I

was, as Avis (2002) noted, trying to create "a 'researcher self' that is discrete from any other

subject position" (p. 198). Kirkwood (1993) acknowledged this dilemma when she wrote

that divesting the researcher of emotion in the interview setting is to render the experience

less human. She argued against the detached stance that I strived for when she wrote ". . . by

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[80] While I am using the past tense to discuss these sensations during the research, I could just have easily used the
present tense as the emotions still linger.

becoming a responsive, interactive part of the interview, in treating experience as human, non-mechanical interaction, we must invest the very skills women have learnt so well: receptivity and sensitivity to emotions and personal response" (Kirkwood, 1993, p. 22). While I experience some regret over my lack of emotion during the interviews, my previous training as a counsellor helped me recognize that reacting to the sadness of the stories can also lead to the sharing individual 'shutting down' in order to not overwhelm the listener. At this point, I have no resolution as to what '*should*' have transpired but were I to do the research again, I likely would try to find a place 'in-between' – where I could share in the respondent's sadness while retaining the focus on the men.

Most often my dis-ease centred on a contradiction that I felt; I believe that I was not *giving voice*, as is so often the rhetoric, but rather, that I was *taking it.* This existential dilemma was captured well by one of the participants who said to me during one of the interviews:

> . . . and here comes the work that you are going to have to invest in your dissertation and your reward is your PhD and then you'll move on and there'll be another incarnation evolution, or twist and turn . . . so what is the point of your life? (Bobby)

These issues affected me profoundly and at the time of this writing are still lingering and nagging despite my intellectualization of the merits of doing this research and my knowledge that all the men freely consented to participate. My angst was somewhat mitigated by the fact that over the years it took to complete this research, some of the men would inquire about my progress and the research findings, provide encouragement and speak to the usefulness of the work. Ultimately, I believe my experience of dis-ease is part of committed scholarship – adopting this methodological approach is a recognition of

injustice and therefore should be unsettling. Ultimately, the greater good (getting successes 'on the record' and getting my PhD) slightly edged out my existential angst.

On the Question of Research Method

A goal of this research was to centre the perspectives of those who have lived the resettlement experience and to privilege their knowledge as that of experts. To this end, a qualitative approach was utilized since, as Palys (2003) argued, this approach places emphasis on processes and on understanding behaviour in context because it prioritizes the "perceptions and their meanings" (p. 15) of those who have the lived experience. In keeping with the principles of committed scholarship, Smith (2001) asserted that qualitative methods "... provide access to the motives, aspirations and power relationships that account for how places, people, and events are made and represented" (p. 660).

Data Collection

The research process for this project had three distinct components: the planning, the gathering of a sample group and the interviews themselves.

Planning

As was noted earlier, this research was part of a larger funded project and thus, by the time of my involvement a considerable amount of time and thought had been put into developing the methodological approach and techniques. Frigon and Bruckert (2004) described their rationale for adopting an ethnomethodological approach thusly "...we aim to explore and capture the minute, the subtleties of everyday life by attending to the experiences and concrete problems as well as to questions of identity, gender and

subjectivity" (p. 15). To meet this aim, interviews with successful former long-term prisoners were the selected method.

Perhaps the most dominant limitation in this approach is the artificiality of the interview as a means of communication. Discussions do not emerge casually or spontaneously, but rather are part of a scheduled and structured interaction. This structure imposes a formality that constrains, and at the same time, focuses the discussion. As such, a particular style of communication is decided upon and is reacted to. The time-bounded interview format limits the "intrinsic qualities"[81] (Pires, 1997, p. 172) or depth of each interview since it places constraints on the time allowed for reflection, re-evaluation and reformulation of thoughts. Research participants are also acutely aware that they are part of a study and this cognisance mediates their responses. Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) addressed this issue:

> The problem of reactivity is merely one aspect of a more general phenomenon that cannot be eradicated: the effects of audience, and indeed the context generally, on what people say and do. All accounts must be interpreted in terms of the context in which they were produced. (p. 112)

This context-specificity has long been acknowledged by researchers working within a symbolic interactionist paradigm. Goffman (1961b) asserted that individuals, in all interactions, act in ways which lend themselves to a particular presentation. Understood this way, the interview setting, while atypical, is not completely removed from most day-to-day negotiation and presentations of self.

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[81] Original French "qualitiés intrinseques" [translation mine].

Prior to my involvement in the project, an interview guide was developed by the principle researchers.[82] This guide was used by Professors Frigon and Bruckert and by three Research Assistants to interview both male and female ex-prisoners. When the research team met for the first time to discuss preliminary findings and the process, we discovered that with one exception the interviews were concentrating primarily on the time the participants spent in prison rather than the post-release period. Since the focus of the research was resettlement, the amount of time spent discussing the carceral period was particularly problematic and the research team decided to revise the interview guide. Based on the preliminary interviews, Professor Bruckert and I rewrote the guide that was employed in this research project.

In developing the second version of the interview guide with Professor Bruckert, I was constantly trying to answer the questions that Gray (2003) posed: "What purpose is the interview going to serve in my overall research? How do alternative strategies position the respondents? Do they maintain their dignity and integrity or is my voice more powerful in the text?" (p. 161). We felt that using an interview approach was critical in order to let the men speak of their experience; however, we also wanted the freedom to ask about specific areas without taking away from the facets of the experience that they wanted to prioritize. Level of directivity was an important consideration and it was a particularly difficult issue to resolve since there were multiple areas of interest among the research team. To meet these demands, we continued to use a semi-directive approach which is defined as containing "pre-structured partial probes concerning specific topics or issues" (Pires, 2005, p. 34).[83]

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[82]See Appendix B1 for a copy of this guide.

[83] See Appendix B2 for a copy of this guide.

This approach was selected on philosophical and practical grounds. Given the committed scholarship frame that I had chosen to adopt, I felt that I was an "active participant" (Devault, 1990, p.100) in the process and that to not ask questions or respond to theirs, would be too clinical and detached. On a practical level, we needed to find a way to get information in the particular areas of interest of each researcher and an unstructured interview would not have guaranteed this result. For my own research, I was very interested in how space and place influenced the experiences and while this emerged organically in the first set of interviews, I was eager to incorporate some specific geographic questions into the guide so that the issue could be probed more deeply. The challenge in designing the guide was to incorporate our various areas of interest (e.g. race, gender, resistance, etc.) into the probes without the task becoming unruly and undoable in two hours or less.

Ultimately, the interview guide adopted a retrospective/reformulation approach (Pires, 2005) whereby we started sections with general invitations to speak on a particular topic and then followed with specific probes designed to aid the individual in reflecting more deeply on their experiences. One of the concerns of this technique is that themes are imposed rather than emerging organically; however, it is clear from the transcripts that where a topic did not resonate with the interviewee, the men were comfortable refusing or refuting the idea even when probed. By way of example, one man claimed that he never experienced stigma and refuted its existence, even when he was probed on it by the interviewer, as is evidenced in this excerpt:

> Interviewer: Have you ever had a sense of being stigmatized?
> Gerry: No.
> Interviewer: Never?
> Gerry: No.

> Interviewer: Not even on the job hunt?
> Gerry: Not really, no.

Where this occurred, the individual's understanding was coded and analysed and included in the analysis, providing an excellent entry to understand the complexity of the lived experiences of these men.

The order of the questions was modified from the first version so that questions about prison came at the end, rather than the beginning, of the interview. This re-arrangement was done for two main reasons: prioritizing the temporal period of most interest and addressing interview fatigue. When the men were contacted for interviews, a two hour period was presented and, except where the men expressed a desire to continue past this allotment, interviews were conducted within this time frame. Depending on the verbosity of the interviewee, the duration of the interview would vary and in some cases, could not be completed in full in the allotted time[84] and so we wanted to ensure that the post-prison experiences were prioritized. Also, we were cognizant of the fact that one-to-one interviews can be exhausting for both individuals and that, much like students in a university classroom, attention is more focussed at the beginning of an allotted period. Interview fatigue does not receive much attention in the literature but as Everson (1997) pointed out:

> It is easy to underestimate the cognitive and emotional demands of the interview process . . . [which include] staying on task, interacting with an unfamiliar adult authority figure . . . attempting to track and respond accurately to a multitude of questions, and focussing on possibly unpleasant, anxiety-provoking, or traumatic topics. (p. 144)

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[84] In other cases, the interview was interrupted by forces other than time. For example, in one of the interviews, the man received a call from his child's school which caused to him immediately stop the interview.

Ultimately, the interview guide was eight pages long which required that the interviewer be a skilled listener and have a thorough familiarity with its contents and the goals of the project.

In order to put myself and the interviewee at ease and mitigate the potential intensity of the formal interview, it was important to 'chat' for a few minutes before turning on the tape recorder or going over the consent form and so I engaged in a pre-topical talk which was ". . . aimed at constructing a sharedness . . ." (Devault, 1990, p. 100). Usually these conversations would involve getting to know each other a bit, chatting about our day, and other mundane things. The men would often ask about people we both knew or how I knew the person who referred me.

Sample

The criterion for individuals to participate was that they had been sentenced to ten or more years of incarceration and had been released from prison at least five years prior to the interview and had incurred no new convictions during that time. The time frames adopted for this project are those currently[85] utilized by the state to define long-term incarceration[86] and successful reintegration (Canada, 1998; CSC, 2000, 1998, 1994, 1992). Length of time served is a critical variable in the design of this research. Conceivably, an individual could

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[85]There has been a recent shift in the way long-term imprisonment is defined by the state and we see a general upwards trend in the amount of time the individual must serve in order to qualify to be in this strata. For example the Solicitor General's (1984) report *Long Term Imprisonment in Canada* offers the following definition of long term prisoners: "(a) all prisoners serving a life sentence; (b) all prisoners serving an indefinite sentence regardless of parole eligibility; (c) those serving a definite sentence of at least 21 years (and for whom the parole ineligibility period is therefore at least equivalent to the shortest parole ineligibility period for a life sentence, i.e. 7 years); and all other prisoners who have served at least seven consecutive years" (p.7)

[86] Ten years is also employed by the men themselves. For example, in many penitentiaries in Canada, prisoners have established 10+ groups to support those men and women who are serving 10 or more years of incarceration.

be charged, convicted and imprisoned for a short period of time without significant impact on their day-to-day lives – thus reducing the chances that others will know about their criminality. By adopting the ten year standard, this research focuses exclusively on those individuals for whom imprisonment was assured to create major disruption in their lives.

To access our sample, it was decided that we would not ask for referrals from state departments or employees. It is not the intent of the research team to suggest that referrals from the correctional apparatuses would be seen as coercive but, given the vulnerability to the state of some of the men who would be eligible to participate, it was felt it would be better to access potential participants through other types of contacts. We wanted the men to feel that they could be critical or praising of the state without thoughts of retribution or reward.

Prior to my involvement, three interviews with men were conducted using the first interview guide. Two of these individuals were known to Professor Bruckert and one was a direct referral from one of these men. When I began my research, I utilized the new interview guide and began with men I had known for several years. From them, I received referrals to other former prisoners who would be eligible to participate – a method known as snowball sampling. Referrals were also received through Lifeline, a prison in-reach program staffed primarily by individuals who are serving Life sentences. This connection to Lifeline had the unintended consequence of helping to establish rapport or connections with the men to whom they referred us. In essence, this connection provided a sense of what Tewksbury and Gagne (1996) called a knowledgeable insider working with a knowledgeable outsider. However, during the initial phone calls to set up the meeting and during the reading of the

consent form, it was made clear to the participants that Lifeline was not officially associated with this project. It was emphasized that the Lifeline program and its employees would not have access to the raw data collected.

Analysis was conducted on the extant transcripts as they were available and the researcher felt that data saturation had been reached after the seventeenth interview; however, three additional interviews were conducted to ensure " . . . a representative sampling of data reflecting the major sociological and/or psychological structures and processes inherent in a given phenomenon" (Maruna, 1997, p. 70) had been attained.

Ultimately, 20 men were interviewed. Table 4.1 provides some basic demographic information on the men and is included to provided a succinct summary of the respondents' educational level, marital, parental and employment statuses. The table of demographics also provides data on the range of years served in prison and since release and whether then men were Life sentenced or not. The majority (16) of the men in this sample were serving Life sentences and the amount of time served ranged between 10 years and more than 30 years with the median time served being 17 years. The minimum time since release was five years but two of the men had been out of prison for over 20 years at the time of their interview. The majority of the men had been out of prison for between five and ten years. Given the amount of time served, it is not surprising that the men who participated in this research were predominantly middle aged: 12 of the men were between 40 and 55, seven of the men were over 56 and only one was under 40 years of age.

Table 4.1 Respondent Demographics

Interviewee	Age Range	Highest Level of Education	Children [C]/ Step-Children [S]	Current Marital Status	Current Employment Status	Years Served in Prison	Years Since Release	Serving Life Sentence	Date of Interview (Y/ M/D)
Barry	50-54	university	C/S	common-law	full time	13 to 15	20+	no	2004-Jun-09
Bob	55-59	university	no	single	unemployed	19 to 21	5 to 7	yes	2005-Mar-05
Bobby	55-59	college	S	common-law	disability pension	13 to 15	20+	yes	2005-Mar-05
Dave	60-64	college	S	married	retired	19 to 21	14 to 16	yes	2005-Mar-04
Doc	45-49	high school	no	common-law	full time	16 to 18	5 to 7	yes	2006-Mar-29
Ernest	65-69	vocational	C	single	retired	13 to 15	14 to 16	yes	2007-Feb-23
F.G.	65-69	elementary	no	single	disability pension	22 to 25	5 to 7	yes	2006-Dec-12
Mr. Flowers	50-54	university	S	married	self-employed	19 to 21	5 to 7	no	2005-Apr-12
Fred	40-44	college	C	married	unemployed	13 to 15	8 to 10	yes	2006-Apr-19
Gerry	65-69	unknown	no	single	full time	29+	11 to 13	no	2005-Apr-02
Gord	50-54	elementary	no	single	disability pension	22 to 25	5 to 7	yes	2004-May-14
Gowan	45-49	vocational	C/S	married	full time	10 to 12	14 to 16	yes	2006-Mar-18
Jean	50-54	university	C/S	common-law	full time	22 to 25	8 to 10	yes	2005-Apr-12
Joel	45-49	university	no	divorced	full time	10 to 12	11 to 13	yes	2004-May-19
Luc	60-64	unknown	no	common-law	full time	29+	11 to 13	yes	2002-Aug-29
Marcus	30-34	unknown	C	common-law	full time	10 to 12	5 to 7	no	2004-May-19
Puzzle	40-44	unknown	C	common-law	unemployed	10 to12	8 to 10	yes	2006-Dec-13
Rick	50-54	university	C	married	full time	19 to 21	8 to 10	yes	2005-Jan-22
Tom	50-54	university	C/S	common-law	disability pension	19 to 21	8 to 10	yes	2005-Apr-18
Ziggy	50-54	university	C/S	married	full time	13 to 15	11 to 13	yes	2006-Dec-11

Conducting the Interviews

Once the men were identified, a phone call was made to explain the research and invite them to participate. If they agreed, a mutually agreed upon time and location was selected for the interviews. In keeping with the premise that place matters in interactions and in order to maximize the men's comfort, the respondents were asked to select the location for the interview.[88] Nine of the men were interviewed in their homes, one came to an interviewer's residence, six were interviewed at the Lifeline program offices, two in restaurants and two asked to use a space at the halfway house to which they had previously been released. This last choice came as a surprise to me but the men indicated that they felt very comfortable there and they arranged for a private space which would allow us to be uninterrupted; their sense of comfort in the halfway house will be discussed in the upcoming chapter on geography.

Following the pre-talk, the men were given a copy of the consent form[89] and I read it aloud and answered any questions they had about the project and the way the interview data would be used. Immediately following this process, the men were given their $50 honorarium in cash and it was made clear that this money was to compensate for any expenses they may have incurred as a result of meeting with me; as such, they were told that they were not obliged to continue in the research process in order to retain the money and could stop the interview at any time. Permission was granted by all the men to tape-record the interview. Each of the interviews was transcribed verbatim (names[90] and places were

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[88]This occurred in the interviews that Professor Bruckert and I did but may not have occurred in the two that were conducted by a Research Assistant.

[89] See Appendix B3 for a copy of the consent form.

[90] Interviewees selected their own pseudonyms but all other name changes were made by the researchers.

changed to protect the identity of the interviewee and those to whom they may have referred). Each of the men were advised that a copy of the verbatim transcript would be made available to them if they wanted to review it and make deletions. Seven of the men requested a copy of the transcript. In a few of the cases the men made minor changes (dates or places) but no substantive changes were made to the transcripts nor were any follow-up interviews requested.

The interviews varied in length between one hour and two and a half hours of taped time. Interviews sometimes exceeded three hours when breaks were incorporated. As a result, an abundance of data was available for analysis.

Process of Analysis

The goal of analysis is to create an understanding of a particular phenomenon and to this end, two main sources of data were utilized: interview transcripts and secondary data.

Making Sense of Their Stories

All interviews were transcribed by me, a research assistant or a professional transcription service. In all cases, once the original transcript was completed, I compared the taped interview against the written text to ensure accuracy and to hear the flow of the interviews. In order to better appreciate the nuances of the interviews, all pauses, hesitations and 'uhms' were included in the original transcriptions because, these can represent ". . . not-quite-articulated experience, where standard vocabulary is inadequate, and where a respondent tries to speak from experience and finds language wanting" (Devault, 1990, p. 103). While these hesitations were included in the original transcription and for the analysis process, they have been largely removed from the excerpts used in the analytic chapters of this work. I felt that while the presence of these "para-linguistic elements" (Gray, 2003, p.

151) was important in 'hearing' the voice in the whole interview, it only hampered the reading of the respondent's words once cut from the interview and pasted into the analysis as illustrations of particular phenomena. Tangentially, juxtaposing their on-demand responses against my own, carefully constructed and edited words seemed to give the appearance of an intellectual difference (Bruckert, 2000). That said, in some excerpts, their hesitations were critical in understanding the point and in those instances they remain in the text.

Where there was discrepancy or where the voice was unclear, Professor Bruckert and I both reviewed the audio tape. In order to not affect the internal or external validity of the data, if the words or intention behind the words remained unclear, we did not use these excerpts in the analysis. Rejecting text that was ambiguous in meaning was critical since, as Kvale (1995) argued, the process of validation in qualitative research does not occur simply in developing the interview instrument, or as an inspection at the end of the project but is related to quality control throughout the various stages. For knowledge claims to be defensible, rigour must be attended to at every point.

A first level reading was then conducted in which the full transcript was reviewed to get a sense of the story the individual was telling (Hoggart et al., 2002). Focussing on the narrative allowed the researcher to get a 'big picture' of how the individual told his story and made sense of his experiences (Chase, 1995); this in turn helped to sort out any incongruities and contradictions that emerged when the interviews were coded line by line. This reading of the text was utilized to attempt to understand how the individual told their story and how,

through this telling, the individuals saw themselves and constructed their world, or rather the "verstehen" (Hoggart et al., 2002, p.155).[91]

Following this process, a specific coding of each line of text was conducted with codes being ". . . interpretive tags to text (or other material) based on categories or themes that are relevant to the research" (Cope, 2003, p. 445) and this marking of the text was done using N-vivo software. This process allowed for a detailed read of each of the transcripts – a process referred to as reading the 'vertical axis'(Pettigrew, 1990; Pires, 1997) wherein the researcher is interested in the depth of each story. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) refer to this basic level of abstraction as coding "items" which are "discrete and concrete units of analysis or things" (p. 68). Each interview was marked for both "in vivo" codes (terms used by informants) and "constructed codes" (more abstract and drawn out by the researcher) (Jackson, 2001, p. 202). These two types of codes were important since the men described experiences in ways that were not always the way that a researcher might understand them. For example, a man might describe his body during particular periods (in vivo) and this description might be more abstractly understood in terms of geographic placement or identity (constructed). The result was that items often appeared in multiple nodes and would be cross-referenced during the analysis.

When the coding process began, a few (<10) anticipated codes were established and, in keeping with adaptive theory, additions were made as the items and patterns emerged. In some cases, this action meant revisiting earlier interviews to code something which was more visible in later transcripts. The primary tool for grouping items was time frame and the four

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[91]Maruna (1997) wrote " . . . the modern adult defines him or herself in society by fashioning an internalized and dynamic life story, or personal myth, that provides life with unity, purpose, and meaning" (p. 62).

time periods (pre-prison, prison, early post-prison, longer post-prison[92]) utilized in the survey, were used to structure the coding and while this division was practical for later analysis, at times it proved to be problematic. For example, in a few cases, the men had briefly returned to prison (without a new conviction) and so experienced prison, release and the halfway house more than once. Where this type of instance occurred, an electronic note (referred to as a databite in the software) was placed on the coded item to remind us of the context. Within each time period were nodes which represented each of the major topics about which the men spoke; by organizing the coding in this way, it was more evident when issues emerged for the men.

Often a node would have a variety of sub-nodes within it (called 'children' in the software) and this resulted in a total of 293 distinct codes being developed. Figure 4.1 provides an illustration of how a very small portion of the coding 'manual' looked. The amount of coding per document varied dramatically as some men spoke at length and in great depth about their experiences while other men were more succinct. Also, in some cases a paragraph could be placed into multiple nodes as the speaker covered several themes concurrently and Figure 4.2 provides an example of this overlap in coding from Ziggy's transcript. The following statistics are provided to give a sense of the magnitude of the coding done. The least coded transcript had 121 items marked while the most coded transcript had 301.[93] Each transcript spoke to a multiplicity of themes with the least variety

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[92] 'Pre-prison' referred to the period before their incarceration for the long sentence. 'Prison' referred to any time they spent in prison. 'Early Post-Prison' was defined as the period immediately after release from the prison (usually at a halfway house) and the longer period started when they left the halfway house or other first place of residence after prison.

[93] The mean number of passages coded per transcript was 168.

occurring in one where there were 53 different nodes addressed and the greatest variety

occurring in one where 95 different nodes were marked.[94]

Figure 4.1. Sample of Coding Manual
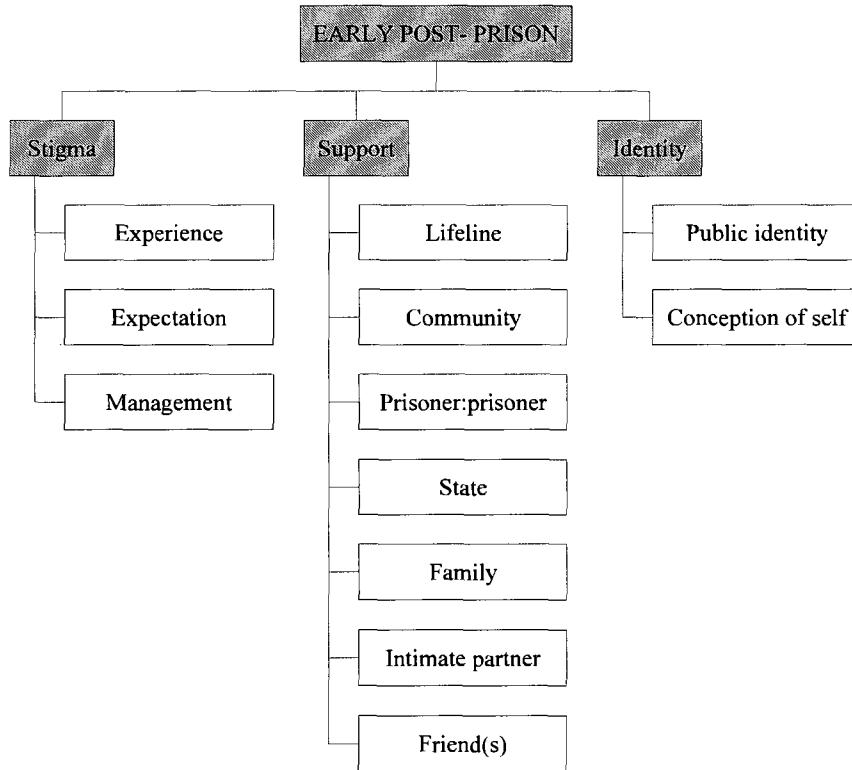
Figure 4.2. Sample of Coding Manual

'Cause I was at a halfway house, they had a
right to tell me where to go. And they said well
you forced our hands [in a previous incident],
we'll force your hands. You will go to
Newmarket. I said 'I don't have a job there or
anything'. Well, 'we'll get you work'. Which
they didn't. I got myself work, right. I said well
what if I just stay here and continue cause I was
making money hands and fists. I had
community support. They said no. If you refuse
this, we will send you back to a medium
because you are refusing a program. So that's
how I ended up back in Newmarket which is
good cause I met my wife and a lot of good
people.

CODED INTO NODES:

Vulnerability to the State

Geography

Resistance

Financial Challenge

The coding for these interviews was done by Professor Bruckert and myself in a 'team

coding' process during which each line was reviewed by both researchers in tandem. This

process, while time consuming and at times emotionally draining, ensured that the more

subtle and nuanced stories were likely to be spotted by one, or the other, researcher.

LeCompte & Schnsul (1999) encouraged the use of a coding partner because they see the

words in transcripts as being "fat" (p. 67) which means that there can be ambiguities and

multiple meanings in the text and the debate and discussion over these generated valuable

insights and connections. On occasion we would disagree on the meaning, intent or

implications of a particular statement and in order to be respectful to the storyteller, we

would often return to the taped interview and re-listen to the way they said the phrase and put

it in the context of the words spoken around it. Usually this auditory clue resolved the issue

around interpretation either by one (or both) of us abandoning our initial interpretation or in

abandoning the particular piece of text rather than mis-interpreting it. The team coding approach also had the advantage of providing a way of bounding the data that was given in interviews with friends. Specifically, even though I knew more details than were shared by some of the men, I could only consider what was on the page and obvious to my fellow coder. In this way, the men were given the same privilege to share/withhold information as the other respondents and to have their words analyzed fairly.

In the process of doing this line by line coding, it was apparent that in most cases there were contradictory statements in the participant's interview. For example, when directly asked whether they had ever been stigmatized, many of the men said they had not but went on to give a number of examples that exemplified stigmatization.[95] This incongruence is to be expected in a time-limited, semi-structured interview setting since individuals are being asked to instantly recall and relate specific experiences based on the language used by the interviewer. Sometimes the language of stigma was refuted but when the term discrimination was used, the men offered examples of this type of experience. This occurrence is in agreement with Harding's (1987) assertion that an individual's experiences are often in conflict with each other so it seems likely that recounting them may be disjointed and contradictions are reflective of the human experience. As noted previously, it may also be the result of a deliberate presentation of self on the part of men.

Once the coding of each interview was completed, a trans-interview (horizontal) analysis (Pires, 1997) was conducted to examine where the interviews overlapped and conflicted. Jackson (2001) referred to this process as rendering themes into "discursive

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[95] Of the 20 men who participated, only Gerry claimed not to have experienced stigma and throughout the entire interview gave no examples of discrimination or stigmatization.

repertoires" (p. 207) which highlight collective themes within the group. From this trans-

interview read an analytic framework emerged based on the identified phenomenon of

significance (Entrikin,1991). At this point, it was necessary to move to a higher level of

abstraction and attend to what LeCompte and Schensul (1999) referred to as the

"constituents" (p. 68) which allow one to examine a cultural phenomenon. The challenge in

conducting this constituent level analysis was to find a theoretical framework that explained

the experiences of *all* the men. The men interviewed are culturally diverse, come from and

were currently situated in different socio-economic classes and their perspectives on their

incarceration, on the state and on resettlement were likewise varied. While common themes

were discussed, it was important that the assertions that I would make included all accounts.

This process involved taking all of the coded items from each thematic grouping and

organizing, reorganizing, conceptualizing and reconceptualizing them until each was

accounted for in the analysis. Once this understanding of the experience was arrived at, it

was necessary to move beyond this micro level to provide a macro level context.

Giving Context to Their Stories

LeCompte and Schensul (1999) have argued that the job of the researcher is to:

> . . . attribute meanings and importance to patterns and regularities that people
> otherwise take for granted in everyday life . . . to pinpoint the significance or
> implications of such knowledge for future practice or program innovations. . . to set
> the work in the context of other research on the same topic. (p. 214)

In order to fulfill this mandate, the themes that the ex-prisoners highlighted were considered

in relation to policy and procedure documents. This is essential since as Hammersley &

Atkinson (1983) noted: ". . . accounts are not simply representations of the world; they are

part of the world they describe and thus are shaped by the contexts in which they occur" (p.

107). Since the lives of (ex)prisoners are heavily regulated, the government policies that the respondents mentioned (e.g. Commissioner's Directives or CCRA) were examined in order to get a sense of the official rhetoric on release, reentry and resettlement and this allowed links to be made between the stories shared by the ex-prisoners and the correctional apparatus. The macro-level regulatory framework becomes the backdrop onto which the micro-level lived experiences are projected and by considering both a more complete picture emerges.

On the Question of Sufficiency

As with all methodological approaches, there are limitations implicit in the qualitative approach adopted here and these shape and influence the research in ways which are both anticipated and unforseen. Two specific methodological issues and their resolution, will be discussed: the generation of a sample and the contestability of interpretation.

Internal Diversity

The first limitation to be discussed is that of sampling. As mentioned earlier, the sample was drawn using a snowball approach and while this method had the advantage of not involving the state and establishing some 'connection' or credibility with the men, it was not without limits. Specifically, most of the men interviewed had on-going contact with Lifeline or their staff; by default, those men who had completely isolated themselves from their prison friends or the official post-prison supports, were not included in this group. Also, by chance,[96] rather than design, it appears that none of the men in this study were labelled as

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[96]It may be possible that because snowball sampling was used, the men who were the first contacts referred us to others with whom they had contact while in prison. During the tenure of these men, sex offenders were generally separated from the general prison population and this may have limited the contact with this group.

dangerous or sex offenders and this fact may have mitigated their experience.[97] However, the

homogeneity of the sample does improve the internal validity of the sample. The effect of

these individuals' absence on the data is unknown and unpredictable and it would be

unethical to hypothesize further on this issue since to do so would require assumptions and

presumptions to be made which are not verifiable.

<u>Whose Story Is It?</u>

Another limitation of this methodological approach is, once on paper in the form of

transcript, the words of the speaker become contestable. As Smith (2001) states: "we are

accessing a representation (a vision, an image, an experience) of a text (the world of lived

experience) through a text (the interview transcript) that is itself open to interpretation" (p.

29). It is no longer about the individual's intentions but about the reader's rendition and it is

important to consider and situate both the analysis and the analyst. These stories were

constructed within a particular format (the interview) and this means that the researcher

becomes the first audience for the narrative (and thus shapes it in some way). I then create a

"second level narrative" (Borland, 1991, p. 63) which will shape the way the first narrative is

understood. McAdams, Josselson and Lieblich (2001) consider this re-creation part of the

role of the researcher and write that:

> meaning is generated by the linkages the participant makes between aspects of the life
> he or she is living and his or her understandings of these aspects. The role of the
> researcher is then to connect this understanding with some form of conceptual
> interpretation, which is meaning constructed at another level of analysis. (p. xii)

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[97] For example, Uggen et al. (2004) have argued that stigmatization is particularly acute for those designated as sex
offenders.

At this point that the words are open to interpretation; at some level it is no longer about the individual speaker's intentions but about the reader's analysis of the words. As a researcher, I will bring preconceived notions about the area of interest and the subjects into the analytic field. In keeping with the adaptive theory approach discussed earlier, this dilemma was resolved by adopting a hermeneutic approach which recognizes that in trying to find meaning and make (not discover) interpretations, it is essential to move between pre-conceived notions and the text – to move between the parts and the whole – to engage in the hermeneutic circle or double hermeneutic (Hoggart et al., 2002). Clearly a caveat of this approach is that the hermeneutic approach privileges the role of expert as interpreter of data and while this issue cannot be avoided entirely, I applied what I came to call the "Bruckert Principle" which poses the question 'could I, the researcher, defend this analysis to the participants?' (Bruckert, 2000). This postulate of adequacy is premised on the notion that my analysis would make sense to the participants though they may not agree with it. By adopting this postulate I believe that this work is positioned as engaging the sociological imagination (Mills, 1959) by not simply examining biography but considering how it intersects with history and social structures.

On the Question of Moving Forward

This chapter has argued that questions of methodology, like questions of knowledge, remain partially unanswerable. Accepting this premise allows one to move beyond the paralysis that can emerge from trying to design and conduct 'The' definitive research. To make a meaningful contribution to the field of academic inquiry one must accept that implicit in any methodological position and approach are caveats and points of concern. Throughout

this chapter, I have tried to highlight both the strengths and limits of the approach adopted in this research and to ground the decisions in a need for this research to be praxiological. In the end, if this work helps to shift the discourses around the release and resettlement of former prisoners, than the primary goal of this research will have been met by the methods used. If the men read the analysis and think 'she's really onto it', then I will be elated beyond words and will have chosen the methods well. Time will tell.

CHAPTER FIVE
GETTING OUT: FINDING A WAY TO THE STREET

Later chapters will apply the proposed theoretical framework to particular aspects of the release, reentry and resettlement experience of former long-term prisoners but here attention is devoted to providing a general overview of the process and experience of leaving prison and returning to the community. We begin with a discussion of the process of release and reentry and then explore how the respondents mentally prepared to leave the prison and their experiences with various forms of conditional release.

Process of Release

In Canada, prisoners do not simply disappear behind bars only to emerge as fully free citizens after an appointed period of time.[98] Rather, their release, reentry and resettlement is better conceived of as a process influenced by both regulatory policy and practice and by the aims and desires of the convicted man. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief summary of the rationale for release, and then juxtaposes this with the experiences of preparation and process of release as expressed by the men in this study.

Despite the increased dominance of socially conservative rhetoric which espouses the need for fixed sentencing and abolition of parole, Canada's criminal justice system is still largely premised on allowing prisoners to earn early release in order to "best facilitate the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration into the community as law-abiding citizens" (CCRA, 1992, Sec. 100). As illustrated in Figure 5.1, prisoners must serve a minimum of 1/3 of their sentence in prison before they can be considered for parole;

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[98]The exception to this rule is of course those who are wrongfully convicted and then exonerated. Thank you to Professor Kathryn Campbell for highlighting this point.

therefore, since every man in this study was sentenced to a minimum of 10 years, they all

had to serve over three years.

Figure 5.1. Overview of Conditional Release Eligibility Dates for Federal Prisoners

Eligible for Unescorted
Temporary Absence
(1/6 of sentence or 6 months
– whichever is later)

Warrant Expiry
Date (WED)***

Sentence begins

Sentence

Day Parole
Eligibility Date*
(6 months
before PED)

Full Parole
Eligibility Date**
(1/3 or 7 years – whichever is less)

Statutory Release Date
(2/3)
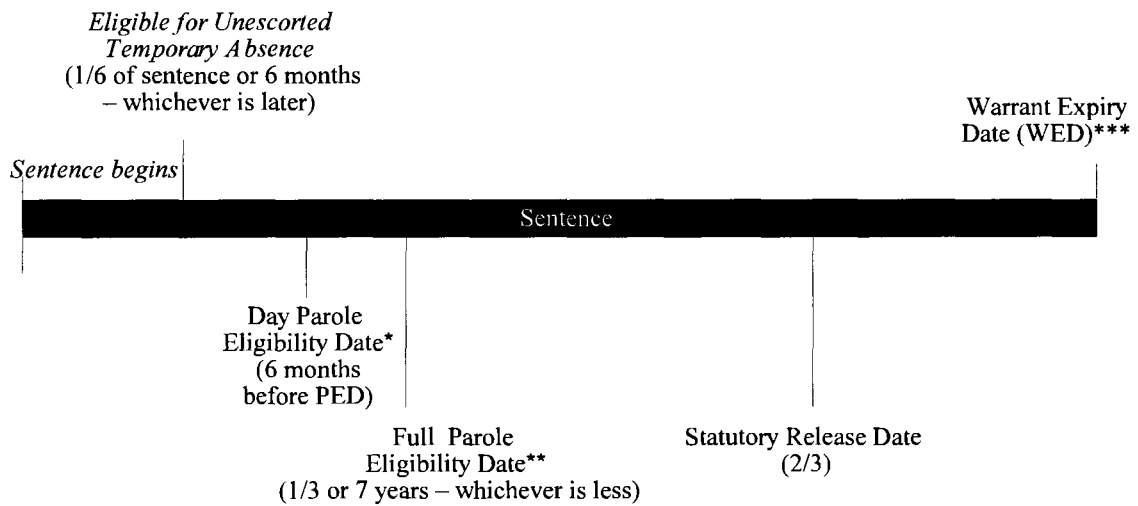
*Life-sentenced individuals are eligible for day parole three years before their full parole eligibility date.
**Eligibility for full parole for Life-sentenced individuals is determined by the court. The minimum time before eligibility is 10 years for second degree and 25 years for first degree.
*** Life- sentenced individuals do not receive a WED. Their sentence expires at their death.

Adapted from Solicitor General Canada. (1998). Sentence Calculation: How does it work? Ottawa, ON

Maruna et al., (2004) argued that since convicted men are aware of their possible

release, the process of resettlement can be conceived of as commencing at the beginning of a

sentence and includes all activities undertaken to prepare the individual for return to the

community. A few of the men in our study exemplify Maruna et al.'s (2004) assertion by

planning for their release as soon as they received their sentence from the court. For

example, Dave, who served 20 years in prison on a Life sentence, speaks of starting his

vocational training at the beginning of his imprisonment so that he would be qualified by the

end, and thereby would have 'used', rather than 'filled', his time.[99] However, many of the

men who were serving Life sentences express that they did not have a sense that they would

ever be released from prison.[100] Tom, who was in prison for 20 years before being paroled

to serve the remainder of his Life sentence, provides us with a story that illustrates this lack

of awareness:

> None of us [Lifers] thought we could be released . . . . So it never even dawned on
> me until . . . I had a C.O.[correctional officer] and I'm in seeing him one day and he
> says 'You know, you can be released some day'. I said 'What'? He says, 'Yeah man
> . . . probably in the next five years if you . . . mellow out and stay out of shit . . .
> out in five you go'. . . . That's what started me thinking about release.

Despite the variety of ways the men came to understand that they would be released,

it is clear that there were two concurrent processes in achieving release; one involved

mentally preparing while the other required following the state-imposed preparation process.

Mental Preparation

Awareness that they could eventually be released helped the men to psychologically

survive prison and motivated them to develop a release plan, but they often encountered

significant obstacles and setbacks. For example, Doc who is now in his late 40s and served

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[99]Dhami, Ayton & Loewenstein (2007) argued that some prisoners 'used' time and others just 'did' or 'filled' their time. These authors pointed out that while underlying adjustments to the prison environment may be different, the observable behaviours may have been the same for each group.

[100]There may be several reasons for the respondent's perception that they would not be returned to the community but two major points should be considered. First, The minimum eligibility for parole (10 years and 25 years) is implemented after the abolition of capital punishment in 1976; therefore, many of the men in this study had no similarly sentenced others to get advice from, or on whose plans they could 'model' their release. As well, most of the men sentenced to Life do not enter prison with a previous criminal record (Solicitor General of Canada, 1984) and consequently, may be unfamiliar with the technicalities and processes which would allow them to serve part of their sentence in the community. Finally, given the temporal magnitude of the sentences, it may be extremely difficult to foresee surviving prison. For some of the men in this study, the prison sentence they received was longer than they had been alive, and therefore, they had no frame of reference for the temporality.

17 years of his Life sentence in prison, discloses that he did not cascade[101] smoothly through

the system and how this took an emotional and mental toll on him:

> I got kicked out of . . . Bath Institution, so I went back to Collins Bay. And
> from Collins Bay, over to Pittsburgh . . . with the recommendation from the
> Parole Board for ETAs. I sat . . . for 28 months, no ETAs [escorted
> temporary absenses]. Now, I test dirty for THC. Well, 'Why are you
> smokin' . . . up?'. . . I said . . . 'You know, I'm getting older here and you
> people talk about your retirement and I'm sitting here friggin' . . . rotting
> away . . . 28 months you want to know why I'm smoking up? 'Cause it's
> friggin' insane.

While most of the men considered moving to lower security a positive thing, others

identify that it was mentally difficult to cascade down through the levels because it required

adjustments to new ways of doing things and this made them uncomfortable. Jean, a Lifer

who served 23 years inside and is in his 9th year in the community, describes arriving at a

minimum security institution only to be wistful for his days at the higher level where he

could be more solitary without being considered "anti-social" by the guards.

Others spoke of temporarily 'giving up' and accepting that they could spend the

remainder of their lives in prison.[102] Ernest (who is now a senior citizen, served 14 years in

prison and has been out for as long) speaks to his experience:

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[101]In the contemporary penal system, the individual prisoner cascades towards eventual release. Starting out at
maximum security, the prisoner is moved through the system into lesser security levels as his 'risk' to the institution
decreases. The CCRA (1992) indicates that: "Where a person is, or is to be, confined in a penitentiary, the Service
shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that the penitentiary in which the person is confined is one that provides the
least restrictive environment for that person, taking into account(a) the degree and kind of custody and control
necessary for (i) the safety of the public,(ii) the safety of that person and other persons in the penitentiary, and(iii) the
security of the penitentiary;(b) accessibility to(i) the person's home community and family,(ii) a compatible cultural
environment, and(iii) a compatible linguistic environment; and(c) the availability of appropriate programs and
services and the person's willingness to participate in those programs." (Sec 28)

[102]For some, this acquiescence may be the result of institutionalization wherein, as a result of the psychological
damage of incarceration, the individual demonstrates a dependency on the prison, is lethargic and acts very passively
(Marshall, 1994). For others, they experience little hope because they succumbed to the feelings of rejection that
they had experienced in prior attempts at early release.

I was firmly convinced that I wasn't going to get out . . . I figured well, this is it. These people are serious. And I had made the adjustment . . . and even the head psychologist said 'You can live inside or out, can't you?', and I said 'Yeah, I can.'

In this regard, those who are serving a definite sentence occupy a certain privileged position because they can choose to not engage with the gradual release program knowing they will eventually be released. Marcus (who in his early 30s is the youngest man in the research, despite having already served 10 years and being out for 5 years) provides an example of this 'privilege':

I knew that there wasn't going to be any gradual release for me . . . the only date I was looking forward to was my eventual release date. I knew that was the date they had to let me out and I knew I wasn't getting out before that.

