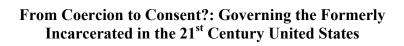2-2016

From Coercion to Consent?: Governing the Formerly Incarcerated in the 21st Century United States

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Incarcerated in the 21st Century United States**

by

Karen G. Williams

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

**From Coercion to Consent?: Governing the Formerly
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Advisor: Professor Leith Mullings

With over 650,000 incarcerated people returning to their home communities each year, prisoner reentry reform has recently become as an important strand of penal policy innovation intended to address the barriers that former offenders face. Through ethnographic research in four correctional institutions in the Midwest, I trace the use of evidence-based practices and policies as they relate to prisoner reentry and risk reduction. This dissertation intervenes in the debates on mass incarceration and prisoner reentry and offers insights on how evidence-based practices and policies are being mobilized to mitigate the costs of mass incarceration. I show how the *scientization of incarceration*—that is, the criminal justice system's recalibration such that scientific practices and rationalities take over functions that were previously based on other kinds of rules and practices—reshapes penal practice. This framework is based on numbers and statistical information. It quantifies risks and needs, as opposed to addressing structural inequalities like the lack of adequate housing opportunities, employment discrimination, racism and social inequality. Under the "new way of doing business," staff members were viewed as helpers, not enforcers, and the penal system was re-characterized as less coercive. Prisoners were "responsibilized" so that their post-incarceration successes and failures became linked to their ability to self-govern. Yet, I demonstrate that reducing one's risk of recidivism is not a simple choice of changing behavior. A person's opportunities in life are bound up not just in their

individual choices and behaviors, but also in the actions of others who produce and reproduce

unequal relations of power.

started this journey with me and has not left my side. I would like to thank my family for allowing me to hide out at the café when I visited. I also want to acknowledge my dear mother, Doris J. Williams, for encouraging me to pursue a higher education and for teaching me to be kind and lighthearted. And thank you to my sister, brothers, nieces and nephews for loving me unconditionally. The heart of this project began with my dad, Jacob J. Williams: thank you and rest in peace. Deep bows to everyone whose path I have crossed during this journey and to the ancestors who provided me with light. If I have harmed anyone during this process, I ask for your humble forgiveness.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: Introduction: Prisoner Reentry in the 21st Century

If you picture the journey that a person makes through the criminal justice system, through the first contact with law enforcement, through the courts, maybe onto community corrections or onto regular probation, unfortunately on into prison and then you leave prison and then you have post release. The release point is literally just going out the door. Reentry is preparing for going out the door. But risk reduction can and should be happening from the beginning to the end. So hopefully people will succeed out of the system earlier on that journey and fewer of them will make their way further on —Ms. Martha, DOC Official

It was the winter of 2010, the last day of my preliminary research, and the Secretary of Corrections agreed to speak with me before I drove back to Nebraska. We sat at the round table in his office and began an easy, flowing discussion about my research. In the interview, I asked him—as I did in all my interviews—"What is prisoner reentry?" His answer not only shifted our conversation but caused me rethink my exploration of prisoner reentry. He stated:

> Reentry is just a point in time. And it took us a while to get clear on the difference between that point in time and these evidence-based practices that change behavior. So reentry is an umbrella buzzword out there for a lot of the funding and conferences and all that. But if you look at the work that is effective, it's risk reduction work.

For the former Secretary of Corrections, as well as several unit team counselors and officials I interviewed, reentry was a moment in time. It was related to the point at which an incarcerated person walked out of prison and back into society. Reentry was also viewed as a "buzzword" that leads to "funding or conferences." The real work was the use of evidence-based practices and policies to "change behavior" which in turn reduced risk.

Evidence-based practices and policies (EBPs), first coined in the medical field, are rooted in the notion that certain practices are scientifically tested and if done correctly will better meet institutional outcomes. In general, evidence-based practices are standardized strategies "proven to work," as compared to gut feelings, professional assessments or what worked before. Within

the medical field, EBPs are considered to be based on three principles: clinical expertise, best research evidence and patient values and preferences (Sackett, et al. 1996). EBPs are now used across disciplines and by professionals working in education, family youth services and social work.

In the field of corrections, there is a clear emphasis on developing classes for incarcerated people, rooted in theories of cognitive behavioral change and the widespread implementation of actuarial assessments tools (Garland 2001). For example state policy makers in Kentucky, New Hampshire, North Carolina and Arkansas have passed laws that require courts and correction agencies to use evidence-based practices and policies (Pew Center on the States 2011:6). These actuarial-based tools, most commonly referred to as risk/needs assessments, are used to determine a person's risk of recidivism, while the cognitive behavioral classes target the risky behaviors and needs that perpetuate recidivism. Recidivism is commonly known as the tendency to commit another crime or to reoffend or return to prison.

Prison staff members and officials spoke about using evidence-based practices as the "new way of doing business." The "old way" of doing corrections was tied to overt force and abuse, including the use of bullying, solitary confinement, raiding cells and using mace on incarcerated people as a means of control. This "new way of doing business" was intricately tied to a gentler approach to incarceration that relied on scientific knowledge. Correctional employees explained that this process of identifying offender needs and addressing their needs was risk reduction. Risk reduction work was about decreasing the risk of recidivism for offenders and increasing public safety. And risk reduction work should begin the first day a person enters prison, unlike reentry. In examining this line of thinking, I quickly realized that

evidence-based policies and practices also needed to be at the center of my research as I explored prisoner reentry.

Through ethnographic research in four correctional institutions in the Midwest, I trace the use of evidence-based practices and policies as they relate to prisoner reentry. The proposed scientific knowledge produced by EBPs was an active agent in shaping prison culture, and in turn produced a complex array of responses and interpretations. What was evident was a hybridity of ideologies and approaches to the management and transformation of incarcerated people (O'Malley 2004), and at times evidence-based practices were not central to the reentry work. In this project, I sought to determine: How do these governing strategies combine with punitive dynamics in the penal system to change the way we *think* about incarceration, and thus prisoner reentry? What is the effect of evidence-based practices policies on correctional governing practices? How are coercive modes of power embedded in consent?

Approaching Reentry

In the 1970s, the U.S. prison population was approximately 200,000 adults. Since then, the federal and state population has quadrupled, increasing from 200,000 to 1.5 million people between 1970 and 2009 (Travis and Western 2014). Currently over 2.2 million adults remain incarcerated in U.S. prisons, jails and detentions centers, and a staggering 6.5 million people live under the surveillance and supervision of the criminal justice system (Mauer 2006; Travis and Western 2014). The rate of incarceration has dramatically increased, such that the US incarcerates nearly 1 in 100 adults (Warren 2008). More striking is the fact that Blacks and Latinos make up more than half the current prison population. While the growth of incarceration has slowed in the past decade, the number of people returning home from prison has dramatically increased. According to the United States Department of Justice over 10,000 offenders from state

and federal prison combined are released back into society each week. And more than 650,000 offenders are released from prison every year (Carson and Sabol 2012). Given these numbers, prisoner reentry reform has become as an important strand of penal policy innovation intended to address the barriers that former offenders face when returning home. In this section, I offer a framework for my analysis of prisoner reentry.

Lorna Rhodes's ethnographic work on maximum-security prisons helps us to understand how approaches to punishment affect the underlining rationale of "the system." She argues that "whether and how" incarcerated people and staff make rational decisions is embedded in this larger question: "What of the institution itself? (Rhodes 2004:5). The ways that staff members understand their job responsibilities, and how policies and procedures are implemented, are directed not only by what the individual brings to work but also by the roots of how policy is framed and implemented. Asking about the philosophy in current correctional institutions draws attention to the ideals that drive views about prisoner reentry in this era of mass incarceration and how the everyday institutional practices (and responses) are altered by these ideals. I propose that scientific ideology is the governing mechanism within corrections—that is, the *scientization of incarceration*—as opposed to religious models, medical models or educational models. *Scientization* is the framework through which correctional systems are approaching reentry (and incarceration) and provides a rationale on which to base reentry work. This framework is based on numbers and statistical information. It quantifies risks and needs as opposed to addressing structural inequalities like racism, sexism or classism. Evidence-based practices and policies are both the methods that ideals about science are deployed and the way that scientific knowledge is produced.

In this dissertation, I will demonstrate that the use of evidence-based practices has implications beyond the use of methods proven to work. In the broader context, using EBPs is about managing populations to ensure that correctional work is done effectively and cost-efficiently. This logic upholds a narrative about public safety in which incarcerated people successfully transition into productive citizens—or governable citizens. Using scientific knowledge to guide reentry efforts in this post mass incarceration era can be characterized as a liberal approach that seeks to change behavior and alter criminal thinking. This seemingly race neutral application of science neglects the law and order policy that perpetuated mass incarceration and criminalized communities of color.

Actuarial techniques are more than just forms of knowledge gathering (Simon 1988). Echoing Ian Hacking's sentiments, Simon points out that actuarial techniques create groups and subgroups of people, which in turn must be researched and acted upon. Certain practices are then created and targeted to govern the group (Moore and Hannah-Moffat 2005), which are unlike disciplinary practices that seek to normalize behavior (Foucault 1995; Simon 1988; Simon 2005). Behavior is managed in its place among a certain population of people who share the same profile (Simon 1988) and in this study "high-risk" offenders emerge as the new population of people to be managed. Focusing on "low-level offenders," resources adhere to the risk principle, which argues that "high-risk offenders" need more intensive services to reduce the risk of recidivating.

Scientization also changes the culture of the institution, or the way corrections "does business" such that coercive power is masked as consent. Tropes about motivation, empowerment and self-governance loom large to make this transformation happen. Reentry interventions are thought to empower incarcerated people in their own transformation to freedom

and self-governance. Incarcerated people are encouraged to actively participate in their reentry plans. When staff members use interventions that are based on science and therefore proven to work, they can cultivate spaces of freedom for incarcerated people inside the prison. Incarcerated people are then expected to reenter society and exercise those same freedoms.

Lastly, these efforts guided by "science" were avenues to imagine power shifts in ways that were more humane. There seemed to be a change in the manner that correctional labor was defined. Correctional officials were reframing all daily work as reentry, meaning all interactions were expected to focus on preparing incarcerated people to reenter society. Moreover, the implementation of EBPs called for a more compassionate reform that entailed consensual modes of governance. As correctional employees utilized evidence-based practices, they were able to use certain strategies more often (incentivizing, motivational talks, encouraging empathy) and others more sparingly (such as overt force, manipulation and treating incarcerated people as "Other").