Although not relishing the thought of remaining incarcerated until their statutory release or warrant expiry dates, those men with definite sentences can mentally retain a sense of control over their situation by rejecting the incentives for early release and we will give greater consideration to this point in a later chapter on resistance.

By contrast, many of the men reveal that they were not psychologically able to 'do more time' and this resulted in them adjusting their spirit and/or their behaviour in order to allow them to be released sooner. Gord, who in his early 50s has spent the majority of his life in prison (25 years) or on parole (5 years), speaks to this shift in attitude:

I just hit the 'hole'[103] for a few months and the psych. ward and I knew I was losing it and I was dying. I'm in the hole and I said to somebody, 'I'm dying mentally, emotionally, psychologically, spiritually . . . I can't do this [prison] anymore.'

Accordingly, many had to adjust the way they viewed doing time in order to make the mental shift they felt was necessary in order to get out. Gerry is a senior citizen who did

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[103]'The Hole' is slang for solitary confinement.

over 30 years in prison and whose warrant expired 11 years after his release, provides an example of this behavioural shift which occurred after he had served over fifteen years:

> when the time comes that you feel you have to buckle down and be involved in programs, etc. in order to get out, you can't be taking chances on getting caught smoking dope and drinking brew and stuff and getting charged.

Some of the men recall having to adjust how they saw themselves or were seen by others in order to mentally prepare for release. Doc speaks of giving away his prisoner and biker-related clothes, shaving his beard and reducing his physical size (by ceasing to lift weights) so that he would not intimidate others and would be able to present a more 'average' appearance to the parole board.[104] As we see in this example, there is a need for the prisoner to foresee their future life in order to mentally adapt, however, an inability to envision life beyond their everyday carceral experiences made it difficult for some to conceptualize and strategize for their reentry. Joel (who served 10 years of a Life sentence in prison) addresses this challenge: ". . . trying to see past what was happening in there, I couldn't really see the future. . . . In fact, that was the hardest thing about the parole hearing . . . I couldn't make plans. I couldn't think of anything concrete." Yet, the process of earned release is one in which the individual prisoner must be prepared to think in tangible terms and with a 'flowchart of options' in his mind. To this end, some men relate how they needed to get information with which they could make decisions. For some, this data came from community support people, family and friends; for many others, knowledge came from

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[104]In this way, we see that Doc needs to mentally re-define the ways he sees his masculinity. While in a hyper-masculinized environment, the muscled body is valued but he realizes that once outside of this carceral space, it may be seen negatively and therefore, as Messerschmidt (2001) pointed out, there is a need for men to constantly adapt their concept of masculinity to be appropriate to the social setting.

fellow prisoners. For example, Tom credits the Lifer's group inside the prison for organizing information sharing:

> the Lifer's Group was a blessing for us . . . we realized that we didn't know a lot about . . . what would happen if we ever got released. . . . The Lifers Group got us to invite in people from St. Leonards . . . Lifeline. . . . We had no information when we started. Well, certainly the government didn't offer it.

Bobby (who is in his late 50s and has been out of prison for over 20 years after serving 15 years inside) demonstrates how getting this information and meeting people from outside support agencies helped him to mentally transition:

> . . . anytime there was any kind of seminar, John Howard, you know or whoever, St. Leonard's comes into the joint . . . when they're promoting their halfway houses and stuff like that . . . I was always around glad-handing and shaking hands . . . So I knew a lot of people. So coming here [to the halfway house]. . . wasn't that difficult. . . . It was almost like 'Ok, I'll go and live here with you cats now'.

It is clear that the psychological preparation for release was critical and that this readying often led the men to make changes in the way they approached serving their sentence. Running alongside their own preparations was the need to engage in the formal process of release as designated by the criminal justice system.

State Imposed Preparation

As required by the CCRA (1992), the men in this study engaged in a series of concrete, tangible acts to prepare for release and many found this experience extremely challenging. We see the transformation to the new penology manifested in the experiences of those who had served more than one term; this small sub-group of men speak of a shift away from rehabilitative ideals to one which was more formal and risk-management oriented. Barry, who served over 13 years and was the only man in our sample who had received a state pardon for his crimes, refers to the conditional release process during his

first term as being "by guess and by gosh". He states: "the release plans back in those days were not anywhere near as structured as they are now. There was no thought that went into it. It was just grab whatever you think and go" (Barry). This sentiment was echoed by two other men in this study who had served time (and been released) in both correctional eras, illustrating the way that the different rationalities discussed in the literature review manifest at the level of practice.

That release and reentry has become more structured is not surprising given that, under the new penology, accountability and risk management dominate the correctional agenda.[105] The need for a calculable, objectively defined strategy has replaced the looser, more subjective process previously used. Therefore, while the overall structure (temporary absences, day parole and full parole) of conditional release has generally remained the same, the implementation may be experienced differently.[106]

Temporary Absences

Under Sections 116 and 117 of the CCRA (1992), Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) operates a Temporary Absence Program (TAP) which is divided into supervised and unsupervised absences from prison. An Escorted Temporary Absence (ETA) is a type of short-term release which is immediately available to the prisoner and is used for him to attend court or counselling, perform community service work, attend to parental responsibilities or receive medical treatment. Participation in this program requires that the

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[105] See Simon (1993).

[106]There is one other early release mechanism and this is the Judicial Review process. Under Section 745 of the Criminal Code of Canada a Life sentenced individual can be released from prison earlier than provided for at the time of sentencing. Two men in this study had been granted a judicial review and of these, only one received a reduction in their parole eligibility date.

prisoner be escorted by an individual who is approved by CSC.[107] These passes can be

difficult to obtain as escorts are often hard to arrange, time and dates are limited and passes

cancelled without much notice. Gowan, who served ten years of a Life sentence in prison,

speaks to the frustration: "When I started my escorted passes I was given . . . 16 hours *a*

year. It was hard. I couldn't even go to a movie." Dave tells a story which exemplifies how

the granting of ETAs may be one person's decision to make[108] and how the prisoner is left to

cope with the after effects:

> I remember . . . my first pass with escort was sitting on a probation officer's desk
> when I got news that my grandmother passed away. My grandmother raised me until
> I was 7 . . . and I loved her dearly . . . . Two guards had volunteered to pay out of
> their pocket, their own transportation to escort me to Hamilton to go to the funeral
> and back . . . all of the executives at Joyceville [Penitentiary] at the time where I was
> said 'yes' except one person – the Acting Deputy Warden. . . . And he told me,
> 'Dude, I don't want you to take this wrong but I know that you would not be able to
> handle that pass 'cause you've been in so long. Emotionally, you would not be able
> to handle it.' . . . And I walked back to my cell and I felt aloneness.

Another frustration that some of the men faced was trying to cultivate a relationship

with a correctional worker which would allow them to participate in ETAs. For many

prisoners the line between guard and convict is firmly drawn and to rely on the other for

ETAs forces a certain greying of the black and white division.[109] Tom provides us with a

story which narrates this dilemma:

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[107]As per the CCRA (1992), the institutional head may grant these passes when: . . . an inmate will not, by
reoffending, present an undue risk to society during an absence authorized under this section . . . the inmate's
behaviour while under sentence does not preclude authorizing the absence, and . . . a structured plan for the absence
has been prepared. (Sec. 17)

[108]Under Section 17.3 and 17.4 of the CCRA (1992), "the institutional head may cancel a temporary absence either
before or after its commencement. . . . [and] the institutional head shall give the inmate written reasons for the
authorizing, refusal or cancellation of a temporary absence."

[109]Mckay, Jayewardene & Reedie (1979) argued that this type of 'we/them' thinking results largely from the
mundaneness of prison and is increased in those serving long sentences. We will discuss this issue in more depth in
the upcoming chapter on identity.

I had 15 [years] in and . . . I got the one [ETA]. . . . Ironically I had to find a guard to take me out -- and I didn't know any guards. I never talked to any of them. So a woman volunteered to take me out. And I was taken out on my very first pass after 15 years by a female guard. . . . I thought she had 'a lot of balls' to take out a Lifer.

Both in official state rhetoric and in the words of these men, the TAP was seen

helpful in preparing the prisoners for release and many men speak of utilizing their ETAs to

organize for their eventual return to the community. For example, Puzzle, who in his early

40s served over ten years in prison and has been out for almost as long on a Life sentence,

used his passes to obtain his car and motorcycle licences.

For many, the frustrations around ETAs centred on bureaucratic delays rather than

with the program itself and most of these issues were minimized once the individual became

eligible for Unescorted Temporary Absences (UTA).[110] UTAs are used for the same reasons

as ETAs but an individual may also work at a paid or voluntary job during the day and return

to the institution in the evening. For some men, the duration of the ETA/UTA program is

extensive as in Bob's case where, during his 20 years in prison, he had 130 ETAs and 5

work releases (UTAs). For the most part, the men felt that the TAP was useful because it

allowed them contact with the community again without the pressures of day parole. Ernest,

who participated in work release UTAs for five years, provides us with a story that

illustrates both the challenges and the benefits of these:

[I had] high anxiety levels, not knowing where to go, not having to be somewhere, not knowing where it is and whether I'm going to be late? . . . Am I on the right bus? Where is this place? How do I get off, right? . . . all the different coloured clothing[111] and everything. . . . it was like a multi-colour coming at me all the time. And the very fast [pace]. . .

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[110]UTAs are available to those serving more than three years after one-sixth of their sentence has expired, unless the person have received a Life sentence, in which case passes are not available until three years before their parole eligibility date. (CCRA, 1992, sec.115)

[111]Jameison and Grounds (2002) also address the issue of the over-stimulation brought about by colour.

Several of the men speak of returning to the familiarity of the prison after a UTA or

ETA and how this allowed them to gradually adapt to a changed world:[112]

> there's a big adjustment . . . but when you get . . . little bits of culture shock, you can
> go back [to the prison] and think about it. You know, if I get a six hour pass or an
> eight hour pass . . . go out and experience it, and go back . . . I can't sleep. You
> could never sleep after a pass. You always get this, like toothpicks in your eyes.
> And all I was doing was going over every minute of the pass and what transpired,
> and what I seen, and what I felt I should change in myself or do something
> differently and . . . (Jean)

Some men used their UTAs to go to a halfway house and felt that these excursions

aided in their earning day parole while others were frustrated by different regulations:

> And after I was on the work release there [in prison] for a bit, I had permission to
> have my own vehicle. . . . So I drove my car to the halfway house [on a UTA]. But
> the rules of the halfway house are you're not allowed to drive.' . . . I was almost
> being forced into being a prisoner in the community as opposed to being released on
> a release. . . . It was a whole new set of rules that were tying me up and . . . I hated
> the UTAs. It was just something that I thought I would really look forward to. I
> didn't. (Rick)

As we see in Rick's example, the UTAs are often used to establish relations with a

community residential facility (CRF), more commonly referred to as a halfway house; this

connection aids in their release plan since this type of facility is where all, but two,[113] of our

sample group went on day parole.

Day Parole

Day Parole is similar to this type of UTA except that the individual returns to a CRF,

instead of the institution, and is granted under subsection 122 (1) or (2) of the CCRA.

While the technical distinction between a UTA and day parole is evident, for many of the

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[112]See also Richards & Jones (2004).

[113]Of the two remaining men, one was granted immediate full parole and the other was incarcerated until his statutory
release date.

respondents the division was not quite as clear in practice. For this reason, day parole is included in both this chapter on 'getting out' and the next one, "staying out" since some of the men saw their time in the halfway house as part of their imprisonment, and others saw it as part of the post-carceral experience. In the next section of this chapter, day parole will be defined and considered relationally to full parole. The discussion will then examine the strategies used by the men to achieve day parole and conclude by examining their general experiences of it.

An individual is eligible for day parole at either one-third of their sentence or seven years – whichever is less (CCRA, 1992).[114] For a Life-sentenced individual, a minimum of seven years must have elapsed for an individual convicted of second-degree murder and twenty-two years for an individual convicted of first degree murder. Full parole means that an individual will finish their sentence, under supervision, in the community and for those with Life sentences, this monitoring expires upon their death. Parolees[115] report to their parole officer as directed and abide by other conditions as directed by the parole board[116] but live outside of a correctional institution or CRF. The decision to grant day or full parole is made by the National Parole Board (NPB)[117] and is based on the release plan developed by

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[114]In some cases the sentencing judge may make a judicial determination that the individual not be allowed to apply for parole until one-half of his sentence has expired. Conversely, there is an accelerated parole review process for first-time federal non-violent offenders who are unlikely to commit a violent act if released. Neither of these two clauses apply to the men in this study.

[115]Those who are on day or full parole.

[116]According to the National Parole Board Policy Manual (2008) "under no circumstances will the Board relieve an offender from compliance with any of the following conditions: obey the law and keep the peace; report to the parole supervisor as instructed by the parole supervisor; and immediately report to the parole supervisor any change in the address of residence" (Sec. 7.1-3).

[117]According to the CCRA (1992): "if the Board is satisfied that there are no reasonable grounds to believe that the offender, if released, is likely to commit an offence involving violence before the expiration of the offender's sentence according to law, it shall direct that the offender be released on full parole" (Sec. 126.2).

the individual, and reports submitted by his case managers, parole officers, therapists, Elders, community supports, etc.[118]

Because parole is not guaranteed, the prisoner must develop a plan that will be looked upon favourably by the board. In reaching its decision, the board is directed by Section 102 of the CCRA (1992) to contemplate whether:

> (a) the offender will not, by reoffending, present an undue risk to society before the expiration according to law of the sentence the offender is serving; and (b) the release of the offender will contribute to the protection of society by facilitating the reintegration of the offender into society as a law-abiding citizen.

Since most of the men in this study were released on day parole to a CRF , it is evident that they developed strategies to receive a favourable decision. These approaches include: ensuring that their individuality is recognized by putting the subject into focus; 'playing the game' by learning the system's priorities; participation in prison and community programs; and developing support networks.

subverting the 'file' and putting the subject into focus

The decision to grant or deny parole is concurrently objective and subjective because there is a combined reliance on statistical tests of risk and the individual opinions of case workers and NPB members.[119] In this process, the men often mention they felt absent from consideration and they strategized about how to put themselves, rather than their file, back into focus. F.G. a senior citizen who has been out of prison for 5 years after serving 23 years

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[118]For more information on this, see the National Parole Board policy manual (http://www.npb-cnlc.gc.ca/infocntr/policym/PolicyManual_vol1no13.pdf). Generally, if an individual has not been granted a form of parole, those with a definite sentence will be released on Statutory Release after serving two-thirds of their sentence. This was the case with Marcus.

[119]Section 101 of the CCRA (1992) dictates that: "that parole boards take into consideration all available information that is relevant to a case, including the stated reasons and recommendations of the sentencing judge, any other information from the trial or the sentencing hearing, information and assessments provided by correctional authorities, and information obtained from victims and the offender"

on a Life sentence, tells of applying for parole before he was eligible so that he would have an opportunity to meet with the Board and establish a relationship:

> I walked in and they said, 'Well, you haven't got enough time . . . denied' and I said, 'That's okay'. I sat down and I talked to them. They looked at me as if I was nuts. But once we got the conversation going, I wasn't a file anymore. . . . Then you cease to be a piece of paper and you become a person.

F.G.'s approach was developed in order to help shape how the process would unfold and, as we will discuss next, the men often design these approaches by ascertaining the 'unstated' expectations of the system.

'playing the game': learning the system's priorities

In this study, some of the men speak of learning what the system required of them and then tailoring their release plan to reflect these expectations. For example Fred, who in his early 40s had already served 15 years on a Life sentence and been out for nearly a decade, speaks of using the dominant discourses and lexicon to his advantage:

> I was just . . . working to get out . . . Just following their steps, using their words, that's what I do. . . . that's how I've gotten everything . . . I read a lot. . . . I've read everything that they have. Like *cascading, reintegration*, everything, and you use all their words. And then they go, 'Ah, this guy's *rehabilitated.*'

Other men spoke of taking programs because, whether they perceived themselves to need them or not, these groups gave them a chance to learn the language and to be seen to be engaging *with* the process – what they often referred to as 'playing the game'. As Mr. Flowers summarizes: "It is all a game until your warrant expiry".

participation in programs

The state considers participation in programs an essential part of demonstrating readiness for conditional release and most of the men in this study had participated in at

least one program and often, several. Many saw their attendance as obligatory and resented it but did not resist because the cost for doing so was too high. Some of the men make the link between programming and the new penology when they argue that programs are just a way for the correctional system to appear to manage risk. Mr. Flowers, who served over twenty years despite reporting that he did not having any violent crimes on his record, did resist programming and was more cynical about the purpose of their existence: "I've seen so many bullshit programs . . . programming in an institution is a cost-effective way of babysitting a large group of people . . . I guess programming for me, [was a] very devious, weak. . . demoralizing, waste of fucking time".[120]

Others saw programs as an opportunity to increase their social and economic capital, though this sentiment was generally in reference to vocational and educational programming. Educational programs had multiple advantages for the men. First, many felt it improved their chances of getting out by reducing their score and therefore placement on the LSI-R.[121] Second, others saw the training as a way of augmenting their economic capital by making them more competitive in the labour market. Third, like Barry relates next, some saw the advantage of being educated when participating in the former, less rigid system:

> I do believe that the old system played favourites in the sense that if you were articulate and intelligent, even though you weren't motivated, . . . you could still get [parole] whereas the guy who might be as motivated as 'all get out' couldn't obtain anything because he was neither articulate enough, [or] didn't present well . . .

Finally, some men resented being *obliged* to attend programming but they note that they benefited from the ones that they *voluntarily* attended:

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[120]The Task force of Reintegration of Offenders (1997) also problematized programming as being overly relied upon and argued that 'core programs' should not be seen as the only valid techniques for risk management.

[121]See footnote # 26 for an explanation of the LSI-R.

I was [so young] when I was incarcerated that I need[ed] some life skills. . . . So, I went into those. . . . you know, the money marketing management, cooking and baking. I just felt that eventually there's going to be a need for me to cook or bake. (Marcus)

For the Lifers, the ability to participate in programs was challenging as access to programs was limited and those with indeterminate sentences were relegated to the bottom of the priority list. F.G. communicates this problem and his strategy for solving it:

There was no such thing as programs for Lifers although a Lifer has to do all these programs. The problem is they . . . have 10 chairs for inmates being released. . . . I don't have a release date. . . . I talked to the warden and I said, 'If I can get 11 Lifers that guarantee that they will stay the course for the whole [time], will you get us Anger Management?' He said, 'Yeah'. . . So I got him a list . . . and that's how we got our Anger Management course.

Many of the men criticized the programs, not because of the intent or content but because they felt the people running them were under-qualified or inappropriate in their approach. This discontent was often targeted at guards because, as Tom says: "the guy was turning the key in your door the day before and . . . now he's a cognitive skills teacher." While some of the men challenge the particular instructors, they more rarely question their own need to receive guidance or information; indeed, many mention the importance of establishing a support network, in part, to fulfill this need.

finding support networks

By design, imprisonment is a very isolating process (Zimbardo, 1971) wherein men are removed from the social body. It is therefore not surprising that these respondents, having experienced long periods of incarceration, would recognize the value of having support (friends, family and community agencies) people and networks in place to assist

with their release and reentry.[122] Thirteen of the respondents experienced significant support from family while incarcerated[123] and Rick specifically located part of his drive to get out of prison in the encouragement he got from his family: "My Mom and Dad were always there. . . . Part of wanting to succeed is. . . trying to give them something to be proud of."

Conversely, given the length of their incarceration, of the five men who were married or common-law before they began their time, only one (Gowan) was able to maintain that relationship throughout his sentence[124] and he credits his intimate partner with motivating him to develop a release plan: ". . . I was one of those guys that if I didn't have a wife. . . who knows where I would be today? . . . cause I didn't care . . . (Gowan)

Doc speaks to how having visitors in the prison helped him to conceive of the possibility of his reentry and also acted as a source of motivation: "the fact that people are coming in to see you, gives you that symptom of hope that I should be out there . . . and re-living with these people".[125] Many found bridges to these individuals and groups through their UTAs and ETAs. For example, some of the men used their passes to volunteer in the community and this aided in their re-acclimatization to the outside world and allowed them access to mentors and resources. Dave addresses the role of volunteers in his release:

> The volunteers from the community, they're so important. They make you feel . . .
> like a human being. They accept me. They'll walk with you. They'll take you out.
> . . . So these community people are so important to help re-integrate guys . . .

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[122]In their study of recidivism, Breese, Ra'el & Grant (2000) argued that social support had many beneficial aspects but noted that the influence of these is limited because of the institutional barriers inherent in the prison structure.

[123]This fact distinguishes these respondents from the men in Cohen & Taylor's study (1972) in which they concluded that most finished their sentences with little outside contact.

[124]While their pre-prison intimate relationships often did not withstand the incarceration, many of the men in this study did develop new relationships, and sometimes marry, while in prison.

[125]Maruna (2001) speaks extensively to the idea that 'hope', as mentioned by Doc, is a critical factor in individuals desisting from crime.

Interestingly, some of the men felt that this bridging helped to increase the merit of their release plan by showing a continuity between their present supports and their future ones and between the way they were managing their time inside and how they would do so once released. As such, the strategic use of in-reach volunteers assisted in their release. F.G. discusses this:

> We started bringing groups in. . . . We invited them in, into our world. . . . And they'd get to know us. And then, 'oh, uh, you need somebody to do carpentry work, this guy's a good carpenter'. So they'd take a chance and they'd take one guy down and he does good . . . and that's how you do it . . . one at a time . . . it was getting people out. So they were out in society. They were learning to live in society, and society was learning to live with them. [126]

While very careful to not credit the penal apparatus, several of the men reveal that there were specific individuals within the system who were crucial to their release process. In the case of Ziggy, who served 14 years in prison on a Life sentence, support came in the form of a encouraging shop boss who took time to mentor him in his trades. For others, it was the staff psychologist or psychiatrist who helped them to gain perspective. In some instances it was a case worker who had faith in them and perceived them as individuals rather than files. Joel summarizes this sentiment: "It's not the system that makes any difference but the people in the system can make a real positive difference."

The need for support was most evident during the release planning and day parole periods. Luc, who spent two-thirds of his life either in prison (over 30 years) or on parole (12 years), recalls how much he relied on his social supports after his release:

> My support group have always been there . . . to help me . . . and times . . . were extremely difficult. I have never been turned down by them . . . in fact, it's probably

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[126]F.G.'s strategy finds support in the literature since, as Visher, LaVigne & Travis (2004) noted, most jobs obtained by ex-prisoners were found through personal connections.

the main reason of my being out today - the support group that was around me. Had it not been there when I came out, and after I was out, I wouldn't be here again today sitting at this table and talking with you. I would have given up.

Unfortunately for many of the men, their closest support people were individuals with whom they had been incarcerated and with whom they were not allowed to associate after release.[127] Several of the men felt that being able to connect with these individuals would have been beneficial because of common experiences and ultimately they wanted to be able to *choose* who they associated with in order to receive support. This conflict between state regulations[128] and the ex-prisoners needs and desires was, as we will see in the next section, common during the men's tenure at the CRF.

experiencing day parole

The experience of day parole was extremely diverse and there was great variety in the respondents' interpretation of the experience. Most of the men saw their time in the halfway house as useful to their reentry. Gowan captures the sentiment expressed by many of the men when he speaks to using the time there to adjust:

> I believe the most beneficial thing I got out of it, was that it would give me an opportunity to take a slow pace and . . . and look at things . . . and it let me pick out a job and if things didn't work out, I had the place [CRF] going there. And it gave me time to say 'Okay, Gowan, you're not ready to move out'.

As Joel spoke to in relation to prison, the approach employed by staff is a major element which influences how day parole is received. For example, Ernest states that one of the positive aspects of the CRF was the staff's welcoming attitude:

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[127] This exclusion in association is usually the result of the other person having a criminal record.

[128] Interestingly, once day parole was achieved, a few of the men spoke of being *required* to associate with other parolees (in the halfway house) and how this link was not something they desired.

I didn't feel as though . . . I were in a prison environment, or anything like that. . . .
They just treated you as [if] . . . they met you for the first time and that's it. Take it
from there, right. So that went a long way with me. [he continues later]. . . this
halfway house usually was dealing with long term offenders . . . and usually taking
those that would have never gotten out to begin with, so they were . . . always there
for you and . . . it helped.

For others, the halfway house provided a physical and psychological break from their prison

and pre-prison lives and this was seen as contributing to their ability to succeed:

[If] they [parole board] just said, 'okay, you got your parole, go to Toronto, go to
Leamington', I'd be back in prison. Because if I go there. . . I go to what I know
. . .and then I'm back into the drugs, guns and all that foolishness. So, the halfway
house was what I needed, because then I became accustomed to this and this became
my home. This became my life. . . . I would say the halfway house. . . it saved me. I
can't guarantee it saved anybody else, but, it saved me. (F.G.)

Interestingly, it was apparent that the CRFs offer the same type of cascading system

as the prison system (except transferring institutions) since the inhabitants are granted

progressively more privilege and freedom. At the beginning of their day parole, the men had

very early curfews and had to frequently 'sign in' at the office. As time passes, they were

eventually given later curfews, fewer check-ins and weekend passes. It is no wonder then

that some of the men experience the halfway house as merely an extension of their prison

time and felt emotionally conflicted between being 'halfway in' and 'halfway out'.[129] Rick

provides us with his thoughts on this tension:

. . . I remember walking out and thinking I should be really happy about being out,
but I wasn't. I was angry . . . . it was almost like compromising my values and all
that. You know, 'cause I'm agreeing now to be supervised in the community and I
didn't need to be supervised.

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[129]Cohen (1985) provided his analysis of this conflict which clearly arises from government techniques of diffusion
and dispersal: "Their [halfway houses] programmes turn out to reproduce regimes and sets of rules very close to the
institutions themselves: about security, curfew, passes, drugs, alcohol, permitted visitors, required behaviour and
surveillance. Indeed it becomes very difficult too distinguish a very 'open' prison . . . from a very 'closed' half-way
house." (p. 50)

He continues:

> ... I was only on day parole for six months, but it was the longest six months I did in my incarceration, because I didn't feel I needed that because I had a home already set up. I got a job the second day I was out. . . I didn't feel that, for me, that halfway house was a support environment. I saw that as another obstacle for me to experience and put behind me.

This sense that the time in the CRF is still part of one's incarceration was held by many of the men, even those who valued their time there.[130]

It was clear that some men were able to simultaneously like and dislike their time in the CRF. Some resented the rules but felt they were able to use the halfway house to their advantage. There were a few others who found the whole experience to be rather benign; they just did what was required and did not challenge or 'buy into' the facility. For example, Fred says:

> I just did my own thing. . . . I didn't deal with anybody from the house, staff or residents, or whatever they call me. . . . I would come in, I'd sign in, and I'd go to my room . . . and I'd get up in the morning, have a shower and everything, sign out and gone.

The ability to not participate with the CRF was difficult as there were obstacles to this non-engagement. Most of the men in the study relate these barriers to one of two factors which the men considered excessive: programming and duration of experience.

Similar to their time before parole, the men were obligated to participate in programming in order to earn or maintain privileges (in this case their day parole or their full parole) and many felt this was counterproductive. For many men in the study, their objection was not specific to a particular program but was more generic; they felt that they

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[130] We see that at least one agency also takes this approach. Specifically, while this research defines success as at least five years after prison release, to be defined as successful and hired as an In-Reach worker by St. Leonard's House Society one must have five years of charge-free living *after* the halfway house.

had already completed enough programs and so being forced to attend more, from their perspective, was unnecessary.

More frequently the men spoke of objecting to particular programs and often, as was the case when they were incarcerated, this was related to the person running it. Other times, the men spoke of how mandatory participation jeopardized their ability to succeed after release. Rick provides an example of how, in the quest for uniformity in program attendance, the subject becomes lost:

> [the staff at the CRF said]. . . 'You've gotta be here for the employment training'. I said 'okay but I'm working'. They said 'It's during the day' and I said, 'I'm working during the day'. And they said 'well you know we can't make allowances. Everybody has to. If we let you out of it, other people will want to get out of it'. And I said, '. . . what is it that I need to learn. I know how to write a resumé. The resumé is already written . . . I'm working full time . . . it just doesn't make sense to me to quit a job to learn how to find a job – to do interview skills' . . . They were putting impediments into my integration in the community.

Another major concern of the men was that their time in the CRF was excessively long. The range of time in the halfway house was quite large and as Table 5.1 demonstrates, there has been an increase in recent years in the amount of time that men are spending in these facilities. Rick, Gowan, Gerry, Barry and Luc each spent six months or less. Ziggy, Gord, Fred, Bobby and Doc spent over three years on day parole. Overall, for those in the sample who were most recently paroled (within the past five to seven years), there was a general increase in the amount of time spent in the halfway house as none of those five men had spent less than a year there and the average time spent was 24 months.

Most acknowledged the usefulness of the transition period and found it personally beneficial, but they felt that most of the transition was accomplished within a year. While this sentiment dominated, we did hear from two of the men who only served six months

each at the CRF that, in hindsight, the brevity of time spent in the house compromised their resettlement because they were financially unprepared.

Table 5.1

Time since prison release	14+ years	11-13 year	8-10 years	5-7 years
Time in CRF (N= 18) x̄ = 17.8 mos.	x̄ = 13.8 mos. (n = 5)	x̄ = 14.3 mos. (n=3)	x̄ = 19.6 mos. (n=5)	x̄ = 24.2 mos. (n=5)

Moving On, Moving Out

While the men in this study have all participated in the process of release, it is obvious that their experiences were quite varied. For most, the TAP was extremely useful while some found the associated bureaucracy frustrating. Eighteen of the 20 men in the study were released on day parole and they used various strategies to achieve this including: inserting the subject into an objective process, coopting the state's discourses, participating in programs and developing support networks. Once achieved, day parole was generally considered useful by the men although, in several cases, it was just considered part of the institutional cascading process (halfway in) rather than giving them a sense of freedom (halfway out). While we have discussed the general experience of preparing for release and day parole, we have not yet explored the specific challenges that emerged during this period and during their subsequent resettlement and it is to these that the next chapter on 'staying out' will turn.

CHAPTER SIX
STAYING OUT: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

After more than a decade in prison, the formerly incarcerated individual is free to re-establish his life but for the men in this research, their post-release experiences were not as simple as 'picking up the pieces'. To extend this metaphor, pieces from the puzzle which had formed the full picture of their pre-carceral life were removed and new, differently shaped objects added. Their task after prison was to figure out how to reassemble all of these parts in a way that was cohesive. In the previous chapter we discussed the fact that getting out of prison was a process which took many years to accomplish and I will demonstrate that the same is true of their resettlement process. We will see that some challenges were expected by the men while others were unanticipated and multiple management strategies were required. Clearly, given their inclusion in this research, the men were able to manipulate the pieces of the puzzle in order to stay out of prison but they both embraced and contested their inclusion in this research and this chapter will conclude with a discussion of their thoughts on the matter of success.

Challenges and Strategies

During their interviews, the men tell of a variety of struggles that they faced during their resettlement and the approaches that they used to overcome them. The major challenges that will be discussed in this chapter (illustrated in Figure 6.1) require the ex-prisoner to deal with: the impact of long-term imprisonment, people who were negative influences, their own vulnerability to the social body, work and finances, their agedness and mental health issues.

Figure 6.1. Challenges After Reentry

- Inability to labour
- Intimate relations

- Depression
- Guilt

- To state
- To intimates
- To false allegations

- Previous associates
- New contacts

- Post-carceral social interactions
- PTSD
- Day-to-day functioning

- Meaningful work
- Stability

(Diagram circles: Mental Health; Age; Susceptability to Social Body; Staying Out: Challenges; Negative Influences; Impact of Incarceration; Work & Finance)

Lasting Implications of Incarceration

The interviewees indicate that their previous imprisonment influenced them and created challenges in their lives on the outside. As we will see next, incarceration inflicted personal damage, affected their post-carceral social interactions and had an impact on their ability to function on a day-to-day basis.

Being A Prison Veteran

During their interviews, a common theme discussed by the men was emotional and psychological scarring brought about by their imprisonment.[131] Many of the men argue that

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[131]This finding is in direct opposition to Porporino (2004) who argued that long term imprisonment was not detrimental to mental or emotional functioning, intellectual or cognitive abilities, physical condition, or social and interpersonal competencies. The methodology employed by this CSC researcher is much more quantitative (review of reviews of institutional case-file information, staff ratings, and self-report assessments on a variety of measures of attitude, etc.) and, as a result, the experiential knowledge of the men is neglected.

their experience was similar to that of a returning veteran of war[132] and the use of this metaphor may be conditioned by gender since "definitions of manhood remain imbued with militarised meanings and admonitions" (Nagel, 2007, p. 626) and as such, there is an allure in conceiving of one's self as a soldier. Like veterans, the respondents speak of having nightmares and what they often referred to as 'baggage'.[133] In addition to referring to prison as a battle-like experience, Mr. Flowers uses a sexual assault metaphor to convey his thought about his own, and the Lifers' situation:

> Lifers are fucked. . . . Totally fucked because till your last breath, they're doing time. For a Lifer, the easy part is doing the time. . . . once they got 10 or 15 years out on the street, they'll start agreeing. They come to the realization of the hopelessness of their . . . position. . . . A long term offender feels the same pain but they can finally one day . . . try to wash the dirt off . . . the filth off their soul. It's like being a rape victim. You can wash but you never get that dirt off you. Prison is like that . . . . You've been violated. You've got emotional scars. They'll never leave. Ever.[134]

For others, the lingering memories of their prison time allowed them to gain perspective on the challenges they faced afterwards. Bobby provides an example:

> . . . the challenges on the outside are minuscule compared to the challenges . . . on the inside . . . seeing a guy killed on the range. . . . What do you do as a human being versus what you're supposed to do as a solid inmate. Like, they're *real* challenges.

In the above quotes Mr. Flowers and Bobby draw attention to the extreme nature of the environment that they lived in and the lasting impact of these experiences. Like other traumas, the effect of this experience can be to create a relational position through which all other experiences can be assessed. However, like returning veterans of war, all of the

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[132]For interesting discussions of this sensation, see also the work of Jameison and Grounds (2005).

[133]There is increasing attention being paid to this phenomenon and many are making links between the carceral experience and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). See for example, Irwin & Owen (2005), Jameison and Grounds (2005), McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath (2004) and Richie (2001).

[134]Schantz & Frigon (2009) refer to this as the "pains of reintegration".

former prisoners in this work speak of some lasting impact that created challenges that they had not always anticipated. The most common of these was the ability to have appropriate social interactions.

Post-carceral Social Interactions

Developing new social interaction skills was a struggle in the period after release and throughout their resettlement and required the respondents to find new approaches which ranged from using less profanity to the more complex task of negotiating new terrains in gender relations.[135] The men found that the interaction skills they employed to survive in prison were counterproductive in fostering post-carceral relationships:[136]

> having a companion under certain circumstances [is] very difficult. And having a companion for . . . somebody that never lived with a companion for most of his life, was an even greater challenge. . . . While incarcerated . . . we pick up all kinds of masks that we put on to survive in jail and . . . these masks work. . . . so it's very easy when you're out in the community and things . . . don't work out the way you want them, to. . . put back some of these masks again. It doesn't work. (Luc)

This excerpt demonstrates the problem of reverting back to the strategies which they developed in prison when challenges emerge in the post-carceral period; as F.G. tells us next, it is difficult to relinquish prison-related behaviour for ones which are more conducive to being on day parole.

> . . . when you go to prison, you've lived here and you've got these rules now. When you get to prison, you're here, you've got to forget them rules and live by these rules. Now, when you get out you've got to forget these rules and live by these rules. So it's, you have to learn to live all over again.

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[135]See also Motiuk & Nafekh (2000).

[136]In Brown's study with parole officers, many expressed that this was an area that those they supervised found challenging.

Many of the men speak of having to find a balance between the life they dreamed of having on the outside, and the reality of the one they had;[137] they locate this struggle within their years of incarceration and this link was especially evident when they talk about relationships. For example, Doc speaks of this difficulty in terms of finding an intimate partner:

> I walk out of jail with a $1500 car. Did I expect to get Marilyn Monroe? . . . You're in there reading magazines for 20 odd years. Every time you friggin' flip the page, they don't show her [normal woman]. It's a playboy girl, you know, like ideal girl. . . . well, where the hell are you going to find her? And do you want that?

The men's limited carceral interactions with women (most often female state workers or volunteers) occur while they are concurrently bombarded with media images of idealized women. At the same time, their visits (from family and partners) are constrained by physical partitions or the supervised milieu in which they occur. Barry speaks of the lasting damage of his incarceration in regard to gender relations:

> I think that it [prison] skewed my development and my ability to have open and honest relationships with women . . . . because of the prison mentality and the objectifying of women in that environment . . . because all interactions with women were forced, strained, over-supervised . . . there was no natural ability to learn how to talk to women.

While incarcerated the men interact with other males almost exclusively and then, once out, need to negotiate gender relations and this may be an issue they have not even had to consider in many years and this was linked to the challenge of managing the day-to-day life.

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[137]This is a point to which we will return in the next chapter on geography as we consider the implications of imagineered places. It is worth noting that Hamelin (1989) referred to this process as facing the 'end of a dream.'

<u>Managing Day-to-Day Life</u>

On a more mundane level, the men speak of how their incarceration made their day-to-day life more of a challenge.[138] For years, these men had few responsibilities and even less control over how their time was organized.[139] Many found life after prison to be overwhelming, and despite the traumas they experienced inside, some of the respondents missed the familiarity and contemplated going back to prison just to alleviate the pressure.[140] Marcus summarizes it this way: "Jail is comfortable. Out here it's a jungle".[141] Indeed, a few interviewees maintain prison-based routines even in their post-carceral lives because it meant having some familiarity and regularity and alleviated stress around decision-making.

Dave expresses his fear of life after incarceration and making decisions, like crossing the street, and when asked what it was that made him afraid he responds: "New-ness. Everything's totally different. . . . We see it on TV and that when we're in prison over the years, but it's not the same when you see it on TV and doing it". Fred, who was very young when he began his Life sentence shares his thoughts on his initial confusion and fear after prison:

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[138]See also, Devalk's (2000) *On the Red Road* which is a documentary film on the subject of the reentry experiences of Aboriginal ex-prisoners in which the subjects speak about the day-to-day challenges they face.

[139]A few men speak of positive implications of their incarceration but these, almost exclusively, were not the result of the official system but of their own efforts, educational opportunities, other prisoners or participation in prison groups (such as the 10+, Lifers, Native Brotherhood or Olympiad). Some men speak of learning to organize, present themselves and articulate a point because of being elected Chair or being on the executive of various groups; this skill set was an asset once they were released and had to cope with the challenges which they encountered.

[140]For one of the men in the study, he initially finds the challenges upon release to be too great and deliberately breaks a condition of his parole (drinking alcohol) in order to be returned to prison.

[141]This may be linked to Jewkes (2005) idea that prisoners live in a liminal state in which they are disengaged from both past and future roles as the normal rules and struggles do not exist. See also the work of Richards & Jones (2004) who speak of shifts in structures as a major challenge in dealing with the changes in routine.

I can go where I want to go and do what I want to do, but I was kind of nervous. . . .
You know, if I was going to walk down the road, get run over by a car, or . . . how I
would react to people . . . . I grew up in jail . . . so that's the only life I knew.

For those of us whose lives have been uninterrupted by major temporal or spatial

breaks, inflationary effects and technological changes have occurred incrementally but these

men experienced these changes as instantaneous. Luc shares how dramatic these

transformations felt to him upon his release in the late 1980s:

I didn't know how to function in society. The simple things that you take for granted
every day, well they're brand new to me. I didn't really know how to work a TV. . . .
I didn't know how to use a [bank] card. I didn't know to use a phone properly . . .
Like I was 1960 coming out. It's as simple as that.

Added to this adjustment is the reality that the men often have to deal with

organizing multiple aspects at one time in order to get to a position most people take for

granted. For example, Bob recalls having to get new identification cards or as he put it

"piece my wallet together" in order to access services.[142] In completing many of these tasks,

the men had to be self-reliant and for some this was a new challenge:

once you leave the halfway house, then you have to take care of yourself. . . . I have
to do my own cooking. I have to do my own laundry. I have to clean my room,
apartment . . . and I have to get used to that. I have to get used to not running out of
things. . . . You have to become reliant on yourself and it's not easy when you've had
people telling you what to do for *x* amount of years. (F.G.)

The strategies for coping with the implications of incarceration were: relying on a

support network, reminding themselves to have patience, finding a balance between their

dreams and reality, seeing a psychologist, smoking THC, finding places of peace,[143] relying

on a higher power or spiritual belief, playing music and most commonly, taking time to gain

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[142]The men are in possession of a parole identification card but are often hesitant to use this "identity document"
(Goffman, 1963b, p. 60) because they fear stigmatization.

[143]We will return to this point in greater detail in the upcoming geography chapter.

perspective on the situation. Barry suggests that ex-prisoners need to "stop, think, assess and then respond" and others speak of reminding themselves that being out of prison, regardless of the challenges encountered was better than being incarcerated. Bob addresses this:

> . . . for the longest time all I wanted to do was go for a walk down Bath Road in Kingston from Collins Bay and I couldn't. And so now I can go for a walk right now or I'd bike . . . . just go to the grocery stores. . . . Don't give this up. You know, hang in there. . . . It won't be everything you want but . . . you're not going to lose it all today.

Other men state that they try to anticipate problems and address them immediately in order to protect themselves. Flowers provides some perspective on this:

> You know when you drive you can be defensive because you are aware of everything around you and you can respond – be a defensive driver . . . I'm like that in life. I'm a defensive 'liver'.

This strategy was also used to respond to another challenge – dealing with potentially negative influences.

Negative Influences

In the previous chapter, a quote from F.G. indicated that he felt it was necessary to make a break with his old 'criminal associates' and this disassociation challenged many of the respondents who worried that contact would jeopardize their freedom. This sense of peril is echoed by several of the men who speak of needing to create both a mental and physical break with those who they felt represented their past. Gerry tells of the difficulty of cutting contact with previous friends:

> . . . it hurts. . . . Sometimes in your life, as much as you may not want to, it's sometimes better to change your location, change your friends, period. Cut them right out of your life and move on. And if that's what you have to do, then do it. Get down and do it.