In order to understand the institution of reentry and its *scientization*, I explore it in three different phases. These phases represent a new model emerging from reentry movements called the Reentry Partnership Initiative, which is based on earlier work by Taxman et al.[1] (Garland and Hass 2015). The first phase is the institutional phase, in which incoming offenders are assessed and classified so that their incarceration time is optimized. The second phase is a structured reentry phase. This phase focuses on preparing people to reenter society and starts several months before release and continues one to several months post release. During this phase, reentry plans are made and incarcerated people take courses and programs designed to reduce

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[1] Faye Taxman is a University Professor in the Criminology, Law and Society Program at George Mason University. In a project sponsored by the National Institute of Corrections, she and her colleagues outlined the three reentry phases. The final report is entitled "From Prison Safety to Public Safety: Innovations in Offender Reentry."

their recidivism rates, focusing on issues such as housing, cognitive behavioral skills, employment, or life skills. During the last phase—the community reintegration phase—formerly incarcerated people work with a team of people (mentors and community organizations) to help with both formal needs—such as finding housing, employment and keeping parole appointments—and informal needs that help them to build and maintain pro-social behavior until correctional supervision is complete.

Key to this model and current prisoner reentry reform were efforts to bridge outside and inside interventions to reach a full integration of the correctional system with intensified efforts on case management (Garland and Hass 2015). Both Missouri and Kansas—the two states where I conducted research—were interested in building these inside and outside connections to make the transition between prison and community successful for offenders. Prior to these initiatives, informants told me that what happened inside was typically unrelated to what occurred outside. For example, prison staff were not involved with parole officers or community leaders. On the one hand, these current efforts are building blocks for a less fragmented reintegration process. On the other hand, by creating this seamless process, the surveillance and governing practice imposed on formerly incarcerated people is extended. Determining whether this extension is successful in corrections' ultimate goal of reducing recidivism rates is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, my project emphasizes how the utilization of evidence-based practices and policies alters the rationale of reentry practices during these three different phases. In addition, I point to the fact that learning skills cannot overcome structural inequality.

Also important to my analysis is that I treat prisoner reentry as a "category" (Valentine 2007), where meanings and practices of social control, surveillance and punishment are reworked. In this way, prisoner reentry is separated from its traditional association of signifying

a person leaving prison and the programs s/he engages in while in the community. The boundary of what happens on the inside and outside of correctional institutions is blurred, and reentry is no longer a moment in time or the point at which the person walks out the door; rather, reentry is a process that is ever-changing. To better understand the challenges that formerly incarcerated people face in this era of mass incarceration and why people continue to cycle in and out, Travis (2005) argues that we need to apply a "reentry framework" (xxi). A reentry framework becomes a "prism to refract" old concerns about the criminal justice system in a new light. A "reentry framework" offers the perspective to reimagine what role prisons and prison policy play in helping people return to their communities.

In this project, I emphasize the ways that prison rationale shapes prisoner reentry. The majority of the dissertation is concerned with phases one and two. By focusing on these two phases, I position correctional institutions as key sites to understand how incarcerated people learn to self-govern—both during incarceration and after—and how prison staff are part of this process.

Rehabilitation, Mass Incarceration and "Science" in the 21st Century

Historically, rehabilitation ideals have constantly changed (and will continue to change). These changes, sometimes described as "pendulum swings," waver between coercive and non-coercive forms of governance—at times rehabilitation is the driver, while at other times the focus is on being tough on crime. The evidence-based practices used today are a long way from the rehabilitation ideals and practices used in the first United States penitentiary. When Eastern State Penitentiary opened on October 25, 1829, rehabilitation efforts emphasized a religion-based model that isolated incarcerated people. It was thought that isolation allowed incarcerated people time to repent their sinful ways and that this would help them to return to society as productive

citizens (Rothman 2005). Religious efforts are very much present inside prisons, and incarcerated people often attribute their transformations to religion, or "finding God." However, criminologists do not recognize religious practice as a primary method to correct incarcerated people. Current prison practices promote change in individual lives through education, therapy and counseling (Duguid 2000). These approaches are aligned with modern Rousseauian ideals which suggest that deviant behavior can be eliminated through a combination of education, reflection, social contracts and, if necessary, removal of the threat to society by exile or execution (Duguid 2000:12).

The cycles through which rehabilitation ideals rotate reflect the current science about criminal behavior, crime control and how best to correct deviant behavior and prepare incarcerated people to return to society (Allen 1981; Duguid 2000; Foucault 1995). These ideas are in turn influenced by the broader social and political context. In this section, I examine US approaches to rehabilitation, mass incarceration and science. In particular, this section outlines how ideas about rehabilitation are in relationship to the development and institutionalization of risk/need assessment tools and technologies that are used in the criminal justice system.

The Emergence of Risk/ Needs Technologies

The use of risk/needs assessments has garnered a lot of attention in the media and correctional literature (Starr 2014). Departments of Corrections across the nation are on the move to "moneyball" their systems. In reference to the 2011 movie *Moneyball*, featuring Brad Pitt, which highlighted the use of analytics to predict baseball outcomes, Former Attorney General of New Jersey Anne Milgram stated "I wanted to moneyball criminal justice" (TED Talks 2013). By "moneyballing" the criminal justice system, she wanted to identify a more certain method to predict future criminal behavior, one that could more reliably determine who was more of a risk

to society and had more criminogenic needs. But the use of scientific analysis is not a new practice within the criminal justice system (Przybylski 2008; Simon 1988).

The criminal justice system's long history of using actuarial tools to make decisions about predicting criminal behavior is both triumphant and spotty, and has dramatically changed throughout the years. In the late 1920s, Ernest Burgess at the University of Chicago proposed the first actuarial tool. Burgess posited that clinical assessments could be a more helpful classification system if they were based on actuarial tables that documented past parolee outcomes and the specific strategies that probation officers used with parolees (Simon 1993). According to the Bureau of Justice 1982 Bulletin, at this time, the prison population was quite low compared to today—only 91,559 people were in state and federal prisons and reformatories (convicted of felonies and misdemeanors). The Bureau of Justice began to count incarcerated people in 1925. Although by 1922 parole was used in only 44 states, it was not until the mid-1960s that the National Council on Crime and Delinquency attempted to systematically collect statistics on parole in each state (Cahalan 1986). The Burgess method was unlike clinician assessments, which were solely based on professional opinions. The strength of the Burgess method was its ability to identify variables that correlated with parole outcomes. It was thought that this method of calculating outcomes by integrating variables and statistics was a better way for parole officers to predict future parolee outcomes (Simon 1993). Despite the initial acceptance of the Burgess Method in predicting parolee outcomes, the method was later criticized for its rudimentary analysis. Although researchers continued to develop more tools to predict criminal behavior, they were not well received or widely used.

From 1945 to the mid '70s, the medical model dominated corrections(Duguid 2000) and risk assessments were primarily considered to be clinically based interactions between the

trained clinician and clients, particularly those dealing with mental illness (Simon 2005).[2] These

interactions were not guided by actuarial tools, which grouped population characteristics and

outcomes. Instead, the medical model was based on individual assessments of risk made by

clinicians who then proposed a treatment plan. It is important to note that risk assessments and

risk tools are often conflated. But it is not necessary to use an actuarial tool to complete a risk

assessment. Professionals across disciplines—e.g., medical doctors, social workers and insurance

companies—make risk assessments based on their own judgments or based on a set of common

criteria within their profession. In this sense, risk assessments can be personal judgments, in the

same way that an expert swimmer might assess the risk of swimming further out into a large

body of water. The personalized treatment plans of the medical model reflected practices that

one might find in a doctor's office or that of some other medical profession. It was not until the

1970s that the criminal justice system, particularly parole and probation, began to use actuarial

tools to group populations for treatment in a manner similar to the Burgess Method (Simon

2005). The most common tool used by the U.S. Parole Commission was the salient factor score,

which is still used today. Why did it take two and a half decades for corrections to again become

interested in actuarial tools, i.e., risk/needs assessments?

      From the 1930s to the 1960s, indeterminate sentencing was the main sentencing system

in the United States adopted by every state, the federal government, and the District of

Columbia. Indeterminate sentencing was based on the idea that punishment should be

"individualized to take account of offenders' rehabilitative prospects and to reflect public safety

needs for their incapacitation" (Travis and Western 2014). Under this system, judges sentenced

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[2] During this period, the American Prisons Association changed its name to the American
Correctional Association, clearly signifying its newfound interest in "correcting and
rehabilitating behaviors" as opposed to harsher methods. Guards also became known as
correctional officers. (MacKenzie 2006:6)

offenders the to maximum amount of time and the sentence was considered the punishment rather than the harsh treatment endured while incarcerated. The primary goal for the incarcerated was rehabilitation—that is, making sure s/he was fit to return to society as a productive citizen. Parole boards, clinical professionals and sometimes correctional officials were charged with setting the release date based on whether they thought the offender was rehabilitated and ready to be released back into society. In determining who would be released, decisions were sometimes based on a rudimentary analysis of an offender's file, educational records and psychological testing records (Simon 2005). Prisons also had systems allowing incarcerated people to be released early for good behavior (Simon 2005). Ideas about retribution and coercive punishment were still present, but they did not take precedent over rehabilitation goals. Indeterminate sentencing was highly praised by the American Law Institute, and the National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws endorsed the approach (Travis and Western 2014).

President Lyndon B. Johnson was a strong supporter of rehabilitation ideals. In his 1965 address to the US Congress, he established the "blue ribbon panel" to examine crime in the United States. The panel's report contained wide range of recommendations for parole and probation and institutions which included upgrading educational and vocational opportunities and making them available to all offenders creating more correctional institutions geared toward rehabilitation and establishing small correctional institutions for community oriented treatment (MacKenzie 2006). These recommendations seemed to be in line with maintaining indeterminate sentencing and the ideals of the prior "Fordist period" that emphasized education and vocational training. During this period, employment was more stable, with decent wages available to a wide range of Americans (Kalleberg 2011). Despite these recommendations from the panel, clearly

emphasizing rehabilitation and President Johnson's robust support of rehabilitation, the penal state took a sharp turn toward a punitive mode of governance in the 1960s.

The shift in the US penal policy coincided with rising incarceration rates and other societal changes in US racial politics. During the late 1960s through the 1980s, the US went through political and economic changes that included white flight to the suburbs, urban renewal projects in poor neighborhoods, the closing of mental illness facilities, large scale changes in social welfare programs and deindustrialization (Gilmore 1999; Harvey 2005; Mullings 2003; Peck and Tickell 2002). In 1965, the US was in the midst of the civil rights movement and historically marginalized people were challenging the long history of racial and social inequality in the US. As black and Latino people fought for equal rights, media broadcasts of the urban uprisings erupting throughout the nation, exacerbated the fears of the white middle class. As the Black Power movement gained momentum in the late 60s and early 70s, the media portrayal of blacks and Latinos as violent people outside of the national citizenry intensified. With "crime" rates rising and the increased coverage of political issues, the government was under pressure to address civil distress and urban residents' demands for civil rights. Local, state and federal governments responded by criminalizing protests against racial and political inequality.

In the early 1970s drug laws were strengthened and refocused toward law enforcement (Mauer 2006; Parenti 2008). In 1971 President Richard Nixon declared drugs to be "Enemy #1", and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) was created in 1972. Shortly after President Nixon's declaration, the New York Republican governor Nelson Rockefeller instituted what was known as the "Rockefeller Drug Laws" in January 1973. One of the most draconian drug laws, it created a mandatory minimum sentence of 15 years to life in prison for the possession of 4 ounces of narcotics. This law played a major role in incarcerating people for low level drug

crimes and severely increasing the number of people of color behind bars. Many states followed

with similar measures, such as Michigan's "650-lifer" law which sentenced anyone possessing,

delivering or intending to deliver over 650 grams of cocaine or heroin to life with out parole.

Most mandatory minimum sentences apply to federal drug charges, but Congress also created

mandatory minimums for other crimes that involve guns, pornography and economic offenses.

Although many states have reformed their mandatory minimum laws, the economic and social

effects of incarcerating people for low level crimes have been extremely detrimental to minority

and poor communities.[3] Currently, many of those people incarcerated under these laws are

returning to their communities—still in poverty and battling a racial caste system parallel to the

Jim Crow Era (Alexander 2010).

By the 1990s, the passage of laws leading to greater indictments in the 1970s was met

with an expansion of prisons. This growth often benefitted white populations who lived in

districts where prisons were located. In a recent study on working class Elmirans in New York,

anthropologist Andrea Morrell (2015) described how Elmirans' livelihood was threatened by the

post World War II loss of manufacturing jobs. Local governments attempted to create

employment opportunities through building prisons—a process Morrell refers to as "the carceral

reindustrialization of America."

While the US continued its obsession with drug use and abuse, the expansion of prisons

and prison populations created dire conditions for incarcerated people. The Attica Rebellion in

New York on September 13, 1971 changed the public's perception of prisoner rights and of

crime and led to more attacks on rehabilitation efforts (Wicker 1994). Before taking over the

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[3] Missouri reduced its crack-powder cocaine disparity in May 2012. Under the new law, Missouri's crack-powder disparity decreased from 75:1 to 18:1. See Families Against Mandatory Minimums website at http://famm.org/states-map/missouri/.

prison, inmates tried to voice their concern about inadequate food and clothing, lack of heat and discrimination by sending letters to the Department of Corrections and state senators. When officials neglected their concerns twelve hundred men at the correctional facility took over the facility for four days. The protests ended when Governor Nelson Rockefeller called in the National Guard to crush the rebellion—killing both inmates and state employees. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the two main ideological camps—those for rehabilitation and those for being "tough on crime" widened. Eventually, fears about drugs, urban violence, prisoner rights and the dismantling of the Southern caste system merged to overshadow treatment and rehabilitation ideals, giving rise to the "get tough on crime" era that emphasized punishment (Wacquant 2005).[4] A common saying during this time was "do the crime, do the time," (Travis and Western 2014).

The Martinson Effect

The societal turbulence of the 1960s and early 1970s provided an opportune context for Robert Martinson's article on rehabilitative programs to capture the attention of prison officials and criminologists nationwide. In 1974, Robert Martinson published the article "What Works? – Questions and Answers about Prison Reform." In his article which examined the effectiveness of programs in the criminal justice system to rehabilitate he concluded that "nothing works" (Martinson 1974). His statement created discontent within the criminal justice system and continues to have ripple effects. Before Martinson's report, the Department of Corrections was not entirely concerned with program effectiveness in terms of reducing recidivism rates. Rather, the focus was on rehabilitation, which may or may not be tied to recidivism rates (Cullen 2005).

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[4] There was also a push for longer incapacitation periods and preventive detention. NGO's pushed for more individualized risk assessments.

As mentioned earlier, most states adhered to an indeterminate sentencing policy in which psych-staff, correctional staff, parole and probation officers used clinically based individual risk assessments to determine who was fit to be released back into society, as opposed to a rigid time table for prisoner release dates. If the intention of indeterminate sentencing was to provide ample time for incarcerated people to be rehabilitated and "nothing work[ed]," the need for the correctional system to continue spending money on rehabilitation raised questions (Rothman 2005).

Critics argued that if there was no effective way to determine if an incarcerated person was rehabilitated, then officials and professionals charged with rehabilitation should not have the power to decide sentence length or when offenders should be released (Phelps 2011).[5] As such the indeterminate sentencing system began to unravel. Some conservatives believed that judges and courts were too lenient and that they released violent offenders back into the community too soon (Cullen 2012; MacKenzie 2006). Others objected to unfair parole procedures and inconsistency (von Hirsch and Hanrahan 1979). Liberals, on the other hand, argued that rehabilitation was coercive and ineffective and that judges could not tell when offenders were rehabilitated. Still, some critics of indeterminate sentencing based their arguments on biases and arbitrariness, which suggested that judges and officials were racist and class biased, resulting in minorities and poor people being targeted and given longer, harsher sentences (American Friends Service Committee 1971). Criticisms of indeterminate sentencing policy opened the door for proponents who favored a justice model for sentencing and corrections (MacKenzie 2006;

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[5] In some instances, incarcerated people who had indeterminate sentences served more time than people who had similar sentences under the determinate sentencing guidelines. This occurred because the person with an indeterminate had to be released from prison by the parole board. And if the parolee was released and received a parole violation s/he might be sent back to serve more time.

Zalman 1978). From this viewpoint, judicial power should be limited and offenders should receive a fair sentence based on their crime: nothing more, nothing less—commonly known as "just deserts."

Under the "just deserts" policy, rehabilitation ideals were replaced with notions of deterrence and incapacitation and several states adopted determinant sentencing policy. Determinant sentencing policy was based on creating rubrics and guidelines for offenses to determine the length of incarceration. During the 1980s, most states and the U.S. Congress adopted a series of legislative efforts that buttressed the prison population. These included three strikes laws that required a minimum of 25 years for committing a third felony, longer sentence terms for drug offenses and violent offenses and truth-in-sentencing laws that required incarcerated people to serve 85% of their term (Travis and Western 2014). There was also a widespread abolition of discretionary parole and an increase in the use of super-maximum prisons and solidarity confinement (Phelps 2011; Rhodes 2004). These policies signaled an ideological shift. After decades of stable incarceration rates and a focus on rehabilitation, longer, harsher forms of imprisonment became the policy choice for crime control. Scholars from various disciplines have described this shift as the "new punitiveness" (Pratt, et al. 2005), "punishing the poor" (Wacquant 2009) or the "culture of control" (Garland 2001). In this climate, from 1975 to 2000, the penal system in the US expanded from 380,000 people to two million (Blumstein 1993; Mauer 2006; Warren 2008). Prisons became warehouses for incarcerated people and it was difficult to be diagnosed, treated and offered opportunities to prepare for post-incarceration.

Martinson's findings linked program effectiveness to the ability to reduce recidivism rates. His conclusions also positioned the Department of Corrections as a central site where

personal transformation needed to occur. In a sense, Martinson's work suggested personal

transformation should be measured by whether or not a person recidivates. This perspective was

different from previous eras. With the rising prison populations resulting from the new punitive-

based sentencing policy and the revolving door of people in and out of prison, conservatives

purported that there was no clear way to effectively measure personal success. So if success

could not be measured, then a release date could not be set.

The education model still existed inside prisons, despite the increasing number of

punitive sentencing policies. For example, prisons had a larger library selection of books, more

opportunities to enroll in GED programming, and various college education opportunities.

University and college professors began entering prisons, and incarcerated people were

registered in distance learning programs. Many incarcerated people obtained their bachelors and

masters degree. In the 1990s these education opportunities were severely dismantled due to

efforts by correctional officers unions. Alongside the decrease in educational programming there

was an increase in reentry-related programming (Phelps 2011). Another major loss for

incarcerated people serving time in state and federal prisons was the ban on Pell Grants, which

was part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994[6].

A similar crisis of education emerged in the late 1990s on the outside of prions. Scholars

note that in the last two decades there is a new trend—men with little education (Travis and

Western 2014). There are approximately 1.4 million black men enrolled in higher education

while there are approximately 745,000 black men behind bars, and this number increases when

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[6] This crime bill also placed strict requirements on states applying for federal funding for prison
construction. To secure funding, a state had to prove that it had "increased the percentage of
convicted violent offenders sentenced to prison," "increased the average prison time for violent
offenders sentenced to prison" and "increased the percentage of time served for violent offenders
sentenced to prison" (Travis and Western 2014:71).

parolees and probationers are added (Moore 2015). In a report by the Hamilton Project, which examined the trends in crime and punishment in the United States, the authors found that an African American man without a high-school diploma has nearly a 70 percent chance of being incarcerated by his mid-thirties (Kearney, et al. 2014). Moreover, two out of five incarcerated people in jail and prison do not have a high school diploma (Council of State Government 2015). Although this lack of access to education is more detrimental for African Americans, its effects span across all racial lines. Travis and Western (2014) contend that about one-third of White male drop-outs born in the 1970s have served time by their mid-30s.

Something Does Work?

Although Martinson's 1974 analysis opened the door for critiques of the correctional system, his analysis of rehabilitation efforts was not completely accepted. Psychologist Ted Palmer challenged Martinson's work, and in his reanalysis of Martinson's study argued that of the 39 studies, 48% yielded positive or partly positive results, suggesting that something *did* work (Palmer 1975). Palmer's rebuttal did not fully revitalize the rehabilitation ideal in the U.S., but it did spark more research from a loosely associated group of twelve Canadians credited with starting the "What Works Movement" (Cullen 2005). Much of the current emphasis on risk and needs comes from this group's practitioner-driven agenda that seeks to "deploy effective, targeted correctional interventions" (Hannah-Moffat and Maurutto 2003). Additionally, other scholars continued to challenge Martinson's findings by using meta-analyses of the rehabilitation literature to show that treatment programs were heterogeneous and that some interventions do work to reduce recidivism rates (Lipsey and Wilson 1993).