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For many of the men, deciding whether to sever ties was not so much about the men's past together but whether they were mentally in the same 'forward-looking' place now.[144] Creating distance was most evident during the halfway house period and with their fellow residents with whom the men did not have significant previous attachments. Doc, Rick, Tom, Bobby, Gowan and Fred all speak of the importance of not associating with anyone who would compromise their freedom and Tom specifically locates this threat with the short-termers living in the CRF:

> You gotta stay clear of these people [short-termers] because most of these people have not come to the point where you're at – where you really do want to stay out and you really do want to just be part of society now. Their head is not there. . . . just don't go out with them anywhere . . . because the bottom line is, yeah they can go back for another 6 months. You're not going back for 6 years . . . you might never get out again.

That it was the Lifers who most often speak of creating distance as a strategy to meet the challenge of negative past associations is not surprising given that this group is most vulnerable to the state and therefore feel susceptible to further punishment.

Susceptibility to Future Punishment

According to governmentality scholars, responsibility for risk management is diffused throughout the social body and thus, it is not surprising after release the men feel intensely monitored and very vulnerable; this sense of omniopticism (being watched by multiple others) was pervasive and the men relate their experience of general dis-ease and fear of being returned to prison. They also speak of specific tensions relating to the official state mechanisms, social supports and to their intimate partners.

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[144]See Bottoms, et al. (2004) for a discussion of the importance of having a forward-looking approach in terms of successful desistance from crime.

Joel provides us with a lengthy, but cogent, summary of the general dis-ease of which numerous men speak:

> ... you're never allowed to be free .... you're ... perpetually ... on a string. You're never able to completely break the umbilicus. You always have to justify yourself to someone else ... at some point, and at your peril, you forget 'cause that's when you ... if you forget, you'll end up doing something like drive out of your radius. ... At some point, there's no more progress. .. You're at the mercy ... of society. ... You're never fully enfranchised and that sounds very theoretical when you first get out. ... I'm free and this and that ... [but] I can't do anything spontaneous. I can't just go off ... even if something important comes up ... you're always diminished as a person.

This sense of susceptibility to future punishment was often discussed in relation to treatment by police officers, or a hyper-awareness of their presence:[145]

> When we were living in Cornwall the police used to set up a speed trap right on our road. ... I'd walk out the door and I'd see a cop car sitting there and go, 'oh-oh, what's going to happen. Am I going to get arrested? Are they watching me?' (Rick)

In this way we see that the men (who feel over-monitored) consider even the most innocuous actions by state agents to be suspicious. More often, however, the men were worried about the possibility of false accusations and this emerged primarily with those serving Life sentences. This fear was not an irrational one as two of the Lifers tell of being returned to prison based on suspicions which were later declared to be unfounded. Ziggy speaks to his situation:

> I got pulled ... over allegations of charges. It took me *two years* to prove my innocence. But they certainly put me through the mill ... No one asked me anything. I'm a Lifer so I must be guilty.[146]

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[145]See also Maidment (2006) for an interesting analysis of women's experiences of this phenomenon.

[146]Bobby also spent several years in prison with no new charges and we will address his case in the later chapter on resistance.

While the men share that they create distance and avoid relationships, there is no real strategy for eradicating the possibility of false accusations.

In other situations, the men speak of using compliance with state requests as a means of decreasing their susceptibility to punishment. Bobby tells of attending a domestic violence program even though he had no record of that type of offence; he says: " I did comply because. . . they're not going to get me for . . . refusing to attend programs." We see that the men are, at some level, forced to participate in the public transcript which is based on rehabilitation rhetoric and we will return to this point when we discuss resistance strategies. Notably, others speak of compliance in terms of keeping a steady job or knowing and conforming to the rules.

Avoidance is another strategy used by the respondents to cope with their susceptibility and this technique manifested in some not becoming involved in intimate relationships; Joel, who had married and divorced after prison, says he now feels fortunate that the marriage ended amicably because he believes that had it not, his freedom could have been jeopardized. He speaks to his current situation:

> That's why I avoid relationships . . . because you know what if she gets afraid of me or what if it breaks up or what if she's unstable or what if she . . . ? It isn't like you might call on your husband and the police say, 'Well, there's nothing we can do ma'am.' Well, boy, there is if it's me. There's plenty that can be done . . . that's a part of being an ex-convict. (Joel)

A few interviewees disclose that they wanted to process issues in their relationships with the support services that were made available to them by the state, but ultimately did not because of their worry about possible penal repercussions.[147] Even Ziggy, who has received

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[147] As Maidment (2006) discussed this may be because these agencies represent an expansion of the control apparatus.

years of support from his psychologist, shares that he has to be very careful of his word

choice when he does discuss his relationship in his therapeutic sessions:

> I'd use the word 'fight' and then alarm bells would go off. But that is what you would say with your husband. Well, we had a fight or an argument or spat. But if I use any of those words . . . everyone is terrified.

While some use avoidance or selective disclosure to cope with their vulnerabilities,

others chose to mask the issues in order to protect themselves. Rick tells of needing to

maintain a facade of 'perfection' because he felt if the state's representatives knew that he

was experiencing obstacles, his risk level on the assessment scales could be increased:

> I knew if I went and started complaining too much, I was going to be seen as a problem. . . . Not that I wasn't doing well, but how do you sit down with somebody and say 'I'm having a hard time adjusting to the rules'. Because they look at you as being problematic then and so they consider your risk is elevated.

Still, while the men recognized that participation in intimate relationships could, if they went

poorly, increase their chances of altercations with penal justice system, most did choose to

have intimate partners after prison. In addition to their sense of susceptibility in regard to

intimate relationships, with social supports and the state, the men also worry that if they are

not employed, their exposure would be heightened.

Work & Finances

Finding work and developing some economic stability was a major challenge that the

men confronted during their resettlement.[148] Interestingly, this issue was not only

encountered in the early period after release but rather, it emerges as a persistent struggle.[149]

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[148]See for example Clear & Dammer (2000).

[149]See Solomon, Waul, Van Ness & Travis (2004) who argued that problems on re-entry to labour market may be prolonged because of time away, lack of skills going in and little vocational training inside, stigma, legislative barriers and the diminishing availability of blue collar jobs.

One reason that economic need does not figure more dominantly in the immediate period after release from prison may be that CSC runs a business named CORCAN which aids "in the safe reintegration of offenders into Canadian society by providing employment and employability skills training to offenders incarcerated in federal penitentiaries and, for brief periods of time, after they are released into the community" (CORCAN, Mission statement). By reserving these jobs for prisoners and ex-prisoners, the burden of finding employment may be reduced; this could account for why finding a first job was not more onerous than finding later employment.[150]

While many of the men had worked at CORCAN, they indicate that the challenge was greater than just finding a job. For many, the quest was not only for employment but for meaningful work.[151] For example, Bob says:

> [I wanted] . . . meaningful employment . . . as opposed to . . . 7-11, Tim Horton's, things like that. 'Cause for me . . . that's really a central issue, and I think that pertains to anybody. Your employment is real essential to the way you're going to live your life and what opportunities that provides for you, and if you can't find meaningful, sustainable employment, then you're going to have problems in a lot of other areas of your life.

Puzzle, who due to an injury was forced to cease manual labour, found meaning in being the primary caregiver to his children, and this new role necessitated a re-ordering of his values and challenged his previous acceptance of the ". . . ideological linkage of fathers with breadwinning" (Ranson, 2007, p.199):

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[150]While the work at CORCAN is usually only temporary this agency also operates community employment centres which are designed to help with resume design, interview preparation and career counselling so that the individual can find other work. CORCAN's 2006-2007 Annual Report (2007) indicates that these community employment centres assisted 1520 former prisoners ". . . in finding employment in the community for the very first time" (p. 20). In our sample, one man had been working at CORCAN for several years but this was an exception to the rule. In most cases, individuals are required to find other work to make room for those who are newly released.

[151]Liker (1981) noted that finding a 'good job' was especially important for those individuals who lacked social support.

[being off work because of an injury] sucks because a large part of what I hold my value, my own self-worth is in working and doing a good job. . . . And the other part is . . . societal values. . . . A male staying home is, if anyone thinks it's easier than what it was 20 years ago, it's not. . . . You are looked at, kind of like a 'house bitch' and that's, . . . kind of tough some days.

Strategies for finding employment included relying on existing connections to gain entry to a particular workplace, creating a false resumé (which often requires the assistance of others to 'verify' it if called) and establishing connections through volunteer work. Other men assert that persistence was their main strategy for finding work. Due to their lengthy incarceration, some men did not have many connections in the community who could help them find work and so relied on their own tenacity:

> I went out faithfully every day with resumes. . . . I would start up one side of the street and go down and when I got to the far end, turn over and go to the other side and come back up the other way. . . . I'd create a book, a log book, and every business that I went in was logged, what it was, who I talked to, their phone number, and within days, if I didn't return to check on is anything happening with my resume, I would phone . . . . because it's not enough just to drop a resume off somewhere and move on. (Gerry)

In addition to using work to find meaning, the men wanted to achieve a level of financial stability which meant more than mere subsistence. Many were eager to establish a credit rating, buy a house or car, and achieve the other markers of financial success. Barry shares that, after more than 20 years on the street, he still felt financially challenged:

> [when I got out, I] tried to get back on my feet as a man in his 30s, trying to get back to the point of where a normal 30 year old would be. I'm now in my 50s and I'm still not where a normal 50 year old should've been. It's playing a catch up game that you can't win.

For many of the interviewees their time in the halfway house was helpful in getting their financial affairs in order;[152] Ernest tells of being able to put aside half of every pay cheque so that he could afford his own place when he left the CRF. This positivity about the halfway house was not shared by all participants as the men who were in relationships argue that they had to pay twice – once to help their spouse with bills and once to pay room and board at the halfway house.[153]

When the men relate the challenge of finding work, many make links to either their stigmatized identity or to their age; the former of these will be discussed in detail in a later chapter but we will now explore the challenge of coming out of prison as an older man.

<u>Age</u>

Several of the men felt that their inability or difficulty in finding employment was the result of their increased age. Some, who had been labourers before their time in prison, found it difficult to return to that type of work because their bodies were no longer as capable.[154] Yet, it is often these types of jobs that are available to men with limited work histories or who have restrictions due to their criminal record or parole status. The respondents frequently speak of the toll that this work took on their bodies as Tom shares:

> if a guy comes out say at 58, he's not old . . . he's not old enough to get a pension, but he's got to work and . . . the jobs that are available for someone that age are tough slugging. I got into Bostech . . . I was 46 or 47 and it almost killed me. 'Cause I'm doing a job of 20 year olds. I did it for a year but it was tough.

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[152]This strategy included getting their paperwork assembled and submitted for a disability pension or for old age security or setting up and contributing to a savings account.

[153]Some of the men state that they felt resentful that they were required to pay for what they considered their own incarceration. Tangentially, three of the men spoke about the CRF and parole staff appearing to be resentful, sceptical or jealous of any financial success that they were having. One man, who obtained a high status job very quickly, found this job jeopardized by interference from the state.

[154]Drummond (2007) indicated that the loss of physical strength maybe particularly important for men who rely on this physical attribute to help establish their masculinity.

Luc too was frustrated by his age being a barrier to his employment but is sympathetic to potential employers:

> Now I always kept saying to myself, 'Luc you shouldn't have any difficulty finding a job. You're able.' . . . I forget that by the time, I was 50 years old. To me it didn't mean anything but to an employer it meant a lot. It meant a very dangerous person to hire. Tomorrow he's going to get sick and we're going to pay for him. He's going to hurt himself, and we're going to pay for him.

Some share that the effect of this increased age was an inability to rely on their parents as they had when they were younger while others struggled to find age appropriate ways of 'being' in the social world.[155] The men frequently make reference to a quest to obtain a sense of normalcy in that they wanted to achieve what an 'average man[156] of their age would have or, as Bobby phrases it, there is a need to "Get a job. Get a wife. Get a white picket fence".

In some cases the men speak of their age requiring them to mentally adjust in terms of their relationship to women. Jean made the switch from seeing himself as a "dashing young man" to being a "grey old fox". Tom provides this anecdote about how this type of shift requires some time to make:

> I went to jail [when I was] 26 . . . so my girlfriends were 20, 21. . . . I get out at 46, and that's a huge adjustment to make 'cause mentally you're still looking at 20, 21 year old women . . . and you know . . . intellectually, that that's not right. That you shouldn't be looking at them cause you wouldn't want one. Because if I had a younger girlfriend, I'd feel like an idiot, you know. . . . So you don't really want one, but it takes you a while to adjust to go okay, I'm supposed to be with a woman this age, but I'm not attracted to a woman this age. . . . It came with time.

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[155]See also Jameison & Grounds (2005) who ague that men serving long periods of incarceration often come out at the same psychological age as when they entered the prison.

[156]The men in this research often used the terms 'normal' and 'average' interchangebly and it is usually the latter which has the connotation for which they were striving.

Of course, the adjustment that Tom highlights is influenced by the aforementioned lack of relation with women while incarcerated. The adaptation to their new age was one with which they struggled and this challenge was often compounded by dealing concurrently with mental health issues.

Mental Health

Some of the men in this study speak of depression and other mental health issues.[157] Several respondents tell of feeling depressed and attributed this sensation to health problems (such as Hepatitis C, back injuries, arthritis, etc.), to dealing with the guilt around their crime(s) or to the effects of having been in prison. For these men, their two primary strategies for dealing with these emotions were finding a counsellor they trusted or finding an activity (riding their motorcycle, woodworking, exercising, etc.) in which they could immerse themselves and in so doing find a sense of being at ease.

Some respondents had been diagnosed with acute mental health issues and for these individuals therapy and medication proved to be the best strategies for coping. Ziggy, speaks of seeing his psychologist once a month since 1993 and how the techniques he has learned through these sessions have helped him to overcome difficulties in his day-to-day life. For Bobby, meeting a psychiatrist (through CSC) resulted in a diagnosis which enabled him to get medication that lessened his depression and suicidal tendencies.

The men in this research share their experiences of the multiple, expected and unanticipated, challenges that they face with the implications of incarceration, work and finance, vulnerability to the state, age and mental health. They also present the multitude of

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[157]Waller (1974) also found this in his study.

strategies which they employ to manage and these range from macro-level approaches like compliance and avoidance to micro-level coping techniques such as making lists and going for walks. Despite having navigated these obstacles many of the men questioned their inclusion in research which defined them as 'successful' and it would be remiss to not address their concerns at this point.

Defining Success

At the beginning of this research it was recognized that utilizing the state's definition of success was problematic because it reified penal constructs and limited the parameters through which we could discuss the concept.[158] Yet, in order to draw a sample, some sort of operational definition needed to be employed; this choice did not, however, go unchallenged by the men who were included.

Despite their appreciation for being recognized in a positive way, many of the men in this study were critical and either questioned or refuted the definition:

> I question what a success is . . . I believe that I'm termed a success because I haven't been revoked or re-offended. Other than that, I'm not sure how I could be . . . referred to as a success . . . I'm not back in jail, so I'm a success story. It's a bit of either/or . . . and . . . a little simplistic. (Bob)

Puzzle also challenges the simplicity of defining success as the absence of new charges for five years or more and indicates that the parameters should be more encompassing:

> . . . that's what the system will teach. In order to succeed, you must be this. And their only success is recidivism. It's not . . . when you get out how you'll be as a parent, how you'll be as a neighbour, how you'll be as a co-worker.

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[158]See also Maidment (2006) for a discussion of this issue.

In this quote we see a link to the desire for 'normalcy' and the wish to be evaluated by the same standards as other men in the community and we will return to this point in upcoming chapters.

Another group of respondents dispute their inclusion based on humility or a superstitious fear of not being sufficiently humble. For example, despite having obtained a well-paying, esteemed job, Mr. Flowers states " I don't know if I'm doing well or not . . . I'm doing okay". Joel too feels guarded about admitting his success for fear of losing the gains he'd made after prison: "it's like . . . 'yeah, I have a house *but* it's mortgaged'. I'm always afraid . . . fear of loss because I've had loss before."

Others define success in their own ways. Rick and Jean both tell of setting post-carceral goals (like getting a license and car, buying a home and using their education) while they were in prison and then feeling a real sense of satisfaction at achieving those within a short period of time. Many linked their self-defined success to their own tenacity or perseverance; for example, Ziggy speaks of working hard to acquire his fridge, stove, air conditioners and car. The respondents frequently speak of the accumulation of material possessions and this may be the result of having had limited possessions during their incarceration. We are also able to consider the possibility that despite the idea that consumption is primarily a 'feminine' characteristic, ". . . the separation of masculinity from consumption is an error" (Edward, 2007, p.79) since male consumption patterns tend to be related to larger ideas such as cars or advanced technology. These large items also give them something tangible with which to measure themselves against other men and members of their class, age or penal cohort. Doc tells of gauging his success relationally:

Since I've done this - buying the house - I'm able to say, now . . . I'm above, you know, most of my peers, 'cause they don't own houses. Half of them don't own cars . . . and they don't see their success, you know, equate it to . . . toys and what not.

In those instances where the men did acknowledge themselves as successful, it

mostly occurred when they positioned themselves relationally to the system. Repeatedly the

men tell of succeeding *in spite* of the system. They shared stories of their tenacity in

overcoming its indifference, inhumaneness or its attempts to put obstacles in their way:

> The things I accomplished that made me a better person was something I developed myself, not them. Nothing they could do to make me a better person -- they made me a worse person. (Jean)

Going Deeper

While this chapter has helped provide an overview of the experience of resettlement,

it has not provided an analysis of how these experiences emerge. In order to do this, the

next chapters will explore, in greater depth, three areas that appeared prominently during the

interviews: geography, identity/stigma and resistance. By devoting a chapter to each of

these areas, I will suggest that the integrated theoretical approach that I proposed earlier can

be used to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the release, reentry and

resettlement experience of former long-term prisoners.

CHAPTER SEVEN
FROM GREAT DEPRIVATION TO A WHITE PICKET FENCE: THE (EX)PRISONER AS VULNERABLE, 'IN-PLACE', 'OUT OF PLACE' AND FREE(?)

. . . they asked me what it's like doing this job and I said 'I've been doing that 6 years and I eat lunch alone cause I don't fit in'. Like I can't go to the dining hall to have a meal with the guys . . . so I'm by myself and you know, I come home and I don't have an office to go to, I don't have a support member to go and unload this stuff. I got to bring it home . . . so it infringes on me and . . . on my space and I don't like that . . . I don't want that here. Then there's the . . . safe zones where I can let myself down and I can go to my brother's house and get stupid with him . . . and that's okay. So I look for safe zones . . . so each of those things that I do, I'm a different personality for them. I guess we all are to an extent. You know, I'm sure you're not the same person at home with your husband as you are at school, but it doesn't have the same impact on you if you get caught outside your zone. (Rick)

In the above quote, Rick speaks to the complex way in which geography is implicated in his life. In the course of a few sentences, he refers to a sense of belonging, of safe spaces, of power and transgression, of identity and of vulnerability and all of these are influenced by the places in which he moves. His words remind us of the theoretical proposition that social interactions and geographic spaces are mutually constitutive; each shapes and impacts on the other, often in ways which are taken-for-granted. In recognizing this reciprocal relationship, it is understood that through locale, location and sense of place, spatiality is not merely a backdrop for social actions. Although analysis of geographic concepts will be incorporated into later chapters on identity and resistance, I have devoted a chapter specifically to spatiality in order to centre *place* within criminology and to more fully develop the concepts which may be new to a reader in this discipline. While geography will be the terrain of discussion, we will see that the central notions of social interactionism and governmentality are fully entangled in place.

In this chapter, I argue that while the three components of place are not completely separable, a focus on sense of place can be used to also explore location and locale. In this way, I adopt Cosgrove's (2000) position that:

> because the sense of attachment and significance in place always draws upon memory, desire and experience of other people, it is as much social as personal, and a product of interaction between people at a specific location as much as of the physical properties of that location. (p. 732)

We will attend to what Entrikin (1990) referred to as the 'betweenness' of place which is the conflation of the objective aspects of place (one of which is the visible space) and subjective interpretations. By structuring the analysis around the most phenomenologically-oriented of the elements, attention will be drawn to the interconnectedness of spatiality, memory and emotion and how these are experienced by the ex-prisoner. In so doing, I will agree with Malpas (1999) who asserted that place is both open and bounded. Also, it will be demonstrated that power structures are fully implicated in how place comes to be understood (Cresswell, 2004) and this phenomenon is particularly apparent for those who have had their ability to exert agency constrained through the use of space.

We will begin by examining the sense of vulnerability that the men encounter while in prison and after release. I will demonstrate that this feeling is related to the dislocations the respondents have experienced, to a certain type of homelessness and to a disconnection from particular locales. The next section will explore the sense of being 'out of place' or disaffiliated after release. Knowing that interactions are both complex and malleable, we also need to examine sense of security, how this feeling transcends location and is experienced through a perception of being 'in place'. Finally, the chapter will explore the

issue of freedom and how for men who experience it in a tenuous way, redefining their

liberty becomes important in their ability to resettle and to move in space.[159]

Sense of Vulnerability

Given the dominant stereotype held of criminalized individuals, vulnerability is not a

word that readily comes to mind in relation to their experiences. However, in this research,

the ex-prisoners frequently talk about their susceptibility, their fear and their assailability.

For the most part, these are men who committed crimes which caused egregious harm[160] for

which they are, or have been, punished. In their encounters with both the criminal justice

system and the broader social body it is clear the respondents feel a pervasive sense of being

in jeopardy. I argue that this sensibility has particularly spatial elements because

incarceration creates a dislocation which carries through imprisonment and into the

community and this is depicted in Figure 7.1. The men's sense of vulnerability can be seen

through their stories of displacement, the emergence of homelessness, negative place-

memory and insecurity in designated 'safe' spaces.

Displacement

In order to understand the ex-prisoners' sense of displacement, it is useful to begin

by examining their time in prison. Drawing upon the work of Fried (2000), the respondent's

years of incarceration can be conceived of as a transitional period in which the space he

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[159]These divisions were inspired by Walker's (1999) work on adults with developmental disabilities in which she explores their community experiences.

[160]It is important to note that two of the men felt that they had been wrongfully convicted, and as such, do not accept that they have harmed society. Also, one of the men considers himself to be an activist and crusader and feels that he is a type of political prisoner and refutes any suggestion that he has inflicted damage on the social body.

Figure 7.1. Sense of Vulnerability

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                              │  Sense of Vulnerability │
                              └─────────────────────────┘
              Related to                    │
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┌──────────────┐ ┌────────────┐ ┌─────────────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ Displacement │ │'Safe'spaces│ │Negative place-memory│ │ Homelessness │
└──────────────┘ └────────────┘ └─────────────────────┘ └──────────────┘
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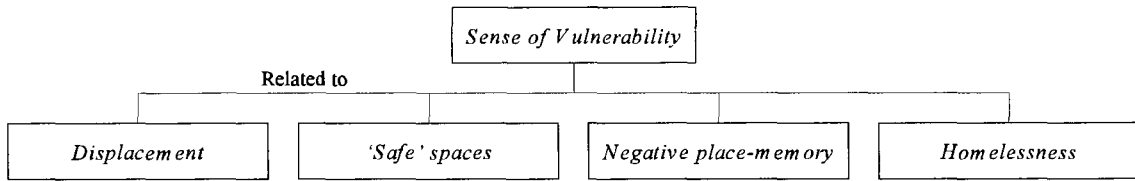
inhabits creates discontinuities between the person and his attachments to community and to

other individuals. An additional layer of complexity is added because physical space is used

as a technique to control the prisoner. This usage is an important dimension for

consideration since, as Foucault (1995) pointed out, not only is the penitentiary designed to

confine and isolate, but, it typifies the panopticon wherein "power should be visible and

unverifiable" (p. 201) and therefore functions as a disciplinary power. In Canada, this is

particularly evident in the maximum security units which are engineered to approximate the

panoptic model designed by Bentham (see Foucault, 1995) and these facilities are where

many federally-sentenced men begin their period of imprisonment (CCRA, 1992). While

they are displaced and held captive, the men are highly controlled.

I contend that the men's experience in prison reflects the sovereign-discipline-

government triangle since, while the state clearly has power to use force, they also utilize

disciplinary techniques and require that the prisoner self-regulate behaviour in order to be

perceived as abiding by rules and expectations. This presentation of self is particularly

important since the prisoner needs to ensure that he is seen as conforming to the rules in

order to reduce the level of dangerousness which is ascribed to him by the mechanisms of

the correctional apparatus. By reducing his perceived risk level, the prisoner may feel less

vulnerable to the prison authorities and their ability to transfer him to a higher security level.

In chapter five we discussed the fact that as the prisoner's actuarial level of risk to

the public, to other prisoners, or to the institution declines, the men can anticipate they will

'cascade' down through the various levels of security. For most, these transfers between

institutions, are not in their control and shifts in space are events which happen *to* them.

F.G. provides an example of how these movements are etched into his memories:

> In August '77 I got arrested . . . I sat in . . . Barton Street [Jail], June, July, and in
> July, I went to KP [Kingston Penitentiary] and . . . beginning in August I was
> transferred to Millhaven. . . . That's why you remember because its not just, "Oh, it
> happened here, happened here.' It's something that happens *specifically*. Like I
> went from a super max to Collins Bay. And I went from there back to Super Max,
> because a friend of mine . . . allegedly put it on me . . . Then I got back to the Bay . .
> . and I went to Bath, from Bath to, . . . Frontenac. From Frontenac back to Bath
> because I lost my judicial review and from then on, I stayed in there.

Usually, the transfers to lower security levels are seen as positive by both the men

and agents of the state. For example, many recall the difficulty of doing time in a maximum

security environment and how they felt more stressed and fearful at the higher levels.

However, there are instances where the effect of these transfers (either to a higher or lower

security facility) was to create a sense of displacement which can be seen as a "mode of

desubjectification insofar as the bodies of the displaced are seen as objects operated on by

outside hostile forces" (Delaney, 2004, p. 848). In some cases, as is alluded to by F.G.,

these transfers may have nothing to do with 'real' threats to the institution or with the actual

behaviour of the prisoner but the effect is to reaffirm the state's power over the men. The

prisoners are displaced as they are forced to pack up their belongings and move to a different

cell in a different building; often this movement occurs with no warning. The men's

displacement presented new challenges:

> . . . it was hard to trust the other guys. It was like going from prison to prison . . . or
> from range to block, from one block to another block. You know it takes a little
> while . . . you just . . . tippy toe, you know. You watch and you know pretty well
> who you can talk to and who you don't need to talk to. (Dave)

Some literature indicates that prison spaces are personalized by the individuals so

that the blandness and uniformity of the environment become masked[161] and consequently,

displacement can cause grief reactions such as anxiety, depression and health problems

(Fried, 2000). Transfers which are unwanted by prisoners can therefore be particularly

rupturing since many of the men see their cells as their 'own' and as a 'safe' space within a

block of people who are known to them. That their 'own' space can be repossessed by the

correctional apparatus often leaves the men with a sense of homelessness and, as we will see

next, this sensation continues into their post-carceral lives and affects the respondents'

resettlement.

Homelessness

Before beginning our examination of the men's experiences of homelessness, it is

helpful to consider the work which has been done in the environmental criminologies in

regard to criminal offense location. Spatially-oriented criminologists and geographers have

demonstrated, based on the distance decay model, that individuals will usually engage in

criminal activity in locations near their primary residence (See Brantingham & Brantingham,

2000; Capone & Nichols, 1975; Rengert, 1996; Rossmo, 1993; Santtila, Laukkanen &

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[161]Baer (2005) provided an interesting account of how visual imprints are made in the carceral environment. In his
study, youth prisoners in England use a variety of personal hygiene and air freshening products to decorate their cells
and in doing so, create identifiers that signal them as clean, wealthy or connected. These items get 'passed down'
when the prisoner leaves the prison.

Zappalà, 2007). This model allows us to postulate that the crimes committed by the respondents occurred at, or near, the men's residences. Because of this fact, many of the men were not permitted to live in specific hometown areas after release from prison. This restriction occurred even if they had been born and raised in the vicinity from which they now were banned. The men are rendered homeless since as May (2000) noted, homelessness is not about a lack of residence so much as about a lack of place.

Sometimes the disapproval of representatives of the state was overt (an outright denial of a release plan to that area) or more indirect with correctional agents making it explicit (through conversations with parole officers or by harassment of the (ex)prisoner if he went to those areas on pass) that the individual was not wanted back in the community.[162] Partly as a result of these interactions, many of the ex-prisoners make the choice to abandon their home space. For example, Marcus speaks of choosing to not return to his hometown and that this decision was influenced in part by the community itself and in part by his intentions: ". . . that was where my crime was committed and I didn't really want to go into an area that was resentful of me or that might not have made for a successful reintegration so I stayed out here." For the ex-prisoner 'unwantedness' places him in a precarious position between a nostalgic yearning for home and a loss of the elements that would make this place possess a sense of security. This phenomenon is problematic since, as Jamal (1998) writes in his work on forced migrants:

> whereas those mourning a human loss are able to rely on well-established rituals to
> help ease their pain, there is no such clear-cut mechanism to deal with the loss of a

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[162]This idea will be furthered developed in the next chapter which addresses issues around identity and how based on his public identity, the (ex)prisoner is discriminated against in particular spaces.

homeland. A dead body is a cold, irrevocable fact; a lost homeland, even if changed beyond recognition, dangles the possibility of eventual return. (p. 3)

Jean addresses the complexity of making a decision about where to resettle and, ultimately, deciding not to return to London (his hometown) where the crime he committed occurred:

[It is] important to have people to come out to. I did in London too but I didn't want to go back to London because, you know, of what happened there and my past and the way the police treat me and stuff.

In both of the above examples, the men choose to relocate in new areas and in doing so, they consciously give up home places that previously had some positive affiliations for them. However, as the quotes above hint at, these places are tinged with negativity and become areas with unfavourable place-memory.

Place -Memory

Throughout the interviews, the avoidance of a particular location was a decision of which the men spoke. This strategy may be a way of dealing with negative 'place-memory' which Casey (1987) argued permits the past to be recalled in the present. Casey (2001) contended that:

. . . place stays there to greet us or threaten us after we have been away from it for a while. Place keeps coming back to mind (i.e., in recollection) or in body (e.g., as we again find our way about in a place we once knew by means of habitual body memory). (p. 227)

By drawing upon memory of place, the men were able to avoid previous criminal affiliations or associates in particular locations. Places then are not just about map coordinates but also encompass the people and type of interactions that the person remembers as existing therein. F.G. recalls travelling to his hometown on a pass prior to his actual release and how this influences his decision not to return there:

-175-

If I go back to Leamington . . . I have to bump into everybody I know and I didn't want that. I'm finished with them all . . . I went to Leamington on a pass . . . and as we pulled in, I seen five people I was in jail with . . . and I said, Jesus Christ, just think if I lived here. And I'd be seeing these people all the time . . . I don't want that.

Bobby, who had moved to at least 10 different areas within Toronto, provides an excellent example of how sense of place is linked to memory and interaction when he recalls using geographic spaces to create social and psychological change:

moving around and having so many different evolutionary stages happen in Toronto being there for 15 years you know. There's not one place I could go in Toronto . . . it was only occasionally when I could drive through a certain section of Toronto and not have it come to mind . . . so many geographic . . . cues, you know, that would trigger something . . . Got to be a problem. Now Hamilton [is a] clean place. Geography is, in this case a . . . remedy . . . it's . . . let's not screw up this corner. Let's not screw up that corner.

We can see that Bobby felt a sense of vulnerability in certain places, and he frequently relocated in order to avoid this sensation and assume a degree of control. He does not see the space as causal to his behaviour, but as implicated in his actions, and certainly in his ability to recall them. By drawing attention to the contextual dimension of place, Bobby's excerpt establishes that, for him, being in a particular area mediates the actions and interactions therein. By contrast, Doc firmly situated location and locale as causal factors in his crime when he tells us the actions which led to his arrest were typical occurrences in his hometown – in his case they just exceeded the normative boundaries. In these two cases however, it is clear that geography is implicated both in their behaviour and in how they understand their actions.

For other men, the vulnerability they felt because of place-memory was linked to the social interactions that were likely to occur and so avoidance of particular places was a

means to evade negative (although not necessarily criminal) influences that could jeopardize their resettlement in the community. Gowan indicates that he avoided most members of his family despite the fact that they wanted him to move to the area in which they lived:

> . . . I'm just saying that I'm out now and I've just finished 17 years of all my life inside the wall. And I come out and I said 'you guys are worse than the day that I went to the foster home. I don't want no part of that'.

Fred, who wanted his children to know their Aboriginal culture and language, also addresses the need to avoid family spaces because of his own negative place-memory and his fear of the impact that the locale could have on his children:

> . . . I remember growing up . . . I was going to my uncle's place because he let us drink. He let all these kids drink and . . . I remember I was 10 years old right. . . . I know what goes on there 'cause nothing has changed . . . I don't want my kids to be getting involved with that. . . . [Instead I say] 'get your friends to come over here'. . . their friends would come to our place.

For both Gowan and Fred, geography may be seen as both the locus of problems and the solutions to them. By drawing on memories of place, they are able to avoid what they consider negative locales while simultaneously attempting to create positive ones for future memories. In both cases, while their families thought a return to their 'home' would be helpful, the men's experiential knowledge contradicted this sentiment. The fact that there are multiple, and often competing, sensations of place means even in places designed to foster a sense of security or safety, the men could feel vulnerable.

Vulnerability in 'Safe' Spaces

Reinforcing the idea that place is porous, some men speak of refusing or resisting being in spaces which were sanctioned by the state but which the individual felt would jeopardize his resettlement. Despite the criminal justice apparatus's goal to minimize risk

through conditional release, some of the ex-prisoners felt that the halfway house space

increased their chance of recidivism. For example, Tom felt vulnerable in the CRF despite

the state's endorsement of it as a secure place:

> ... as far as this town goes here, I didn't want to know any of the people that were
> criminally oriented in this town. And the only way to do that was to ignore
> everybody at the halfway house, 'cause they're all coming through there.

While Tom's excerpt made a link to a particular location, we can see in the next example

that the sense of vulnerability transcended physical boundaries and related more to the

interactions that were likely to occur in certain purpose-created places. Doc tells of refusing

to attend Narcotic Anonymous (N.A.) meetings because a place was created which

jeopardized his sobriety and hence, his successful resettlement. While N.A. meetings are

held in various locations, Doc expects a particular type of social interplay within the group

space:

> I didn't want to go anywhere or do anything because of that fact that I'm on parole. I
> was asked to go to N.A. out here. I went to N.A. – two meetings – and I came back
> and told my P.O., I says . . . 'I don't want to be there. Those are all the drug dealers
> in this city that I don't even know, but now I do. So by you guys asking me to go
> there, I'm being introduced to drug dealers. I don't want to know who they are or
> where they live 'cause it makes it tempting'.

These examples demonstrate the subjectivity implicated in place. As Tom and Doc

illustrate, settings which are meant to be supportive may be experienced in an opposite way

by some individuals. Still, in other examples, it was apparent that state endorsement, family

support and social approval did mitigate the negative sensations and make the place

tolerable for the men.

In some cases, the former captives may be overwhelmed by sensations in place and this feeling may be influenced by limited experience with spatial variety. In an excerpt from his interview, Ernest addresses the physical, social and psychological vulnerability he faced:

> ... I was living in a low rental just fighting for survival. Trying to find some sanity with all of the insanity around me, including my own, you know. ... I'd visit the halfway house and have a coffee and sit in the backyard ... I'd go to the bar a few times. I couldn't handle that. It was just freaking me out too much. ... I can't stand seeing all that pain in one place at one time. ... I just found myself drifting off to other spaces where I didn't have to experience it on a continuous basis. ... My nephews were a bit of a problem because they ... were into all kinds of drugs and alcohol and everything and they were looking for a place to have their parties and stuff like that ... so I had to get rid of all of that and everything. Drive that all out of my life and ... still maintain the conditions of my parole. So it was a constant, constant struggle until I moved here.

Ernest's quote highlights the key theme of vulnerability which is ironic given the social construction of these men as dangerous to others and to their community. In addition to avoiding particular places, this vulnerability leads men, like Ernest, to circumvent certain individuals and interactions and the effect of this strategy can be double-edged. Through avoidance, the men protect themselves by attending to the perils of propinquity[163] which result from having too great a proximity to certain others, especially kin. Spatial isolation permits, to a degree, some dispersal of at least face-to-face interactions. By contrast, through a desire to isolate themselves, the respondents perpetuate their 'otherness' by not engaging with the social body. As a result, the individual may create a sense of "community without propinquity" (Webber, 1963) which is not dependent on degree of spatiality but rather on the individual's ability to set himself apart. This can lead to the men having a

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[163] I am grateful to Marc Brosseau who brought this concept to my attention.

sense of disaffiliation, or as Cresswell (1996) termed it, 'being out of place' and it is to this range of emotions that the discussion will now turn.

Sense of Disaffiliation

In the previous section, I explored the men's need to find a sense of security. Once this, and their need for shelter, is met, they can move on to try to fulfill the more social needs for friendship, love, family and acceptance. Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs helps us to understand that the next level towards self-actualization is having a sense of belonging. Therefore, finding a place of welcome is important to these men. The respondents speak about the difficulties in achieving this sense and how, for many, they experience an 'out of place-ness' (Cresswell, 1996). It is clear that a sense of disaffiliation also affects the respondent's identity and his awareness of surroundings and will now consider these issues which are depicted in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2. Sense of Disaffiliation
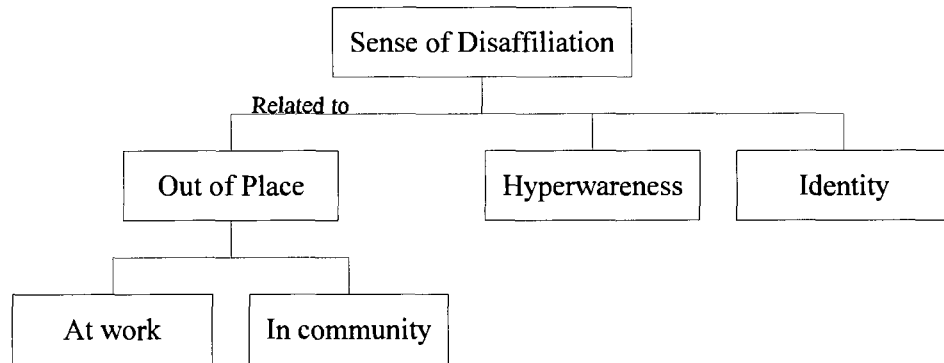
Out-of-Place: In the Community

Because we know that locales and locations are imbued with meaning, some people are seen as belonging in particular places while others are not (Cresswell, 1996). Arguably,

by subjecting the men to various "status degradation ceremonies" (see Garfinkle, 1956, p. 420)[164] the individuals come to be seen not as fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and friends but as dangerous and, consequently, 'outside' the norm and unwanted. [165] The men face persistent re-affirmation of their 'outsider' status as the media focus on the recidivist and 'law and order' politicians speak of 'getting tough on crime' and of creating laws to disallow the dangerous back in the community.[166] Within this frame, the ex-prisoner can be understood to be transgressing *simply* because he leaves the prison environment. He may further encroach by hiding his spoiled identity in order to find residence or work. Accordingly, I would suggest that the ex-prisoner's quest to meet one of our primary needs, *to belong*, becomes configured as an act of both resistance and of transgression. Some respondents felt that their 'debt' had been repaid and ergo the transgressive nature of their re-entry was unexpected. This response lead some to resistance. Barry shares his experience:

> I guess my biggest problem coming back into the community was a
> misunderstanding in that I thought the people in the community wanted me to come

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[164]"Garfinkle (1956) defined a status degradation ceremony as "any communicative work between persons whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types" (p.420). He further specifies that this ceremony must involve a denouncer, a party to be denounced and witnesses to the process.

[165]As we saw previously, this labelling often translates into a rejection by communities who fear for their safety and house values. Interestingly, in Calgary, Alberta, the City commissioned a report to aid in decision-making around the placement of a Community Residential Facility for parolees. The authors of this report, Rosemary Zelinka & Associates (2008), make it clear that in regard to house values, conclusive evidence has not been offered to indicate a detrimental impact when there is a special care facility in the neighbourhood. Indeed, they argue that there is mounting evidence that these social facilities have either a neutral affect or a positive one. For example, in a British Columbia study, appraisers found that over a four year period, neither property values nor difficulty in selling (measured by time on market) were influenced by the presence of special care facilities. In Calgary, an analysis of police records and bylaw complaints indicates that in 12 years, there have only been two complaints about a halfway house facility (Zelinska & Associates, 2008). They conclude that in Calgary, 20% of applications for special care facilities are objected to based on perception rather than fact.

[166]Reinforcing this rhetoric, and not statistical facts, was the support of the Correctional Service Review Panel (2008) for municipally created "no-go zones" which apply to parole offices and community correctional facilities in order to ". . . protect potential vulnerable communities or areas" (p. 228).

back and I guess the first time that I ran cold into the wet fish slap in the face where they didn't want me back, I was hurt. I was really hurt. I admit I did the crime. I served the time. I paid my penalty but I was not welcomed back to the community with open arms. I had to fight for and establish my place.

The sense of disaffiliation that Barry expresses above often led the men to spatially and emotionally isolate themselves from others and, in some cases, it seems possible that this was influenced by the loss of time while they were in the transitional space. As mentioned in chapter five, while the men are 'standing still' in place, the social world (with which they have limited contact) is changing around them and as a result, the respondents struggled to figure out the appropriate day-to-day interactions in order to have a sense of being in place. A comparable experience can be found by looking at research on forced migrants and I draw upon Ghanem (2003) who noted:

> the psychosocial difficulties of reintegration do not lie so much in the fact that the country of origin has changed during their protracted absence, but rather in the returnee's expectations that he/she and the home country have remained the same during the time spent in exile. (p. 37)

While there is an overlap between the experiences of the two groups, there is a fundamental difference in that my respondents return to the community aware, or very quickly realize, that they have undergone a re-socialization while in prison. There was an acute consciousness that, because of becoming conditioned to the prison milieu, their lack of social knowledge challenged their ability to become re-affiliated upon return to the community. Barry provides this example:

> Personal rudeness in the prison system is not tolerated under any circumstances . . . at least in the old days when I was there. You could not 'dis' somebody and get away with it. In our community now out here on the street, there's not a day that goes by that somebody on the street doesn't act disrespectfully towards me . . . and I let it go. . . . The bottom line is I found it a shock that people in the community that I was aspiring to live in were so absolutely rude to each other and they are rude every

day and I found that really frightening. There were times when I asked myself, 'do I even want to live in this society?' . . . now after 21 years in the community, I still see this and it still appals me.

A similarity between the post-carceral experiences of former prisoners and the post-immigration knowledge of people who return to their countries of origin is evident. Despite being physically distant from an area, there is a sense that the former location is unchanged physically or in terms of social norms and mores (see Muggeridge & Doná, 2006) and as Barry's quote suggests, the adjustments required to assimilate may take years to achieve. There is a juxtaposition of imagination and reality and "the discrepancy between past and present was shown by uneasiness about 'not knowing how to act and react'" (Muggeridge & Doná, 2006, p. 421). F.G. provides an example of the struggle he faced in making adjustments to live in the community after many years of life in prison:

> You must establish your area. Like . . . the 'King of Beasts' . . . a male lion comes in and he establishes his pride because it's his area. Well, in prison we do the same thing. We establish what is ours and out here we try to do it and we realize we can't. . . . It doesn't work out here. It works in prison because you know what you have to do and there's no . . . grey areas, it's either black or white. Out here there's grey areas and you have to learn to live in them and when you first get out, you can't see the grey areas. Like, you walk down the street and you hear some guy go, 'Hey, you're a fucking goof'. . . . [If he] says that in prison, somebody's going to cave his head in. But you've got to get used to it. . . . So, therefore, you've got to become part of the people out here and that's the thing. You have to take your space that you've created in there, I mean, get rid of it and find a new one. So that you can walk down the street and somebody bumps into you and you bump into somebody and say, 'Oh, excuse me' and they say, 'Oh, it's okay' and you keep on walking. . . . So you see, you must learn all over again.

In short, during imprisonment, the convicted men learn how to adjust their behaviour in order to 'fit' into the prison milieu. After release, they must learn a new set of interactional styles and techniques which are often quite different from the ones they employed before prison. This need to adapt is further complicated as the men, like most of

us, must negotiate multiple locations on a daily basis. One of the most influential of these sites is the workplace and an examination of this particular area as it mediates the respondents' sense of disaffiliation will now commence.

Out-of-Place: At Work

The ability of the men to adjust was mitigated by the presence or absence of supportive places. Sites of employment are often seen positively but, some in this study reveal that they felt 'out of place' in their work environments. This discomfort was especially evident in relation to the expectation that the men would socialize during work hours or, more importantly, after hours. The regulations imposed on the men by the state often prohibit the kind of social activities that become a taken-for-granted part of the locale. Going out for a drink after work may lead to a curfew, 'check-in' or abstinence condition violation. For men who have not disclosed their criminalized status, these restrictions may affect their ability to develop affiliations with co-workers who assume the individual is being anti-social. This experience is particularly problematic since research indicates that places of work are important sites for developing social networks and for fostering a set of interaction skills with work place socialization aiding in ". . . the acquisition of a set of appropriate role-behaviours . . . the development of work skills and abilities . . . [and] adjustment to the work group's norms and values" (Feldman, 1981, p. 309). The limitations placed on the ex-prisoner can therefore cause conflict between his personal and professional lives and negatively impact on his ability to develop an 'insiderness'. Puzzle tells of disclosing his parole status in order to avoid drinking alcohol with the crew, and how afterwards he felt like an outsider:

[I told them] '. . . it's [drinking alcohol] not part of my lifestyle' . . . I said to them, 'You know what, the last time I got drunk, I fucking killed someone'. [They said] 'Holy fuck! Okay. Don't worry, never asking you to drink again'. But it got to the point it was ... they were different. And, even then, you're judged by them. . . . A hillbilly is looking at you like you're worse than them? Because you're a Lifer. And you gotta be ready for that, 'cause if you're not, fuck, you're in for a rude shock . . . I was in for a shock.

In stories similar to the one above, the men in this research recognize that the location of the work interactions matters. While many of the respondents had fixed work sites, some travelled in the course of their duties and found that this mobility mediated their sense of belonging. For example, Luc felt disconnected in his workplace where the people seemed different from him, yet, he explained how his sense of this changed with a variation in location:

I've had a chance to go out of town on . . . different conferences with people and . . . meeting my co-worker under different circumstances. Previous to that . . . I didn't really understand. We went out of town and for the first time I seen these guys shed their clothes, shed their own mask and becoming normal citizens where they weren't doing this in town there and not at least in front of me. . . . It's different now.

A particularly notable part of Luc's vignette is that he sees his co-workers as 'abnormal' prior to the trip in which they shed their work persona. In his case, his co-workers know of his parole status, and it is possible to hypothesize that while in the regular white-collar workplace they feel an obligation to maintain a professional distance from the 'other'; once the milieu changes they are able to 'shed their mask' and interact at a different level and this shift enables Luc to feel more included. In this new location, both the ex-prisoner and his co-workers may feel less monitored, able to adopt different personas and reveal other elements of their identities. While the next chapter is dedicated to issues of identity, it is

important to devote a small section in this chapter on geographic issues, to the exploration of the way it is spatially influenced.

Identity

For some of the men, the post-prison location was one in which they felt 'out of place' because they identified as being from another area. The corollary to this belief was that things were done differently in the men's hometown and people were looked at in a distinct way.[167] This 'us and them' dichotomy is spatialized and is especially evident in the transcripts of the men who identified as being 'northerners'. Doc recalls how in his northern community, people got drunk and fought on Friday nights and then, "licked their wounds" on Saturday; he feels this type of masculine behaviour was seen as being 'in place' there and unacceptable elsewhere. Despite the fact that these men are, in the post-carceral period, living in the southern part of the province, they feel that their northerner identity and accompanying values persist in marking them as out-of-place. For example, Doc speaks about how his appearance is frowned upon in his new community and the difficulty he faces in adjusting to this judgement:

> But somehow, you feel that the prison has their ideas of what a guy should be when you're on parole. . . . You know you should look like you're on parole. Well, what does a guy look like on parole? Like he's from Harvard? Like I came from a place where there are no Harvard students. . . . I'm not a scholar, you know. And that's how I wanted them to see it. You shouldn't be judging me by my tattoos and my hair, although I understand part of it, you know, it's taking time to you know, tear it down, see what you got. 'Cause I used to market it as there's a person here, you

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[167]This occurs in the prison period as well. For example, Puzzle relates a time in the prison system where he was mistaken for a sex offender by a psychologist who had confused the files. He claims that this confusion had particular ramifications for him because of his place of origin: "Calling somebody that's a redneck from Northern Ontario, basically call him a fucking rapist is not .. . that's not an okay thing! That's just, that's fucking really bad. . . . I think in, down in Southern Ontario they treat things differently. Where I come from . . . I agree with taking them ou̇ and shooting them." (Puzzle)

know, that committed crimes but he still   . . . he hurts and cries. He gets lonely,
just like everybody else, you know.

While the men refer to their identities and public personas being geographically informed, in

some cases, as is evident in the last line of Doc's previous quote, they try to draw attention

to their similarities to others in order to transcend the sense of disaffiliation. In this way, we

see geography as entangled with the ability to feel both in-place or like an outsider.

In another example, this time from a 'southerner', the ability to survive in his

halfway house environment took the form of competing with someone from another

geographic zone, and this action in turn, reinforced his conception of himself as strong-

willed :

> I had an . . . Inuit . . . in my room and nobody else would sleep with him because he
> would leave the window open in the middle of winter and turn the air conditioner on
> and that's how he got rid of all the white people in his room so he could have his
> own room. And then I came and I love a challenge. So . . . I opened the windows
> higher. Turned the air conditioner on higher and asked him if he wanted my blanket
> because I was too hot. And there was snow about that deep on the rug on the inside
> of the window. It's freezing. He quit before I did. . . . It's a challenge, you know,
> that male thing. 'Cause I've never been exposed to that environment but I'm not
> going to have some fuckface from up north better me. I come from good British
> stock. Go fuck yourself. Let's do it. (Mr. Flowers)

In addition to drawing attention to geographic rivalry, Mr. Flowers' example points to the

importance that some of the men attached to maintaining a strong sense of identity[168] when

they were in a place where they did not feel a sense of belonging.

We see another dimension of this sense of disaffiliation emerge in regard to the shifts

in location. For example, once released from prison, most of the men lived in a halfway

house and struggled to find a sense of belonging in the community. As Luc speaks to in the

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[168]This quote may also speak to a hegemonic masculinity as Mr. Flowers positions himself as strong, physically
capable, competitive and dominant.

following excerpt, men who had been respected or well-known in prisons suddenly find themselves on the outside of social networks:

> Like I was a non person . . . You come out here and people look straight through you. You don't mean nothing to them. They got their own problems. They got their own lives. They're stuck with bills. Their old lady is mad at them and they're friendless. . . . So you don't mean nothing to them. You meet. You have a beer, and tomorrow they don't even . . . they don't know your name then. They've never known you. And even with people in your neighbourhood . . .

Another man tells of being Chairman of several committees while inside, but is unable to carry this identity over to his post-prison life because he does not have the same credibility and public persona outside the prison. As a further result of the men's dislocation, some respondents felt that in the early period after release they didn't really become part of the community:

> You know, I'm not sure that I did [re-enter] in the sense that I went from one institution to another. I went from prison to university. I'm not so sure that I actually re-entered the community. When I was living in an apartment in the student ghetto just off campus, I wasn't living in the community. I was living in the ghetto. It was a whole different kettle of fish. (Barry)

As the above examples highlight, the former long-term prisoners demonstrated a keen awareness of the spatial elements that effected their identity and sense of disaffiliation. It is possible to theorize that this awareness may be influenced by the years of limited spatial stimuli and their current astuteness to geography set them further apart from the social body.

<u>Hyper-awareness</u>

In the interviews, the men would frequently speak of how they had a much greater awareness of locations than did the 'average' person and this mediates their resettlement experiences by placing them outside of the norm. The respondents see themselves as being

hyper-aware of the spaces that most others take for granted but that they, as outsiders, can appreciate. Tom provides an example:

> The Rideau is beautiful . . . I know it's polluted and everything but the scenery of the Rideau, its really nice – really nice. People take this for granted who live here . . . the people who live here don't even notice it. . . . I've appreciated it from the day I got here.

In this way, the men position themselves almost as tourists who need to see sites as topographically unique while the locals (insiders) pass by without much attention. This intense attention to space can be seen as a natural extension of Goffman's (1961a) claim that the discreditable will be become hyper-aware in social interactions and since spatial elements are integral parts of social dynamics, we can conceive of a hyper-awareness of the areas containing these encounters.

It is important to consider that this hyper-awareness is also influenced by the limits on what the respondents could see while in prison. The maximum, and some medium, security prisons are characterized by a tall, solid wall around the entire perimeter. During years of confinement in these spaces, the men are allowed only in their cells, solitary confinement units, the yard or in common areas (like the weight room) and over time these sites become monotonous. Several of the men speak of spending time in solitary confinement and one of the lasting implications of this exposure can be what Grassin (1983) referred to as "hyperresponsivity to external stimuli" (p. 1451). It comes as no surprise that these former long-term prisoners develop an acute awareness of previously taken-for-granted spaces and that this effect persists into resettlement. After release, the men are exposed to a plethora of sights and they relate many stories of appreciating parks, waterways, open spaces and vista. Gord is able to link his appreciation of spaces to his time in prison:

I was in the old school penitentiary hall and it was on top of the building in BC Penitentiary and I would strain just to see the flowers and the sun in front of the administration building . . . just to see the flower because you could see it through a certain angle . . . the flower's bloom . . . part of an eye . . . not even your whole eye . . . part of your eye could see through a little hole. But why would I do that? To remind myself of the great deprivation . . .

This hyper-awareness also manifests in the men prioritizing knowing the new space well after release. Many felt the need to know each of the streets in their community and where things were in great detail in order to try to overcome their sense of out-of-place-ness. F.G. tells of embarking on this task on the first day of his day parole and, along with several others, makes claims of knowing the spaces better than those who have lived there for much longer. While the intention of the men's action may be to blend in, the outcome may be that they further differentiate themselves from the 'average' person in the community. However, by drawing upon Fried (2000), we can hypothesize that this quest to fully comprehend the location is mediated by a need to feel a sense of attachment. Specifically, he argued that familiarity helps an individual to overcome their sense of displacement and consequently, they are able to develop a sense of in-place-ness and belonging. As we will see next, this strategy is only one of the ways in which the men are able to develop, or experience, a sort of existential (rather than purely physical) security.

Sense of Security

Following the lead of critical human geographers, I have been arguing that sense of place is a critical point of consideration for men who experience long periods of incarceration and who are successful in their subsequent resettlement. In the previous section, I demonstrated that many of the men experience an out-of-placeness that disrupts their ability to return to the community. I now want to extend this argument and examine

how, even within some of the same locations, the predominant sense can be one of 'in-place-ness'. Clearly, at times the men felt a sense of anachorism,[169] but it is useful to juxtapose this impression against a sense of being in the right place. To discuss this concept, which is illustrated in Figure 7.3, I will begin by examining how a sense of belonging can manifest even within a site (the prison) designed to have the opposite effect on the individual. Moving outside the carceral environment, the men's creation of home sites as a way of encountering a certain psychological security will be explored. Finally, this section will consider how the men achieve this same sensibility through other places which they understand as supportive.

Figure 7.3. Sense of Security

Sense of Security

Related to

Supportive Places

Creating Home

Work sites

Community

Halfway Houses

Ownership & Success

Control & Privacy

In-place While Incarcerated
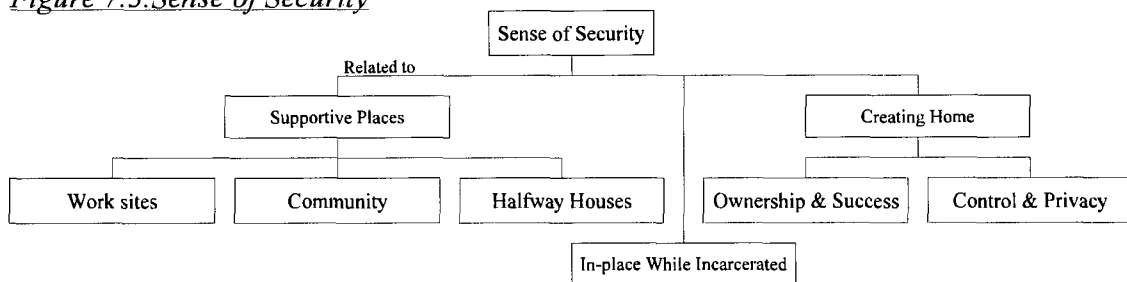
Inside but 'In-place'

Despite the irony, prisons are not always experienced as secure places by those who inhabit them. As we discussed earlier, within these confined spaces men often feel a sense of vulnerability, yet, in some cases they experience an 'in-place-ness' during their incarceration and we will see that this influences their subsequent resettlement. This sensation does not mean that they accept the idea they are dangerous and need to be

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[169]This is a term coined by Cresswell (2004) and is used to mean "things in the wrong place" (p.101).

incapacitated for the protection of society but rather, while this deprivation is imposed upon

them, they adopt a position which is consistent with their recalcitrant self (Goffman, 1961a).

The prisoners manage to find a place of inclusion which runs concurrent to their social

exclusion. By the daily repetition of moving their bodies in known environments they

develop a certain 'insiderness' in what Creswell (2004) refers to as a "place-ballet" (p. 34).

This action helps the men to maintain a sense of agency as they know what to expect and

how to interact in that particular space.

For a few of the respondents, living in an institution was more normal than not, and

this understanding influenced the experiences. For example, Fred who has spent the

majority of his life in institutions tells us that transitioning to the community was difficult:

> They gave me ETA's when I was in the Bay for a year . . . it was good because I got .
> . . a shot of reality but at the same time I knew I could get . . . back to where I felt
> safe.

The sense of in-place-ness expressed by the men in this study fits well with the work of

Bandyopadhyay (2006) whose research with prisoners in India indicated that some of the

respondents chose behaviours (e.g. surpassing work expectations, fasting, manipulating

rules) which allowed them to surpass the negative atmosphere and find a way of being 'in

place' in an environment designed to foster the antithetical response. Since the use of space

is designed to be the most punitive strategy, it is clear that the agents of the state become

uneasy with the men's ability to adapt and to assume a 'comfort' within the carceral

location. Ernest provides an example of how the guards attempt to break his ability to find

this sense:

> I started going to my garden [within the prison]. I got into gardening and I just went
> into a whole totally different world. I even had a guard say to me, 'What's that up

there?' I said, 'That's a tower.' He said, 'What's in it?' I said, 'Some man with a rifle'. He said, 'What's that?' I said,' It's a double fence.' But I used to be so involved into my own space, I just got so sick of the prison attitude and environment and everything that I just went in my own little world . . . it proved to be okay. I just said, 'To hell with all of you'. You know. And I did it right inside. . . . I just got sick of it . . . said 'I've had enough. That's it. I don't even want to live like this no more. And I'm going to be here forever, so I'm going to live the way I want to live.'

While conforming to the rules of the institution Ernest trangresses the spatialized norms –he is not allowed to develop a sense of being in-place since the operations of the correctional apparatus requires that imprisonment remain undesirable. In this way, we can also see resistance, not as oppositional to power but, as Cresswell (2003) and Cooper (1994) have argued, as a part of power whereby "resistance becomes the deployment of power with the motivation of alleviating or transforming the condition under which one lives" (Cresswell, 2003, p. 264).[170]

The ability to feel in-place while in prison was problematic for some of the men in terms of their reentry and resettlement. For example, Bob speaks of experiencing anxiety about finding a space to live in, after years of adapting to the institutional life:

one of the big issues for me was also the transformation . . . the transformation of leaving St. Leonard's [CRF] and moving into the community on my own and there was . . . there was probably more anxiety about that than there was about getting out of prison and making the transition from Frontenac [minimum security prison] to the halfway house because I thought 'Where am I going to live? You know, I'm going to be living on my own. Where am I going to live? Where do I want to live? Where can I afford to live?' All these sorts of things.

Finding their own place after release was particularly important to the men in terms of establishing that they belonged back in society. Sometimes, as in the above excerpt from Bob, this was something which caused them to feel insecure. Some men indicate that they

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[170] More aptly, the acts are transgressive in nature since it is judged by the reaction to it rather than the intention of the individual taking the action (Cresswell, 1996). We will return to this point in a later chapter.

contemplated what was needed on the street while they were still in prison and we can understand this as a possible response to an envisioned a sense of place. While captive the men may see their participation in imagineered places[171] and then attempt to turn this vicarious experience (that they get through television, and contact with friends and family who are not incarcerated) into reality. In other cases, once back in the community, some felt the need to adjust their plans to be more ambitious as in the following story from Tom:

> . . . when I was in there I thought because I am living in this little area that any little area would suffice. But then I got out and it all changed. And what I could achieve changed 'cause I thought, wait a minute, you know, I don't have to . . . live in some ghetto apartment down in Peterborough there. I can do better than that.

The ability to establish themselves was sometimes linked to finding an appropriate place to live and this was seen by many as a marker of success which aided in increasing their sense of belonging. This link is not surprising given that, as Cresswell (1996) noted, to not have a "fixed abode" (p. 88) is seen as highly suspicious by the state which depends on this type of stability to monitor the citizenry[172] – particularly those individuals who are considered dangerous. Getting a 'nice place' or paying a 'good rent' was also seen as a measure of their ability to be successful and this may relate back to a desire to approximate the imagineered place which they had conceived while in prison. During the interviews the most poignantly painted of these virtual places was the home and we will now examine the experience of this place.

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[171]Imagineered place involves the "aestheticization of material objects" (Lash & Urry, 1994, p.15) so that the reality is obscured. I argue that the predominant images that the men are exposed to through popular media provide an image of sanitized places to which the men expect to return but which do not exist.

[172]One dramatic example of this reliance of the state on fixed abode is the census. Census data is collected from individual residential sites every five years and ". . . for every refusal or neglect, or false answer or deception, [an individual is] guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to both" (Statistics Act, 1985, Section 31)

Creating Home

The notion of home is one which is frequently discussed and debated in the geographic literature but defining it is contentious. Most expect that 'home' is a place of belonging, or as G. Rose (2003) argued it is a "... haven in a heartless world" (p. 5). But, as some feminist geographers have pointed out, home may be an idealized, masculine notion of a place of safety and belonging, which fails to recognize that 'homes' are often the site of violence and other forms of oppression (hooks, 1990; G. Rose, 1993). Certainly for some of the men in this research, their childhood homes represented anything but a warm, loving environment; yet, they speak of seeking out and creating a different home experience that contributes to their sense of being in-place. As Black (2002) discussed in his work on the difficulty of refugee repatriation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, "home can be made, re-made, imagined, remembered or desired; it can refer as much to beliefs, customs or traditions as physical places or buildings. . . .It is something that is subject to constant reinterpretation and flux " (p. 126). In this way home is not necessarily a nostalgic yearning but instead, is a "... dream that situates it firmly in the 'future tense'" (May, 2000, p. 748).

While the individual may have the intention of creating this place, his ability to do so is mediated by his history, current interactions, and political climates and agendas. These formerly incarcerated men (many of whom are still regulated by the state in terms of where they can physically live) are able to resist this control by creating a sense of belonging in their own places. For example, Rick speaks of how creating a home environment eased the sense of displacement that occurred subsequent to his conviction and the ban on him returning to his hometown:

I reclaimed my home when this [house] became my home. Because I can't go back to Napanee. Part of . . . my condition was that 'No you can't live back there'. A lot of people don't understand that. 'What do you mean you can't live back there?' They didn't want me to *drive through* that community. That was an issue for the Parole Board and it was a way of making sure that they were looking at it as reduced risk and that. . . . I know I can't live back there. So when I talk about . . . community being home, I lost that.

At times, as in the next example from Joel, regulations undermine the men's efforts and leave them with a fear of being 'homeless' despite having a place to live: "At one point I thought, 'I'll never have a girlfriend.'. . . 'I'd never have a home.' 'I'd never have anything'. You know, life is pointless"(Joel). Bob ably makes the link between his long incarceration and the difficulty of creating a home-space in his post-prison life:

I never felt ready [to leave the halfway house]. Like, I never felt I had enough to step out on my own in the sense that - again I guess it's part of being institutionalized after all those years. . . . I got my apartment . . . I had to go get everything. I had to go get living room stuff and I had to go get a bedroom set, and all this. . . . And when I moved . . . I kept coming back here [to the halfway house]. . . . I kept coming back to visit the guys that I was working with. . . . That took a few months anyways . . . until that sort of . . . started to wear away . . . and then I felt okay in my own place . . . on my own. . . .

In contrast to Bob, and affirming the earlier assertion that the CRF can be seen as both halfway in and halfway out, Rick saw the halfway house as another prison environment and resisted it having any home like qualities:

I remember, when they were saying to me 'you're not investing in the house, the halfway house, you don't have a TV here.' 'No I don't. Why don't we do this interview at my house. I would invest in a TV in my house. It's 10 minutes from here. I'll bring you there. I'll show you my TV. I'll show you my space.'

Providing a further distinction in regard to his inability to feel in-place while still in custody, Rick goes on to speak about how his space in the community morphed into something more meaningful:

> For the longest time this was just a house . . . and then at some point it became a home . . . it became a home. I wasn't in transition anymore. This became my . . . my safe spot . . . and I didn't like being invaded here. . . . I can let my guard down here, . . . so that becomes my release. I was able to do that in a small town . . . growing up, I was able to do that. And then I lost that when I went to jail, and I don't have that coming out. In Ottawa, you know . . . at the halfway house, I didn't have that . . . safe environment. You know that whole thing was foreign to me. I was put into a place where I didn't want to be. I didn't really have a choice of where I wanted to be. That changed when this became a home.

In essence, Rick is speaking about his home allowing him to be subject rather than object – a place where hooks (1990) (in her work on African-Americans and home-places) has noted individuals could " . . . restore to ourselves the dignity denied on the outside in the public world" (p. 42). We also see in the interviews that the private/public dichotomy found in home spaces allows freedom to express emotions (Reid, 2007) and a greater sense of control and thus, safety.

While Bob's earlier excerpt speaks about having the material possessions that would allow him to feel comfortable in his space, other men obtain this feeling by assuming command over their home spaces. This control took the forms of ownership, claiming territory and controlling who or what was in the space.

<u>Ownership and Success</u>

Lindstrom (1997) argued that housing and community are ". . . markers that situate individuals and establish social identity" (p. 20) and ownership of a house was how some of the men expressed a sense of home and membership in the 'regular' social body. For men who have spent over a decade in an environment where material possessions were regulated and choice limited, the sensation may be intensified so that the ability to own a house becomes monumental. Doc speaks to this:

> The idea of buying a house was probably the last thing on my mind when I got released. Because all who I am is a biker. Tar paper shack, Harley Davidson, Rottweiler, that's all I need . . . buying a home really changes people - like it puts you in a different class of people . . . automatically. And that's . . . I guess it was kind of welcoming, you know.

Having a home creates a sense of insidersness (Cuba and Hummon, 1993) and, for those who often feel that they are not accepted, this feeling was very significant. Dave helps us understand the importance of this sensation when he speaks to the transformative nature of home and how it gave him a sense of normalcy:

> When I first got out, I didn't feel I was part of it. I didn't feel that I was normal. I felt like I was an alien on this planet so to speak . . . . I longed to be like you. I longed to have that little picket fence. And I did get to accomplish that dream of the white picket fence. I built one eight feet long . . . two-sided . . . and all it cost me was . . . the cost of one 2 by 4 and a nail. I salvaged everything else from the dump. Painted it. It was sitting in a little 8 foot dividing tent between our property and our neighbour's property but it beautified it and that was my white picket fence. So many people, say 'I wish I had a white picket fence' . . . but I had my white picket fence, my bank account.

It was clear in the interviews that the men often employed a "middle-class measuring rod" (Cohen, 1955, p. 87) in assessing their success and this application is evident when they speak of owning a house. The respondents are not alone in this assessment as we see researchers linking class with income and home ownership and with a sense of belonging (See Clark, 2003; Lacy 2007). Clark (2003) emphasized that:

> . . . middle-class status is a combination of both income level and housing status. It captures the notion that both the ability to buy the middle-class lifestyle and the commitment to and integration into the local community, represented by ownership, are essential parts of the middle-class status. (p. 63)

While I would disagree with Clark's use of only two variables as class definers, the argument that home ownership is an important class and acceptance marker is well taken.

The stories of Dave and Doc highlight how having a home creates a sense of success. However, it is arguable that the two operate dialectically – that success leads to home ownership which leads to a sense of success. However, it would be an error to equate 'home' with ownership since, as we saw earlier, halfway houses can, for some, have home-like qualities – particularly for those who do not have a lot of other supports in the community.

I contend that owning a home space is also a way for the men to not only restore themselves but to overcome the loss of what Cuba & Hummon (1993) referred to as "treasured domestic objects — which serve as personal and public signs of self — [and] . . . can be used to ritually transform a *new house* into an *old home*" (p. 550). It is rare for the former long-term prisoners to retain valued items and thus, the home *space* and their ownership of it may become more significant and take the form of a new item which can be treasured; this creation in turn helps them to retrieve positive memories in the future. It is possible that in addition to the ownership issues discussed above, a sense of home is also related to the men's wish to exert some power and control over their spaces, and we will now explore this possibility.

<u>Control and Privacy</u>

Control over the home space was expressed frequently by the men and most speak of a need to restrict or permit access in order to achieve a sense of security. While most discuss limiting the people who come into their homes, Ziggy invites his psychologist into this place in order to give the psychologist a greater understanding of his life. Others

expressed control over their spaces by disallowing certain things in particular spaces. For example, Doc achieves a sense of belonging by manipulating his space:

> I bought this house because of the friggin' garage for my Harley. It wasn't more than a year later that I said, 'That's it, bike is going' . . . come home and said [to his girlfriend] ' . . . I want to give you back your living room', getting rid of the whole Harley garbage . . . 'cause if you walk in, you don't think that you're walking in a friggin' little club house, you know. I want it to be a home, and I think that's what we were accomplishing slowly, just to be a part of society. Like, they keep saying . . . this is what the goal is, to be part of society.

For many, having control over their spaces gave them the opportunity to make it more home-like by achieving a level of privacy. This quest for isolation is not surprising given that, as discussed earlier, the prison environment is one in which men are rarely alone and always subject to the gaze of the correctional workers. Kateb (2001) argued that the effect of this persistent monitoring is harmful to the person who is being watched because:

> one is placed under constant suspicion just by being placed under constant watchfulness and subjected to the implicit interrogation that exists when the accumulated information on oneself is seen as a set of integrated answers that add up to a helpless, and unauthorized autobiography. Such a loss of innocence . . . is so massive that the insult involved constitutes an assault on the personhood or human status of every individual. (p. 275)

It is no wonder that the men would feel an 'out-of-place-ness' and in order to counter this sensation, even in the early period after release, the men recall that they tried to create a private space. While still living in the halfway house some sought out a single bunk room. Some isolated themselves from the other parolees. Bobby recognized the importance of this need for control and privacy and shares that he installed cable in each of the rooms at the halfway house so that when men moved in they could plug in their TV (brought with them from the prison) and have ". . . their own little quiet place to run to." While it is clear that for the parolee, privacy is always, to some degree permeable, the men saw the ability to

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seclude one's self from the eyes of others as critical in terms of being able to express themselves, feel a sense of belonging and to cope with both day-to-day and emergent stressors. This need for privacy led some men to find residence in rural areas.

The men in this research defy the statistical probabilities with almost half of the men (7) currently living in a rural area[173] or, as Barry referred to it, "way the hell out." The choice to be away from urban areas is a deliberate strategy employed by some of the respondents in order to avoid the 'prying eyes' of neighbours. These men feel there may be increased anonymity in the rural setting and their identities as ex-prisoners would be less likely to be revealed as they could "restrict the tendency of others to build up a personal identification of [them] . . . [and] can introduce a disconnectedness in [their] biography" (Goffman,1963a, p. 99).

More frequently however, the men speak of these secluded spaces as giving them freedom to be themselves and to express emotions that they would not feel comfortable with others seeing. This ill-ease with others seeing expressions of emotion is influenced by factors which can be related to the former prisoner's experience of captivity. These respondents spent more than a decade living in a unisex environment[174] and in this setting, the men construct masculinities which are rigid and which hyper-conform to broader social gender norms which discourage emotionality.[175] In prison, the need to suppress emotion and present as impermeable and tough is critical to survival. The men learn this skill well and carry it with them after release.

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[173]Census Canada date indicates that in 2001, only 20.3% of Canadians lived in rural and small town areas.
[174]For these men, contact with women was limited to visitors, guards and other state employees
[175]According to Sabo, Kupers & London (2001) there is a dominant "hegemonic masculinity [which] accentuates male dominance, heterosexism, whiteness, violence and ruthless competition" (p. 5).

In order to understand this phenomena more completely, it is useful to draw on Gorman-Murray's (2006) work about homosexual men wherein, private spaces are needed so that ". . . individuals are free to perform their private selves, enacting their private behaviours and desires" (p. 56). Rick provides an example of how the location of his home allows this type of emotional liberation:

> we're so isolated out here . . . if I feel like crying . . . it's not the manly thing to do. If I want to cry, I can go out on the deck to cry. . . . I can act as crazy as I want and nobody can see me and I don't have to worry about the neighbours thinking that I'm . . . nuts . . . or I don't have to worry about somebody reporting me. Oh, I'm acting pretty bizarre alright. That's what I need behind me. That release. And I can do that in my own space.

We can see in Rick's story that he uses private spaces as a "metaphorical closet"[176] which is " . . . a certain kind of place of secrecy and a place of autonomy and safety" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 105). While developed to discuss the experiences of members of the homosexual community, the concept is equally apt for those who have been criminalized, institutionalized and returned to the community and who feel a need to hide any identifiers (including actions) of their stigmatized self. The closet space of the home becomes a place where they are free to be themselves without judgment. For other men, their use of space to find a sense of in-place-ness took them outside of their homes and into public locations and focus will now be on these other supportive places.

Supportive Places

Spaces become transformed into places of belonging by the men and this transformation is evident in more than just home sites. The men find a sense of security in diverse places which they consciously use to meet their needs. To explore this idea, we will

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[176]This is Brown's (2000) expression.

examine the use of the halfway house, the broader community and the workplace in regard to how they contribute to the former prisoner's ability to be in-place.

<u>Halfway houses</u>

As we discussed earlier, the halfway house was, for some, a place where they felt supported and accepted. Unlike many others who saw the halfway house as an extension of their prison time, Ernest felt that in that place he was given a 'fresh start' and was welcomed:

> I think there was eight or nine guys [in the house] so there was a fair size house. . . .
> It was more like a family there than anything else . . . It didn't feel that . . . authority
> figure with these people. . . . And it was in a nice area . . . there was a park down
> through there. I used to go down to the park and . . . I would go down there and do
> my workout cause I would - I took some Tai Chi and stuff like that. And I loved the
> park. I used to go there and fish.

In this excerpt, Ernest draws our attention to the way that spatiality, social interactions and power relations meld together to inform his experience in a positive way. Once this sensation is created, the men can draw upon this place-memory when they feel a need to seek out assistance. For example, as we will see in the next excerpt from Bobby, those who felt in place at the halfway house recall returning there for visits or when they felt vulnerable:

> It wasn't even that long ago that I said to hell with it and I got out of the building
> [where he was living] and I came here [to the halfway house]. . . . I just, I need a
> room. I need a place to go. I came here. . . . Alright let's go sit where I've got a
> nice place, instead of leaving me alone and I didn't particularly want to be alone
> during that particular time of instability so I came here. The structure of this . . . the
> whole availability. My comfortableness with it for having been here for three years
> was easy to do.

Bobby's example also points to the idea that individuals can find a sense of community within broader social bodies – that there are particular locales within other locales. The men

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make it clear that to find these microspaces in the community makes them feel an increased sense of support.

Community

As Jean spoke to in an earlier excerpt, numerous men express the need to have someone (or some group) to connect with after release and this link mediated their decision of where to locate. In this way we can understand community as both a territory and as a place for interactions. Gowan chose to return to a city in which his family was infamous because he felt the support he would receive from his in-laws and wife would outweigh the stigma that he might encounter. Like Jean, Gowan has devoted considerable time to community-betterment activities and feels this work helps the community welcome him back. In the next chapter, we will discuss this link to the community through volunteer activities which helps them to create positive identities within a particular place.

Many of the men chose to remain in the Kingston area[177] after their release because many of the connections they had established while serving their sentences were in that area and this gave them an immediate support network. This was problematized by Joel who recognized that the individuals voluntarily coming into the prison were not necessarily those to whom they would be returning:

> You had the left wing students and the right wing old Christian geezers 'cause they're mostly older people . . . we had a really good group of Christian students one time came in . . . they were a . . . pretty lively bunch but mostly older people . . . retired people and the left wing students . . . 'Where the hell is the middle class here?' 'Where are the people in the middle who are the majority who we're going to have to go out and live with?' . . . the extremes come to prison because it's an extreme environment.

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[177] Where a quote from the transcripts is used, the place name associated with it have been changed in order to protect the identity of the men. While several of the men live in the Kingston area, this place of residence will not be indicated in this dissertation.

Other respondents felt that they would feel more in-place because Kingston was not surprised by, or unfamiliar with, prisoners. Arguably the frequent presence of prisoners 'out on pass', the recognition by correctional officers on their days off, the presence of prisoners' families and the frequency of resettlement may have the effect of challenging the community norms within this particular space. Whereas in other communities the 'official sense of place' may be about protecting their community from outsiders, in Kingston the presence of the criminalized individual and his family is expected. The specificity of a vicinity which houses multiple penitentiaries and several lower level carceral facilities positions it in contrast to others and as Shields (2007) argued:

> . . . each place is distinguished not only by its proper place-myth but by its distinctiveness and contrasts with other sites. This geography of difference is socially-constructed over the long term and constitutes a spatialisation of places and regions as 'places-for-this' and places-for-that'. That is, each site or area is construed as appropriate for certain social activities and behaviours - and this is central to its identity. (p. 2)

The unique location and qualities of the locale become entangled with sense of belonging to create the space and the place.[178] Kingston is also special in that, because it can be seen as a 'place for (ex)prisoners' it offers a lot of general and state-sponsored employment opportunities for men released from prison and this feature assisted the men in finding a sense of security.

Work Sites

In contrast to the men's positions which were highlighted earlier in this chapter, other respondents found that work spaces gave them the opportunity to 'fit in' and often this

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[178] For one man, being in the same town as the penitentiaries aided in his resettlement because seeing the physical prison structures on a daily basis reminded him of where he did not want to be.

sense was spatially specific. For example, immediately after his prison release, Joel

remained in the Kingston area and recalls how working at CORCAN fulfilled his need to be

'in-place':

> I went to work at Corrections Canada so I'm working in the place where it was a
> requirement to be who I was . . . I mixed well with them . . . we were really tightly
> bonded there. . . . So, when the big boss retired just this last year . . . and I've been
> away from Corcan for almost six years, I was invited to that party and I felt like I was
> part of them . . . I wasn't in a place where anyone was going to challenge me on who
> I was or I was going to get fired and I didn't have to feel in any way embarrassed and
> I worked with really, really good people.

In the above example, it is clear that given the nature of the workplace, Joel feels that he did

not have to choose to hide his previous conviction and this openness contributes to his sense

of belonging.

We have seen that the sense of security conditioned their post-carceral experiences. I

contend that another geographic sensibility occurs after prison; freedom is the most

anticipated by the men and an obvious geographic consideration. However, a sense of

freedom, as we will see next, is mediated by governance rationalities.

Sense of Freedom[179]

> I can remember one guy saying to me that your . . . worst day outside, is better than
> your best day inside. And the freedom to walk out, you know? You go buy a cup of
> coffee. When the world pisses you off, I got a spot that I go that's about 20 minutes
> from here and . . . most people here have no concept of what it's like. I mean . . .
> there's wildlife, there's, uh, almost anything you can think of. But there's serenity and
> peace where there's no people. And that's, that's basically what's kept my sanity.
> (Puzzle)

The return of liberty was a frequent topic in the interviews and, as Puzzle

demonstrates above, the geographic imperative cannot be removed from this analysis. As

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[179]Freedom is used here to denote "the state of not being subject to or affected by [imprisonment]" (OED, online
edition).

Figure 7.4. Sense of Freedom

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │   Sense of Freedom   │
                        └─────────────────────┘
        Related to                  │
                    ┌───────────────┴──────────────┐
        ┌───────────────────────┐      ┌───────────────────────┐
        │  Re-configuring Freedom │      │       Mobility        │
        └───────────────────────┘      └───────────────────────┘
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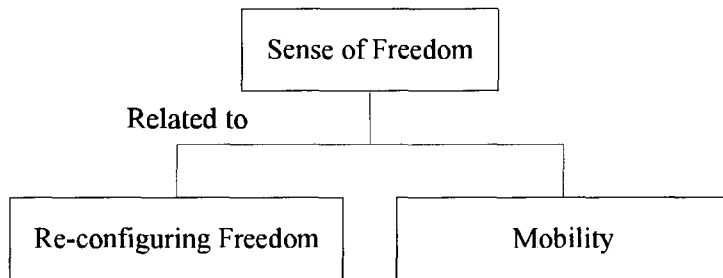
Foucault (1984) noted: ". . . it is somewhat arbitrary to try to dissociate the effective

practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in

which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand"

(p. 246). For some of the men, their desire for physical freedom was strong enough that they

escaped from prison, were caught and ended up doing more time for their efforts.

Importantly though, freedom was spoken about, not just in reference to the physical body

being released, but in terms of control, albeit restricted in some cases, over their movements.

To understand this idea more completely, it is useful to consider this regulated freedom, as

exemplifying the sovereign-discipline-government triangle since as Huxley (2007) argued:

> . . . spaces and environments are not simply delineated or arranged for purposes of
> discipline or surveillance, visibility or management. In projects of political
> subjectification or governmental self-formation, appropriate bodily comportments
> and forms of subjectivity are to be fostered through the positive, catalytic qualities of
> spaces, places and environments. (p. 195)

Restrictions on liberty can be conceived of as a manifestation of sovereign power over the

individual; we can also see them as being situated in the individual who self-regulates

differently in varying environments. This freedom is provisional in the early period after

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release and it was frequently acknowledged that this limitation was preferable to the complete deprivation of liberty.

Re-Configuring Freedom

As shown in Figure 7.4, one of the ways through which the men resolve the contradiction between being out of prison but still heavily controlled is to impose their own definitions of freedom. As a result, we see several understandings and experiences emerge. For example, Marcus recalls his anticipation of freedom and what it meant to him:

> all I want[ed] was to get out. I just want[ed] to be a free man. I'm not going to commit any crimes. I just want to live my life. All I wanted to do was walk through the park. I didn't want to get high or drunk, you know, have sex or do whatever. I just wanted to walk through a park and see a tree with leaves on it and listen to a bird and knowing that, if I'm walking somewhere, it doesn't lead back to the same point of origin.

Freedom is juxtaposed against captivity and to experience the former is to focus on the elements which were missing in the latter. For F.G. this meant the ability to find solitude which he links to his many years as a prisoner, contained in limited spaces with similar others. For example, he speaks of his first day on parole:

> . . . I was free. When you're in prison you can only walk to here, to there and you're always bumping into people. . . so you're never alone. You're up on the range, you're never alone. You're in your cell, you're alone, but as soon as you come out the cell, you got 28 other people. So, you're never alone. And I got out of the Parole, the Police Station and . . . I was alone. I could walk wherever I wanted to and I didn't bump into anybody. I was alone. I had my space to walk in. And . . . it's what I had to get used to. Because without that space, I was back in prison. So I had to find space and that's what my walking did.