It took several years for the research of the "What Works Movement" to coalesce into the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) treatment model (Andrews and Bonta 2006) which has became

the dominant treatment model used in Canada and the US (Cullen 2012). The risk/needs approach purports to use science to resolve crime-related problems. The RNR model theorizes that corrections should focus on people who are more likely to recidivate, which are high-risk offenders. Second, there are criminogenic needs that contribute to their risk to recidivate, and these factors can change over time. Third, interventions and services should be tailored to enable high-risk offenders to develop new skills and alter attitudes that will decrease their risk of recidivating. Scholars and correctional agencies who support the use of this model argue that there is a "consistent relationship between the type and number of needs offenders present and the likelihood of recidivism" (Hannah-Moffat 2005; Hannah-Moffat and Maurutto 2003).

The reliance on "evidence-based corrections" has roots in Martinson's declaration that nothing works. Yet, the proliferation of evidence-based correction is associated with twenty-first century mass incarceration. Evidence-based corrections is the process by which correctional officials and policy makers rely more on program evaluation and quantitative outcome measures to determine what works in prison rehabilitation (Travis and Western 2014). Mass incarceration created a budgetary crisis for state and county departments of corrections. Scholars and pundits on both sides, not only questioned the effectiveness of incarceration and the values that govern penal policy (Alexander 2010) but also sought approaches to decrease criminal justice costs. As a result, correctional institutions made programmatic and philosophical changes, which are premised on the use of scientific knowledge.

In addition to these philosophical changes occurring inside prisons, there has been an overall shift in penal policy. Since 2000, state legislatures have adopted several hundred laws to make sentencing laws less punitive (Travis and Western 2014). On the state level, the aforementioned 1973 Rockefeller Drugs Laws were reformed in 2009 under Governor David

Patterson, New York State's first black governor. On the federal level, in 2010 Congress passed

the Fair Sentencing Act, which repealed the disparities in sentencing between crack cocaine and

powder cocaine. [7] The crack cocaine laws over-criminalized crack cocaine, and in effect,

disproportionately incarcerated black and Latino men during the 1980s and '90s. These changes

in drug laws were the result of pressures from a variety of constituents, from grassroots

organizations to international organizations (e.g., the Correctional Association, Families Against

Mandatory Minimums, The Sentencing Project, Critical Resistance and All of Us or None)

(Sudbury 2008). In addition to the changes that made sentencing laws less punitive, there was an

increase funding opportunities for states and organizations focused on prisoner reentry. For

example, in 2003, the federal Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative awarded more than

$100 million to 69 jurisdictions to improve reentry outcomes for criminal justice, housing,

employment, health, and education (National Institute of Justice n.d.). As part of the Prisoner

Reentry Initiative Program, under President George Bush, Congress appropriated approximately

$19.6 million in 2006 to fund reentry related programs (U.S. Dept. of Labor n.d.). The U.S.

Department of Labor was the lead federal agency on this initiative and the funds were awarded to

support pre release and post release programs at prisons and organizations across the United

States. And according to the Council of State Governments Justice Center, since 2009, more than

700 awards have been made to grantees across 49 states under the Second Chance Act of 2007.

My aim was to show how the development of risk assessments and actuarial tools are

embedded in a wider social and political history of incarcerating people. The power of science is

diffuse and its use inside prisons has had ripple effects beyond the prison walls (Foucault 1991;

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[7] The Fair Sentencing Act (S. 1789) reformed the 100:1 disparity to 18:1 and repealed the five-year mandatory minimum sentence for simple possession of crack cocaine. The bill is not retroactive, so people sentenced under the prior laws will remain incarcerated.

Inda 2005). In this milieu, there is an ever-growing need to have correctional programming that works and a desire to have methods to "predict uncertainty." The scholars associated with the "What Works Movement" and other scholars that have followed continue to develop interventions to reduce recidivism. The governing practices in this post mass incarceration era come out of a complex relationship between Rousseauian ideals, disciplinary models of punitive governance, and the use of science to guide work.

Chapter Overview

Correctional institutions are perceived as "black boxes" where social scientists' access is limited (Rhodes 2004; Travis and Western 2014). Despite this absence of ethnographic research in the United States, in part due to funding and the structural nature of gaining entry (Cunha 2014; Rhodes 2001; Wacquant 2002), in recent years this has changed. There are a growing number of studies on prisons outside of the United States (Campos 2014; Cheliotis 2014; Cunha 2014). In the US, new scholarship highlights the building of prison towns in this post-industrial era (Morrell 2015) and restorative justice as an alternative strategy to zero-tolerance policies (Utheim 2014). My project joins this new research by offering an in-depth study on the changing nature of governing practices within prisoner reentry as it relates to the rise of evidence-based practices. As mentioned earlier, the organization of the dissertation follows the Prisoner Reentry Initiative Model. I begin by laying out the framework for how evidence-based practices are embedded within the institution. I explore how they are operationalized inside the institution, and finally, I discuss their application or lack thereof in the community. As the reader moves through this treatise, an underlining question emerges: What role do (can) correctional institutions play in prisoner reentry?

The next chapter, "Being Approved is Not a Constant State: Notes on Methods and Site Selection," offers an in-depth look at methods and site selections. Typically, discussions of methodology do not warrant a chapter of their own. But I include this discussion as a chapter here because gaining access and maintaining access throughout the project impacted what I observed and how I was able to conduct my ethnographic work. I also discuss the intricacies of IRB approval, specifically the process of acquiring three separate IRB approvals. This chapter also includes a brief overview of the four institutions where I conducted research. Details are omitted in order to provide anonymity to the institutions, its employees and the incarcerated people I interviewed. The descriptions are offered only as a glimpse of the inside character of each institution. Lastly, this chapter provides a broader overview of Kansas and Missouri, important aspects of the criminal justice system in each state and an explanation of how each state approached prisoner reentry.

In Chapter Three, "Scientization of Incarceration: Risk Reduction and Prisoner Reentry," I highlight the varied ways that prison staff members and officials comprehend prisoner reentry and risk reduction. I also examine how they interpret evidence-based practices and polices as a guide for their everyday work with incarcerated people. Although incarcerated people were expected to make better choices, it was also the staff's responsibility to direct them. The emphasis here is on demonstrating how evidence-based practices and policies are incorporated into the correctional system's "new way of doing business." Training staff and getting them to buy into the changes, internally and externally, was critical in governing incarcerated people. Prison staff members were required to take classes, to be watched and to be evaluated in order to implement the evidence-based practices. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the ways that numbers and statistics are thought to predict the unpredictable, despite the inability to "truly"

predict future criminal behavior (Adams, et al. 2009). The rationale now guiding correctional

practices is what I call the *scientization of incarceration*.

In Chapter Four, "Trust the Instrument," I am concerned with the range of affects that

"surface" when evidence-based practices and polices are employed (Taylor 2005). Rather than

focusing on risk/needs assessments as the object of study, I turn to what I call the *instrument*: an

assemblage of things, people, and processes (Ong and Collier 2005). This assemblage produces

knowledge (Foucault 1972) that is documented, re-analyzed and re-documented (Riles 2006) by

correctional employees. The *instrument* is not simply a tool, such as the LSI-R, used to

determine risk/needs or gather criminal knowledge about an offender. This chapter illustrates

how the *instrument* is operationalized with an eye toward understanding its operationalization as

part of a larger project that creates categories of people who will be acted upon. In this

materialization process, certain group needs become visible (Visweswaran 1994), namely high-

risk offenders' needs. Moreover, this chapter examines the ways that the *instrument* cannot fully

account for the practical needs of women and lifers, and therefore how certain populations are

not properly governed or prepared to reenter society. Borrowing from Dana-Ain Davis (2006),

the instrument produces a "Kafka-esque web" of successes and contradictions that reaffirms a

non-coercive rationale to guide reentry work.

Chapter Five, "In The 'Reentry' Classroom: Responsibility and Transformation," I shift

my focus to the classroom where correctional staff attempt to transform incarcerated people into

governable citizens who are skilled and ethically sensitive. These classes are designed to target

the risk behaviors identified in the risk/needs assessment. Part of using evidence-based practices

involves matching interventions that coincide with the calculated needs. Needs become

identifiable elements that are acted upon, and behavior is changed through "targeted governance"

(Hannah-Moffat 2005). Unit team counselors address these needs by creating reentry plans that include a plethora of classes for offenders. In some cases the classes themselves are classified as evidence-based, namely the cognitive behavioral courses. Hence, the classes become another way to proclaim that they are using scientific knowledge that is proven to work. In the classroom, there was acceptance and resistance. I show that much of the resistance did not stem from incarcerated people not wanting to change. Rather the resistance stemmed from the fact that this re-responsibilization did not (and cannot) account for the full array of structural inequalities that incarcerated people faced. Thus, this chapter considers the conflicts that arose when incarcerated people's personal goals, bureaucratic goals of reducing prison populations and evidence-based practices goals of fidelity collide.

In Chapter Six, "Navigating Addiction and Sobriety," I offer a detailed examination of how minuscule behaviors are policed and interpreted as risks for future behaviors. Like the reentry related classes, placement in substance treatment can be based on a person's risk/needs assessment scores. Incarcerated people can also be court ordered to take substance abuse treatment while in prison. The three programs that I examine draw on scientific and medical theories of diagnosis that locate the vulnerability for drug addiction in the brain. Yet in practice, treatment programs rely on behavioral modification as a way to curtail future use. In addition to the overt policing of small behaviors, the women in the program are charged with following gender norms and "telling on each other" as a way to foster pro-social behaviors and become "worthy women." This chapter investigates these once calculable and scientifically recognized needs and risks that are now policed and gendered.

"The Bitter Sweetness of Returning Home," Chapter Seven, focuses on the third phase of the Prison Reentry Initiative Model—the transition from prison to community. In this chapter, I

use the story of Raymond, a formerly incarcerated person, to examine the post incarceration experience. In order to be successful on the outside, formerly incarcerated people must practice new thinking and skills. But the interventions implemented on the inside miss detrimental issues such as societal stigmatization, discrimination and structural inequality. Through Raymond's story and the voices of other formerly incarcerated people, I examine how they struggle to find jobs, pay supervision fees and secure housing.