Some of the men drew on their lengthy incarceration in order to create a fulcrum upon which they could balance their expectations with reality, and find some resolution to the contradictory sensations:

It was total freedom . . . I still have to see a parole officer once a month. I can't leave the city but what I had *felt* like total freedom . . . After you've spent eight years in a maximum security institution and then nine in another maximum security institution which is supposed to be medium, then five at a minimum security institution, then two at a halfway house . . . gaining full parole is great. It felt like a big weight was off my back and I could be where I want to be . . . within reason. (Jean)

As the final words of Jean's excerpt indicate, the ability to obtain a sense of freedom after release from prison was constrained by the state because, especially in the early period, remarkable control over the men was exercised. This control often took a corporeal form as the respondent's movements were regulated by containing the men within particular radiuses and disallowing them from entering certain spaces. While the men have many years to plan for release, their ability to transcend the parameters that are placed on them afterwards can be compromised. Puzzle provides an example of this as he expresses the frustration of what he considered to be over-regulation on his freedom:

I had . . . stipulations coming out the ying-yang when I first got out. There was, like, I don't know, I can't remember, like, 25 or something stupid. . . . To be able to travel Ontario, took me nine years. Nine years to be able to travel Southern Ontario without a pass. . . and, like, that's fucked. That wasn't necessary. There is no way that was necessary.

As Puzzle alludes to, the regulations and restrictions that the men experience are often lessened (or removed completely) with the passage of time. However, for the men serving Life sentences, freedom is always tenuous – a condition that is not forgotten by the men because to do so puts them at risk. Fred provides an example:

. . . I'm never going to feel that I'm really free because they can always come and grab me for whatever they want to grab me for. If it's made up, or if it's real. It doesn't matter. If they want me back in, they can come and say 'Okay, come with us. You done this'. And I'm like, 'What are you talking about?' And they say, 'You know what we're talk[ing about]' . . . you know, they can do whatever they want to do, whenever they want to do it, to me or to the Lifers. . . it's always in the back of your mind.

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So while it is the action(s) of the men that removed their freedom, no amount of other action will render it fully restored. The construction of the Lifer as dangerous is treated like an inherent condition requiring the on-going assessment by the state as to its prevalence. The threat of return to prison creates an ever present dis-ease to which the former prisoner must adjust. For the Life sentenced individual in particular, the perpetuity of the constrained nature of his freedom is reinforced by the regulation of his ability to move between spaces.

Mobility

The most common theme discussed in relation to freedom was that of geographic mobility. As Marcus spoke to earlier, the ability to move between locations was critical upon return to the community. By focussing on issues of movement, it becomes evident that, as Massey (1993) argued, a power-geometry exists, the repercussions of which she explained:

> different social groups, and different individuals, are placed in very distinct ways to these flows and interconnections. This point is not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't . . .; it is also about power in relation *to* the flows and movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. (p. 25)

Mobility is an area where the state is able to implement strict control and assert authority over the ex-prisoner. As discussed earlier, parolees are allowed in certain places and disallowed in others and each parolee is assigned a radius in which he can circulate -- any step outside of that invisible fence could return him to prison. Venturing beyond this perimeter requires pre-approval by the state and this containment is framed as 'risk management' or of being responsive to victims. Since it is impossible for agents of the

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criminal justice apparatus to monitor a parolee 24 hours a day, these mobility radii are largely symbolic, but the effect of being caught in violation looms.[180] This fact has the effect of confirming power relations and self-regulatory techniques of governance. In the following excerpt, in which he speaks of one particularly frustrating incident that occurred in the period immediately after his release, Rick recalls how the parolee is responsibilized in relation to these regulations and how power *over* is emphasized:

> . . . the rules would change, were always changing, and it became problematic for me. So for example, we were just north of Baseline Avenue. The one time I went . . . home for the weekend . . . to our house, me and Susan, and I left - went to work at 6 in the morning and I didn't have to be back to the halfway house until Sunday night . . . Sometime during that day, Corrections . . . changed the rule that you could no longer go below Baseline Avenue which was only a couple of hundred yards from the halfway house, and you couldn't go into Nepean which was - all of this area was out of the 40 kilometre radius. So I came back and was asked what I did. So I said, 'Well we went to the Home Show. It was in Nepean'. [They said] 'So that's in the Corel Centre. Oh you're out of your parole jurisdiction - that's a violation of your parole'. And I said, 'You know, no it's within the 40 kilometres' and they said 'No, there was a memo during the day that . . . told everybody they were no longer allowed to go below Baseline Avenue, no longer allowed to go into these other parole jurisdictions without a travel permit'. I tried to explain that, . . . I was not aware of that because I left at 6 o'clock in the morning and they said 'That's your responsibility to know these things' and, you know, 'We're not going to penalize you at this point but you know that's a technical violation of your parole'.

Rick's story also provides an example of how spaces are divided into segments. Cresswell (1996) noted this division is indicative of a type of moral geography at work in which certain behaviours are tolerated in certain spaces, and accordingly the ability to move between places can be seen as disruptive. He noted:

> because the easiest way to establish order is through the division of space, mobility becomes a basic form of disorder and chaos constantly defined as transgression and

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[180]It is easy for the parolee to ignore his travel restrictions as they know the likelihood of being detected is low; however, it is a risky decision for them because if they are caught, their Parole Officer can revoke their parole. This point will be returned to in the chapter on resistance.

trespass. It is no accident then that the control of mobility is foremost in the minds of those have an interest in maintaining their own definition of order. (Cresswell, 1996, p. 87)

While these controls on the movement of prisoners are established to create terrains of exclusion, it is clear that, for some, this control on mobility jeopardized their ability to resettle. For example, despite the knowledge that familial support is important in reintegration (Ekland-Olson et al., 1983; Maruna, 2001), the ability to travel to see kin is constricted by the state. Doc tells of not being able to return to his home community to visit his mother and other family members. Despite the fact that it had been over 15 years since he had been there, the police considered him a "rabble-rouser" and controlled his access. Further control and invasion is instituted since, in order to visit support people or family members who are outside of their 'mobility radius', the men who are on parole need to apply for a travel permit each time they want to go. The idea that spatiality is used to establish moral boundaries, is confirmed when we consider that if the ex-prisoner wants to stay overnight with friends or family, he must have a community assessment done in which the individuals and their location and locale are assessed as to their suitability.[181]

The need to have travel permits was another source of tension in fostering these relationships as often family expected that the ex-prisoner would visit more or go places with them – all activities that may require fore-planning and permission, a condition that the regular public does not anticipate. The effect of this pre-planning requirement is that the men may choose not to travel because of the surveillance of their activities and the inconvenience of the process – in effect, they self-regulate their mobility. This is not to say

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[181] Whether this assessment is used to protect the men from 'unsuitable' environments or because the state's agents want to ensure that the visited individuals are aware of the 'sullied' identity of the men, is questionable.

that the men never violate this requirement but if caught doing so, they could be returned to

prison - even if the reason for travel was pro-social (e.g. work related). Relatedly, a few of

the men express that location helped to mitigate any implications of technical violations of

mobility restrictions. For example, some of the men who lived in Kingston felt that the

Parole Officers in that area were more forgiving of small violations than in other areas.

One of the men states:

> ... the parole officers in Kingston worked with the prisoners. They know exactly
> what you got to do to get out and stay out. They understand that there's going to be
> bumps on the road but . . . they don't want to send me back to prison. They . . .
> they want to give me a shot cause you're working . . . Whereas other places they
> got things hair-triggers on this, you don't get a chance. I seen guys come back.
> When I was in Frontenac . . . guys are back for nothing really.[182]

As the men become perceived as a lower risk to re-offend, the state does tend to relax, or

even remove, the restrictions on mobility. For former long-term prisoners, this

accommodation is conditional and should any of their actions be deemed suspicious, the

state can immediately rescind the waiver, or worse, return them to prison.

Conclusion

> The dependence of place on subjectivity, and on objectivity and intersubjectivity, is
> a dependence (properly an interdependence) that results from the character of place
> as a structure that necessarily encompasses all of these elements and within which
> the elements are themselves constituted. (Malpas, 1999, p. 185).

In this chapter, I have tried to locate place as a major element to explore in order to

more fully understand the 'betweenness' of the experiences of (ex)prisoners. The

criminalized men in this research speak of location, locale and sense of place throughout

their interviews and to be inattentive to this subject is to miss a key ingredient in their

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[182]The name of this interviewee is deliberately withheld to protect this individual's anonymity.

recipes for release, reentry and resettlement. By attending to and engaging with the previous work of critical human geographers, it is clear that spatial constructs were important parts of how the men came to feel out-of-place, transcended expectations to achieve a sense of in-place-ness, and found a resolution to the relative porousness of their freedom.

Adaptability to place was the predominant theme that emerged in regard to geographic analysis of their experiences. No matter their place of origin, all of these men experienced major geographic ruptures which place them in a unique sociological group. They men spent years living in a six foot by ten foot cell and eventually returned to open spaces; both of these events led to geographically mediated culture shock. Despite the extreme variations in locations which they experience, the men were able to move forward in their quest for self-actualization and used location, locale and sense of place instrumentally in their endeavours. I argue that their ability to exert this control in the post-release period is clearly influenced by the experience of space as an overt control technique over their bodies, and this knowledge grounds them in an understanding of place as more than just a landscape. The respondents used place (and had it imposed upon them) to create and modify their identity, to find belonging and to help them (re)define freedom. In the process, the men have shaped the places they inhabit, and in the case of Kingston, their impact on the community has shifted its identity. In sum, place is not merely the screen onto which the story is projected; rather, the surface creates, and is created by, the script, the symbols and the actors.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONFIRMATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS: IDENTITY AND
THE STIGMATIZED 'OTHER'

I always had that reputation as being trustworthy and as someone . . . who could help you out . . . usually that would be in school work or something like that.

I was ashamed of what brought me there but I wasn't ashamed to be a prisoner.

A lot of people have a hard time believing that's what I did . . . I'm a stone cold killer.

I'm too nice, I'm too soft.

I'm a Christian. . . . I've been a Christian for a long time.

I was a big guy. I weighed 240 and they [other prisoners] thought I was crazy too. So, I was a big crazy murderer.

(Excerpts from Joel's interview)

Few identities[183] receive more mainstream media attention than that of the

'criminal'. Prime-time television is filled with police dramas, crime scene investigations,

crime stories on the news, true-crime biographies and series which profile a particular

criminal and construct him as dangerous (Altheide, 2002; Altheide & Devriese, 2007;

Cavender, 2004). No wonder then, that the idea of *who* commits crime is ingrained into

popular consciousness and, while not assuming a deterministic position, it is possible to

conclude that these images enable an essentialization of group characteristics (Jewkes,

2002). These stereotypes are problematic because, as we see in the above excerpts from

Joel's interview, an individual has multiple, and often contradictory, identities which are

open to "being deferred, staggered [and] serialised" (Hall, 1990, p. 229). While the public

receives an image of the criminalized individual which is ". . . presented in a stylized and

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[183]Identity is used in this chapter to denote "one's sense of self, and one's feelings and ideas about oneself" (Scott & Marshall, 2005, np).

stereotypical fashion by the mass media" (Cohen, 1972, p. 9), his own sense of self can often be quite different than his social identity and this variation is an important point of consideration.

In this chapter I will demonstrate that for the respondents, issues of identity are particularly complex because they need to understand the essentialization of the persona attributed to them, wrestle with the contradictions (and confirmations) between this ascription and how they conceive of themselves, and strategize to manage the possible implications. To facilitate the exploration of these complexities, the concept of multiple and competing identities will be introduced, essentialized identity of 'criminal' considered and the men's internalization or rebuttal of the characteristics which were imputed to them discussed. Finally, we will conclude by examining the variety of stigma management strategies the respondents employed.

Fractured Identities[184]

This chapter is premised on the idea that identity exists on both private and public levels and that individuals are not passive entities upon whom social personas are applied. Rather people move between roles based on power dynamics, social norms, geographic location and nature (quality and quantity) of interactions. Because self-concept is complex, ". . . fragmented and fractured" (Hall, 1990, p.18) the interviewees concurrently speak of themselves as scared and feared or as perpetrators and victims depending on the interaction which they are recalling.[185] That these multiple identities exist for each individual is a

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[184]This term is borrowed directly from Bradley (1996).
[185]Recognition and voicing of the more negative aspects of their identity (eg. volatile, alcoholic) may be influenced by the years in which they are subjected to some psychologists and correctional workers who reiterate behaviourist discourses about them.

reflection of their conditional nature and to the complex intersection with various social contingencies and locations in which the person exists. As such, through role segregation (Goffman 1961b) individuals are able to select which response and presentation to invoke in particular circumstances and locales.

Yet, because he is a member of a particular infamous grouping in society, the ex-prisoner encounters unique pressures in regard to which identities are available to him. Unlike some other stigmatized groups, he is able to exist as either discredited (who by virtue of physical attributes, tribal affiliation or blemishes of character, are known to be 'flawed') or discreditable (whose 'flaw' is concealable). This distinction is an important one in that those individuals who are discredited need to focus on management of the tension the stigmatized attribute creates; whereas, the discreditable must manage information surrounding their attribute so as to exert some control over whether it becomes known or remains hidden. I contend that the former prisoner is in a complicated position in regard to the distinction between discredited and discreditable. One the one hand, through his arrest, trial, conviction and sanction, the individual becomes 'marked' and hence excluded from his previous position through these degradation ceremonies (Castel, 1995). Yet, except in rare and/or particularly public or horrific instances,[186] the individual's return to society can be that of a discreditable person – the mark becomes largely hidden. Therefore, in negotiating his post-prison interactions, the prisoner is perpetually aware that he may encounter (at the individual or public level) a stereotyped conception of his essential nature; it is to this topic

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[186]The type of crime or victim can determine the degree of coverage the crime and trial receives. In his book, *Just Another Indian*, Goulding (2001) made a compelling argument that race is a factor in determining which acts and trials make it into the popular consciousness thus, impacting on the public and personal identity of the convicted person.

that we now focus our attention.

Essentialized Identities

Essentialism is the idea that members of a particular group (race, class, gender, etc.) share common characteristics which are immutable, creating or highlighting a difference between those who possess these traits and those who do not. The essentializing of those criminalized has led to the creation of a stereotype (cognitive essentialism[187]) which allows a particular type of treatment to manifest (social essentialism) in order to affirm the relations of power. This discrimination is influenced by the ways people are perceived in specific social milieus, the nature (formal or informal) of the interaction and by the pre-conceived notions (negative or positive) of those involved. This essentialized identity has both public and private manifestations as the individual negotiates between the dominant perception of him (public identity) and his own self concept (private identity). To explore this topic, we will begin by conceptualizing the ex-prisoner identity as one which is stigmatized in society and then we will explore how these stereotypes are experienced by the respondents and their internalization of some aspects of these ascribed characteristics. This section will conclude by examining the impact of the ascribed 'master status' on the individual and the repercussions of this application for others.

On Being the 'Criminal'

The individuals in this research are acutely aware that, following the act that led to their long period of incarceration, judgement has been passed on both their actions and their character. Their public image is now ". . . constituted from a small selection of facts which may be true of him, which facts are inflated into a dramatic and newsworthy appearance and

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[187]See Mahalingam (2003) for a detailed discussion of cognitive and social essentialism.

then used as a full picture of him." (Goffman, 1963b, p. 71). Through "status degradation ceremonies" (Garfinkle, 1956, p. 420) the individuals in this research are transformed from members of the general population to convicted persons, their public identity spoiled (Goffman, 1963b) and *new* attributes ascribed to them (Becker, 1963); he is now understood as belonging to a particular assemblage of people – a social grouping of outsiders. In the following quote, Luc speaks to his awareness of the stereotyping that occurs:

> Some people see criminals as dirty individuals, dirty uneducated individuals. . . . Very few people see [a] criminal . . . as a normal human being with feelings that can be educated, can be polite, can be clean.

Arguably, this essentialized identity is used to legitimate existing social hierarchies and in so doing, governmental strategies are reinforced. For example, Mr. Flowers makes the link between stigma and surveillance of those considered to be inherently dangerous:

> Prisoners are not welcomed back in the community per se. You are stigmatized. You know, I mean it's real. People don't like ex-convicts. It's not in your head. . . . You're not wanted. You're not liked. You are something to talk about or be watched.

As the quotes above illustrate, there is a sense of frustration at their own essentialized identity; however, the interviewees were able to speak simultaneously to a stereotyped identity which they had developed and applied to others.

<u>Essentialization and Role Sets</u>

Confirming the idea that stigma varies based on place and actor, throughout the transcripts there is a clear sense that, from the ex-prisoners' perspective, it is the correctional workers who possess spoiled identities. During the carceral period there was a

perceived obligation to adhere to a particular role set (guard/convict)[188] which required an essentialization of the 'other'. Given the desire to be part of an in-group, the role sets make it difficult for the individual to completely reject the essentialized identity of the 'other' that they utilize because to do so would make them an outcast from the 'outcasts'. On this point, it is useful to turn to Merton (1957) who argued that where access to power is imbalanced, there is a greater need for order in the roles and as a result, those with the least influence will form "coalitions of power" (p. 114). By acting on the stereotype, the convicted person finds himself to be part of a group of similarly discredited/discreditable others who can exert some power in a situation where it is not equally distributed among members of the role-set.

Despite the psychological risk involved in stepping outside this role-set, on occasion the men did voice a type of role distance (Goffman, 1961b) and concede that some of the correctional workers did not conform to the stereotype; but in doing so, they confirm the rule to which the individual guard is the exception. To make sense of this phenomenon it is useful to refer to Weisberger's (1992) who stated that one way for marginalized group members to cope is to be 'poised' which refers to the simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the stereotype. This negotiation emerges not only in relation to the essentialization of the guards but also in regard to their own identity and as we will see next, in some cases there was partial or complete agreement with the labels imputed to them.

<u>Scumbags, Screwed Up Kids & Manipulators</u>

Individuals sentenced to serve long periods of incarceration are considered to be

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[188]Here, it is useful to draw upon the work of Merton (1957) who argued that ". . . each social status involves not a single associated role but an array of roles . . . then, by role set I mean that complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (p. 110).

those from whom society needs the greatest protection and this premise is known by the men. Indeed, the respondents often adopted the terms used to essentialize them and the following language emerges in their self-descriptions: scumbag, screwed-up kid, manipulator, petty criminal, loner, violent and rebel. By using these terms the men assume, or at least reiterate, a subject position which is consistent with dominant public and political discourses. For some, these descriptors apply to their present conception of self, as when Joel states: "Oh, by the way, you know I'm a scumbag . . . [I am] apologizing for who I am". In other cases, their negative identification of themselves in the past tense[189] becomes the foundation on which they can later conceive of themselves as rehabilitated, redeemed or different and we will return to this point later in this chapter.

While this research was not concerned with the crimes the men committed to acquire their sentence, some men chose to disclose this information and speak of the way it has impacted their sense of self. For example, Ziggy struggles with reconciling having committed a homicide with his private identity as someone who "never wanted to hurt anybody". These men battled the guilt they felt around their crime and oscillated between feeling worthless and feeling 'decent'; as Joel tells us "I still feel guilt and also a certain sense of unworthiness and sometimes I resent society because no matter what I do, the world will not accept [me]." In short, since the men previously considered themselves to be, and were considered by others to be, just 'average' individuals, they often held the same beliefs about the deficiencies of the stigmatized other (Goffman, 1963b) – a role which they now assume. They must wrestle with the ideas that they held and could readily employ to distance themselves from the criminal and their own conception of self. This struggle is

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[189]For example, Ziggy says " . . . but at that age, I was immature. Highly explosive. Screwed up to boot, you know."

intensified because, unlike other designations, their criminalization places a new master status upon them.

Master Status and Courtesy Stigma

Uggen et al., (2004) argued that once an individual is criminalized the label of *(ex)* 'convict' becomes their primary and dominant characteristic especially in their interactions with post-stigma acquaintances. In this segregating and branding process, stigma is reaffirmed by the state and by others through disenfranchisement, denial of jobs, denial of parental rights, etc. (Irwin, 1970; Petersilia, 2001; Travis, 2002; Uggen et al., 2004).[190] Through both formal and informal day-to-day interactions, an individual may adopt 'convict' as their master status (Lemert, 1967) and as Schur (1971) clarified:

> One major consequence of the processes through which deviant identity is imputed is the tendency of the deviator to become 'caught up in' a deviant role, to find that it has become highly salient in his overall personal identity (or concept of self), that his behavior is increasingly organized 'around' the role, and the cultural expectations attached to the role have come to take precedence, or increased salience relative to other expectations, in the organization of his activities and general way of life. (p. 69)

It is clear that the master status is both private and public as in this excerpt from Joel: " . . . the fact is now I'm a Lifer and I'm different and I'm going to be treated different and when people find out about it, they're going to treat me that way."

Maruna et al. (2004) have noted the acts which brought about this master status among criminalized individuals may be attended to disproportionally. That is, according to the 'negativity bias' principle (Baumeister, Bratlavsky, Finkenauer & Vohs, 2001), a multitude of non-deviant acts may precede and follow one deviant act, but it is the single

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[190]Some authors have argued that official state stigmatization should be used more extensively so that is will serve as both a general and a specific deterrent. For example see the work of Funk (2004).

event that indefinitely stigmatizes the individual; the men in this research recognized, and to a degree, accepted that their criminal act(s) justified the imposition of a new master status. Doc provides an illustration of his awareness of his primary identity: "When I am out here, I'm a parolee – all the time. I'm not a citizen out here". Joel, who volunteers in his community, was more explicit: "If they find out you are a Lifer and an ex-con, that's going to totally eradicate all that other stuff".

It was apparent from the interviews that the men's intimates were also affected by their master status. Goffman (1963b) noted that those who are " . . . related through social structure to a stigmatized individual . . . are all obliged to share some of the discredit . . ." (p. 30) and a sense of responsibility for this "courtesy stigma" (p. 30) weighed upon some of the respondents. Dave provides a powerful example:

> I brought a lot of shame to the family . . . when I was charged with murder and my brothers and sister . . . were just kids then. They were told 'your brother is a murderer' 'I'm not hanging around with you' or 'my parents won't let me hang around with you'. . . they'd come home crying. . . . What did my mother have to face when she went downtown? What did my father have to face?

The essentialization process operates at multiple points and in addition to the official processes, we see the criminalized individual adopt role sets which affirm his membership in an out-group (of which he sometimes feels he is a legitimate member). He and others occassionally accept the stereotyped notion of him as 'criminal' and social essentialism affects him both directly and indirectly by operating on his intimates. Yet, as we will discuss next, many of the respondents were careful to indicate the burden of this stigma was not excessively heavy and they tell us that they did not have to accept their stigmatization at all times and in all places. We turn now to consider the men's post-carceral experiences with stigma where we see that, like identity, they are fragmented and complex.

Release and Post-Release Experiences with Stigma

Clear & Dammer (2000) argued that the multiple implications of being convicted, serving their time and being released, and the subsequent stigmatization, results in increased pains of reentry for the criminalized individual. They wrote:

> no matter what the intentions of others, the former inmate always faces the cold fact that no truly "clean start" is possible. The change in status is from convict to former convict; the new status is nearly as stigmatizing as the old, and in many ways more frustrating. (Clear & Dammer, 2000, p. 213)

These sentiments parallel the literature on identity and stigma which predict that men released from prison will encounter discrimination; this idea is certainly supported by some of the interviewees but examples of non-stigmatizating behaviour were common in the transcripts and as we will see in the next section, the respondents indicate that on many occasions their expectations of stigmatization out-weighed the reality. When discrimination was encountered, it emanated largely from representatives of the state or was the result of factors other than their criminal record.

Expectations and 'Amazing Reversals'

Many of the men in this study state that in the years since their release they didn't feel personally stigmatized in the community based their status as former prisoners.[191] Arguably, this experience is partly related to their ability to adopt a discreditable status; Marcus notes "the community was blind to me. There was no public knowledge of who I was." He explains further: "I walked through a whole crowd of people. You know, just a regular old white kid with short hair. Nobody even paid a second glance to me". Bobby echoes this sentiment and confirms Goffman's (1963b) notion of hyper-awareness when he

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[191]See also Irwin (1970) for a similar finding.

states: "No. No. No. I've never had a negative, a negative stigma coming from anywhere.

Anytime, its mostly been my anxiety, my anticipation".

Indeed, for several respondents, their anticipation and expectations of stigma

surpassed what they received in the community. Several of the men indicate that their

anxiety made them feel physically marked as we see in the following excerpt from Marcus:

> I had no idea what to expect. For all I knew, I was going to have this big sign on my
> head, "Prisoner, Convict." So I had a lot of stress about that and then I was also
> worried because I didn't know what I was going to do for employment.

Marcus's concern about stigma jeopardizing his job chances may have some basis in fact

since researchers have indicated that employability is an area in which the negative

implications of stigma likely manifest (Clear & Dammer, 2000; Funk, 2004; Harding, 2003;

Irwin, 1970; Petersilia 2001b; Travis & Petersilia, 2001). However, in this study, many of

the men were offered work despite their expectation that they would be denied based on

their criminal status, and in particular, for the types of crimes they committed.:

> I went for an interview. . . . They called me the next day at the halfway house. They
> said they liked me and . . . . 'We want to do two things. We'll put you on the payroll
> and then we're going to do a criminal records check.' [I said] 'I got a criminal
> record.' . . . 'We've hired people before with criminal records. Come on in, we'll talk
> about it. ' . . . I go on in there. . . . I said 'I'm presently on parole, life parole, for
> murder'. He said 'What?' I said 'You asked me. I'm telling you. You said you've
> hired people with criminal records before.' [He said] 'Yeah, but those were car thefts
> and purse snatchers and stuff like that. Not murder'. . . . I assured him I would be an
> asset to the association. . . . . So, I left . . . feeling dejected. . . . Two days after that,
> they called me and they wanted me to come in for another interview. I went down
> there and . . . the first thing they said to me was . . . 'Who here that works here
> knows that you had a criminal record?' I knew I had the job as soon as he said that.
> (Jean)

Jean's story is consistent with a major finding from another study which concluded

". . . personal contact did go a long way in reducing the negative effects of a criminal

record." (Pager, 2007, p. 104). [192] In order to receive this type of treatment the men had to

be able to draw upon their ability to present well and leverage this skill as a type of capital.

For example, Puzzle utilizes his confidence and awareness of the stigma when he

approaches the boss of a company directly:

> I told him this is who I am. This is where I've come from. I'm asking you . . . I want
> a decent paying job. . . . I'm not here to cause you any grief. . . . 'All I'm here to do',
> I said, 'is try and get back in the community. I'll be a damn good worker.'

The men provide numerous examples in which it is clear that members of the public

do not simply accept the dominant discourses regarding those who are criminalized. Rather,

we see that when presented with an individual and an opportunity to make their own

assessment, the perceiver will draw upon his/her own values and beliefs in order to make a

decision on how to proceed. This reliance on their own judgement is not surprising given

that, as Roberts, Stalans, Indermaur & Hough (2003) found, the "public endorses individual

justice and wants to be merciful . . ." (p. 105) and while not specifically dealing with post-

release issues, their work points to a disparity between penal populism, dominant discourses

and an individual citizen's ability to reject the essentialization of the ex-prisoner.

It would appear that some individuals go beyond just rejecting the stereotype and

engage in challenging the dominant images and discourses. For example, one interviewee

tells of having his employers defend him against a parole officer who didn't think the ex-

prisoner was doing suitable work. According to Mr. Flowers, his employer contacted the

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[192]Pager's (2007) study recognizes that the likelihood of being allowed to make a 'personal presentation' is much
greater for Caucasian applicants than it was for Black potential employees. Unfortunately, due to the racial
homogeneity of the sample in this research, it is not possible to include race as a point of variance in this regard. It
may be reasonable to assume that the men in this study did not provide an exception to the 'white privilege' that
dominates in western society, but, despite being asked about race, most of the men did not speak to this and so it
would be irresponsible to speculate further.

parole board and told them:

> 'There is absolutely no way that we will let a parole board member, [or] the parole board, in any way censor our employees. Mr. Flowers works for us; he happens to be on parole. He is not a parolee that happens to be working for us.'

This accepting type of behaviour on the part of members of the community was experienced by several of the men who felt 'welcomed back' – one of them referred to this as "amazing reverses of stigmatization" (Gord). In a break from the role set established in prison and reinforcing the importance of place, one man tells of his neighbour, a prison guard, offering to write a letter supporting his application for full parole and who followed up by contacting the parole officer and parole board to provide a reference. Bob provides another excellent example:

> I went over to the bank and I said 'I want to get a credit card'. . . . [this] lady sat me down and I was very nervous because . . . I didn't want to reveal my past . . . she asked me my particular information and she checked my credit rating and . . . she said "You don't have a credit rating". . . . so I had to tell her where I was. And her comment to me was 'Well banking's our business, that's your business'. And I really appreciated it. I never forgot that comment. . . . And there's no stigmatization, anything like that. And I'll always remember that, how sort of kind she was to me. And she got me a credit card.

This story also highlights another common dynamic – the interpretation of everyday or mundane acts as measures of great kindness. These actions, taken-for-granted by those who are not discredited, become seen as extensions of generosity and as extraordinary to marked individuals who may be more "situation conscious" (Goffman, 1963a, p. 111). Specifically, the discreditable individual in the interaction may be more aware of reactions and interactions than others involved who can just be 'in' the situation. These acts may also be interpreted as exceptional because as we discussed earlier, some of the men have internalized their unworthiness and thus, are surprised when they encounter others who do

not hold, or act on, this belief.

Affirming Power: Stigma From the state

Notably, when the men in this study did speak of stigma, the perceiver was often part of the criminal justice system. While the men may not be 'marked' or 'detected' by the community, agents of the state were definitely aware of the men's past misdeeds and the imposition of structurally influenced stigma was evident. The respondents share many different examples of the way state agents ensure the convicted individuals were aware of the attributes ascribed to members of their out group. Puzzle expresses his thoughts on this:

> Lifers are looked at the worst. They're looked at worse than sexual offenders. Because the cop looks at a Lifer as someone whose crossed the line and can never walk back. They don't think you can ever be rehabilitated.

As Puzzle notes, the stigma from the state was especially directed to those who were serving Life sentences and as a result of the different regulatory requirements placed upon this group, agents of the state are positioned to act upon the stigma with impunity. Exemplifying the interplay between structural and interpersonal stigma were the stories of the men having to report to local police stations when visiting friends or family in other communities, and receiving treatment based the stigma of having been sentenced to Life:

> The only place that I felt stigmatized was when I went over to the Police Station . . . 'cause they would play some games every once in a while. You'd go in [and] you're supposed to check in at the desk and . . . they were very polite, courteous, until they found out you were a parolee. And then they'd say, 'Go upstairs' and you'd go upstairs, and the guy would say 'You don't come up here. You check in downstairs'. So, it's just these little games they would play for themselves. (Bob)

Not surprisingly, given that most of the men in this study are serving Life sentences, their vulnerability to the state is evidenced by being afforded extra surveillance. Their stigmatized status ("Lifer") qualifies them for perpetual surveillance and to have their

privacy thwarted at the will of state representatives (Goffman, 1963b) – affirming the

sovereign-disciplinary-government governance structures under which each of these men

live. Moreover, this monitoring (often justified as risk management) becomes bound with

sending the message of unwantedness and "unfitness of these subjects to be 'in society'"

(O'Malley, 2001, p. 94). Given the statistics indicating that the former long-term prisoner

is a very low risk to re-offend, this reaction to the stigmatized other is arguably about

imposing a morality script[193] rather than protecting the social body from imminent physical

harm. Jean offers an example of trying to engage in a common place activity (during his

graduated release program) with his family but having their experience jeopardized because

of extensive police surveillance:

> My first UTA [unescorted temporary absence] was a Christmas Pass to London and I
> . . . had to sign in at a police station when I got there and I had to sign in when I left.
> . . . I walked in and they were nice and pleasant to me and my mother and I handed
> them my parole papers and everything changed. . . . It went from pleasant to friggin'
> nasty in seconds. . . . They didn't want me in London. . . . He [the police officer]
> made me sit on a chair for about 45 minutes and they were calling all these cops in
> off the street and . . . cops and detectives coming down from different floors and
> pointing at me . . . . [Later that day] around one o'clock in the morning, I hear
> pounding on the door of my mother's house so the door opens, [to] a cop. [I said]
> 'What do you want?' [He says] 'Well, I was just checking to see if you were home,
> you know. You're not drinking' and . . . he had his flashlight in my eyes. There
> was no privacy. . . . They were following me all over the place. They parked out in
> front of the house.

Some of the ex-prisoners recount their experiences of the negativity bias in which it

is assumed that they will fail;[194] Gord notes that "if 20 years down the line, I happen to

screw up, 'well, we've done told you he would'. You know, that's the way they are."

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[193]According to Emde, Johnson & Easterbrooks (1987) a morality script is one in which "the self is perceived as criticized and the other as scornful with the individual either experiencing scorn or shaming" (p.262).
[194]More specifically, Baumeister et al. (2001) state that "when equal measures of good and bad are present, however, the psychological effect of bad ones outweigh those of the good ones." (p. 323)

Lofland (1969) wrote about this negativity bias and argued, in regard to the stigmatized

'other', the default position is scepticism:

> Since employers, agents of social control and other community members have little
> confidence in their own ability to discern between legitimate and illegitimate claims
> to personal reform, the safest option, is to interpret any claim to going straight as
> "phony, feigning, unbelievable or implausible." (p. 210)

In our study, Lofland's (1969) assertion applies predominantly to state agents since, as we

discussed earlier, often employers and the general public were willing to rely on their own

judgement, reject the risk discourse and allow the individual to earn new credibility.

Corporeally Located Stigma: The Convict Body and The Old Body

To this point, the discussion has focused on the essentialization of the criminal

identity and individual's partial rejection of the stereotype. However, the men did express

that there were two corporeally located stigmata that did have an impact on them in terms of

experiencing discrimination in the community: being physically marked and being aged.

In spite of the increased popularity and more mainstream adoption of tattoos over the

last decade, a number of the interviewees highlight the significance of their tattoos as a

means to mark them as convicts.[195] Research indicates that there are various reasons why the

prisoner gets tattooed, but most agree the symbolic images are part of the individual's

identity work (See Demello, 1993; Hunt & Phelan, 1998) and some consider the markings

to be acts of agency and of defiance which marks them as convicts, and not inmates[196] and

thus, positions them as a member of a respected 'in group'. Demello (1993) stated:

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[195]This branding has an historical precedent since, as Shoham & Rohav (1991) noted, in many ancient religious
stories, a mark was placed on an individual to shame them and warn others; thus, we see there is an underlying sense
that the tattooed person is risky or dangerous. Distinguishing the contemporary use of tattoos from their previous
function is the fact that the marks are actively sought by the men.

[196]The distinction between an inmate and a convict is an important one and will be more fully developed later in the
chapter.

tattooing in prison is about creating a common culture. The process involves marking members as belonging to the same culture as much as it involves distinguishing members of one group from another. . . (p. 13)

However, once outside this environment, the tattoos become stigmata which brand them as outsiders (Stiles & Kaplan, 1996) and as such, the respondents tell of their prison-generated body art being a visible schema through which attributes and histories were placed on them:

I got tattoos and a lot of people know that they are jail tattoos from just the way they look[197] . . . and I went to one [yard sale] . . . and . . . I could see the guy's checking me out. . . . He comes over . . . and he goes, 'You've done time before, eh?' And I'm like, ' . . . What do you mean?' . . . [he says] 'I can tell by your tattoos.' (Fred)

In Fred's story the corporeal dimension is evident since the "convict body" (Demello, 1993, p. 12) is the site from which interactions originate and which allows the individual to be more easily monitored by the community at large; in turn, this can create a greater imperative to self-regulate and focus on presentation more intensely. For example, Gowan recounts that he was hesitant to show his tattoos on the job site because of the negative consequences:

I'm a good worker, and I don't need to be fired over tattoos . . . and he [the boss] says 'I'm not going to fire you'. And I had my shirt off. The next day he told me not to come in.

Demello (1993) claimed that many prisoners are aware that the tattoos create an identifier that may have negative consequences once released and because of this, some tattoo artists in prison will not give an individual their first one. Clearly, the marking of the body in this way is the result of the individual having some agency over his body in an otherwise highly controlled space and this differentiates the tattoo from another form of discrimination that

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[197]The ability to make this distinction varies by the knowledge of the viewer. In some cases, the tattoos have obvious prison-related themes (e.g. cell bars) but, in other instances, it is the particular method used to create them which makes them distinguishable. In the latter, the viewer must either be knowledgeable about prisons or about the art form. For more of a discussion on this, see Demello (1993) or McDonough (2001).

the men faced upon release -- ageism.

Ageism has been defined as "a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people because they are old"(Butler, 1995, p. 35) [198] and as Palmore (1999) clarified, the stigma attached to the individual emerges from the elderly being seen as ill, impotent, ugly, mentally unfit or mentally ill, isolated, poor or depressed. The ex-prisoner is not the only target of ageism but for the men in this study who had spent a great deal of their lives behind bars it was complicated and compounded. They return to the community, not as the boys or young men they were when they entered the federal correctional system but as middle aged or, in some cases, as senior citizens. They no longer benefit from the priority placed on youthfulness nor do they have the experience to benefit from seniority in the workplace. While other individuals of their age were establishing work histories and social networks, these men were serving time in prison. For some, they linked not being able to obtain employment as being the result of ageism rather than because they were criminalized:

> If there was any . . . stigma, [it] was a lot more age related than anything else. There wasn't prisoner-related. There was age related. . . . 'What's this guy offering me? . . . I need somebody's going to put doors on my wall. . . . Has he ever done that? No. Can I train him? He's kind of old, eh. He's small, and he's old. So - no, I don't want him.' (Luc)

In regard to age and the presence of jail-house tattoos, we see that the sign of social interaction is ". . . reflexive and embodied . . . conveyed by the very person it is about, and conveyed through bodily expression in the immediate presence of those who receive the expression" (Goffman, 1963a, p. 43). The individual can be discredited and discreditable since the mark's presence on the body can be alternately visible and concealed and as a

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[198]Palmore (1999) argued that the definition of ageism should be inclusive of all regardless of age group; thus, youth could be victims of ageism. However, in the interest of specificity, Butler's (1995) definition seems more appropriate.

result, the men adopt a variety of strategies (such as maintaining their physique and wearing long sleeves) to manage the possibility of being detected and it is to these techniques, and several others, that we now turn.

Stigma Management

Goffman (1963b), Jussim et al. (2000) and Hebl et al. (2000) have noted that managing stigma requires the targeted individual to engage in social interactions at an intensified level and as a result, the individual will act in a variety of ways in order to avoid or minimize its effects. Given the very real consequences of stigma (return to prison, loss of work, impact on family, etc), the men employed in a variety of management techniques including: rejecting, offering alternate identities, utilizing the stereotype to advantage, concealing, disclosing, and creating social or physical distance.

Rejecting the Stigma

A couple of the men in this study were adamant about their refusal to accept the stigmatized label that was attached to them. Barry provides an example of this defiance:

> I feel that there are people who attempt to stigmatize me. Some who work in corrections who know who I am and know my track record but, I don't feel stigmatized because I don't allow it to occur.

Goffman (1963b) noted that while rejecting the stigma may be a useful coping strategy, it can also create a disjuncture in the individual since, while they speak of declining the stigma, at some level they may understand it to be earned. For example, Jean, when asked about experiencing stigma, refers to his crime first -- thus, replicating and reifying the dominant discourse:

> If they only knew . . . I'm a murderer and all this stuff. (*Did you worry about stigma in those first couple of years? Did you worry about people finding out?*) I don't really care . . . people got a problem with me, then that's their problem. I don't

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have a problem with me. . . . If somebody else is going to have a problem with me because of my criminal past, that's their problem - not mine.

The bravado Jean voices in the quote above may be the result of having spent many years in confinement with similarly stigmatized others which may allow them to reject the stereotyped notion regarding who serves long periods in prison. On occasion, as we will see next, this rejection also took the form of transforming the identity into something more positive than its usual connotation.

Lifers, Convicts and Inmates

Many respondents recognized the identity markers that had been placed on them as a result of their crime, but there appears to be a movement towards redefining the terms employed to describe them; however, there is a difference between their strategy and that of other minority or stigmatized groups who try to reclaim language.[199] While other activists attempt to modify lexicon in the public sphere by using the negatively connoted terms in positive ways (e.g. queer or whore), the (ex)prisoner's strategy is more private. Rather than trying to get the words transformed on a global level, the men re-conceive and re-define the terms in order to separate themselves from others who they consider to have different values and this discursive strategy was particularly evident around the terms Lifer/criminal and inmate/convict.

For those men who received Life sentences, it was often the case that they made a distinction between being a *criminal* and being a *Lifer*. In their interviews, the men speak of not necessarily having 'criminal values' and feel that this sets them apart from others who

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[199]See for example the work of Cameron (1997) who discusses the reclamation by feminists of terms generally used to denigrate women or, the work of Mairs (1992) on revaluing language used to describe individuals who are differently-abled.

are criminalized:

> I think most Lifers are not of the criminal element. . . . They did something wrong which was a criminal act but they're not criminals. They didn't intentionally go out and hurt a bunch of people or break into a dozen homes to pay for their drug habits or anything like that. You know, they were 'straight Johns' who were out in the community and something happened. (Ziggy)

This attempt to distinguish themselves from others may occur because, for the discreditable, the preservation of face[200] becomes a way of avoiding stigmatization; however, as we see in the above quote, this occurs at the expense of others who are also discriminated against. Through their membership in the 'Lifer grouping', we see what Mahalingam (2003) referred to as a "transcendent essentialization" whereby the men embrace the unifying factors and offer an alternate view. Distancing themselves from others who are criminalized allows the 'Liferness' to transcends previous social, economic and cultural distinctions and unifies them as members of a group.