CHAPTER 2: Being Approved is not a Constant State: Notes on Methods and Site Selections

I was more than halfway through my field research at a women's correctional facility in

Missouri when I developed a daily routine, which consisted of observing classes, shadowing

staff, and conducting a few interviews. On this day, everything had gone as planned until the

interview. When I proceeded to my temporary office, it was occupied. I was not offered another

office space to conduct the interview. Instead, a unit team counselor suggested that I conduct the

interview at the housing unit—something I did not like to do. The constant foot-traffic in the

housing units exposed the interviewee to everyone—including other incarcerated people and the

correctional officers on duty.

I sat across the table from Editha, a white middle-aged woman with short black hair. I

went through the normal procedure of setting out the recorder, explaining the project, and

handing her a consent form. Without looking at the form, Editha leaned back in her chair, cocked

her head sideways and asked, "Why are you doing this work?" Startled because I had just

explained the project, I quickly realized that she was not interested in the usual research

summary. Editha wanted to know what personally drove me to do this research. This was not the

first or the last time that interviewees questioned my motives. I usually responded by rehashing

the project summary, including a few points about my social justice work at Insight Arts, a

community arts organization in Chicago. But this time, I decided to truly acknowledge her

concern about my intentions.

I sat the digital recorder to the side. I approached this project as a person whose family

has an intimate relationship with the criminal justice system. When I was in elementary school

my father was charged with murder. Although he was never convicted, I vividly remember the

financial struggles and stigma my family faced while he was in jail awaiting trial. Too young to enter the jail, my mother stood with me outside the jail. As we looked up at the small windows on the building, I imagined that he was looking out at me. My father, I told Editha, was not the only family member who was imprisoned. My family mirrors other African American and Latino families who have several family members who cycle in and out of the prison system. I have a half-brother who will die in prison because he is serving two life sentences. After I finished, she nodded and replied, "Okay, you get it." Keeping her laid back but serious attitude, Editha signed the consent form. I turned on the recorder and we began the interview.

Gaining approval was a major cornerstone of this research process and I quickly realized that being approved to do ethnographic research inside a historically punitive institution was not a constant state. Consent must be gained and regained with people at various levels of authority and within different circles of informants. While addressing the traditional questions about methods, this chapter also underscores the four ways that I gained and maintained approval from: 1) the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the City University of New York Graduate Center (CUNY hereafter); 2) the Department of Corrections (DOC) in Kansas and Missouri; 3) incarcerated people and formerly incarcerated people and 4) DOC staff and officials. In this section I describe the physical, demographic, and cultural features of the four facilities in which I conducted research. These variations, among others, directly affected my ability to conduct ethnographic research in an efficient and considerate manner. Secondly, this chapter takes a closer look at undertaking research in the Midwest. The Midwest is characterized as the "Heartland" of the U.S.—a place that lacks diversity. Yet, it has a history of racial violence that runs deep and has erupted in several crises since I left the research sites. The most visible example was in Missouri. In August 2014, the fatal shooting of an unarmed man, Michael

Brown, by the police reignited a long history of racial violence and discrimination in the Midwest and across the nation.

IRB

When I first conceived this research project about prisoner reentry, I was unsure if I would be able to gain access into a correctional facility. I previously volunteered in correctional institutions in two different states and taught cultural anthropology inside a women's facility, so I knew that it could be a long and difficult process to gain access. But more importantly, my presence as a researcher could potentially disrupt the limited privacy of the incarcerated people, as well as arouse suspicion among staff working inside the facility who were also under constant observation from supervisors and higher officials within correctional system (Owen 1998; Rhodes 2001; Waldram 1998). It was not until Murphy Halliburton, asked me, "Why not?" If I was denied access, then I was denied. There was no reason to deny *myself* access before I started the project. Since, I had worked previously at a well-known foundation that funded criminal justice issues, I used these contacts to gain introductions. Thereafter, I set up preliminary site visits and interviews in the fall of 2010 and in early 2011. During this time I also gained support from three key officials (one in each state and one in Washington, DC) for the project. I spent six months securing IRB approvals from the Department of Corrections in both states and my home institution.

The bureaucratic nature of securing IRB approval has become increasingly challenging. Chin (2013) points out that current IRB practices stifle feminist ethnographers through its prioritization of positivist, quantitative and experimental research. Specifically, the "rising culture of assessment" and "the growth of risk management" dominate IRB decision-making processes (Chin 2013) and this makes it harder to secure IRB approval. These foci, in turn, uphold neoliberal practices within institutions of power and make certain research sites difficult

to access and navigate while in the field (Chin 2013). This difficulty of conducting research inside correctional institutions in the U.S. has not gone unmarked. Unlike the growing number of studies on prisons outside of the US (Campos 2014; Cheliotis 2014; Cunha 2014), scholars have noted a paucity of ethnographic research, particularly in the United States, in part due to limited funding and the structural nature of gaining entry (Cunha 2014; Rhodes 2001; Wacquant 2002). As Chin points out, in order to gain entry, scholars must reformulate their IRBs in ways that conform to standards considered scientific, and are also often forced to rewrite their proposals several times. For me, two issues arouse simultaneously and each hinged on the other being approved—gaining access to the prison and approval by the IRB board.

When I began the IRB process, I had little guidance on how to write an IRB for a correctional institution. I was fortunate to have an advocate in each state that worked with, and supported, the study and the methods. Only after I had submitted my proposals and they were deemed inadequate, did the institutions offer me guidelines to follow for my resubmission. In one case, I had to reinterpret my project from anthropological terms into sociological terms. For example, asking to shadow and observe employees was not considered scientific. The DOC needed to know what questions I would ask, how long I wanted to shadow staff members, and which specific classes I wanted to observe. Despite not knowing specifics about the classes, such as which correctional institutions taught which class or the length of the classes, I was required to answer these questions. This, in turn, required me to secure a series of informal conversations with prison staff members. In one state, the DOC IRB process was extended because the Warden at each institution I proposed to visit had to approve my research proposal. In the letter to the Wardens, one DOC reviewer wrote that although my project would be "disruptive," it had the potential to be "meaningful."

This circular process was present throughout my efforts to gain access. The CUNY IRB would not approve my IRB proposal without approval letters from the DOCs in Missouri and Kansas. The Missouri and Kansas DOCs were hesitant to provide approval because my project was not approved by CUNY's IRB. Additionally, the CUNY IRB required a full review with a prisoner advocate, since prisoners are considered a vulnerable population. These extra protocols were required to insure that the proposal adequately addressed any risks for incarcerated people, such as confidentiality and safety. This process required a series of revisions; one of the DOCs required several modifications to the project. This cascaded into another CUNY IRB revision. I then revised the second DOC proposal in order to keep the two DOC proposals similar. In the end, I accepted a number of modifications that revolved around the number of incarcerated people and staff members that could be interviewed, the amount of time for each interview, and the number of weeks spent at each facility.

The Method

The dissertation draws on 18 months of extensive ethnographic research in four Midwestern Correctional Facilities (two women's and two men's facilities). Inside the correctional facilities, I conducted observations of treatment team meetings and classes on various subjects (e.g. employment, housing, substance abuse, anger management, and cognitive behavioral change courses). In addition to these main facilities, I visited a jail reentry program, a maximum-security prison, numerous parole and probations offices, and community correction facilities.[8] At the parole offices I observed sex offender treatment and employment courses.

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[8] The majority of people in this facility will never be released. Although most of people will not reenter into society, they were interested in "reentry" ideals such as fostering pro-social behavior and providing cognitive behavioral courses. In order to do this, the facility created a classroom with desks and chairs that were bolted to the floor. There were less than a dozen desks including the teacher's desk. When offenders took the class, generally one or two people at a time, they

I also attended reentry meetings in the community. A new strategy involved bridging resources and sharing information between prisons and communities. The correctional system viewed this as a way to increase quality wrap-around services to formerly incarcerated people. These meetings were part of the Missouri Reentry Process (MRP). The MRP teams brought together community organizations, advocates, and the local parole and probation employees to discuss and share resources for incarcerated people returning to the community. I attended these monthly prison/community partnership meetings in three locations throughout the state. My interviews and observations focused on how their teams developed and how they maintained their partnerships.

In addition, I visited community-based organizations in Missouri that were not part of the prison/community reentry partnerships present throughout the state. These organizations not only served formerly incarcerated people but also other constituencies. They were selected because their leadership was well-respected among formerly incarcerated people in the community. The interviews in these community settings focused on the challenges of reentry, how they understood their work in relationship to the community/prison partnerships, and what they thought about the state of mass incarceration.

I traveled to each Correctional Institution four to five days a week for four to eight consecutive weeks. In one case, I arrived at the prison by 8 a.m. after driving 65 miles through mostly one-lane roads and small towns with no police, post-office, or fire services. The long travel time meant that my research was condensed into the regular working day and once I left the facility I did not return for evening activities as I did at the other facilities. The drive to the

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were chained to the desk for security. For the officials, this was the best way to develop pro-social behavior, such that one day, the offender could "reenter" into living with another cell mate, and not be in solitary confinement for the rest of their lives.

other three correctional institutions was only 30-45 minutes. With shorter commutes, I was able to spend the morning at one institution and drive to another institution to conduct observations of evening classes or conduct interviews after dinner. The Warden or an official from the off-site DOC central office assigned me a main contact at the correctional facility. This person was responsible for helping to plan my agenda and escort me around the prison. As I became familiar with other employees in the office space, I relied on them when my main contact was not available. Although the DOC limited my time at each facility, this rigidity was relaxed once people were familiar with me and understood my research project. In three of the four facilities, I was granted additional time to observe a program and to collect interviews.

We often hear about the demoralizing aspects of entering correctional facilities. Correctional officers search and harass visitors of incarcerated people by haphazardly rummaging through their personal items or speaking to them in a disrespectful manner. Even though the search process was more lax with correctional employees as compared to visitors, there were still excessive aspects of the process, such as dress code. For example, one correctional officer at the entrance considered my skirt too tight. Instead of driving home 45 minutes and missing the class I came to observe, I used my scarf to create a loose wrap around skirt. In addition to scrutinizing people's clothing, correctional officers checked all bags and ID's including the Warden's belongings. If the facility had a scanner it could slow the process down because correctional officers scrutinized any items carried into the prison. Additionally, the number of checkpoints varied from facility to facility, so I had to allow extra time to get to my final destination.

At two facilities, all belongings, including lunch, had to be in clear plastic containers. This was such a well-known fact that the fast food restaurants in the neighborhood of the

correctional facility offered clear containers for DOC employees.[9] Employees at these facilities also had to purchase clear backpacks or some other clear bag for their personal items. None of the correctional facilities allowed cell phones, cameras, or recording devices unless approved.[10] I had permission to bring in my digital recorder. To ease tensions and to speed-up the entrance process, I brought the recorder only on days that I scheduled interviews and I always carried a copy of my digital recorder clearance. Since I was at the facility on a daily basis, the entrance officers became more comfortable with me bringing in a recorder, as well as extra paper and several pens and pencils. They continued to search my belongings but did not question my clearance. In short, entering the facility became a mundane approval ritual that was both calculated and routine.

As a result of not having my recorder on days without scheduled interviews, I relied on handwritten notes and memory. In three of the four facilities I had a private or shared office space where I could work, have lunch and relax. More importantly, the space allowed me to observe daily office practices and office dynamics. In the facilities where I had office space, I also transcribed my notes into full field notes between observations. In other instances, field notes were transcribed the same night. But as I spent more time in the facilities or had a longer commute this process was unsustainable. These notes documented almost every day of field research, which resulted in over 550 single-spaced pages. Each field note write-up was marked by the date of the event and the day that I transcribed the notes. The field notes included a

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[9] Most staff members did not eat the food at the facility. If employees brought in pre-packed food, such as cookies, water, or a microwave dinner, they had to be in their original sealed form.
[10] Higher ranking DOC employees who had DOC cell phones could bring them in. They had to fill-out paper work for approval. Most employees opted out and left their cell phones in their cars.

combination of observations and informal conversations, as well as personal reflections on how I felt (e.g. my mood, energy level and ability to focus).

Access

Gaining approval to carry out research was only the first step. Gaining access also was a rigorous process. In Kansas and Missouri I completed orientation trainings. I was not informed that the trainings for volunteers were prescheduled, so once I began in the field, I had to wait five weeks before I could gain clearance into the correctional facilities.[11] The orientations emphasized professionalism and maintaining an appropriate distance from offenders. For example, in one orientation, the instructor told us to write in our notes, "I am a professional." Then he said, "As a professional, you are a role model…you can be a positive role model or a negative role model…write, I am a positive role model. As a professional you have to be truthful…can't tell lies, be honest." As volunteers within the DOC we were expected to uphold the same values as employees. During the orientation session we watched videos on how to not be "tricked" or "manipulated" by offenders, and completed tests to ensure that we read the material. The onsite orientations typically ended with a tour of the facility and brief introductions to key administrative personnel.

Yet, even after completing the orientation there were additional obstacles to gaining access into the correctional facility. Sometimes correctional officers, who were unaware of my clearance, denied entrance to me or took extra time to process my entrance. For example, on the first evening, I was scheduled to observe a course at a women's correctional facility, but the officer at the gate said I had a "stop gate"—meaning I could not enter the facility. He did not

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[11] As a result I began my research in the local parole and probation offices. Unexpectedly, most of my time was spent in classes for people who had committed sex offences. This data is not included in the dissertation.

inform me why I had the "stop gate," but I initially assumed that my ID was not activated. However, the next day I used my ID and had no problem entering the facility. After following up with my main contact (who contacted the Warden's office), she informed me that there was no history of a "stop gate" on my ID. I did not inquire further, but at that moment, I realized that I would have to continually negotiate my approved access. Even as the prison staff became familiar with me and I was able to freely come and go unescorted at this facility, I still continued to worry about not being able to gain access to *this* facility.

I was able to talk with incarcerated people across all four of the correctional facilities, but some officials granted me more freedom to interact and move through the facility. At one of the women's facilities where I had the most open access, I conducted interviews during times that were convenient for the women. It also allowed me to interact with both the day and night staff and to witness incidents on my down time that I could not observe if I had an escort and set timetable. For example, one early evening while waiting for the recovery class to start, an incarcerated woman invited me to visit the knitting class. Because knitting was an extra-curricular activity and not a reentry-based class, I was not scheduled to visit it. The women in the knitting room relaxed as they shared coffee and chatted with each other about family and colors for their next projects. These moments were reminders of how the women inside made community and engaged in activities that allowed for their self-expression.

The restrictions varied from facility to facility. The ways that I was "marked" and "unmarked," in terms of race and gender, played a big part how these restrictions were enforced (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Brodkin 2001; Hill 1998; Mullings 1997; Mullings 2005). I noticed how in some instances my identity as a black educated woman allowed me access to certain people, while at other times it did not. For example, the second women's facility that I visited did not

fully process my ID. As a result, the correctional facility provided me with an escort who met me at the front gate. I had numerous escorts throughout my stay. When I asked my escorts, a Latino man who worked as a unit team counselor, about the ID situation and if this was common, he responded, "If you were white—." He stopped mid sentence. I interpreted this to mean if I were white my ID would have been processed. These issues of limiting access also occurred at the men's facilities. At one of the men's facilities, my main contact informed me via phone that I would not need an escort. But in my first meeting with the Warden, that changed. My contact and I were both shocked. Afterwards, my contact never explained why the Warden insisted that I have an escort at all times, and I did not ask. Again, I suspected that it concerned my race and gender, and that I was visiting a male compound with mostly black men.

I was always aware of the subtle ways racial and gender biases operated in my daily practice. Even so, I was surprised when race biases interrupted my research practices in overt ways. At one of the men's facilities where I maneuvered unescorted, I stood slightly behind a white male volunteer who was leaving the medium security compound and entering the main building. I had conducted observations in his class. We stood at the door waiting for the officer to buzz the door open. It was taking an extra long time, so the volunteer buzzed. When the correctional officer finally let us through, he double checked my ID and looked extra hard at the stamp on my wrist. Jokingly he said, "You can't be too sure, you could have been an inmate trying to escape." These incidents did not happen often, but when they did, they poignantly called attention to the over-policing of black bodies. More specifically, in this case, fears about black men manipulating white men to escape prison emerged, and this officer clearly thought that black people could not possibly be leaving prisons.

Even after gaining access into the four facilities, I had to gain the trust of participants. An important part of the research was to understand how implementing reentry policies affected various actors. I therefore spoke with people of varying degrees of power working at different levels within the correctional institutions. My position as a researcher changed when I was in relationship with these different people, such that I harnessed different behavioral codes and different language styles. When I talked to correctional officers about the project, they marked me as being "soft," or "one of them." This demonstrated that despite efforts by higher officers to get "everyone one on board" to accept evidence-based practices, numerous employees believed in an "us versus them" or "custody versus rehabilitation" dichotomy. In this case, "them" included the staff who were invested in utilizing new reentry policies that focused on risk reduction. At the same time, there were correctional officers who supported the new reentry policies and thought that I was there to help incarcerated people.

I interacted with as many unit team counselors as possible. My interactions ranged from attending occasional meetings to consistent interactions like observing the weekly classes they facilitated or having lunch with the team counselors on a daily basis. Although the counselors sometimes discussed institutional matters and my research findings over lunch, more often, lunch-time was a time to connect with colleagues and share stories about family members, vacations, recipes, and movies.

This familiarity with correctional officers was beneficial at times. Once after dinner, I returned to the women's correctional facility to conduct several interviews. The officer did not have a record of my appointments, but because I had my paperwork and ID, he granted me access without trouble. The officer at the housing unit however, had a hard time locating a space for the interview. He placed me in the break room that was used by correctional officers. I was

scheduled to interview, Sherryann, a middle aged African American woman who had been convicted of assault charges. After I explained the project, Sherryann signed the consent from and we started the interview. Sherryann glanced at the vending machine and lamented out loud about wanting Doritos and a Mountain Dew. Later in the interview a correctional officer entered without knocking. I turned off the recorder and quietly sat with Sherryann until he finished purchasing his snacks and left. I realized that the officer might have placed us in the break room because it was the most convenient, open place, but it also might have been a place to intimidate and surveillance us. But Sherryann's candidness continued throughout the interview. She explained criminal history and how she struggled with drug addiction and finding work. Ultimately, Sherryann's was one of the most insightful interviews that I collected. This was in part because her interview underscored that place mattered. I had overlooked the placement of the interview and needed be more careful in accepting places that were offered out of convenience. The next evening when I arrived, I asked to be moved to another room.

Recruitment and the Facilities

I conducted 45 semi-structured interviews with incarcerated people, probationers and parolees. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I had informal conversations with incarcerated people who participated in the classes I observed. I also collected three life histories from formerly incarcerated people. These interviews and informal conversations focused on their experiences of incarceration and participating in reentry related programs, drug treatment, goals and aspirations, and their perceived "risky behaviors" both inside and outside of the facilities. To be selected for a semi-structured interview, participants had to be previously or currently enrolled in a reentry class, such as a cognitive behavioral course or employment/ life skills-based course. All participants were categorized as high-risk offenders by a risk/needs assessment or

institutional assessment. I also tried to interview people with convictions for a wide-range of offenses (e.g., drug trafficking, prostitution, murder, and sex offenses). None of my interviews were done while I was directly supervised.

The selection process varied at each institution (discussed below). In some cases, the unit team counselors selected participants. In these instances, I took special care to offer the option of declining. Two people declined. The first person said he wanted to shower since he had not had a chance to do so for two days, while the second person thought I was there from an outside organization to offer post-release assistance. When I clarified the project, she declined to be interviewed. With the exception of one, all the interviews with incarcerated people were recorded. Sweets (see chapter 5) was my first interviewee and agreed to be recorded if it made the process easier for me. I sensed Sweets's uneasiness and we agreed to not record the interview. At the end of each interview I offered the opportunity for all interviewees to ask me questions. While some interviewees asked me questions on record, most of them asked questions and engaged in casual conversation when I turned off the recorder.

This next section describes the correctional institutions that I visited. WCF1 (women's correctional facility) was a small women's facility located in a medium-sized city. On average, in 2015 WCF1 had 776 women incarcerated. The facility was comprised of three main compounds. For those in the general population, substance abuse treatment and work release were spread across five housing units on the low-level compound. Offenders in solitary confinement, or those considered "bad" because of multiple infractions, were housed at the maximum unit. Outside the maximum housing unit was a cage where people in solitary confinement could exercise for one hour a day. A barbed wire fence surrounded the entire facility, but in some places, it was not excessively high. All three compounds were separated with the medium and maximum housing

units within walking distance of each other. To get to the medium and maximum housing units from the low-level compound, one could take a ten-minute walk on a service road, or a three-minute drive by car. The entrance process into the medium and maximum compounds was more akin to airport security— I had to remove my shoes and belt and send them through a screener. Additionally, throughout the compound, I had to be buzzed in through a series of doors and gates. I visited all three compounds, but I primarily conducted research at the general population compound with people classified as high-risk offenders.