However, this strategy has limited applicability and value outside the prison. While their membership in this Lifer group is partly ascribed and partly embraced, they may struggle with their self-concept and their ability to relate to others once they are released:

> If you're not a Lifer, you have no idea what it's like. . . . I'm toe-tagged. And as long as you know you're getting off parole in 10 or 20 years, you've always got that in your mind. I'm buried with this FPS.[201] (Doc)

As we see in Doc's quote, 'Liferness' assumes the role scholars often explore in regard to ethnicity; in much the same way that being a member of a racial or cultural minority can lead to an internalization of an essentialized identity, being a Lifer can create feelings of helplessness and depression (Mahalingam, 2003). On occasion we see a sense of being

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[200]Preservation of face was defined as "an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5)
[201]An FPS is a number assigned to each fingerprinted person.

overwhelmed and powerless as Puzzle shares when talking about the magnitude of having a Lifer identity: "Your fucked until the day you die." This type of sentiment underlined much of the Lifers' post-prison experience and positions them similarly to racial minorities who cannot escape the stigmatized attribute. Unlike other minorities who can externalize the reactions as racist, the Lifer is forced to accept that his actions brought about the reaction and re-definition can provide only limited relief.

Interestingly, others recognize that their 'Liferness' created a sub-group and feel that any misstep experienced would be projected onto all other Lifers; thus, they felt a solidarity and obligation to those who shared this part of their identity and a few of the men speak to this membership contributing to their staying out of prison. That is, many express that they were committed to their success so that others would not be judged negatively.

In another attempt at re-framing their identity through reclamation of specific language, several of the men were careful to identify themselves as 'convicts' and not the more behaviouristic 'inmates'.[202] When the men use the term convict they make links to being 'old school' and not being co-opted by the system. Frequently, they embrace the term as implying they had served their time with honour and had not provided information to the guards about other prisoners (see also Demello, 1993). This refusal to be absorbed by the system had gendered implications because as Leverenz (2007) argued "honour is one of the most basic social codes for prompting and regulating men's competition for status" (p. 318).

According to the respondents, their adherence to a 'convict code' may have increased the amount of time they served or strained their relationships with staff and

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[202]The term 'offender' is the preferred jargon in contemporary government reports on those who are criminalized. In this research, the men rarely use this term.

guards in particular. Puzzle states the implication of this role set simply: "if you're an inmate, there's help. If you're a convict, there's none." With only two exceptions, when the men used the term 'inmate' with regard to identity, it was negative and thus, we see a rejection of an often used term by the state[203] and an adoption of the alternate term 'convict'; the latter of these terms implies a reaction to an act by the state (i.e. to have been convicted) rather than the more psychologically based term, 'inmate', which is also used to describe residents of mental facilities. In an excerpt from a poem by Reed (1993), this distinction is made clear:

> Inmate.
> Nasty word, that.
> Denoting diseased
> psychopath receiving treatment.
> But it escapes even
> those so classified
> as they feign reminiscence
> of a time when they weren't.

In addition to creating a different subject position, the men's particular usage can also be viewed as a form of resistance against an essentialized identity. Tangentially, we see that the men also choose to manage stigma by substituting, or drawing attention to, alternate identities and it is on these that we will now focus.

Providing Alternate Identities

Some men make conscious attempts to manage the master status by getting others to see them as fathers, husbands, workers, etc. Goffman (1961b) stated that it is important for an individual to convey an image ". . .compatible with role-appropriate personal qualities

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[203]The term most favoured in current publications by Correctional Service of Canada, Public Safety Canada and of the National Parole Board is 'offender' which, like inmate, connotes an internal flaw.

effectively imputed to him" (p. 87)[204] and so the men's efforts to be seen differently was a source of tension with those who wanted them to fulfill the expectations associated with their previous public identity. Fred, speaking of returning to his childhood community and to those who knew him before and after his sentence, notes that people wanted him to be the guy who was available to 'party with' and resented him when he didn't do conform to this:

> ... when I first got there, I had people ... coming to my door... like clockwork. Non-stop people at my door. 'Come on, Let's go. Come on. Let's go' and I'm telling them 'Hey, that's not my lifestyle anymore. I've got a family now and I'm a family person. ... I'm not that partying kid that was running around here 15-20 years ago' ... they thought oh, well you're too ... you think you're too good for us and ... . that was everywhere.

Like Fred, the other interviewees offer various other public identities which they feel equally, or more aptly, represent who they are. These presentations move them away from a position of exclusion to one in which they see themselves as deserving of social inclusion (see also Deane, Bracken, & Morrissette, 2007).

While some research has examined the use of alternate identities in regard to desistance from crime, most of this work position these self-concepts as changed or new (see Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002; Laub and Sampson, 2001; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna & Bushway, 2008). For example, Laub and Sampson (2001) wrote: "it seems that men who desisted changed their identity as well, and this in turn affected their outlook and sense of maturity and responsibility" (p. 50). Accepting these alternate identities as *new*, leaves the essentialization of other identities unchallenged and, as a consequence, confirms or reinforces them. Possibly the alternative subject positions are recently manifest (as in

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[204]This desire to have the individual conform to the 'deviant identity' can become a plight through which the individual returns to behaviour which is considered deviant by the mainstream, leading to what Jussim et al. (2000) called a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Fred's example above) but it is also probable that the individual has not previously seen themselves to be 'other' in need of reformation. Despite the attempt to strip the individual of previous identities and create a "role dispossession" (Goffman, 1961a, p.14) through "status degradation ceremonies"(Garfinkle, 1956, p.420), we know that this divestment is not always complete and that a sense of their pre-mortification[205] selves remains. Demonstrating the ability to maintain or create identities, the men provide examples of both old and new personas and the most common of these were: 'normal guy', worker, good and helpful citizen and survivor.

'Average Joe'

As was mentioned in earlier chapters, the quest for normalcy was a pre-occupation of the men and despite their conviction, they often considered themselves to be 'average'.[206] That the terms 'average' and 'normal' appear frequently in the transcripts draws our attention to the idea that the disciplinary rationality of governance manifests in the respondent's experiences. The men seek to evaluate themselves relationally to the general population and self-regulate in order to appear statistically 'normal' and to demarcate between being deviant and being common. After serving many years in prison, it is logical that the men would not necessarily strive to be exceptional but rather, to gain footing in order to be indistinguishable in the social body.

While the desire to obtain 'normalness' emerges in all time periods, for the purposes of this chapter, focus will be on the post-prison 'average joe' identity in which an individual

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[205]According to Goffman (1961a) a mortification of the self occurs when someone is subjected to life in a total institution. The mortification of the self involves the stripping away of previous identities by removing contact with previous life, stripping them of possessions, requiring the "inmate" to show deference to authority among other techniques.

[206]This was especially evident in the two men who felt that they had been wrongfully convicted.

seems himself as not extraordinary in either positive or negative ways. For example,

Marcus tells us: "I'm just a regular member of society. I work. I pay my taxes. I make sure

my family is safe at the end of the day. I look out for my neighbours and I don't infringe

upon anybody's rights." Doc also speaks to this: "I'm not going to be the guy that breaks the

mould. . . . I'm no more different or unique than anybody else." One of the ways the men

were able to convince others of their normalcy is by getting and keeping a job and this

establishes, or reaffirms, their identities as workers.

'Joe Worker'

In most of the interviews the men identify themselves as workers and this identity

was especially evident for those who were from working-class backgrounds. By positioning

themselves as able to labour, the men are normalizing their position within a capitalist

society and within typical gender relations (see Callard, 1998; McDowell & Court, 1994).

For members of the working class, their position is reinforced through social structures and

as Willis (1981) asserted in his study of working class youth in England:

> The point at which people live, not borrow, their class destiny is when what is given
> is re-formed, strengthened and applied to new purposes. Labour power is an
> important pivot of all of this because it is the main mode of *active* connection with
> the world: the way *par excellence* of articulating the innermost self with the external
> reality. It is in fact the dialectic of the self to the self through the concrete world. (p.
> 2)

Many of the interviewees had laboured before and during their imprisonment and

maintain their identity as a "Joe Worker" (Tom) on return to the community. As such, some

felt that the focus on employment skills[207] was wasted on them; Doc says: "[they were]

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[207]This type of training is in contrast to vocational skills training of which most of the men speak positively.
Employment skills cover the 'softer end' areas such as resume writing, job interview techniques and appropriate
workplace dress and behaviour.

almost assuming that a guy had never worked. Well I worked. I was 25 years old [when I went to prison]. That's young but I started working at age 16. So I already had some good experience." Drawing attention to their identity as a worker can also be understood as affirming their manliness since "the workplace is an area which men have established as being a significant site for the social construction of masculinity, including masculine identity" (Drummond, 2007, p. 10).

As is evident in the following excerpt from Bob's interview, there is a corollary for some of those who did not work in the paid-labour force and felt this as a loss to their sense of self: "I was really struggling with feelings of worthlessness - that I don't have an identity. I don't work." Puzzle also speaks to this belief: "a large part of what I hold my value, my own self-worth is in working and doing a good job."[208] Assuming and reproducing a very traditional and conservative discourse, many indicate their ability to work made them feel like a contributing member of society and, by extension, good citizens.

Good Citizen

In contrast to their desire to be seen as 'normal', eight of the men also speak of going beyond the requirements that were placed on them by society. For most, this need to exceed normative requirements took the form of doing volunteer work in their community, including sharing their stories in classrooms, coordinating sporting events and putting in unpaid time at their work. Jean shares his story:

> You see me at charitable events and working with handicapped people. . . . I take them out and do stuff . . . with them. . . . I get respect not only from them but from their families, coworkers and people in the community who see me working at these various events. . . I'm like a rock star here.

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[208]In this sample, there was only one man who did not speak to his identity as worker. Instead, F.G. recounts a lifetime of not working and of not using employment, or ability to labour, as an identifier.

In some cases their volunteerism, especially speech giving, can be linked to 'redemption scripts' wherein the person can rewrite ". . . a shameful past into a necessary prelude to a productive worthy life" (Maruna, 2001, p. 87). In this process the individual maintains some cohesion in their self-identity rather than amputating a particular element. They can be conceived of as " heroes of adjustment" (Goffman, 1961a, p.25) and this has the effect of reaffirming the rehabilitation discourse.

Relatedly, the men often describe themselves as helpful and this identity occurred in all time periods. The men share stories of using their time in prison to assist other convicts (either in groups or individually) or assisting in the organization of the day-to-day operations of the prison by making sure things like core programming were made available. Some of the acts which started in the prison, continued over the long-term and this becomes a type of "generativity script" (McAdams, 1993, p. 240) wherein the individual attempts to leave a positive legacy or symbolic contribution for the next generation. For example, Barry discusses his efforts on prisoners' rights:

> . . . every little bit that I do today will help some other guy down the road. . . . It's payback because . . . there are other prisoners who fought and died for stuff that I've benefited from. My personal belief is that if I can be counted among them in the final roll call . . . then I will feel that I have accomplished something.

Even when asked why they participated in this research, a number of the men articulate they were trying to be helpful to me or, more often, to other ex-prisoners as we see in the following excerpt from Tom: ". . . it would be nice for a guy sitting in there that has maybe no hope, to read about someone like me." Gord makes a link between being helpful and another, dominant identity, being a survivor: "Surviving, staying alive and striving. That's my identity. That's it in a nutshell and trying to help somebody else survive a little

here and there, when I can."

Survivor

As Bobby exemplifies in the next quote, the sense that the men had surmounted a

major obstacle was evident in these interviews: "I'm a survivor. I've gotten through piles

and piles of shit. I've survived." This sense of self as survivor was expected since, as was

mentioned in chapter six, many of the men see themselves as veterans of prison:

> It's like old war soldiers. Not somebody who did 6 months in Vietnam but the
> WWII where you did the whole thing. . . . Somebody who has done seven, eight,
> nine, years of hell, those experiences, they don't get rid of them. (Mr. Flowers)

This belief is not surprising given that due to violence, the use of solitary confinement and

the mental implications of confinement, the prison has often been identified as a high

trauma location (see for example, Acoli, 2006; Jackson, 1983; Jamieson & Grounds, 2002;

Reed, 1989). As Gord states: ". . . prison wasn't helpful at all. Period. It's a place of

revenge and a place of punishment . . . it tore me to pieces from beginning to end." The

respondents speak of fellow prisoners being murdered and living with the trepidation of

being targeted. For Rick, his identity as a survivor was spatially linked:

> I was [in] Millhaven, for 4-1/2 years . . . [it] really damaged me that place.
> Emotionally. Psychologically. . . . I lost innocence in that place - that small town
> innocence. I lost it there . . . Millhaven was survival.

In the above section, we have discussed the use of the alternate identities of survivor,

'average Joe', worker and good citizen to counter their essentialized one; however, we see

that in other instances the respondents' strategy was to use the stigma to advantage.

Utilizing Stigma to Advantage

Adopting a "hostile bravado" (Goffman, 1963b, p. 17) allowed at least one of the

men to utilize his stigmatized identity to advantage. Bobby is very aware of the fear and

sense of danger the term 'Lifer' conveys, and has utilized this awareness at his work:

> I've used it as an asset. If guys give me a hard time, [I] say 'look, don't screw me around. I've been in jail for a very long time and I'm not about to start playing games with you . . . I'm a fucking Lifer. Don't fuck with me.'

Fred also realized during his incarceration that he was subject to a dual stigmatization for being both a Lifer and an Aboriginal prisoner. However, he understood that the structural stigma that accompanied the latter identity was being undermined by the current socio-political context.[209] Fred speaks of utilizing this sensitivity to his advantage and recounts that he participated in Native Brotherhood activities and emphasized his heritage to gain favour: "When I went up for parole, it's like 'oh, you're a native offender and you're unique and . . . so we'll give you the benefit of the doubt'." This strategy, of course, can only be utilized in particular settings and with specific interactions and audiences. As a result, it was rarely employed by the interviewees and instead, the men attempt to ensure their criminal past is not revealed.

Concealing the Stigma

Concealment of a criminal past was the most often cited management strategy used by the respondents and it ranged from allowing people to make assumptions of 'normalcy' to actively strategizing to mask things which would illuminate the individual's previous conviction. Notably, even those men who stated that they rejected the stigmatization of being a criminal express a need to hide their prison past in some social situations; that is, they were perpetually aware of the stigma and while not accepting its basis, engaged with

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[209]For example, Correctional Services Canada (2007) has recognized the over-representation of Aboriginal people in federal prisons and the National Parole Board has implemented elder-assisted hearings to acknowledge ". . . the distinctive needs and characteristics presented by Aboriginal peoples" (Canada, 2007). Whether or not this process is reflective of Aboriginal practices is open to debate.

the consequences. For example, Jean and Barry, who both indicate that they were not bothered if individuals knew about their histories, speak of engaging in 'passing' behaviour. Jean says: "I never told anybody that I had a criminal record, what I was in for, or anything like that. I just acted like I was a normal guy out having a beer with some friends. I knew I had to." Likewise, Barry is able to strategically maintain his discreditable, rather than, discredited, status:

> If my tattoos are covered and my earring isn't showing, there's nothing to hang me to a group. I just look like a fairly middle class white male and therefore, I don't set any alarm bells off by visuals.

Clearly, there is a complexity in identity maintenance encountered by the men; they must have sufficient self esteem to reject the firmly entrenched label which constitutes their virtual identity or social image while they must accept that the latter impinges upon their sense of self.

The above quote from Barry also highlights the perceived need to conceal those matters which mark them as convicted people. Many of those who were tattooed speak of keeping the body art covered when around others – especially coworkers and employers. Other men fear that showing their convict body would lead to "courtesy stigma" (Goffman, 1963b, p.30) for their intimates and use concealment as a way of managing this potential occurrence. Gowan shares that his daughter was very grateful that he kept a long sleeve shirt with him to change into if he was attending her school events. Some of those who were 'unmarked' by tattoos claim this absence as a dis-identifier and use it to maintain their non-disclosure strategy: "I was working with the senior staff and doing a lot of office work and I mixed well with them and of course, I don't have tattoos and everything" (Joel).

This sense of being 'unmarked' carried over in other ways as well. Some of the men

speak of being able to 'pass' because people in the community had an image of what criminals, and more specifically murderers, looked like and they use these stereotypes advantageously to conceal their own criminalized status. Bob provides an example: "I don't appear to be an ex-offender. . . whatever that is! But that's the comment that's been made many, many times to me. . . . 'Nobody would know you'd ever spent a day in jail'." Dave, provides a story of how stereotypes aided him in not being detected:

> [speaking of a situation where it became known that there was a criminal living in his building] We had a couple that lived there and they were all up in the arms about the fact that there were Lifers living there, criminals living there. I never said a word. I'd meet them in the elevator and I'd say 'Hi', you know, and talk and chat and all and everything. (*And so they never knew that you were a Lifer?*) No.

The respondent's lack of response in these situation creates a situation in which their complacency reaffirms a judgement made of 'others'. Bruckert (2002) had a similar finding in her work on erotic dancers and she points out that "the judgements of these 'insiders' which replicate the dominant discourses and position their moral self-identity against that of the deviant 'other', powerfully legitimate dominant understandings" (p. 130).

The men also recount that they tried to emulate the behaviours of 'normal people' in the community by mimicking their style of dress or avoiding particular forms of attire. This action is consistent with Goffman's (1963a) assertion that in public places, manner of dress is a means of indicating that one is similar and belongs. One man felt the pressure not to wear black leather because it would be indicative of his past association with a motorcycle club, while another tells of taking great care to dress in "beautiful civilian clothes" (Dave).

Another concealment approach used was the creation of 'back stories' to account for the time while they were in prison. This strategy may, as has been noted by Goffman

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(1963b), require the cooperation of intimates and those who are 'wise' to the situation[210] and

can assist the person to 'pass' as is evident in the following story from Tom:

> I made up a resume that was 18 years full of bullshit, but I had people to back it up.
> I had a buddy [who] owned a bike shop . . . and I had it all lined up and if they
> called any of that, it would have all come out right.

However, this type of concealment becomes particularly complex when it is family from

whom the men are trying to conceal their past. Several of the men share that they hide their

prison past from their young children who are either ". . . unsafe receptacles . . . or of such

tender nature as to be seriously damaged by the knowledge" (Goffman, 1963b, p. 54). This

task is particularly complex for those respondents who remain on parole and or who live

with their children. Some of the men who chose to remain in the community where they

had served their time indicate that this choice had implications for concealment as their

children would be informed by others:

> And they went and told him, said 'Oh your dad, yeah he was in jail'. 'My dad wasn't
> in jail.' 'Yeah, he killed somebody'. . . . I will never lie. And [when my son asked]
> I just said, 'Yes I did'. And he goes 'Oh dad, that's ba-a-ad'. And he couldn't get
> over it for a week . . . cause he knows it's bad.[211]

Once the concealment fails, as in the case above, more negative attributes can be

attributed to the individual since the person is now not only a convict but may be considered

to be a manipulator or liar and because of this possible double-reaction some of the former

long-term prisoners chose to disclose their background.

<u>Disclosing the Stigma</u>

For several of the respondents, admitting the stigmatized attribute up front (full

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[210]'Wise' is a term used by Goffman (1963b) to denote those individuals who were not stigmatized by a given attribute but who were aware and sympathetic to the targets of the stigma.
[211]Respondent's pseudonym withheld to protect his identity.

disclosure) or at the appropriate moment ("conditional disclosure") (Harding, 2003, p. 79)

was a technique used to manage stigma. Marcus provides a clear example of being aware

of the potential for a double-reaction if he did not reveal his criminal past:

> ... I told [the people at work] the first day ... like one guy he says, 'So, what have you been doing your whole life?' I said, 'Well, I was in jail for ten years.' He almost fell on the floor and he said, 'Hey listen, don't tell anybody that.' So I told him, 'Either I'm honest with you now and you find out or I tell you something else and you find out later and you don't want to work with me.'

Doc, who primarily engaged in concealing behaviour, addresses the need to be up-front with

intimates or potential intimates; speaking of a new romantic interest, Doc says: "this woman

had no idea who she was ending up with. I told her everything. ...Why would you tell

somebody a story? ... Tell them the truth, you know, then sift through it."

Bobby recounts that he tried a variety of approaches and understood that sometimes

his up-front disclosure meant that he didn't get called back for a second interview or for a

job. However, because of the men's hyper-awareness of situations, it may be impossible for

the individual to detach the stigma from the event (Goffman, 1963b). That is, individuals

may not receive a 'call back' because there was a more suitable candidate but this rejection

is assumed to be the result of their ex-prisoner status.[212] In Pager's (2007) study the point is

also made that the anxiety produced by disclosing may make the ex-prisoner more

anxious[213] and this unease can create a self-fulfilling prophecy by straining the relations with

a potential employer. Optimistically, Harding (2003) has argued that full disclosure may

mean that an individual has more difficulty obtaining work but ultimately may have longer

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[212]Notably, in this study only one man used his stigmatized status as a reason for his current unemployment and so we see very little evidence what Goffman (1963b) referred to as "secondary gains" (p. 10).
[213]Pager (2007) contended that due to their anxiety, applicants reinforce the essentialized characteristics by presenting "... the angry or shifty personality traits already associated with their group membership" (p. 148).

career prospects because trustworthiness is established.

Some of the respondents utilized full disclosure because they were trying to educate others, raise awareness or prevent youth from engaging in criminal behaviour. However, for the men in this research this identity does not always take on the qualities typically ascribed to "professional ex-s" (Brown, 1991, p. 219) wherein they use their past experiences as a means to exit a previous deviant status (ie. the drug addict becomes the ex-addict). Specifically, for an individual convicted of homicide, there is not a positive category of 'ex-murderer' that they can create or inhabit. The act which brought about their stigmatized status remains and while it can be nuanced, it is never eradicated and as such, sharing their stories in public had potential consequences. Some speak of weighing the benefits of disclosing for the greater good versus concealing for their own personal gain. Rick tells of appearing on a television show to debate a prison-related issue and his co-workers subsequently treating him like he was a "coffee table book" on prison. This type of reaction highlights one risk of this approach because, as Goffman (1963b) has noted, the individual can be forced into representing all like-stigmatized individuals.

In addition, these acts of tertiary deviance[214] (Kitsuse, 1980) can force a confrontation with their essentialized identity and take an emotional toll on the men. Like members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered community, 'coming out' requires the individual to confront fears of losing jobs, friends and being physically or verbally

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[214]Tertiary deviance is used ". . . to refer to the deviant's confrontation, assessment, and rejection of the negative identity imbedded in secondary deviation, and the transformation of that identity into a positive and viable self-conception. . . it is possible for the stigmatized, ridiculed and despised to confront their own complicity in the maintenance of their degraded status, to recover and accept the suppressed anger and rage as their own, to transform shame into guilt, guilt into moral indignation, and victim [I would add 'perpetrator'] into activist" (Kitsuse, 1980, p. 9).

attacked (see for example, Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Dindia 1998, Morris, Balsam & Rothblum, 2002):

> I had done talks for five hours, three different classes . . . a girl came up and just raked me over the coals. [She said] 'I think it's terrible what you're doing' . . . this and that and everything else. (Joel)

While Joel has made the decision to be public about his stigmatic attribute, when confronted by an individual who holds firm to her opinion about people of his 'out group', he demonstrates how difficult this strategy can be to maintain. As a result, even 'out' individuals may try to create a distance between himself and the similar other.

Creating Distance

The act of disclosure opens the individual to rejection and in some cases further trauma. In order to avoid this possibility and the exhausting nature of trying to conceal stigma (Smart & Wegenr, 2000) some of the men chose to maintain both spatial and social/emotional distance. In terms of physical distancing, this effort may include avoidance of particular places (which Goffman (1963b) referred to as 'civil' or 'out-of-bound' areas) where the chance of stigmatization may be greater or the individual may also choose to remain in back places where they are accepted. As discussed in the previous chapter, some of the men talk about not returning to their pre-prison communities or the areas in which their major crime occurred in order to geographically manage the stigma by creating distance between their current life and their past.

Creating social/emotional distance as a management strategy refers to the practice of avoiding intimacy or closeness with others – even those who are similarly stigmatized. Several of the men note they created social distance by isolating themselves and avoiding having a broad group of friends. This management strategy may be influenced by gender;

Thompson & Whearty (2004) argued that men are more comfortable than women in having a limited social network and this continues throughout the lifespan. Also, men are less likely to seek replacement for friends who have been lost and this fact is an important consideration for men who have been incarcerated for long periods of time. Flanagan (1981) indicated that long-term prisoners often sever ties with "external relationships to avoid the stress or 'hard time' produced by the attenuation process" (p.119) and in our study this may apply to pre-prison friends who are rarely mentioned in the interviews.

Distancing may also be employed, because as Goffman (1963a) posited, "by declining or avoiding overtures of intimacy the individual can avoid the consequent obligation to divulge information" (p. 99) and in so doing, the men evade judgement. Other men share that they avoid similar others (ex-prisoners) in an attempt to manage the stigma. Specifically, in order to put distance between himself and other prisoners and the stigma of being an ex-prisoner, (which he felt whenever he went to cash his pay cheque) one man left CORCAN[215] to get lower paying work elsewhere. Fred provides another example:

> I tried to separate myself from them [former prisoners]. . . . It was weird because . . . everybody I would run into, would call me Champ. Champ Champ Champ. And then when I went home, . . . everybody would call me Fred . . . . then when I'd come back again . . . people say 'Hey Champ'. And I'd say 'Well, that's not me any more . . . just call me Fred.

Conclusion

The men who participated this study represent a unique subset of those convicted as the severity of their prison sentences and the crimes upon which they are based ensure that the convicted men's lives become significantly disrupted. Furthermore, unlike some

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[215]In contrast, some found comfort in knowing that it was a requirement to have served a prison sentence. Joel said "It's just for us, it's reserved, it's exclusive employment. Only convicts can work there and boy, that gives you . . . and a chance to be a bit of convict and then less of a convict"

political prisoners, the men in this study are not valorized[216] but are placed in positions where stigma is easily applied, which requires them to make sense of it within the frame of dominant discourses encountered through the media on almost a daily basis. They must negotiate the meanings attached to the stigma and find ways to mitigate the negative outcomes of its application. As Bruckert (2002) has noted in her work on stigmatization:

> Different individual responses may not alter stigmatic designations in public and private discourses, but they transform the dynamic from the experience of shame or embarrassment to the negotiation of consequences. (p. 133)

Evident in this research is the complexity of the way identities and stigma are created, applied and then managed. The men indicate that stigma was experienced on a spectrum that ranged from not being stigmatized based on criminal past to feeling rejected, discredited and vulnerable because of it. Still, the men demonstrated personal agency by employing management strategies which were varied, and at times, competing or incongruous. Disclosure and distancing sometimes intersects, and sometimes even collides with attempts to conceal. Rejection of stigma by some contrasts with the embracing of it by others. Through these processes, stigma emerges as being robust and malleable while appearing fixed and stable.

Beyond this, it has been argued in this chapter, that stigmatization of the criminalized reflects the new penology which requires that the individual men be constructed as dangerous (which justifies the application of a structural stigma). In many cases, when the men engage in interactions with agents of the state, the dominant risk discourse remains unchallenged and it is possible for the identity of the criminalized

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[216]This valorization of the convicted person can be seen in Jamieson and Grounds (2002) study of members of the IRA who were imprisoned for long periods of time but who returned to their communities bearing an almost heroic status.

individual to become essentialized. However, the same experience does not hold true in interactions with the general public.

Specifically, and perhaps most importantly, this research indicates that we cannot assume that cognitive essentialism exists or that where it does, it necessarily leads to social essentialism. Throughout their interviews, the men draw attention to their experiences as non-discredited individuals when they engage in interactions with members of the general public. While it is clear there are dominant media images and discourses about those who were criminalized, these personas were not always accepted by either the men or others engaged in interactions with them. Rather, it seems as though, while the negatives images get reproduced (sometimes by the targets themselves), there is a sifting effect whereby the salient features of the stigmatized 'others' are negotiated and the rest is excluded from the mix.

CHAPTER NINE
CHALLENGING RELATIONS OF POWER:
THE (EX)PRISONER AS AGENT OF RESISTANCE AND TRANSGRESSION

I'll resist until the day I die. (Doc)

In previous chapters it was obvious that despite the strict restrictions placed on the respondents, they were able to maintain a sense of control by exerting various types of agency. Respondents assumed control over the spatial location in which they found themselves and this agency allowed them to resist surveillance and find a sense of belonging. The men utilized alternate identities to resist the essentialized image which is often placed on them because of their criminalized status. However, their efforts extend well beyond these techniques and this chapter will further this exploration by examining the men's use of resistance as a form of exerting agency both in the prison and after release.

I contend that criminalized individuals develop diverse strategies of resistance which speak to the relations of power. In this chapter acts of open rebellion will be discussed, but more importantly, the space between this type of engagement and "absolute consent" (Crewe, 2007, p. 256) will be brought into focus. I will argue that resistance is not always fruitful in terms of achieving the objective but is productive in allowing the individual (ex)prisoner to feel a sense of empowerment within a limiting context. That there are structural impediments to the individual's control over situations is not unique to the convicted but the men in this research are ". . . hardly active consenters to their domination, nor even passive acceptors of societal arrangements. Instead they attempt to control meaning on their own, advancing demands . . . and widening opportunity . . ." (Macleod, 1992, p. 551).

This chapter will acknowledge the work done by resistance scholars who have focused on the imprisoned person (see for example, Bosworth & Carrabine, 2001; Buntman

& Huang, 2000; Carrabine, 2005; Cohen & Taylor, 1972; Crewe, 2007; Fox, 1999; Garson, 1972; Godderis, 2006; McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath, 2004; McKeown, 2001) and extend the parameters of consideration by attending to resistance as an (in)action which is directly linked to the individual's release from prison and persists into resettlement. In short, I want to re-frame resistance so that it is seen as *part of* the release and resettlement process rather than simply a response to incarceration.

This analysis will begin by operationalizing the key terms used to structure the analysis.[217] Next, we consider which manifestations of power relations are being challenged through the men's effort to exert agency via the tactics of counterforce, contestation and subversion. Attention will be given to the particular methods used to achieve their objectives and will consider those acts which affirm the extant relations of power. Throughout, we will examine the efficacy of the approaches and the skills required to consider and implement each.

The Resistance Pyramid

While there are many studies which exemplify forms of resistance, a comprehensive framework which I could employ to make sense of the actions of (ex)prisoners was not located. There were certainly terms used repeatedly, but their operationalization was frequently absent and therefore, we begin by making sense of the lexicon of resistance and then apply this to the framework which I will use to structure the analysis.

In the literature the terms 'tactics' and 'strategies' are often used synonymously or without definition. Some relied on De Certeau's (1984) work wherein he argued that

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[217]Unlike the previous chapters on geography and identity, reliance on earlier scholarship to develop an analytic framework proved problematic for this examination of (ex)prisoner resistance. There appears to be very little consensus as to what constitutes resistance and the terms frequently used in the literature assume a homogeneity of definitions with distinctions among terms rarely offered.

strategies are tools of the powerful (institutionalized and supported by dominant discourses) whereas tactics are deliberate actions "determined by the absence of power" and which "play on and with the terrain imposed" by the dominant discourse (p. 37). This standard does not work with the position I have adopted which sees power and resistance as mutually constitutive and therefore a new specification of each term was required. Through an etymological examination of key words, I was continually drawn to a military model of engaging in battle and this schema reassuringly drew forth the idea of conflict occurring between combatants. Rather than power being exercised *over*, there is a meeting of two forces. This image is useful when examining relations of power between the state and the criminally convicted person as both parties have some measure of control in the interactions even though distrubtion of resources being uneven.

Military structures are hierarchical and therefore resistance, as conceived under this model, has several tiers[218] which Professor Bruckert and I represent as a pyramid[219] in Figure 9.1. At the top of the resistance pyramid is the objective of the (in)action which is "a thing aimed at or sought; a target, goal, or end" (O.E.D., 2008, online, 4b). Interventions begin with an overall objective which may be clearly stated or obscured and that emerges from, and informs, multiple purposes.

A series of strategies are then designed to aid in achieving the particular end and according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2008), these are theoretical exercises in which "a plan for successful action based on the rationality and interdependence of the move of the opposing participants" (online, 2d) is developed.

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[218]The image of the military invoked here is not intended to speak to the nature of power or power relations; rather it is a model which allows us to pull apart power/resistance by shedding light on the multiple processes and stages. Each component is a pre-condition of the one which falls 'below' it on the pyramid.

[219]This image is conceived of as a pyramid rather than a triangle because there are several sides which can be targeted by an action.

Figure 9.1 Resistance Pyramid
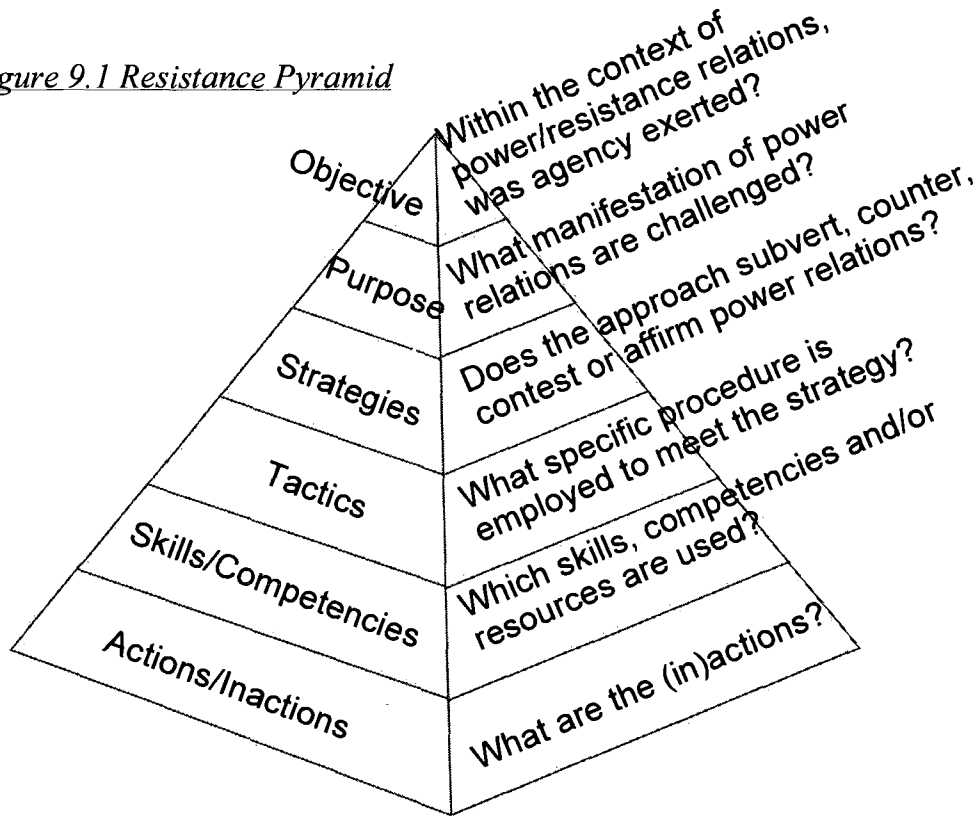
The choice of strategy is followed by the creation, adoption and/or implementation of specific tactics or methods which are the "mechanical movements of bodies"(O.E.D., 1a) that set the action in motion. Through the deployment of these tactics the objective may be concretely realized and each will, in turn, have multiple practical applications which can be operationalized (or put into action) to meet the objective. Through the application of this framework, it will be argued that in state/(ex)prisoner relations of power, the main objective is to develop and exert control,[220] which at the level of the individual takes the form of exercising agency.

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[220]The term control is one which is often associated with command over a situation. However, in this chapter, the term control is used to denote the ability to ". . . exercise restraint or direction upon the free action. . ." (O.E.D., 2008, online). In this way, control is not about having complete power over, but rather is about the ability to exert agency within relations of power even if, in so doing, the outcome is not altered. Control is not measured objectively but is about the subject's own interpretation.

This resistance pyramid allowed for the formulation of a series of questions which could be applied to the transcripts in order to make sense of the data. Based on Bosworth's (1999) claim that, despite confinement "... prisoners are always in some manner engaged in the negotiation of power inside" (p. 10), the first question became *'within the context of power/resistance relations, was agency exerted?'* This question allowed an (in)action to be positioned as resistance without predicating this decision on intentionality. Next, in line with Faith (1994) who asserted that it is not power itself but the strategies of power[221] which are contested, the second question, *'what manifestation(s) of power relations is/are being challenged?'*, spoke to the broad purposes which were being disputed. In the literature on resistance these two levels of interrogation are often unaddressed or assumed to be known. For example, in the many articles on the actions of the IRA, their end goal is often treated as if their objective is simply a known fact (see for example Aretxaga, 1995). Through an examination of other resistance studies and these findings, it was clear that four major strategies were employed by individuals and this led to a third question *('does their approach subvert or contest or counter, power relations?')* which explored these divisions. The next question which was posed was *'what specific procedure is employed to meet the strategy?'* Relatedly, the fifth interrogative asked *'which skills, competencies and/or resources are drawn on?'* The final question was *'what is the (in)action?'*[222] The ordering of the questions given here is for simplicity rather than as tool for sequential application. In many cases, the answer to the last question was responded to first or the third question was the one which provided the most obvious point of entry. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to

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[221] Faith (1994) wrote: "resistance to power is resistance to specific strategies by which power relations are patterned" (p. 58).

[222] These questions were developed in consultation with Professor Chris Bruckert.

providing answers to these questions and will begin by examining the purposes of the

criminalized men's various forms of resistance.

'What Manifestation(s) of Power Relations Is/are Being Challenged?'

It was clear that during their incarceration and in the periods afterward, the

respondents were able to exercise agency within relations of power. Unlike Gramci's (1992)

proposition that dominated groups are unable see alternatives or perceive of their

subordination, the men in this research offer many examples of countering the hegemonic

landscape. As shown in Figure 9.2, at the broadest levels the men protest the overriding

social (vis-à-vis crime and criminality) and correctional (such as questioning penal

rationalities of rehabilitation and addiction) discourses and the correctional model by drawing

attention to structural limitations of current penal apparatus. At a more specific level,

challenges to the legitimacy of correctional programs, to the state's 'right' to act upon and to

perpetuate the essentialized identity of the convicted individual and to particular abuses of

power (such as inappropriate application of domination techniques) are evident.

The most frequently challenged areas were the practices and policies of the penal

justice apparatus; in these instances attention is drawn to the problematic nature of the

correctional rules and regulations and to difficulties with the actions of state representatives.

That these emerge most often is mediated by two major factors which we will look at next.

First is the many years of confinement and/or surveillance that each of these men have

endured. Their prison and, for some their post-carceral, existence is monitored and

temporally regulated (Bosworth, 1999; Foucault, 1995; Goffman, 1961a) while at the same

time it is subject to seemingly random acts by agents of the state.[223] In order to gain some

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[223]For example, parolees can be subject to random urinalysis, or changes in policy or practice.

Figure 9.2. Purposes of Resistance
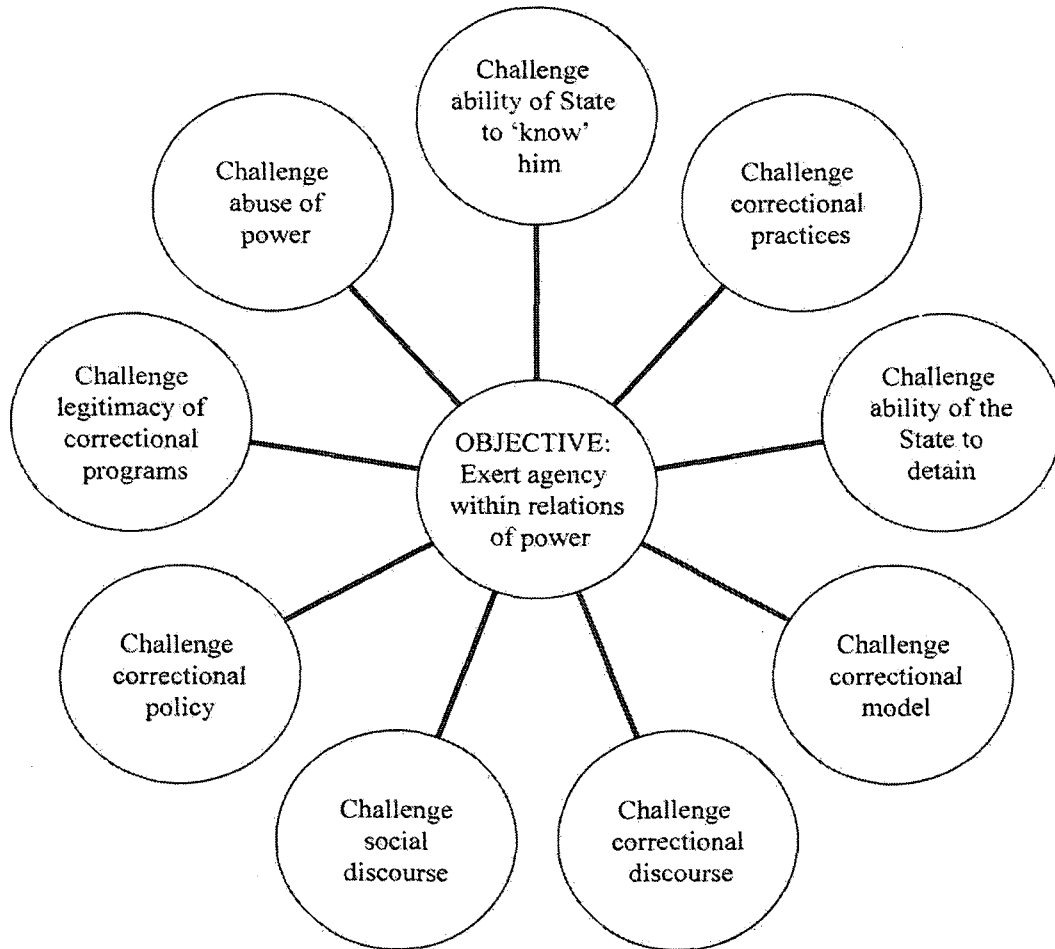
sense of control over this process, the (ex)prisoner will push up against the boundaries on a

somewhat regular basis. The second factor is, as Federman & Holmes (2005) noted, these

transgressions are expected by and integrated into the system. Grievance and appeal

structures accompany each policy and directive and this is made clear under Section 081 of

the Commissioner's Directives. Where a person is under supervision by CSC or the NPB and

does not feel that the grievance process has been appropriately applied, or where there are

abuses outside of the parameters covered therein, he has access to Office of the Correctional

Investigator (OCI) whose mandate under the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA) is to act as an Ombudsman for federally sentenced individuals.[224]

I would assert, as Fox (1999) did, that practices and the subsequent challenges to these act in tandem to define the normative landscape with the relations of power altered as the men push against the boundaries of acceptability and, in so doing, change the parameters on the interactions (Becker 1963). The *perception* that flexibility is possible, however, affirms a power imbalance. While giving the appearance of being malleable, the state is able to concurrently limit and direct the agency that the (ex)prisoner will be able to employ and co-opt that which does exist. For example, Joel notes that when he would receive public acknowledgement for his critiques of the system, agents of the state would assume some credit and respond with "Oh, isn't that good that he's so outspoken. We allow that"(Joel). As a result, Joel's attempts to integrate the hidden transcript[225] into the public transcript, are partly undermined since, as Scott (1990) noted "... what is often left in the public transcript is an allusion to profanity without the full accomplishment of it; a blasphemy with its teeth pulled" (pp. 152-153).[226]

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[224]The OCI is tasked with investigating and resolving individual complaints and, given that in the 2006-2007 reporting period, they received 7,993 complaints, this is obviously a system which is used extensively by both prisoners and parolees (Correctional Investigator Office, 2007).

[225] The hidden transcript refers to the " ... discourse that takes place " offstage," beyond direct observation by power holders" (Scott, 1990, p. 4) whereas the public transcript is the "... open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate" (Scott, 1990, p. 2).

[226]I would further argue that an alternate transcript (which occurs between the hidden and public transcripts and reflects that which takes place 'offstage' but it is offered publicly) occasionally seeps into the public transcript drawing attention to contradictions and disconnections in discourse. For example, the Office of the Correctional Investigator's Annual Report (2007) begins by declaring that their office strives to ensure that prisoners and parolees "... are treated with dignity and fairness, and in accordance with the rule of law "(Correctional Investigator Canada, 2007, p. 3) and this statement reflects the raison d'etre for their office. However, a further read makes it evident that, as an arm of the government, this agency still operates in a way which is characteristic of the New Penology. The OCI chooses to frame their responses relationally to the dominant risk discourse which focuses on efficient management of the 'dangerous population' rather than concern for the rights of prisoners and parolees. This seepage between the transcripts is made clear by framing the document as addressing the "12 key barriers to public safety" (OCI, 2007, p. 7). We will return to this report in the coming sections on strategies and tactics of resistance.

'Does Their Approach Counter, Contest, or Subvert Power Relations?'

Resistance is not a straight-forward process which takes a singular form but instead is shaped relationally to the struggle in which one is engaged. At the outset, to avoid the romanticization of resistance that can emerge in the literature, it is important to acknowledge that while I have argued that the ex-prisoners in this study are not 'washed over' by dominating power, it is equally apt to state that "all resistance is not constructive, nor are all subordinated peoples able to critique the conditions of their subordination. Some resistance is clearly damaging to the individual" (Merry, 1995, p. 24) or to others in a similar position. I hope to highlight this complexity as we move on to discuss the ways that the men sought to exert agency within relations of power. The strategies utilized are divided into three approaches: counterforce, contestation and subversion. In each of these groupings, unique tactics and subsequent (in)actions were selected based on the skills and resources possessed and it is on these that we now focus.

Tactics of Counterforce

The interviewees speak of employing a resistance strategy that was obvious and overt and which directly challenged the power relations and utilizing Faith's (1994) terminology, this method is conceived of as applying counterforce. This strategy was linked to five distinct tactics (political action, dramatic symbolic acts, non-compliance, litigation and violence) and we will now consider each of these manifestations.

Political Action

The most collective[227] of the tactics, political action, is an intervention designed to realize large scale change in either policy or practices. As we see in McEvoy, Shirlow &

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[227]In this instance, the term 'collective' is used to denote individuals acting together or in solidarity.

McElrath (2004) and Buntman & Huang (2000) this method often relies on a sense of solidarity to accomplish a particular end and, in this research, this was rarely employed either in prison or during resettlement. Given the relative absence of this tactic, it would be easy to ignore in this analysis, but instead I will spend some time discussing this method because it positions the respondents relationally to other prisoners.

The limited use of this tactic by these respondents may be related to their position vis-à-vis the social body or broad socio-political struggle. Subjects of some previous studies considered themselves to be political prisoners and carry this group status with them after release and this may have negative implications. Specifically, McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath (2004) have argued that the post-release loss of comradery of former IRA prisoners makes resettlement more difficult. Therefore, it is possible that collective actions became filtered out in this research because of the selection criterion which required them to have successfully resettled. More likely to have had an effect, however, is the design of the research. By focussing on post prison experiences, it seems probable that there is less opportunity for collective political action (because of lack of proximity or bans on association) on issues related to the penal justice apparatus. Since this tactic is not employed by the respondents in this sample, it is important to make room to attend to other tactics[228] and we begin by examining the use of symbolic acts to exert agency within relations of power.

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[228]The second point which I wish to make in regard to the tactic of political action relates to the perceived importance of this method. There is a considerable body of work which examines political action by prisoners and this attention is not surprising given that these activities provide a clear example of the dramatic nature of power relations. While examination of political prisoners and their actions is helpful for understanding power/resistance, this focus can have the effect of valorizing one type of group and their tactics while obscuring the less obvious forms that resistance can take.

<u>Dramatic Symbolic Acts</u>

Dramatic symbolic acts draw attention to issues and, in particular, to abuse of power by agents of the state and to the exploitation of "coercive power" (Hepburn, 1985, p. 147) by the guards or halfway house workers;[229] participation in Prison Justice Day,[230] hunger strikes and escapes were examples given to illustrate this type of approach against sovereign and disciplinary governance regimes. While some of these acts (e.g. refusal to work on Prison Justice Day) are considered "legitimate group activities" (Godderis, 2006, p. 262) and are sanctioned or tolerated by CSC, more often for the respondents, there were negative consequences associated with their participation.[231] For example, Ernest reflects back on his time in prison and to the effects of his resistance: "I was usually locked up – most of the time 'cause I was involved in a lot of riots and sit-downs and hunger strikes – just as much a pain in the butt on the inside as I was out." This research was not focussed on the respondent's period of incarceration and as a result there was little discussion of the men's experiences of extreme prison-specific acts (like riots)[232] because these are more likely to be linked to prison conditions than to release issues. Instead, this chapter attends more to the day-to-day events which are less extreme on the continuum of resistance (Carrabine, 2005).

Despite the knowledge that their dramatic symbolic acts could be detrimental to their overall chances of release, some of the men felt compelled to engage in them nonetheless;

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[229]Coercive power is based on the ability of the guards to punish the prisoner and includes tactics such as "physical violence, segregation and intimidation used in the attempt to control the prisoner" (Hepburn, 1985, p. 147).

[230]Some may argue that Prison Justice Day is a form of political action, but I consider it as primarily a symbolic act which recognizes those who "died naturally or unnaturally while inside" (Bryden, 1991, p. 90). However, I do accept that there is an overlap between its function as a type of vigil and contemporary practices which use this day to spotlight prisoners' struggles and agitate for change.

[231]Bryden (1991) argued that all prisoners in federal institutions paid a penalty for their participation in Prison Justice Day. He stated that when he observed this day by staying in his cell for 24 hours, he ". . . was not credited with three days remission . . ." (p. 90) and neither were others who participated.

[232]While outside the scope of consideration in this work, it should be noted that, in terms of efficacy, Garson (1972) contended that prison riots have ". . . .been one of the main vehicles for prison reform, each riot series reawakening and promoting further reform advances" (p. 419).

Luc discusses challenging the state's ability to detain him: " I had no other choice but to escape. I didn't want to do a Life sentence. I wound up doing 32 years." As in Luc's example, it is clear that resistance by this group was most often for individual benefit/detriment rather than collective good. However, it is possible that, as Haenfler (2004) notes ". . . at the individual level, resistance entails staking out an individual identity and asserting subjectivity in an adversarial context. . . for most participants, individualized resistance is symbolic of a larger collective appositional consciousness" (p. 429).

For some of the men, it is clear that this broader purpose is significant because they saw their dramatic symbolic acts as being related to a cause which extended beyond the prison walls. Doc, for example, speaks of continuing to smoke marijuana despite its illegality and the fact that, as a Lifer, this choice means he plays "Russian Roulette" with his freedom. Nonetheless, he conceives of his actions as drawing attention to what he considered the inaccurate addiction discourse around cannabis consumption. He points out that he has had many positive urinalysis results for THC but none for harder drugs and offers himself as evidence to counter the argument that marijuana is a 'gateway drug'. These actions by Doc help to frame his identity as a resistor and his willingness to return to prison for his cause gives him "resistor legitimacy" (Buntman & Huang, 2000, p. 54) in the broader struggle. His challenge of the dominant discourses began in prison and continues through resettlement. While at the halfway house he failed the urinalysis and says in regard to this:

> I got caught smoking THC. . . . I refuse to give it up for anybody until I make the
> decision which I have done in the past. Whenever I decide not to do it, I just don't do
> it. But society is not going to tell [me] I can't do it. . . . I was fighting for a cause that
> they say I am fighting alone. Well it's not true. There's lobbyists all over the fucking
> world. (Doc)

In another instance, the symbolic act operated solely at the discursive level with an individual taking a verbal stand in order to register his objection, but ultimately complying rather than having his parole revoked. In this specific case, the men on parole were advised that the *DNA Identification Act (Bill C-37 1998)* had been adopted and they were now required to submit to the collection of a bodily substance in order for it to be placed in a violent offender database. Gowan's response to finding out about this new requirement is conflicted because, while he feels the correctional policy needs to be challenged, he also recognizes that the cost of doing so may be too high for him to pay: 'I'm declining to do it. . . . but I'll do it if it's going to have my parole violated" (Gowan). In this way we see the state retains the 'trump card' in the game since they can revoke the freedom of anyone who is Life sentenced. In cases such as this, there is little chance the dramatic symbolic act will result in a wholesale change (or even in the individual's particular status) but, as Jervis (2002) noted in her study of relatively powerless and often subjugated nursing aides, it allows individuals to maintain a "modicum of dignity" (p. 21) within a power hierarchy in which they inhabit a low position.

Non-Compliance

Both in prison and after release, there was occasionally an overlap between the symbolic acts described above and non-compliance, which is defined as an unwillingness to participate in particular projects of the penal justice apparatus. The concurrent use of both tactics is clear in the following example from Puzzle whose resistance negatively influences his release process:

> He was asking me about . . . the drug trade [in] . . . Frontenac. . . . I just said to him. . . . 'I'm here to do my own time, you're here to do your, uh, job'. I said, 'You do yours and I'll do mine'. And he, point blank, said to my face, 'Either you fucking tell me what's going on, or you aren't getting out through me.'. . . I said 'You guys, you do

what you want. You do your own thing, just leave me alone. I'm not here to use anybody to get out. I never did. I never would'. . . . The system is not designed that you can be a one person, to do your own thing and still get out.

In this excerpt, Puzzle draws attention to his challenge of the correctional practices and to the abuse of power by agents of the state. While the correctional model reflects the return to behaviourism (Cohen, 1985) by focusing on the individual, the day-to-day practices don't always conform. I argue that the position advanced by the state worker in the above example is more reflective of the governance technique of responsibilization since the (ex)convict must not only manage his own 'riskiness' by ensuring his own 'rehabilitation' but he is also expected to assume responsibility for ensuring the orderly operations of the penal apparatus by reporting fellow prisoners or parolees who are violating rules or regulations.

The rehabilitative ideal was challenged by a few of the men in this study who refused the state's requirement that they participate in programming to deal with identified risk areas. Illustrating resistance to the behaviourist model and its relation to the release process is Marcus, who draws on his determinate sentence to negate the major power that the state has to coerce him into programs – the ability to deprive him of his liberty:

> . . . I made the decision that I'm going to do what I want. . . . I got high when I wanted to . . . I didn't work like I used to. . . . Every month for 15 months, they [urinalysis] were dirty. Eventually, I told them, 'I don't care. Stop wasting your money . . . there's nothing you can do or say to make me change' . . . . It was coming up to my release date for my statutory release, they had to let me out. There was nothing they could do.

The ability to utilize their warrant expiry dates as a tool of resistance was evident during the parole period and parolees with finite sentences speak of being willing to go back because they had very little time left to serve until the state had to re-release them: " I don't care. . . I've only got three or four years of paper left. Put me back in jail. Don't threaten me with that. I don't care." (Mr. Flowers)

Non-compliance was also evident in the men's unwillingness to apply for travel permits while they were on parole and this requirement the respondents to either self-regulate their behaviour or take the risk of getting found outside their radius. While these two techniques allow the parolee to exert geographically mediated agency by not adhering to the rules, this resistance tactic may not be realizable in the future since the state is currently attempting to curb this ability by implementing new regulatory measures and surveillance techniques. Specifically, the Report of the Correctional Services of Canada Review Panel (2008) has asked for an amendment to the CCRA to "expressly permit the use of electronic monitoring as a condition of release, and expand the scope and term of the *Canadian Criminal Code* Section 810 orders that specifically authorize electronic monitoring and residency restrictions" (Canada, 2008, p. 229). This move is not unexpected since, as Hannah (1997) noted, the vastness of geographic spaces make it difficult for the state ". . .to maintain anything like an omniscient and omnipotent system of control. . ." (p. 172) and thus it will improve "technological sophistication" (p. 172) in order to maintain discipline.[233] Should the state be successful in increasing the degree and quality of monitoring, there may be a complementary shift in the strategies used by the men to resist this intrusion into their freedom and mobility.

Violence

Unlike the previous tactics, violence as a method of counterforce was only mentioned once[234] and there may be a few specific reasons for its relative absence. First, given that acts

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[233]Over a decade ago, Hannah (1997) predicted what is now formally the direction of CSC when he stated that, in the absence of physical confinement of the body, the state would need to find a way to both observe and punish the individual: "For observation, there would have to be some portable system of identification, or mechanisms of surveillance located wherever in accessible space the free citizen wished to carry out routine activities. For punishment, there would have to be some way for authorities to locate and seize either individuals or their belongings, or both." (p. 172)

[234]In this case, Gord speaks of assaulting a guard who was acting aggressively towards a fellow prisoner.

of physical force against representatives of the state are taken extremely seriously, it is unlikely that the overall objective could be met in a meaningful way by utilizing this tactic. Second, the study's focus on successful ex-prisoners may have introduced a selection bias. It may be that those who assault representatives of the state are not released or that their strategies for coping may inhibit them from flourishing in their resettlement. The lack of violence discussed in this research does not imply that aggression is not an occurrence in prison but rather, I contend that most assaults happen between prisoners and thus, places them out of the scope of this work. [235]

Litigation

Finally, the men recall using litigation, or more aptly the threat of it, as a counterforce tactic and this was often in relation to achieving their release or as a means to fight the revocation of their parole.[236] Ziggy, who had little cultural or convict capital to draw on, tells of being many years past his parole eligibility date and so he challenged the correctional system's detention of him. He felt he was prepared for release and had complied with the program demands on him during incarceration and so Ziggy brought his lawyer to his parole hearing as a means of equalizing the power differential and improving his chances of receiving a conditional release:

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[235] It is important to note however, there is mounting evidence that violence turned inward (especially in the case of suicide) is on the increase in prisons, especially for the Life sentenced individual and for those who are past their full parole eligibility date. This action may be seen as another form of escape, or as Ji, Klienman & Becker (2001) have referred to it as a "silent act of resistance against society" (or correctional apparatus) for the men. There is also a tentative link to be made between the type of men who committed suicide and possible previous acts of resistance since 68% of those who suicided also had a history of institution infractions, escapes or violations of conditional release (Gabor, 2007, p.19). Unfortunately, there is insufficient data available to make conclusions about these linkages, and thus the issue is raised here only as a point of consideration.

[236] Some men in this research engaged in court challenges of either their particular case or of a correctional policy. In the latter instances, there is clearly a concurrence with political action tactics; however, in order to protect the men's anonymity, details of these legal challenges will not be provided.

I forced their (Parole Board) hand. They had no reason not to let me go but I brought a lawyer. But I asked my lawyer to sit outside. . . . The lawyer just went in and turned on the tape machine. His own. They said, 'You can't do that'. [The lawyer says] 'Well, yes I can. You can shut your machine off as many times as you'd want but this machine will stay on. If my client needs me, he will give me a call.'

In this example, it is possible that it is not the force of the law which is brought to bear on the proceedings but rather the presence of a lawyer lends a legitimacy which aids in structuring the interaction (Merry, 1995). While the system allows for a certain amount of legal challenge, Federman and Holmes (2005) have argued that this activity is limited and it is permitted only to a certain (unspecified) extent after which it becomes framed as 'abuse of the system' and is prohibited. Indeed, the issue of limiting access to the grievance process was addressed in the Report of the Correctional Services of Canada Review Panel wherein they recommended that ". . . CSC clearly establish criteria to define offender grievances that are considered [by agents of the state] frivolous and vexatious. . . (Canada, 2008, p. 234).

In summarizing the findings on counterforce as a strategy of resistance, it is clear that there are some contrasts between this work and other studies. Scott (1990) argued that where power is most exercised, the greater the incentive to give the appearance of complicity. In this study, where control and domination are most oppressive (in the prison), counterforce was the most often employed strategy; force is met by force. Also, while collective efforts in prison were rarely mentioned by the respondents, an interesting transformation occurs after their release. Specifically, in the longer period after incarceration, rather than the men using counterforce for individual benefit, the respondents speak of fighting for broader change in the penal system and this action takes the form of consciously trying to breakdown stereotypes or working to improve the life of those still incarcerated. In a sense, the solidarity that was not evident when the men speak of the carceral period becomes visible afterwards

when the men have re-established themselves and achieved a level of success in the community and thus, feel less vulnerable to the state. While tactics of counterforce were employed, we more often see the strategy of contestation and it is to the related tactics that the discussion will now turn.

Tactics of Contestation

In terms of efficacy, the most successful strategy identified was contestation which is an overt challenge based on negotiation, ability to reason and make a cogent argument. The men relied on contestational tactics when they felt that 'common sense' or logic was being neglected and they utilized one of five tactics: appealing to higher authority, drawing attention to incongruities, negotiating a new arrangement, engaging openly and honestly and demonstrating problematic reliance on documentary evidence.

Appealing to Higher Authority

One of the main methods used to contest was 'appealing to a higher authority' whereby the men would make a rational argument to a person who held a position of influence, could understand their points and intervene on their behalf. This tactic is comparable to the approach that activists use when petitioning a Member of Parliament (MP) on a particular issue. In the prison and in the community, the men do attempt this same technique but they are more likely to have success by speaking to a person within their environment (e.g. halfway house worker, parole officer or employer) who can sway practices and override the decisions of others. When this tactic is utilized the hierarchal power structure is reaffirmed as the individual is forced to rely on the wisdom or largesse of a person in a commanding position. But, as with most stratified structures, bypassing the next level of authority is not always straight-forward or supported, and circumventing the 'chain of

command' can have both negative and positive repercussions for the resistor. While the men may receive satisfaction on a particular issue, they risk alienating the individuals in lower positions with whom they more frequently have interaction. An example of this tactic is provided by Puzzle who tells of going to an outside source to get assistance with the consistent bureaucratic delays in obtaining his ETAs:

> There's no help through the system. You have to go outside. And when you get a politician involved, then they're fucking really mad at you. You know, the Head of Security says, 'Why didn't you come to me [about passes being cancelled]?' I said 'Fuck you, you signed it. You knew fucking well it would come back. . . . It's been happening for a year. You chose to do nothing about it. Now you have to answer to it'. I said, 'And now you're pissed off. Not my problem. You're here to fix it and you just let it go on.' . . . And after that I didn't have one pass fuck up.

That the men are still subject to sovereign governance regimes imposes an important limitation; their access to those in the higher levels of authority is restricted because they occupy a diminished position of power. As a result, their initial desire to use contestation tactics sometimes requires a prior dramatic symbolic act to 'clear the path' and this potentially has serious repercussions for the men. We see the risk of this tactic in the following example from Bobby who, through his story, highlights the vulnerability experienced by a Lifer after release; following several years in the community, Bobby had his parole revoked over a misunderstanding on a domestic violence incident and draws on his willingness to sacrifice his body as a means to draw the attention of a higher authority within the penal justice apparatus:

> They [parole board] said that they would meet and hear. They weren't too happy about . . . me utilizing a hunger strike to try to get their attention. . . . but they didn't appear to be open to any other avenue for me to, to submit this document. I had a whole goddamn file and it had all been . . . sent to them. I said 'All the suspicions you have are answered in these files. . . things about money. Things about attending program. Things about dates and about where I was. You know, things about the domestic violence. . . . I had the police report . . . and they didn't want to hear it because they didn't believe it. . . . I say 'Look, here is the report. I don't deserve to be

going to any John Howard Domestic Violence Program. It wasn't me. You've got the wrong guy'. [They said] 'Oh well, we'll take that into advisement'. 'To hell you will. You'll eliminate it from your mind'. . . like I was playing hard ball.

However, since appealing to a higher authority is a well-known tactic, those who were being resisted by the men also employed this method to exert or resume control over a situation. By advancing this point, I am placing myself in contrast to Faith (1994) who argued that ". . . resistances are indeed formed from margins, from points of view that are disqualified by dominant discourses" (p. 39). Specifically, given that resistance is about exerting agency within power relations, I argue this contestational method can also be used by the people normally deemed to have 'more power' in the situation and we see this exemplified in the following excerpt from F.G.:

> I had to do drug abuse [programming] because I was involved in the drug culture when I got arrested. . . . So I walked into the program and there's a lady there and I said, 'Can I ask you a question?' . . . I said . . . 'What do you know about me? Somebody using drugs? What do you know the feeling I had when I do drugs? . . . What's the difference between Demerol and Heroin? What happens to heroin when you inject it into your system?' [she said] 'Well, I don't know.' [I said] 'Well, then, what qualifies you to stand up there and tell me about drugs?' She went to the Warden and Deputy and [they] said, 'We're going to take you out of the program unless you just go along with it'. I said, 'Yeah, okay. I'll go along with it.'

Through this story we see the possibility that, within relations of power, individuals (regardless of their position in the hierarchy) will use tactics of contestation to obtain or maintain control over the situation. In the above example, F.G. draws on his experiential knowledge to resist the program but this is met by the Program Deliverer's ability to access the highest authority within the prison to contest and, in so doing, effectively undermine the resistance efforts of the prisoner. As we see above, a particular tactic is not assured to work and therefore it is important that the men have multiple available. One of the other oft utilized approaches was to draw on logic in order to demonstrate inconsistencies between mandates and everyday operations.

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Drawing Attention to Incongruities

The respondents speak of using a contestational tactic which highlights the incongruities between the stated policies and the related practices and this allows them to exert agency within situations. This tactic required the men to be familiar with the overall goals of the penal justice apparatus, the Commissioner's Directives and Standard Operating Practices. Fred speaks of how he used this method to challenge the correctional practice of checking with a parolee's employer:

> I made it very clear to her not to [call employers] . . . it's hard enough out for me as it is, to get a job out there . . . my argument is, well, you can't be going around and calling my employers saying 'Oh, this is so and so, and . . . I'm calling to check on Fred just to make sure that everything's going good with him'. And I said 'No, no. That doesn't happen . . . how am I supposed to have a normal life if you're going to be . . . intruding in it?' . . . She didn't really like it at first but I think she seen my point . . . after I talked [to] her a little more about it.

In this example, Fred draws attention to the incongruities between the objectives of conditional release (to aid in successful reintegration) and the practice of surveillance by the state.

Sometimes this tactic is more subtle as in the cases of those individuals who attempt, by their presence, to contradict the dominant images of the ex-prisoner. For example, some of the interviewees were engaged in acts of public education and through these efforts provide a direct challenge to the stereotyped image of the convicted person. By presenting themselves to groups, radio shows and other outlets, these men draw attention to the incongruity between the essentialized persona and their personal identity[237] and thus, challenge the general notions supported within the dominant discourses which construct

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[237]Myrick (2004) and Gaucher (2002) both note that this subversive tactic is also employed through writing by prisoners.

them as the 'dangerous other.'[238] There is a possibility that this tactic can have the opposite effect to the one intended. That is, there is a possibility that if the men utilize the previously discussed redemption scripts (Maruna, 2001), they may reaffirm the dominant discourse which states that the criminalized are in need of reformation, which seemingly is accomplished by subjecting them to long periods of incarceration. Sometimes the attempt to draw attention to incongruities is less straight-forward than it may initially seem to the men and as a result, they may engage in negotiation in order to achieve their objective.

Negotiation

In several cases the men would negotiate with the state to find compromise positions that worked for both parties and, in this group, this tactic was often employed in relation to getting (or avoiding) particular programs.[239] In this research, the resistance to programs centred around the caliber of the content (or the instructor) and the number of courses the men were required to participate in. For many, their resistance to the quantity continued after their release and led to statements like: "I use to tell them that I was making a program called 'living without programs'" (Mr. Flowers) and "How many times have I got to take the same program? How many times do you got to take the same goddam program with a different title? 'Oh this is all new'. New for what? I could teach the goddam course" (Doc). Gowan also recalls using this tactic to contest the approach used in a particular course and was successful in persuading his Parole Officer that some programs were counterproductive for him. In his negotiation, Gowan successfully drew on the unique nature of his crime to point

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[238]According to the 2007-2008 Annual Report of the Ontario Region of Lifeline InReach, the 6 workers in this program conducted 137 acts of public education and community relations.

[239]It is evident from the most recent Annual Report from the OCI that both access to, and quality of, programs are areas where individuals feel the need to engage with higher level appeals; in the 2006-2007 period, 239 complaints were launched to challenge programming issues (Correctional Investigator Canada, 2007).

to the need for a singular approach to his 'rehabilitation'; through this action, Gowan challenges the correctional practices which group the prisoners based on their crime and their risk factors and then place them in generic programs.

Open and Honest' Engagement[240]

A variation on the method above is called 'open and honest' engagement wherein the men would 'lay their cards on the table' and outline what they were and were not willing to do; this tactic was not a negotiation but instead, a clear statement of their position. In the following excerpt, Jean draws on his educational capital to establish his position:

> I talked my way out of a few of them too -- cognitive skills and all that . . . I said 'You know, I'm critical in these programs[241] and I have my university education and you don't. So I'm going to be in your group tearing it apart every day' . . . they exempted me from it.

In some cases, the men claimed that this tactic worked because of their ability to make an articulate argument and to be forthright. While political prisoners may be taught this approach by their comrades in prison (See McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath, 2004; McKeown, 2001) such education did not appear to be available to these interviewees which may account for this method's limited usage.

When employed, 'open and honest engagement' sometimes allowed those in power to see beyond a specific problem in the release plan or in the individual's willingness to conform. For example, Doc provides this story about his relations with the Parole Board

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[240]This term is borrowed from Barry's interview in which he responds to a question about his relations with agents of the state: "Open and honest. . . . 'This is what I want. This is why I'm entitled to have it. Here's the correct paper work. Please sign on the dotted line'"

[241]While the men did not speak specifically to what their criticisms would be, we know that the underlying premises of these programs (eg. crime is rationally driven, individuals are rational hedonists, etc.) are increasingly being challenged. For example, Fox (1999) challenges the reliance on "particular constructions of criminal minds, responsibility, victimization, and choice" which are found in the Cognitive Self-Change program (p. 88).

wherein he chooses to employ this tactic rather than being deceptive (which carries the

possibility of receiving a greater penalty later):

> Even at the last [parole board] hearing, [they asked] 'Why are you making a stance [about THC]?' [I said] 'I'm letting you know this for a reason. I don't want to be released on a full parole, you give me a urinalysis, it comes back dirty. Now I got to start all over. . . . If you do me next month and I'll guarantee that it'll be dirty. I'm not stopping for nobody. Its not to be defiant. Its to say, this is me.'

In Doc's case, his engagement can best be understood within its particular context since at

the time of his full parole hearing, marijuana possession laws were being challenged in the

courts and he was able to rely on the momentum of the decriminalization sentiment. The

Report of the Special Senate Committee on Illegal Drugs (2002) recommended that

marijuana legislation be modified to treat the substance more like alcohol or tobacco and this

position was supported later that year when the House of Commons Special Committee on

the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (2002) argued that the penalties for marijuana possession

were too strict. Doc's strategy was effective, in part, because his argument concurred with

the broader social and legal discussion. This situation is rare for criminalized individuals

since, given the dominant risk discourses, it is unlikely that their points will find support

within a climate which prioritizes the labelling and management of those deemed to be

dangerous to the social body.

Demonstrate the Problematic Reliance on Documentary Evidence

The last tactic of contestation was to demonstrate the problematic reliance on

documentary evidence. As Foucault (1978) noted, the development of a file is a way of

creating a truth on which further decisions are based; he wrote: "in fact, power produces; it

produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the

knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production" (Foucault, 1978, p. 194).

As we saw in Bobby's earlier example where he tries to add documents to his dossier, the convicted person has very little control over what this file contains or how it is used. As a result, the criminalized men will often resist against the state's reliance on the written material contained therein for decision making. In an earlier chapter F.G. gave a particularly poignant example of contesting the file as sole medium when he tells of asking to see the parole board well before he was eligible for conditional release in order to counter-balance the information available; the effect of this was, in his words, ". . . you cease to be a piece of paper and you become a person." (F.G.)

In sum, across time periods, but particularly evident immediately after release, the men recount the efficacy of contestation; yet, success was dependent on possessing various forms of capital. In order to gain collateral with which they could effectively bargain with agents of the state, the men needed to draw on their ability to articulate a rational argument, their knowledge of correctional policy and the less formal 'convict code', their awareness of dominant discourses, their own morality, and their ability to lead and negotiate. While the strategy of contestation and accompanying tactics often worked for the men, in some cases they chose to be less overt and instead engage in subversive acts of resistance.

Tactics of Subversion

Adopting a subversive strategy required the men to challenge the power relations in a way that covertly undermined daily functioning of the correctional apparatuses. The tactics, took three main forms: managing biographical data to which agents of the state have access, 'working the system' (wherein the men would consciously manipulate the correctional process in their own interest) and a conscious but passive refusal to be a subject of the penal apparatus, which is referred to as non-engagement. Bosworth and Carrabine (2001) refer to

these types of acts, (such as 'getting one over' and amusing oneself at the expense of a guard) as "minor forms of resistance that play a part in shaping the overall balance of forces in the prison" (p. 511) but it is clear that these methods extend beyond the carceral space.

<u>Managing Information to the State</u>

The interviewees discuss the tactic of managing identity in relations with agents of the state and this often took the form of subversion. As we saw previously, the ability to manage their personal and public identities was important to the interviewee's success; therefore, the ex-prisoners are cognizant that a particular presentation of self is critical to meeting the system's objectives and, at times, they use this knowledge to their advantage. In addition, while we earlier discussed the technique of geographic isolation, a few of the men speak of insulating themselves from workers in the system in order to control the information that is known about them. Mr. Flowers tries a variation on this approach by clinging to his personal "salty-mother-fucker" identity while presenting a different persona to the staff at the halfway house. In what Fleming & Sewell (2002) referred to as organizational disengagement, Mr. Flowers is able ". . . to comply without conforming" (p. 864) as he demonstrates in the next excerpt: "I ignored them. Made my curfew. Cleaned my shit and . . . followed the fucking rules and never whined about it. Put them to sleep. That's all." As this example alludes to, we can hypothesize that presentations of compliance often ". . . masked backstage resistance of various forms, including illicit activities . . . and active subversion" (Crewe, 2007, p. 272).

In some cases, the men's ability to subvert the system required the collusion of others who were 'wise' (Goffman, 1963b) to the situation. While on parole Rick conspires with his state-appointed psychologist:

> The person [psychologist] was very up front with me. He said, 'This is how it's going to work. I've looked over some of your files . . . I don't really think you need to be seen so I'm going to do three reports. The first one is going to . . . be an introductory report such as identifying anger issues. The second one is the progress that we're making, and the third one will be that . . . I no longer need to see you'. And I remember saying to him 'If you don't feel I need to be seen, can't you just say that' and he said 'No, because I won't get any more contracts from . . . corrections.'

In this example, and others, we see the men credit agents of the state with resisting the correctional policies and discourses through subversion, and this fact reminds us that individuals, regardless of employer or position within the correctional system, do not always concur with the dominant discourses. Even Bob, who speaks very little about resistance in his interview, addresses this particular issue:

> I'm basically left alone. I have this mandatory ten minute meeting once a month with my parole officer and it is as much a formality as anything I've ever seen and we both understand that, that we have to do it, so we do it.

In this way, men using this tactic of subversion perceive ". . . themselves as active and resistant, rather than resigned and compliant: playing 'their game' on paper, but without normative engagement . . ." (Crewe, 2007, p. 272).

Others are more obvious in their subversion. For example, in the following story from Doc an undermining of the idea that "tidiness and personal dress functioned as proxy measures of risk and compliance" (Crewe, 2007, p. 264) is evident:

> . . . there was a report wrote about me one time about how . . . dishevelled I used to keep myself. . . . The day I went up for parole . . . I shaved my beard off. [The] woman is talking for like 40 minutes - didn't even notice. I said to my wife, 'See how observant this lady is. This is the one that's you know making decisions on my life and I'm standing right in front of her for 40 friggin' minutes and she hasn't even recognized that my dishevelled look has become clean'.

While Doc's action goes by without apparent recognition by the state, he still frames it as an act of resistance and this occurrence points to the idea that it is not always the

awareness of both parties in the interaction that matters. This distinction is important because, as Cresswell (1996) argued, acts may be consciously engaged in by one party or, conversely, may be read as transgressive (even if unintended by the actor) by the other. For example, Joel goes through the prison portion of his sentence with only one minor institutional charge for an act which he did not know was disallowed but which the state saw as transgressive, since they deemed that it was "calculated to compromise the good order of the institution" (Joel). By contrast, Joel sees himself as engaging in resistance when he draws on his awareness of what is mandated and consciously uses this knowledge to his advantage in a subversive way: "I was careful to make my [release] plans in such a way that they . . . would be able to agree." In this example, we see that Joel also draws on his knowledge of this system in order to manipulate the outcome and it is to a related subversion tactic, 'working the system', that we now focus our attention.

Working the System

'Working the system' refers to acts of resistance which use the language, process or goals of the criminal justice apparatus to the men's advantage. The men's awareness of the importance of language was demonstrated to us as several of the respondents tell of co-opting the dominant discourses to argue their cases. The reader is reminded of the earlier story from Fred who told of mirroring the linguistic code found in state documents in order to improve his release plan and presentation to the parole board.[242] This tactic was also found by Fox (1999) in her study of 'Cognitive Self-Change' programs in a men's prison in which she noted prisoners were cautious to use the state's preferred terminology carefully so

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[242]See page # 136 of this dissertation.

that it appeared as adaptation rather than mockery. By invoking the metaphoric language of contest, F.G. provides a story through which this subversive strategy can be seen as a useful part of his release process:

> They said, 'you've got to do the Phoenix Course. . . . We're going to give you a test at the beginning and then we're going to teach you how to cook, and prepare meals and get healthy'. And I said, 'I think I know what they're going to do'. So, I went in, took the first test. I cooked with butter. I put butter on this, I put butter on that and I cooked with this . . . I eat ice cream, I eat potatoes and I eat all this. I don't eat vegetables . . . after six weeks of the course, I was eating whole wheat bread, and . . . I got an award because I showed them the most improvement. I went from like 20% up to 95%. . . . I played your game, I know how to play the rules. But that's all they are, is something we have to do and say, 'Here, I done it'.

We see in this example a subversive and carefully "choreographed demonstration of cooperation" (Faith, 1994, p. 39). Employing this tactic requires that the individual recognize the underlying rationale for the program and develop a resistance plan which does not trigger an awareness of it by the person imposing/teaching. If detected, the individual may be labelled a manipulator and his 'change' read as insincere; as Fox (1999) pointed out, the impact of the act of subversion being discovered can be the denial of early release because of refusal to *actively engage* in these voluntary programs. Barry provides an example of how attempts to 'work the system' can backfire on the individual and jeopardize his release:

> I ended up spending a lot of time in the hole, . . . in segregation, it was usually for suspicion of something not anything they could actually put a handle on and prove . . . . I was tagged and labelled by the administration as a manipulator from day one and that never ended.

Finally, we also see a 'working of the system' through the Lifeline In-Reach program in which the workers spend a considerable portion of their fiscal and temporal resources ensuring that still incarcerated men are able to participate in a ETA/UTA program[243] and thus

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[243] According to the 2007-2008 Annual Report of the Ontario Region of Lifeline In-Reach, the workers acted as Community Volunteer Escorts for 131 ETAs and 99 UTAs (by providing transportation).

improve their chances of receiving parole. As we previously discussed, the ability to participate in a ETA/UTA program can be difficult as the men are dependent on the availability of approved escorts and many times these are state employees who choose to make themselves available, or not. I argue that by assuming increased responsibility for the operation of this program, the formerly incarcerated men acquire increased control (including command over resources since this program is government funded) and thereby subvert the state's ability to detain the prisoner and to make him dependent on staff.

Non-Engagement

In stark contrast to 'working the system', the next method of subversion is conscious non-engagement. This strategy was adopted exclusively while the men were in prison and drew heavily on the 'convict code' and their ability to 'do time'. In contrast to the counterforce tactic of non-compliance, non-engagement was not about actively resisting *elements* of the system, but rather, about passive refusal of its goals in *total*. This subtle and often obscured tactic is commonly accompanied by fatalistic undertones in which the men see themselves as a players in a 'rigged' game in which the only way to exert some control (even if the action is to their detriment) is to remove themselves from the table. Bobby provides an example of this approach and how his use of resistance impacts ons his release process:

> Now, you [CSC] want to wave a carrot for me . . . Don't bother me with any of your things which makes it seem like you're going to do a good thing for me. . . . [They say] 'Well we gotta get you out'. I said, 'No you don't gotta get me out. . . . I don't need to do that because I'm okay where I am right now'. It can be very hard to ever explain that to a lot of people in case management because their whole agenda is to move you along. You know. One peg. This peg, that peg. He's gone. Ok. Who is next? . . . That's what they do. That's their mentality. So I see that. So I say 'Don't make me one of your pegs'. So that's not really an act of resistance to them. It's just that I'm just not willing to participate in that whole scheme. . . I'm not interested.

The men who use non-engagement tell of gaining control by not subscribing to the goals set by the criminal justice apparatus; in some cases they simply refused to participate in the cascading process and accept that they may never be released. This tactic is clearly problematic for agents of the state and a frustration with individuals' non-engagement in evident in the Report of the Correctional Services of Canada wherein the review panel recommends that "that offenders be expected to <u>actively engage in their correctional plan and in programs designed to promote their rehabilitation and safe reintegration</u>"[*underlined emphasis in original*] (Canada, 2007, p. 216) and the prisoners not be allowed to enter voluntary segregation in order ". . . to avoid participation in his or her correctional plan" (p. 217). This tactic of non-engagement with the "technologies of the self"[244] can have the effect of disrupting power relations so significantly that the state assumes the responsibilities formerly placed on the individual. In an iatrogenic twist, in order to protect their own cultural capital (gained by control over their work), the state's professionals end up ". . . mopping up the casualties created by its own operations" (Cohen, 1985, p. 170) – in this case the prisonization[245] or ultra-passivity of the individual.

Affirmation of Power Relations

Not all criminalized individuals engage in resistance and in this study, some of the men provide stories that demonstrate non-resistance which has the effect of affirming the existing relations of power (Bosworth & Carrabine, 2001, Crewe, 2007). The respondents

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[244]Miller (1987) has defined technologies of the self as "those techniques which allow individuals to effect, by their own means, various operations on their own bodies, souls, thought and conduct, and in such a manner as to transform themselves, modify themselves, and attain a state of perfection and happiness. It addresses the population as a whole, and seeks, amongst other things, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, its longevity and health" (p. 207).

[245]Prisonization, in this work, refers to the idea that one is socialized into the prison community which can make it difficult to adjust to free society. It does not imply an adoption of anti-authoritarian values as some writers have implied.

employed either compliance or avoidance in their relations with agents of the state and this approach was particularly evident in the period after release. In some cases, lack of resistance was evident in men who saw themselves as utilizing active resistance in prison but who, after release, felt that the restrictions and regulations applied to them were not excessively onerous. For example, when I asked Tom if he had the same sense of resistance in the halfway house as he had in prison, he tells me that he did not because:

> ... I felt this is an opportunity here [in the halfway house]. I'm out. I'm on my way ... because my point of view was there wasn't a lot they're asking. ... Don't cause any problems in the place. ... I didn't find it difficult. (Tom)

To engage in resistance may mean that the men risk losing the social, personal and economic capital which they have gained after release and as such, it is clear that in constructing their own particular forms of agency, individuals may challenge both the efficacy of and need for resistance. For example, when asked directly if he resisted while in prison, Marcus gave a definite statement which exemplified the affirmation of extant power relations: "Never. Never at all ... resistance is futile in a situation like that. They have the key. They have the guns ... so I went with the flow." This sentiment from Marcus is important because as we saw earlier in this chapter, he engages in acts of counterforce but here places himself on the other end of the spectrum and concedes that resistance is not useful. It is possible to hypothesize that this does not, as Bosworth and Carrabine (2001) have noted, mean an acceptance of domination but merely that the individual chooses a sort of "committed" or "instrumental compliance" (Crewe, 2007, pp.266-267). It is also possible to hypothesize that the men see inaction differently than action. Thus, refusal to change behaviour is seen as inactive (and not resistive) whereas rioting could be seen as an active means of resisting.

Conclusion

As Marcus made evident, the way that the men engage with power/ resistance is conflicted and complex. In some interactions the men exert agency to actively resist, while in other moments, they choose not to engage in (in)action to challenge aspects of the system or the social fabric. Because of this ability to choose the (ex)prisoner is able to retain some control despite the regulations placed on him. While the relations of power are mediated by the social structures which give the convicted person little leverage, he is still able to pry open and challenge various aspects of the penal justice apparatus. On this point, I turn to Rick to provide the final interview excerpt of this chapter; he gives an excellent synopsis of the subjective nature of resistance and how it is not about reaction or efficacy: "The way I managed to keep control . . . is that I resisted the whole experience and that's a means of maintaining control. Resistance for me is control . . . . resistance is always there" (Rick). By recognizing that the men are not simply being controlled, I am in agreement with Butin (2003) who wrote that seeing power relations as unstable avoids "arguing that some individuals are active and control power while others are passive and controlled by power. Relations of power are shown not to be immobile but instead are prone to change and reversal" (p. 168).