At WCF1, I made a simple flyer for unit team counselors to pass out and post on the announcement boards of the housing unit. After no one contacted me to participate, I announced the opportunity in the classes that I attended. This strategy proved successful, as several women signed up. Once I met more women in other classes, additional women signed up. Eventually, the reentry team counselors and unit team counselors provided me with more participants to round out the racial diversity of the group, since most of the recruited participants were white. The reentry counselor also provided me with a list of the participants' class history. In addition, I spent several days on the drug treatment housing unit conducting observations of courses and collecting interviews focused on drug use and reentry. During that time, I spoke with the women between classes, and in one rare case, I even played card games with the women.

MCF1 (men's correctional facility) was a 45-60 minute drive away from my temporary residence. It was located in a small-medium sized city where the prison was one of the major industries. The facility was tucked away among local housing, which made it hard to see from the main road. The MDOC reported that this facility had an average daily population of 2408 in fiscal year 2015. This included its low, medium and maximum units. The minimum and medium compound were separate from the maximum housing unit. In order to get to the maximum

compound, it was necessary to drive seven to ten minutes on a winding road. The security at this facility was stricter. Although this security process was the most stringent, the officials at this facility allowed me to move between my destinations freely while in the low and medium compounds. When at the maximum-security compound, I had to be escorted at all times. Upon entering the main facility (low and medium compounds) my items were scanned, I signed in, and received a hand stamp that was only detected by ultraviolet lighting. At every checkpoint I had to show my ID and my hand stamp. When leaving the facility I had to sign out of the book.

Since MCF1 was a larger facility and the low, medium, and maximum compounds were dispersed, I could not develop relationships with incarcerated people by attending multiple courses, or by "hanging out" at the housing units. As a result, I required more assistance with the recruitment of interviewees. My primary contact coordinated the majority of the interviews. The few people who signed up for an interview because they had met me in a class and were important because it provided a common points of reference. It also allowed for a discussion of the importance of the class material and how it could be applied to daily life once released. At the same time, not being able to attend several courses across the compounds meant fewer opportunities for informal interviews with incarcerated people about challenges that occurred during the day. Most of the incarcerated people I interviewed were in minimum/medium custody. Only two interviews were with people on the maximum housing unit.

The third institution, WCF2, a medium-sized women's facility, was located in a very small town. I had to drive through several small towns on a one-lane highway in order to get there. WCF2 housed minimum to maximum women offenders and certified juvenile offenders. The juveniles were kept in a separate housing unit, and at times there were only one or two juveniles in the housing unit. The housing units and cafeteria circumvented a wide-open grassy

area. Each unit included a central officer's booth surrounded by four pods where the women were housed. At this facility, my movement was constantly watched despite my volunteer clearance, which technically meant that I did not need an escort. However, about three-fourths of the way through my research, I was able to walk across the compound unescorted, as long as someone in the officer's booth knew that I was coming and/or someone watched me walk across campus.

At WCF2, I had no control over who was selected for the interviews. All the interviewees were selected from the housing unit designed for women who would be reentering society. I spoke extensively with my contact about the selection, which resulted in one of the most diverse sample of participants in terms of race/ethnicity, conviction, age, education, and mental health status. She provided me with a detailed written description that included the interviewee's demographics for me to approve, and offered to find other participants if needed.

The last institution, MCF2, was also a male facility. This facility was approximately a 30-minute drive from my residence, located in close proximity to the state's capital city, Jefferson Missouri. The population at this facility was primarily African-American. The facility also housed low-level offenders, the majority of whom were on track to be released. I did not have free movement at this facility and was with an escort at all times. This meant that on a few occasions, I had to wait or change my plans because there was no escort available. On other occasions, having an escort allowed me to shadow the staff's movement and to see how they interacted with incarcerated people. When I interacted with incarcerated people who worked in the office area, this provided opportunities to informally talk with them when the staff were in meetings or at lunch.

I made another flyer for the unit team counselors to hand out. In the foyer of the office space, I kept a sign-up sheet. Except for one interview, the unit team counselors at this institution were not directly involved in my recruitment. Unlike the women's facility, WCF2, where there was more diversity, all of the interviewed men with the exception of one identified as Black or West Indian. The one white man whom I interviewed was primarily focused on explaining how he was innocent. Instead of asking staff to intervene and help me to access a more diverse group of people to interview, I decided to I decided to see what opportunities could arise from this group.

While my sample was not racially diverse, it was diverse in terms of "time served." I interviewed three men who had been incarcerated more than 15 years. For example, Daryl, who was now in his mid 40s, was incarcerated at 19 years old (see chapter 5). Along with other "long timers," Daryl co-taught the Impact of Crime on Victims Course. The men not only described what it meant to "grow up" inside a prison, but provided a wealth of knowledge of institutional changes over the years. For example when they had first entered, incarcerated people were segregated, racial tensions were more intense, and there was a lack of programming to develop any employment skills. Furthermore, they explained how gangs formed along racial lines to stay safe and protect each other from violence – a common practice in correctional facilities and jails.

With respect to correctional staff, I conducted 29 semi-structured interviews (recorded and not recorded) with a variety of DOC staff members inside prison and at the central offices. The staff members included unit team counselors, unit team managers, institutional parole officers, correctional officials, correction officers (guards and supervisors), mental health staff, cognitive specialists, activity coordinators, and reentry specialists. There was a lack of diversity among correctional staff, so the majority of these interviewees were white. Most of the

conversations I had with people of color were informal or non-recorded. Additionally, there were a few white staff members who wanted to speak more freely about prisoner reentry and did not want to be recorded.

All but two of the interviews with staff were held onsite at the prison or central office. Most of the staff members, except officials and administrators, worked directly with the high-risk population who were slated for reentry services. I talked with the majority of the people in the space where I had office space, but I did not interview everyone. Some people in the office avoided me, so I did not pressure them to be interviewed. In these cases, I tried to engage in several informal conversations with them at lunch or as they moved through the facility.

Reentry in the Midwest

Research agendas focused on formerly incarcerated people and reentry barriers are continually expanding as more states implement reentry policies. However, there is still little research on the reentry efforts in the Midwest. In this dissertation, I analyze the Midwest, specifically Missouri and Kansas, to understand how smaller to midsized correctional systems address prisoner reentry reform. These Midwestern states tend to have smaller criminal justice systems, incarcerate fewer people, and thus, attract less attention from researchers. Due to regional demographics that include larger populations of white rural communities, there is a smaller number of black and Hispanic populations incarcerated. At the same time, the rate of incarceration of black and Hispanic people in these areas is greater than the national average. Kansas and Missouri are of interest because they are implementing innovative approaches to prisoner reentry based on evidence-based practices. Some of these approaches are wide spread, such as the use of cognitive behavioral courses and employment-based courses, while others are not, such as the use of risk/needs actuarial tools. The remainder of this section offers an overview

of how Missouri and Kansas incorporated their reentry policies.

Missouri is a state with a long and well-studied history of racial conflict and urban poverty (Lumpkins 2008; Theising and Moore 2003). It has disproportionately high rates of incarceration for African Americans, particularly in the urban areas of Kansas City, MO, and East St. Louis. According to the Sentencing Project, in 2005 MODOC's incarceration racial/ethnic disparity in terms of black/white was 5.2:1, which was slightly below the national average of 5.6:1. The rest of Missouri was a mix of smaller cities, some with progressive politics (notably Columbia, MO), as well as poor rural areas and small towns that suffer from high incarceration rates for white people. Correctional officials and several advocates expressed that rural white (and black) populations were resource-poor compared to communities in larger cities or in urban areas. For example, people in rural communities could not rely on public transportation in the same way as urban dwellers do. This had a detrimental effect on their ability to find and maintain work and could therefore be a reason for their recidivism.[12] Likewise, urban areas seemingly had more resources and community organizations to provide assistance, but there were more people who needed access to these resources.

In 2013 Missouri spent $626 million in state corrections expenditures and had 41,998 incarcerated people in jails and prison with a little over 76,300 people on parole and probation (Sentencing Project n.d.). The rate of incarceration for its prison population was 521 per 100,000 people, in 2013 (Sentencing Project n.d.). To deal with its relatively high rates of incarceration and recidivism, in 2002, Missouri DOC instituted a state-level reentry plan that linked partners inside and outside of prisons to address the lack of resources and to decrease recidivism rates

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[12] Being employed is a condition of parole. Typically offenders are not returned to prison because they cannot find a job. Instead, their lack of financial stability often leads them to finding other means of accessing money, which may be a parole violation.

(Pew Center on the States 2011). Missouri was the first of fourteen states (8 states in 2002 and 6 states in 2009) chosen to implement the National Institute of Corrections' Transition from Prison to Community model (NIC), a federal initiative that provided funding and technical support to states to devise geographically sensitive strategies to reduce recidivism rates and increase public safety. Missouri DOC reformed its parole and probation programs, established transitional housing units (THU) in 12 correctional institutions, retrained correctional staff, and created forty-four locally-based reentry teams. Although Missouri DOC did not implement a particular model like the Risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model used in Kansas, it institutionalized the transitional accountability plan (TAP). The TAP was designed to involve offenders in their reentry plan, which was an outline of activities and programs s/he completed while incarcerated and post-release. Additionally, Missouri DOC had begun training staff to implement the Gender-Responsive Risk/Needs Assessment (GRA) with women. This evidence-based risk/needs was similar to the LSI-R but took into account specific needs that women face (see chapter 4). These strategies were widely credited for lowering Missouri's recidivism rate, which dropped from 54.4 percent in 2004 to 36.4 percent in 2009 (Pew Center on the States 2011).