In conclusion, in reflecting on their efforts to exert agency, it is important to recall that the men in this research are defined as successful and they have demonstrated an ability to navigate the uneven terrains of imprisonment, release and reentry and this fact positions them as resourceful. I argue that this fact influences the scope of resistance presented in this work. Perhaps, had this research been concerned with those who return to prison, the experience of resistance may have taken a different direction or range, but that is the subject

of another work. I argue that the fact that these men are successful is not happenstance but, rather is fully entangled with their ability to maintain and utilize agency within relations of power.

CHAPTER TEN
CONCLUSION: UNDERSTANDING SUCCESS OUTSIDE 'THE RABBIT HOLE'

In chapter three of this work I spoke of weaving together various theoretical orientations in order to create a more complete analytic picture and I borrowed the term tapestry[246] from Frigon (1994) to describe this process. In this final chapter, I want to extend this metaphor in order to reflect back on the release, reentry and resettlement experiences of successful former long term prisoners. I will begin by briefly reviewing the major images that emerged as the men told their stories before looking more specifically at the thread that formed the weft and waft[247] which enabled a big picture of success to emerge. Next, I will consider the implications of this work for policy and practice. Finally, the invisible but important elements which allowed the tapestry to manifest will be considered along with the issue of praxis.

The Big Picture

At first glance works of art may appear to be simple representations but with more careful consideration, complex details are evident. Similarly, the respondents struggled with the process of release which was considerably more complex than the seemingly linear process that the legislation and regulations (as outlined in chapter five) suggest. It was clear that for most ex-prisoners the experience was more circuitous and they encountered numerous entanglements throughout; this knottiness is not surprising given the competing ideologies which manifest within the correctional apparatus. The interviewees were witness to the "uneven progress" (Cohen, 1985, p.15) from inclusivity to exclusion and from 'good

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[246]A tapestry is "an ornamental woven cloth in which the design tells a story".
[247]In weaving, the warp is the set of lengthwise yarns through which the weft is woven. The warp runs horizontal and the weft runs run vertically so that the threads become bound together.

intentions' to 'discipline and mystification'; the (ex)prisoners were caught by the conflicting, contradictory and intersecting interventions which emerged under each approach. While the final picture is one of success, this is achieved by the respondents adapting to the shifting ideological landscapes and varying the strategies used to obtain release and reenter the community. In this process, the men drew on their social, educational and financial capital and, on occasion, were able to exert considerable agency to influence the process. However, the light created by their success draws attention to the darker elements in which we see that access to justice is not evenly distributed with some positioned advantageously to others.[248] The journey to successful resettlement was more arduous for some who were, for example, dealing with mental health issues, who had less cultural capital or who found it difficult to negotiate the ever-changing penal terrain and this added layers with which the men had to contend.

These layers reflected the dense construction of the tapestry and weightiness is an apt description of the overall experiences of the men. The (ex)prisoner does not simply adapt to new situations and regimes but rather exists within a web of relations of power. Despite the predominance of governmental regimes in neo-liberal societies, it is clear that disciplinary and sovereign techniques strongly manifested in the lives of these men and as a result, they were subject to power *over* and not just *through* them. The juxtaposition of governance regimes became a critical point for consideration and we saw that self-governing practices

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[248]Unfortunately, due to the homogeneity of the sample, two variables (race and type of crime) related to social capital were not able to be considered. As a result of the sample's composition, it was not possible to consider the way in which race influenced the post-carceral experiences of successful ex-prisoners. For the most part, when asked about race, most Caucasian men deferred or positioned race as an insignificant concept or one which only applied to people of colour. A more diverse sample may have been able to draw out how race both privileges and disadvantages former prisoners. Also, the unintended exclusion of sex offenders and those receiving a dangerous offender designation eliminated those whose access to social capital may have been particularly constrained after release and this becomes a point of consideration for future research.

intersected with control over the individual to shape and mediate their experiences. While the contemporary rhetoric draws forth an image of inclusion and integration, the associated practices became those of compliance and self-discipline and the former long-term prisoners who succeeded were able to navigate through the overlaps in techniques of governance.

In this tapestry we also see competing images of the men's public and private identities. Given the dominant discourses and media representations of 'the criminal', one would expect to see a picture of men crippled by their membership in a group with an essentialized public identity. Instead, the men found that while they did receive discriminatory treatment by agents of the state, many individuals in the social body did not react to them based on their stigmatized status. The men provided multiple examples of individuals demonstrating the opposite – people who offered support, encouragement and assistance to the ex-prisoner. It is also evident that many of the respondents were able to reconcile their essentialized public identity with other private ones which they believed themselves to hold. While most felt that their crime warranted some social condemnation, they offered alternate identities to the public in order to also be judged in relation to these other aspects of themselves.

Another dominant image in the tapestry was resistance both within and beyond the prison gates. The ability to exert agency was critical to the men's experience of preparing for release, reentry and in their resettlement but success depended on their flexibility when they attempted to exert agency within the relations of power. Depending on their broader purposes, the men varied the strategy and tactics which they employed to engage in (in)action. The men took pride in their willingness and/or ability to engage in resistive acts, perhaps intuitively recognizing that they were productive and meaningful even if the end

result was not 'successful' in terms of realizing their goal. This finding speaks to the importance of considering outcomes, intentions (or lack thereof), techniques and reactions to resistance as an ensemble in order to more completely capture their experiences and to better understand the relations of power as a whole.

Seeing Place in the Fabric

In this dissertation I have argued that criminological scholars have traditionally understood geography as little more than a backdrop for interactions rather than as part of the fabric of experience. In criminology, space has triumphed over place because we have failed to recognize that the latter provides not only a location for interactions but a thread to link various elements together - strengthening and shaping the parts into a whole. Through their stories, these former long-term prisoners allowed us to consider the idea that despite the almost exclusive criminological focus on location and spatial regulation, the other two elements of place (locale and sense of place) were critical components of their experiences.

That those who have been deprived of spatial stimulation and control over their location attended to place in meaningful ways does not come as a surprise. After a decade or more in an environment designed to achieve an out-of-placeness in relation to the social body, the men struggled with a desire to be in-place and recognized that this accomplishment was significant in their resettlement. In other words, ex-prisoners understood that finding a place of belonging was a key element in their success and the effect of this was to partially undermine the more negative places of vulnerability and insecurity. As such, criminologists should consider place to be a central point of analysis in order to more fully illustrate the experiences of those who are criminalized.

For instance, place allows us to consider the formation, emergence and adoption of various identities in another way. While criminology has traditionally turned to psychology and sociology to address identity and stigma, the inclusion of spatiality creates a different image by foregrounding previously muted aspects. By incorporating the concepts developed by human geographers we were able consider the essentialization of the criminal identity as spatially mediated. Beyond this we saw that these spatialized identities operate reciprocally by influencing the locales the men inhabit.

Geography also helped us to consider the importance of place in acts of resistance. While much of the literature on resistance by the criminalized focuses on the carceral period, I have attempted in this work, to draw on geography to expand our conceptualization of resistance and to render it visible in the lives of *both* prisoners *and* ex-prisoners. The strategies and tactics of resistance are woven together with location, locale and sense of place and by attending to these components, criminologists are able to see details that were previously invisible or taken-for-granted.

In short, I have tried to position geography as the treadles of the loom which bind the individual threads of the interviewees' experiences together. I believe that the inclusion of geography as a key consideration in the release, reentry and resettlement experiences has provided an example of the unique vantage point and analytic framework which can emerge when place is centered within criminology. Future work by criminologists would benefit from considering geographic scales and concepts and the dialectic relations of place and criminalization, punishment and rehabilitation.

Looking Beyond the Tapestry: Implications and Future Directions

Having considered the general images found in the tapestry of release, reentry and resettlement, I want now to address some of the implications for policy and practice. Specifically, I want to speak to the issues of long term imprisonment, resource distribution, geographic regulatory strategies and reliance on science versus reliance on individuals.

In this research the men spoke of the temporal magnitude of their sentences and the negative impact on their ability to resettle. Many of the respondents were serving Life sentences and current statistics indicate that these men are increasingly spending longer periods of time in prison. Nafekh & Flight (2007) noted that "the average incarceration time for 1st-degree murderers was found to be 22.4 years, an increase of 6.6 years over sentences that fell under the capital murder definition"(n.p.) and they predict an increase in time served for those convicted of second degree murder.[249] Duration of sentence is an important point of consideration if the social body is concerned with successful resettlement. Impacts on the release plan preparations were evident as access to programming was difficult for those serving long periods (and Lifers in particular). The extreme nature of their sentences combined with obstacles specific to long-term prisoners meant that some of the interviewees temporarily 'gave up' by no longer trying to obtain release and it is likely that there are some men in prison for whom this situation feels permanent. With only a few exceptions, the men in this research did not argue against their imprisonment but argued that they succeeded *in spite* of its duration; it would seem that the magnitude of the sentences can be seen as primarily retributive and therefore, counterproductive in terms of reintegration. Given this,

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[249]These authors note that the means presented in [their] research are ". . . underestimates of average incarceration times." (n.p.)

we should consider other alternatives (eg. shorter sentences, community-based initiatives, earlier parole eligibility) since incapacitation is not the only means of protecting the public and there may be more effective and efficient ways of doing so.

Ultimately, in a system which prioritizes efficiencies, these prison terms demonstrate the opposite and policy makers and legislators would do well to consider this point.[250] The fiscal, social and personal cost of incarceration is massive in comparison to community supervision[251] and based on this research and the government's own data on rates of parole success, it would be prudent for the government to expand the use of graduated release, and in particular the temporary absence program. The interviewees spoke of the importance of the ETA and UTA programs in re-acclimatizing to 'free' society and this program should be expanded. Based on this research, it seems that there are three ways through which this could be accomplished; hire more employees whose role is exclusively to provide ETA services, increase the number of volunteers who are approved community escorts[252] or expand the Lifeline program. In my opinion, it is the latter of these options which is most logical. Lifeline already spends considerable time providing ETA services and so they have established their ability to successfully run these initiatives. Second, Lifeline workers are former long term prisoners and therefore understand the challenges the men face and, by

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[250]Of course, in terms of penal populism the support of lengthy prison sentences is an expeditious and efficient way for politicians to garner votes.

[251]According to Public Safety Canada (2007), the annual cost of incarceration per federally-sentenced male prisoner is $85 757.00. The cost of community supervision is $23 106 per year per individual.

[252]Volunteering to be a community escort is not a simple process. In addition to willingness to provide this service, an individual must be approved and trained by Correctional Services Canada. Despite prisoners' complaints that there are few approved individuals available to take them out on pass, CSC does not seem to actively recruit or even promptly respond to individuals who make inquiries. I, for example, first applied to be an Community Escort for prisoners at Edmonton Institution for Women in August 2007. When I did not receive a response to my queries, I wrote to the Warden in October 2007. I finally received an acknowledgment of my application from the Social Program Officer in March 2008.

their very existence, provide a model of success which the current prisoner can draw on to plan his own reentry and resettlement. Finally, Lifeline workers are far less expensive to employ than state employees and more available than volunteers. By funding positions in this program, the state addresses two objectives: it assists the gradual release program and provides employment for a group who face many challenges in finding meaningful work.

The next policy point I wish to make is that regulatory strategies which seek to geographically contain the 'dangerous other' often impede successful resettlement and further, standardized approaches to geographic techniques of regulation are counter-productive. This dissertation has emphasized that spaces are merely cartographic locations – they are neither inherently safe nor dangerous, good, nor bad. Rather, spaces are given meaning through power relations, individual experiences therein and dominant discourse. Therefore, we see chasms between the correctional apparatuses ideas of 'suitable spaces' and the men's experiences of these as places; this creates a disjuncture which can negatively impact on resettlement. Blanket policies which restrict or confine the men's movements do a disservice to the parolee and to the safety of the community. Policy makers and practitioners would do well to attend to the subjective components of place (sense of place and locale) in addition to the objective element of location.

That last policy issue I wish to raise based on this research is that regulations and practices directed at the statistical average do not facilitate the transition back into the community but, from the perspective of these men, disrupt and depersonalize it. The current manifestations of risk rationalities and the requisite focus on dangerousness has created a system which relies on mathematics and actuarial science and forgoes the knowledge found in the social and behavioural sciences. While the criterion for obtaining a professional level

position within the penal justice apparatus seems to be a background in the disciplines of social work, law, sociology, psychology and criminology, these state employees are increasingly required to ignore their training in favor of numeric predictability (Bogue, Nandi & Jongsma, 2003; Clear & Cadora, 2001). While not advocating for a return to the psychological or behaviouristic focus on the individual, it seems appropriate to attend to each person's specific needs rather than file indicators based on assessment instruments which are increasingly being challenged in regard to their validity. The individual needs to be put into focus, his voice heard and the subjective elements of his experience weighted rather than discounted in his 'correctional plan'.

The above four points address some of the major problems related to policy matters as they relate to release, reentry and resettlement but I also want to draw attention to the importance of committed workers within the apparatus. Repeatedly, the men direct us to consider the importance of people who represent the state in the day-to-day operations of the penal justice apparatus and their impact on the ex-prisoners' ability to succeed after incarceration. In each interview, the men spoke of a correctional services employee (or someone under contract to the government[253]) who treated them as individuals and who provided them with hope. Hope that they would survive prison. Hope that they would be released. Hope that they could succeed. Sometimes this support came in the form of counseling or education and other times it was the employee's willingness to assist the individual with their gradual release or provide support in the community. Through their efforts, these workers made it possible for the individual to feel motivated and by giving the respondents direction, information and by attending to the (ex)convicts as men with other

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[253]This grouping includes halfway house workers, contract psychologists and others.

identities — fathers, brothers and sons — who wanted to go home. Maruna (2001) argued that hope is an important element of desistance and Tom reinforced this notion when stated that the reason why he agreed to be interviewed:

> I had no hope. . . . There was no literature out or anything like that . . . there was no successful guy that you could read about. You heard about the odd guy . . . but . . . it would be nice if a guy could say . . .there's not just one guy out here . . . there's tons of us.

I want now to travel further on the path which Tom has indicated and consider the implications of this research for (ex)prisoners who are serving prison terms similar to those of the respondents in this work. The image of the respondents was of men who *used their time* rather than merely *serving it.* Overall, those men who were able to succeed on the outside 'took charge' while incarcerated[254] and they developed vocational skills, improved their education, learned presentation skills, etc. Several of the men spoke about how their participation in prisoner-run groups (e.g. 10+, the Native Brotherhood, Lifers' Group) helped them to obtain information and develop organizational and presentation skills and this positively influenced their presentation to the parole board and later, to potential employers. Current prisoners would do well to draw on the experiential threads used by the men to weave their image of success in order to fashion their own.

Looking Behind the Image

A tapestry can present a beautiful picture and in this instance, I have focused on success in part to provide an alternate positive image to the more pervasive and negative ones of dangerousness and recidivism. I would be remiss if I ended this dissertation by not

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[254]Of course, as we saw in earlier chapters this 'taking charge' is not always a constant position. Several of the men spoke of temporarily giving up but ultimately, adopted a position of control in order to facilitate release and resettlement.

attending to the less visible elements – the bloody fingers behind the loom. Release, reentry and resettlement is not without struggle and the men in this research faced many obstacles and barriers to get to their current positions and I believe that many of the small hurdles disappeared in the final picture.[255] Throughout the process of conducting this research and writing this dissertation, I saw new parolees struggle with how to operate cell phones and order a cup of coffee in the new era of 'caffè mochas' and 'espresso macchiatos'. While the respondents offered glimpses into these micro-level challenges, most highlighted the bigger challenges (like work and housing) and it is possible that like grief reactions,[256] the men are able to move past the struggle and in so doing cannot easily recall the nuances of the experiences. Future longitudinal research which begins while an individual is still incarcerated and which engages with him for several years after his release would perhaps be able to address this temporal issue. This style of research would be an important contribution to the field of resettlement by helping to make sense of the experiences and how the men's understandings of these shift over time.

It is important to highlight that the Life sentenced individuals provided a picture within the broader tapestry. Their image was one of perpetual restraint despite their attempts (and sometimes mine) to attend to the overall positive image and to their success. Their sentence does not expire until they do and this fact compels a persistent cognisance of their parole status and this tempered the image with shadows. John Rives (2008), in his poem 'Falling out of the Rabbit Hole' eloquently captures this struggle for us:

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[255] I believe we did not see more struggle discussed by the respondents because of methodological design. The preamble of the interviews focused the men's attention on success and the respondents attended to the markers of this accomplishment and in so doing, the discussion around the struggles was possibly rendered less important
[256] According to Bonanno, Wortman, Lehman, Tweed, Haring, Sonnega, Carr & Nesse (2002) and Worden (2002), while certain elements of grief may persist, particular details of the experience and the intensity of sensations become lessened with the passage of time.

Life parole is life beset with perils, partly because things out here just simply would not stay the way they were. Obstinate time had done its worst and I stepped out on a January morning to a bending moving world where I had once only learned to walk upright. I felt so out of place. So visible, a kind of black-light beacon. And so wrong. So guilty. So unworthy . . . Perpetually unsettled, as the shine wears thin from polishing my image for these fifteen years out on the street. I keep it up because I need that clarity when I venture near the edge. . . I could go back. Oh, probably not for long. But whenever fear decides to rise up through the shape of accusations or small infractions, and mere behaviours could be used to land me back in jail, I know this horror, much worse than before. (pp.2-3)

Nonetheless, these men are resilient and this characteristic forced the struggle to the background of the tapestry. Dave, Joel, Ziggy, Rick, Puzzle, Mr. Flowers, Tom, Bob, Bobby, Marcus, Barry, Gowan, Fred, F.G., Jean, Doc, Ernest, Gerry, Gord and Luc are, like the rest of us, flawed, full of contradictions and complicated but, they have succeeded and provided a much needed contrast to the dominant image which depicts failure.

Final Thoughts – Committed Scholarship and Next Steps

This research was about praxis and this work is only the first part of that endeavor. Over the coming months and years, I will try to ensure that this work, in a more accessible form, reaches the men who are still in prison serving long prison terms, the men who are 'halfway in and halfway out' and the policy-makers who set the agenda to which the (ex)prisoner must respond. Tom's previously noted quote indicates the importance of countering the dominant discourse of failure and if you have read this document, I ask you to join me in spreading the word that men *do succeed* in spite of their imprisonment, that the focus on risk is misplaced and is perhaps ultimately, counterproductive to ensuring safety in the social body. It is important that we let the men know that in addition to the struggles they will encounter in negotiating their release, reentry and resettlement, there is hope, joy

and kindness to be found by the ex-prisoner in the world outside the prison walls – they can

join the majority of former long-term prisoners and be successful.

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APPENDIX A

Chronology of Cited Literature on Prisoner Release, Reentry & Resettlement

Phase 1: Liberal Reforms - Responding to Good Intentions	
1965 - 1969	Studt (1967) Blackler (1968)
1970 - 1974	Irwin, 1970 Pearce (1970) James (1971) Banister et al. (1973) Gunn, Nicol, Griswood & Foggits (1973) Erickson, Crow, Zurcher Jr. & Connett (1973) Waller (197) Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974 Waller (1974)
1975 - 1979	Dale (1976) Baril (1977) Cordern, Kuipers & Wilson (1978) Lenihan, 1975 Martinson (1975) McKay, Jayewardene & Reedie (1979)
1980 - 1984	Harries (1980) Davidson (1981) Hylton (1981) Ignatieff (1981) Landreville et al, 1981 Liker (1981) Hattem, Normandeau & Parent (1982) Landreville (1982) Ekland-Olson, Supanic, Campbell & Lenihan (1983) Wengard (1984)
Phase 2: Discipline & Mystification	
1985 - 1989	Bursik (1986) Domenach & Gatti-Montain (1986) Greenberg (1986) Linsky & Straus (1986) Rand (1987) Rauma & Berk, 1987 Stark (1987) Willmott, 1987 Daubney Report (1988) Maguire, Flanagan, & Thornberry (1988) Orsagh & Chen (1988) Mulvey & Aber, 1988 Barnett, Blumstein & Farrington, 1989 Cormier (1989)
1990 - 1994	Gottlieb and Gabrielsen (1990) Sabbath & Cowles's (1990) Taylor (1990) Weekes (1992) West, 1992 Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993, McMurray (1993) Simon (1993) Paylor & Smith, 1994

1995 - 1999	Collins (1995) Davidson (1995) Hanson, Scott & Steffy, 1995; Albright & Denq (1996) Barrados & Brittain, 1996 Gendreau et al., 1996) Grant, Motiuk, Burnet & Lefebrve 1996 Needles (1996) Maruna, 1997 Task Force on Reintegration of Offenders (1997) Gates, Dowden & Brown, 1998, Hughes, 1998 Nelissen, 1998 O'Connor, Ryan & Parikh 1998 Schwaner (1998) Schlosser (1998) Thurber (1998) (Farrall & Bowling, 1999) Ditton & Wilson (1999) Pratt (1999)
2000 - 2004	Barry (2000) Besozzi (2000) Celinska (2000) Clear & Dammer, 2000 Krutts, Uggen & Shelton, 2000 Motiuk & Nafekh, 2000 Travis (2000) Austin (2001) Cesaroni (2001 Clear & Cadora (2001) Clear, Rose & Ryder (2001) Daugherty, Murphy & Paugh, 2001 Hagan & Coleman (2001) Lynch & Sabol, 2001; Maruna, 2001 McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich (2001) McKeown, 2001 Petersilia, 2001a, 2001b; Richie (2001) Robert (2001) Silverstein (2001) Sjostedt & Langstrom, 2001 Sullivan (2001) Travis & Petersilia (2001) Travis, Solomon & Waul (2001) Jameison and Grounds (2002) Ryan (2002) Smith, Goggin & Gendreau, 2002

2000 - 2004	Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone 2003 Bazemore & Erbe, 2003 Brenner & Caste (2003) Bogue, Nandi & Jongsma (2003) Brantingham & Brantingham, 2003; Geiger & Fischer, 2003) Harding (2003) Scott, Lurigio & Dennis (2003) Seiter & Kadela, 2003 Smith, (2003) Visher & Travis (2003) Austin & Hardyman (2004) Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes & Muir, 2004 Brown (2004) Burnett & Maruna (2004) Christie, 2004 deVogel, de Ruiter, van Beek & Meed, 2004) Gadd & Farrall, 2004 Gagliardi, Lovell, Peterson & Jemelka (2004) Hercik, 2004 Hercik 2004a Luciani, Motiuk,& Nafekh, 2004 Maruna & Immarigeon (2004) Maruna, Imarigeon & LeBel, 2004 McEvoy, Shirlow & McElrath, 2004 Porporino, 2004 Solomon et al., 2004 Taxman, Young & Byrne, 2004 Uggen, Manza & Behrens (2004) Visher, LaVigne & Travis's (2004) Ward & Brown, 2004)
2004 -2007	Abbott, McKenna & Giles (2005) Beiras, 2005) Blitz, Wolff, Pan & Pogorzelski, 2005 Byrne & Trew (2005) Geiger and Fisher (2005) Gillis & Andrews, 2005 Griswold & Pearson, 2005 Hannah-Moffat (2005) Harris & Keller (2005) Huebner, 2005 Irwin and Owen (2005) Jameison and Grounds (2005) Marbley & Ferguson (2005) Piquero, MacDonald, Dobrin & Cullen, 2005 Rich & Grey (2005)

2004 -2007	Arditti & Few, 2006
	Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, 2006
	Cartier, Farabee & Prendegast's (2006)
	DiPlacido, Simon, Witte, Gu & Wong, 2006
	Doren, 2006
	Fazel, Sjostedt, Langstrom & Grann, 2006
	Harding & Harding, 2006
	Holsinger, Lowenkamp & Latessa (2006)
	Kubrin & Stewart (2006)
	Mears, Roman, Wolff & Buck (2006)
	Millie & Erol, 2006
	Mustaine, Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006
	Reisig, Holtfreter & Morash (2006)
	Uggen, Manza & Thompson (2006)
	Dewan (2007)
	Dhami, Ayton & Loewenstein, 2007
	Hucklesby & Worrall (2007)
	Kemshall, 2007)
	Kethineni & Falcone, 2007;
	Kurlychek, Brame & Bushway, 2007
	Lewis, Maguire, Raynor, Vanstone & Vennard (2007)
	Mary (2007)
	Mills & Codd, 2007
	Nsanze, 2007
	Raynor, 2007
	Williams, Atherton & Sharp (2007)
	Wodahl (2007)

APPENDIX B

Original Interview Guide

Interview Guide
Group One: Released Prisoners

Demographics
What pseudonym would you like to be used?
What is your current address?
How old are you?
Where were you born?
If outside of Canada, when did you emigrate?
Describe the community that you now live in?
What is your present living arrangement?
What is your work history?
How do you support yourself now?
How long were you incarcerated?

Personal Background
    Family
Where did you grow up?
Describe your childhood?
How would you describe your family of origin?
Describe the type of community (communities) that you grew up in?
What was your relationship to your family during your incarceration?
What is your relationship to your family now?
    Relationships
Can you give me a bit of background on your past relationships.
- significant romantic attachments?
- significant friends?
What was the status of these relationships during incarceration?
What is the status of these now?
Do you have any children?
(If appropriate) Describe your relationships with your children.
How did they cope during your incarceration?

Carceral Background
How long were you incarcerated?
In what facilities?
Describe your movement within the correctional system.
How do you explain these movements?

Incarceration
Discuss your experience of incarceration
In your opinion how did being (or not being) a person of colour shape or impact on your relations in prison with correctional officers?, with other prisoners?
Explain?
What was it like coming into the correctional system?
What were some of the problems you encountered?
The impact of incarceration on your identity as a woman (or as a man)
The impact of incarceration on your identity as a (or not a) person of colour?
Can you discuss what was particularly difficult?
How did you cope with the stress and problems of incarceration?
What sorts of resources (personal, social, cultural ect) did you have at your disposal?

How did you manage your relations inside prison?
- with administration
- with other prisoners
- with family and friends
How did you position yourself in prison?
What were your personal, cultural and social identities
What did these identities mean to you?
Did you resist the institutional processes or assumptions?
- if so, how?
Was your identity as a man of colour (or as not a man of colour) a resource in resistance
• if so, explain.

What programs did you participate in during your incarceration?
Why did you participate in these programs?
Where any programs culturally sensitive in a manner relevant to you?
If yes, explain.
What did you get you like/dislike about the programs?
How were they helpful?/ Why were they not helpful?
Why did you not participate in other programs?

Preparation for release
How did the institution help you prepare for release?
- what was helpful/not helpful
Were any community or religious groups involved in preparing you for release?
- if yes, explain the contact
what services did they provide?
Where they helpful/not helpful

When did you start to prepare for release?
How did you prepare for release?
 What was helpful/not helpful?
 What elements of the carceral experience facilitated successful reintegration?
 What elements of the carceral experience undermined successful reintegration?

Process of Release
Explain your release process (ie ets, utas, day parole etc.)
What do you think about the way release is structured?
What do you like/dislike about the process?
What institutional practices were useful/helpful?
What institutional practices were not useful/helpful?
Which were counterproductive?
What was your identity during this period?
How did you experience release as a woman (or as a man)?
How did you experience release as a (or not as a)person of colour?
How did you organize your subjectivity?
What advise would you offer someone based on your experiences?

Upon Release
Discuss your experience of re-entry into the community.
What particular problems or challenges did you experience?

Are some of these problems or challenges linked to being a woman (or being a man?)
Are some of these problems or challenges linked to being (or not being) a person of colour?
How did you deal with these problems?
What resources were available and which did you access?

Were there particular cultural resources you accessed?
Explain.
Were any community or religious groups involved in preparing you for release?
- if yes, explain the contact
what services did they provide?
Where they helpful/not helpful
What personal, cultural or social resources were particularly helpful during this time?
What correctional resources were particularly helpful during this time?
Were any
What correctional resources were not useful/helpful or were counterproductive?

Reintegration
What has happened to you in your personal/emotional life since release?
What brought this about?
How was your reintegration process linked to being a woman (or being a man)?
How was your reintegration process linked to being (or not being) a person of colour?
Were there particular community or cultural resources that were useful?
Explain
How did the community respond to your release?
What has happened socially since release?
How did this occur?
What has happened in terms of work/employment since release?
How did this occur?
        How did you avoid returning to prison?
What and/or who helped you the most?
To what do you attribute your success?
 Explain
What resources would have made your transition easier?
What advise would you offer someone based on your experiences?
What advise would you offer to another person of colour being released from prison?
How do you think of yourself today? (Identity)
Is this ever undermined?
If so how do you cope?

Long Term Effects
How does your incarceration affect your day-to-day life today?
Are there any ongoing emotional or social consequences of your incarceration?
What are they?
Are they associated with being a woman (or being a man)?
Are they associated with being (or not being) a person of colour?
How do you cope with these problems?
What resources would be useful to help you cope?
Do you ever feel stigmatized?
Explain
How do you cope with those feelings and situations?

Was stigmatization ever linked to being a woman (or a man)?
Was stigmatization ever linked to being a person of colour?
Research
Why did you decide to participate in this research?
Thoughts/feelings about the interview.
Any important areas that were not addressed?
Conclude
Is there anything you would like to add?
Do you have any questions?
Can you help with referrals of other ex-prisoners.
Are there any of your principle support person that might be intereted in participating in the research?
- if yes could we contact them?

APPENDIX C

Revised Interview Guide

PREPARATION FOR AND PROCESS OF RELEASE (approx. 10 -15 minutes)

I'd like to start out by asking you to reflect back to when you were still in the institution and you started to prepare for release.

1. **Where were you when you started to think about preparing for your release?**

2. **How far into your sentence were you at that point?**

3. **Were you working in the institution at the time? At what?**

4. **Can you describe the process of preparing for release?**

   - ☐ What was happening?
   - ☐ What institution?
   - ☐ When was it and where were you?
   - ☐ How did you prepare for release?
   - ☐ What was helpful/not helpful?
   - ☐ Were you doing TAs at this point?

5. **Can you describe how you experienced this preparation process?**

   - ☐ Identity?
   - ☐ Gender?
   - ☐ Emotions?
   - ☐ physically?

6. **Do you think your experience of this preparation for release was affected by your being a**

6.1) **man?**
6.2) **white/black/Aboriginal/**

7. **What challenges did you face during this process?**

8. **How did the institution help you prepare for release?** ☐ Were there programs, etc.?

   8.1) **What was helpful/not helpful ?**

9. **Were any community or religious groups involved in helping you prepare for release?** ☐ if yes, explain and give an example the contact

9.1) **Where they helpful/not helpful**

10. **Were there any people involved in helping you prepare for release?** ☐ Friends? family? partners?

11. **Is there anything else about the process of preparing for release that you'd like to add before we move on to talk about your release from prison?**

IMMEDIATE PERIOD AFTER RELEASE (approx. 25 - 30 minutes)

Now I'd like to talk with you about the period of time immediately after your release from prison.

1   Describe the day of your release from prison?

- ☐ What was the weather like?
- ☐ Did someone meet you? Who?
- ☐ What were the first few things you did?

2   Where did you first live after prison? Can you describe it? How long did you live there?

The next questions will refer to this period of time.

3   What happened in your life during this period?

- ☐ Socially?
- ☐ Employment?
- ☐ Intimate relationships?
- ☐ Friendships?

4   How did you see yourself during this period?

- ☐ how was this linked to social/family roles?
- ☐ how was this linked to being a man?
- ☐ how was this linked to your social class?, job?
- ☐ how was this linked to your being black/white/aboriginal/?
- ☐ physically?

5   Can you tell me about your experience of re-entry into the community?

- ☐ Were some of these experiences linked to you being a man?
- ☐ Were some of these experiences linked to you being (white/black/aboriginal)?

    5.1   How did you experience the shift in spaces?

6   What were some of the challenges for you during this period and how did you deal with these?

- ☐ Were some of these challenges and your coping strategies linked to you being a man?
- ☐ Were some of these challenges and your coping strategies linked to you being black, white, aboriginal, ?

    6.1   Were there different challenges at the beginning of this time compared to the end?

    6.2   Was one of the challenges you faced the response of the community or segments of the community? Explain or give an example.

7   Do you ever feel stigmatized? Explain or give an example

    7.1   How do you cope with those feelings and situations?

    7.2   Was stigmatization ever linked to being a (black, white, aboriginal, _____) man?

8   What resources were available to you during this time? Did you access them?

- ☐ Correctional resources
- ☐ cultural resources
- ☐ family
- ☐ religious
- ☐ friends
- ☐ community groups

    8.1   What services did they provide and were these helpful? Can you explain or give an example?

8.2 Were any unhelpful? In what way?

9 When did you feel that you were ready to leave
_____.

9.1 Were you able to leave at that point? Explain or give an example.

10 Can you take a moment and think about resistance. Looking back at this period of time, do you think that you were engaging in resistance against the expectations of the correctional system, of society, of family or anything else? Explain or give an example.

11 Is there anything else about the period while you were living at _____ that you'd like to add before we move on to talk about the next phase of your reintegration?

PERIOD OF RESETTLEMENT (approx. 45-55 minutes)

Obviously over the long term, you've been successful in resettling after prison. We'd like to spend some time now talking about this longer period and how you've coped with the challenges and how you have experienced reintegration . I'd like to move on to talk to you in detail about the period after you left _____ until today.

1   When you left _____, where did you go?

     1.1   Can you describe the area where you went?

2   What was going on in your life at that time?

3   Can you tell me about the major changes in your life after you moved to _____ until now?

☐ Changes in work
☐ Changes in living space
☐ Changes in physical/body
☐ Changes in social relations
☐ Changes in intimate relations
☐ Changes in class location
☐ Changes in parole status

     3.1   Were any of these changes linked to you being a man?

     3.2   Were any of these changes linked to you being (white/black/aboriginal/_____)?

4   Did any of these changes significantly alter or shape your experience of reintegration? How?

5   Did any of these changes affect your identity in a significant way? Explain or give an example.

     5.1   Do you think your geographic location influenced your identity?

6   What were some of the challenges for you during this period and how did you deal with these? ☐

     6.1   Were there different challenges at the beginning of this time compared to the end? ☐

Were some of these challenges and your coping strategies linked to you being a man?
Were some of these challenges and your coping strategies linked to you being black, white, aboriginal, ?

     6.2   Was one of the challenges you faced the response of the community or segments of the community? Explain or give an example.

7   Do you ever feel stigmatized? Explain or give an example?

     7.1   How do you cope with those feelings and situations?

     7.2   Was stigmatization ever linked to being a (black, white, aboriginal, _____) man?

8   What factors have enabled to you to successfully remain the community?

     8.1   How has your geographic location played into your success?

8.2   How has your being a (black, white, aboriginal, _____) man played into your success?

9   What resources are available to you? Did you access them?

- ☐ Correctional resources
- ☐ cultural resources
- ☐ family
- ☐ religious
- ☐ friends

9.1   What services did they provide and were these helpful? Can you explain and give an example?

9.2   Were any unhelpful? In what way?

9.3   What resources would have been helpful?

10   How do you see yourself today?

- ☐ how is this linked to social/family roles?
- ☐ how is this linked to being a man?
- ☐ how is this linked to your social class?, job?
- ☐ how is this linked to your being black/white/aboriginal/?
- ☐ physically?
- ☐ how is this linked to where you live?

11   Are there any ongoing consequences of your incarceration? Explain and give an example.

- ☐ Emotional?
- ☐ Social?
- ☐ Interpersonal?
- ☐ Work?
- ☐ Sleep Patterns?
- ☐ Choice of housing?

11.1   Are they associated with being a man?

11.2   Are they associated with being white, black, Aboriginal, ___?

11.3   How do you cope with these problems?

11.4   What resources are or would be useful to help you cope?

12   Again, can you take a moment and think about resistance. Looking back at this period of time, do you think that you were engaging in resistance against the expectations of the correctional system, of society, of family or anything else? Explain or give an example.

13   In principle, would having contact with other ex-prisoners have an impact on your reintegration process. Explain or give an example.

14   Before moving on to talk briefly about your experience of incarceration, is there anything else that you'd like to add about your experience of reintegration?

INCARCERATION (Approx. 10 minutes)

I'd now like to ask you a few questions about your experience of incarceration.

1   **For how long were you incarcerated and in which facilities?**

☐ When did you go in?
☐ When did you come out?

2   **How do you think your experience of incarceration effected your experience of reintegration?**

☐ how you saw yourself in terms of identity and physically
☐ social (family/friends/other) resources
☐ correctional resources
☐ choice of living space

3   **What programs or groups were you involved with during your incarceration?**

    3.1   **Do you feel any of these helped you to reintegrate successfully? How?**

    3.2   **Were any of these groups or programs culturally sensitive in a manner that was relevant to you?**

4   **Which skills, competencies, personal or social resources did you acquire while you were incarcerated?**

    4.1   **Were any of these helpful during reintegration?**

5.   **Are you doing a Life sentence and if so, what are the implications of this?**

☐ Identity?
☐ Resources?
☐ Resistance?

6.   **Before we go on to discuss personal demographics, is there anything about how prison conditioned your release that you'd like to add?**

PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND DEMOGRAPHICS (approx. 15 minutes)

I'm just going to ask you a few questions about your background to get some basic demographic information.

1   Where and when were you born?

    1.1   If born outside Canada, when did you immigrate?

2   Can you briefly describe your childhood and adolescence?
- ☐ Where did you live?
- ☐ Type of community/communities?

3   Can you briefly describe the period between adolescence and when you were incarcerated?
- ☐ Where did you live?
- ☐ Type of community/communities?
- ☐ employment
- ☐ social roles/activities

    3.1   Did you return to any of these geographic areas to live after incarceration? Why or why not?

4   How would you describe your family of origin?
- ☐ Class
- ☐ ethnicity
- ☐ composition

5   What was your relationship to your family during your incarceration?

    5.1   What is your relationship to your family now?

6   Can you give me a bit of background on your past relationships.
- ☐ significant romantic attachments?
- ☐ significant friends?

    6.1   What was the status of these relationships during incarceration?

    6.2   What is the status of these now?

7   Do you have any children?

    7.1   (If appropriate) Describe your relationships with your children.

    7.2   How did they cope during your incarceration?

Now we just have a couple of wrap up questions and then we are done.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS (approx. 5 minutes)

☐ Why did you choose to participate in this research?

☐ Were there any important areas that we not addressed?

☐ What pseudonym would you like us to use?

☐ Would you like a copy of the transcript?

    ☐ If yes, could you please write down the email or regular mailing address where we can send this onto the consent form

☐ Can we contact you if we need clarification on anything?

☐ Can you refer us to other ex-prisoners who might be interested in participating?

☐ Are there support people in your life who we could contact to interview about their experience of your release and reintegration?

Thank you very much for participating in this research and for your insights.

APPENDIX D

Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Project: Negotiating Release and Reintegration
Group One: Released Prisoners

This research, conducted Sylvie Frigon, Melissa Munn and Chris Bruckert looks at the process and experience of release from prison. There are number of autobiographies as well as considerable academic research on the experience of incarceration but little that explores the process of release and the long term effects of having been imprisoned. Much of the criminological and psychological analysis examines programs or processes to determine if they are correlated to successful reintegration without considering what prisoners themselves have to say. This project seeks to address this limitation by 1) sketching the the carceral, social and personal circumstances of ex-prisoners before, after and during release from prison, 2) exploring how prisoners experience the transition from prison to the community and 3) identifying what social and personal resources are useful in helping individuals to move from the institution to the community successfully.

This portion of the project is intended to gather an understanding of the experience of ex-prisoners. The research will involve an in-depth semi-structured interview. Questions will focus on the experience of incarceration; the process of release; institutional, social, cultural and personal resources; subjectivity and questions of identity.

Should you agree to participate the interview will last between two and four hours. You will be asked if you are comfortable having the interview recorded on an audio tape. If you agree the interview will be recorded and the interview tapes will be transcribed by the undersigned researcher or the assigned research assistant as soon as possible. Upon request the full transcript will be forwarded to you. If you agree to participate but do not wish for the interview to be recorded on an audio tape, detailed notes will be taken throughout the interview. In this case the processed notes will be made available as soon as possible. In either case you reserve the right to edit or delete any information which you consider to, in any way, endanger yourself or any friends, family or associates. You are entitled to a follow-up interview should you feel that clarification or additional information is required.

In order to facilitate review and verification of the data, the tapes and/or original notes will be retained for two years after the project has been completed. At that point they will be destroyed. Transcripts will be retained for three additional years. Until such time they will be in the sole possession of the undersigned researchers or (during the research process only) the assigned research assistants.

Confidentiality will be respected, all identifying names, places and events will be changed in the transcripts and in any subsequent documents.

To ensure that participants are positioned to give free and informed consent these forms will be reviewed orally, participants will be afforded the opportunity to ask questions and receive clarification regarding research goals, methods, researcher's obligations and the rights of the participants as will as any other concerns they may have before the interview begins.

The undersigned researchers have no formal association with Correctional Service of Canada, Lifeline, The National Parole Board or any other public or private sector correctional agency. Therefore, no correctional or other benefit can be anticipated as a result of participating in the research. Participants will not be paid for their participation in the research however they will be offered an honorarium of fifty dollars to cover any expenses incurred. This honorarium will be given before the interview starts.

CONSENT FORM

The goals of the research have been explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that I retain the right to refuse any questions or withdraw from the project at any time.

I understand that should I choose to withdraw from the research project, there will be no negative consequences for my friends, family, associates or myself as a result. Should I choose to withdraw from the research I understand that I am under no obligation to return the honorarium.

I agree to participate in the interview on the understanding that the above-detailed criteria regarding anonymity, confidentiality and use of interview material will be abided by.

I agree to have the interview tape recorded:

Yes ____

No ____

Date:_____

Participant: _____

Signature:_____

Researcher:_____

Signature:_____