The forty-four locally-based partnerships were called MRP teams (Missouri Reentry Process).[13] They were comprised of representatives from community organizations, prisons, and parole and probation offices. The partnerships provided wrap-around services to formerly incarcerated people and connected them with job, housing and food resources. These teams were spread throughout the state and used formal and informal networks to connect people with resources. These connections sometimes also started before offenders left prison. For example,

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[13] This number is based on the Missouri DOC literature. It was unclear how many were still viable. Sustainability was a problem for some of the groups. They met irregularly, had low attendance and did not have funding. Because they were spread throughout the state, it was difficult to know which teams were still operational.

the Second Chance in Action Grant (SCIA) was designed to help reintegrate medium to high-risk woman offenders from specific areas in the southeastern region of the state (Buck Willison, et al. October 2013). The program connected incarcerated women with family members and parole officers via teleconference. Once released, SCIA services expanded in order to assist participants in finding a job and place to live, as well as to provide monetary subsidies for housing deposits and to purchase clothing.

Most of these reentry services occurred when participants were at the transitional housing unit. This was a special unit for people 6 months from release, also known as the "going home unit." [14] In 2004 MDOC opened its first THU at Algoa Correctional Facility. The aim of the THU was to prepare them for reentry. At these units incarcerated people took several courses, including anger management, life skills, cognitive behavioral based course and reentry 101 (which was not an evidence-based course). I spent the majority of my time at these units while conducting field research in Missouri.

Kansas is at the western boarder of Missouri. The two states share a large metropolitan city Kansas City, which is bifurcated by the state border. Most of its correctional institutions and larger urban cities are located along the eastern side of the state while the northwest region is a large under resourced area. Wichita, Topeka, and Kansas City KS, three major urban cities, have the largest numbers of black people returning home to the state. In 2013, KDOC incarcerated 16,410 people in prisons and jails and had approximately 22,147 people on parole and probation combined (Sentencing Project n.d.). And according to the Sentencing Project KDOC spent $382 million on state corrections expenditures in 2013. Although Kansas DOC is smaller than most

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[14] Unit team counselors told me that people sometimes stayed for longer or shorter periods of time. Six months was the ideal length of stay, but because of overcrowding, a housing conflict, or someone falling through the cracks, the transition to the THU did not always occur within the desired time frame.

states with large populations of minorities, the racial/ethnic disparity for incarceration in terms of black to white is 7.0:1 which is above the national average and above Missouri's rate (Sentencing Project n.d.).

The majority of Kansas, with the exception of the rural northwest region, adhered to a trifurcated correctional system. Most correctional systems across the United States combine parole and probation in the same office, even if parole and probation had different functions within the criminal justice system. In Kansas's trifurcated system parole, probation and reentry were separated and often had different funding streams. Under the probation system, there were two forms that included court services and community corrections. Court Services was under the judicial branch and primarily reserved for low-level offenses such as theft, a first or second DUI (driving under the influence) conviction, or burglary of a garage. Community Corrections was part of the executive branch and utilized as an alternative to incarceration. A Community Corrections officer explained that his unit dealt with medium level offenses but also with high-risk offenders including aggravated assault, drive-by shootings, and some sex offenses. It was optional for counties to provide programming when Community Corrections was first established by the Kansas Legislature in 1978. This changed in 1989 with Senate Bill 49 that required an additional 89 counties to begin community corrections programming. Now there are 31 Community Corrections programs.

Kansas was not a NIC grantee, yet in 2008, the Kansas DOC implemented a Statewide Risk Reduction Initiative with similar reentry goals as Missouri. Kansas DOC placed a greater emphasis on risk reduction and high-risk offenders. Kansas's approach was based on integrating systems of intervention. A key point of the model was that it focused on intensive case management for "high-risk offenders," rather than "low-risk offenders." In Kansas this stage was

most clearly represented by their use of the Risk-need-responsivity model (RNR) (see chapter 1) and their heavy reliance on the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) as their primary risk/needs assessment tool. Another key feature included having reentry counselors in each correctional facility. These reentry counselors, along with unit team counselors, discussed reentry plans and provided pre-release services. [15] This feature was different from Missouri's approach because in addition to having unit team counselors who worked on daily issues, there were reentry counselors whose primary work was to address reentry needs. While all prison staff were charged with using evidence-based practices, the reentry team was the main group of people who instituted the evidence-based practices. Members of this team taught the cognitive behavioral courses, trained correctional staff members on the new practices, conducted the risk/needs assessments, set up mentors for incarcerated people, and facilitated weekly treatment plan meetings. This team also worked closely with the institutional parole officer, the substance abuse treatment staff, and outside organizations that provided transitional housing or other services for people coming out of the institution.

Lastly, Republican Governor Sam Brownback mandated a new program, "Mentoring4Success." The program used volunteers from faith-based organizations and community-based organizations across the state to help offenders to reintegrate into society. The Kansas DOC committed itself to providing a mentor for every offender released from prison. The mentors worked with incarcerated people for six to twelve months prior to release and for six months post-release. Officials saw this piece of the prisoner reentry as integral to increasing

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[15] During preliminary research in 2010, Kansas had a housing specialist, police officer, work supervisor, and counselor at all treatment team meetings. Having both inside and outside people present at the meetings was aimed at creating stronger social support networks and fostering pro-social behavior. When I returned in late 2011, this system had phased out, which was part of the plan, but the intensive case management continued.

public safety. Mentors provided offenders with peer support by modeling and reinforcing pro-social behaviors including, being a good tenant, a responsible parent, and avoiding high risk situations. When I was in the field, the program was just beginning, and according to the Missouri DOC, they matched 532 people in July 2012. In 2015, the Mentoring Program was five years old and had matched over 4,100 offenders with mentors.

Notes on Terminology

Currently, the terms *offender* and *ex-offender* are widely used in the criminal justice field and the academy. This is a shift from the use of previous terminology, including prisoner, inmate, con, convict, ex-con and ex-convict. And still, correctional staff would occasionally use the term 'inmate.' The term 'offender' has become a part of everyday lexicon. When it is used, people tend to automatically think of a person who has committed an offense or broke the law. The way we address people carries a lot of weight, as it signifies both real and constructed assumptions. Anti-prison activists and formerly incarcerated people have called attention to the dehumanizing nature of using the words like convict, con, and inmate. Instead they advocate for using humanizing language such as *person who is in conflict with the law*, *incarcerated person*, *person in jail*, etc. (Solinger 2010). These terms are cumbersome when constructing sentences and do not flow easily from the tongue. Yet these terms offer more than a rhetorical shift: humanizing language may precipitate a paradigm shift in understanding representations of incarcerated people and their positionality within systems of power.

Despite the widespread usage of the terms offender in fieldwork, I made a conscious effort to use the terms *incarcerated people*, or *formerly incarcerated people*. However, many of the staff members did not respond well when I used these terms. But more importantly, it repositioned me as an outsider who empathized more with incarcerated people than the

correctional employee's concerns. In these instances, I strategically reverted back to using the word *offender* and occasionally *inmate*, so as not to alienate my contacts. I heard the word *offender* so much that there were times when it naturally slipped off my tongue.

In this dissertation, I primarily use the term *incarcerated people* or a person's name. When this phrasing is cumbersome, I revert to other terms such as "the women" or "the men" instead of the offenders. When I do use the word offender or inmate, it is purposeful. I use the term when one of the two conditions are met: I am conveying correctional staff's controversial thoughts and feelings, or the terms incarcerated people/person would severely disrupt the sentence structure.

Wardens, correctional officers (i.e. guards) and mental health staff are frequently discussed in the literature and most people have a basic understanding of their job duties. Yet, there are a plethora of jobs within correctional facilities that are overlooked in many analyses. In addition, job titles and duties across state lines or even across institutions within the same state are not commensurate. For example, a facility may have an Activities Coordinator—someone who coordinates volunteer 4H groups or Theatre groups—while another facility may not have the same position. Another prison may offer similar activities as 4H but a designated unit team counselor may coordinate the activities. Even the term *unit team counselor* (UTC) was not universal across field sites, even though various prison staff were essentially performing the same duties. In addition to the different job titles, when people rotated around the facility, their duties sometimes changed as well. All the facilities rotated unit team counselors to prevent undue familiarity, except for the reentry employees in Kansas DOC, who did not rotate. I note that explaining all of these positions and their variations can be overwhelming to the reader.

Nonetheless, it demonstrates how the implementation of evidence-based practices affects all employees, from the cooks to work supervisors to unit team counselors.

To promote clarity regarding the responsibilities of staff and also to add another layer of anonymity, I describe the majority of employees who worked with incarcerated people as unit team counselors. The exceptions were when I referred to correctional officers, or when it was important to know the person's position. Additionally, I spoke only with a limited number of higher officials at each institution. In some cases, I specified the position because it was important to understand that particular official's position of power. In other cases, I generalized the experience and used the word *official(s)* and *higher official(s)* to denote both institutional and central office officials. I used the prefixes Ms. or Mr. to signal that s/he was a DOC employee, while first names or nicknames were used for incarcerated people. Everyone was assigned a pseudonym, even when I used nicknames. Lastly, in some cases, I disaggregated identities by changing gender identifications and making one person into two people or two people into one person.

Limitations

I was not able to observe all the inner workings of the correctional facilities. For example, I did not spend time in solitary confinement and I had very limited access to people with severe mental health or social problems. Although my initial tours included these aspects of the facility, they were not the focus of my study. As such, my analysis does not highlight the abuses and human rights violations that are often reported by the media or prison advocacy groups. These abuses did happen in the facilities that I visited and staff members and incarcerated people occasionally recounted these incidents as well. Interviewees spoke "off record" about sex scandals between incarcerated people and employees, drug sales, correctional

officers "feeding dog food" to incarcerated people, people put into solidary confinement for long lengths of time, and overt violence from correctional officers. The incidents that I encountered involved loud and excessive verbal abuse. The only violent incident that directly affected my work was the temporary cancelation of a class due to a stabbing that occurred between two incarcerated people. The facility was on lock-down – expect for designated staff, there was no movement – and my volunteer status did not allow me to enter the facility at that time.

In addition to the structural and demographic issues that I outlined for each facility, the sentencing guidelines and post-incarceration restriction varied across state lines. Therefore, it was difficult to compare institutions or to offer one set of best practices that addressed the needs of formerly incarcerated people at the local level or within specific institutions. Institutional policy and sentencing policy often shift due to budgetary cuts and crime rate fluctuations; and these shifts limit the value of comparative studies (Travis and Western 2014). Consequently, strict comparison was not appropriate in this dissertation. Instead, my data engaged everyday governing practices with major debates surrounding national reentry policy as a framework to understand larger concepts, such as the widening and narrowing of coercive forms of governance. I emphasized the shifting relationships between correctional staff and incarcerated people as evidence-based practices and policies (EBPs) were deployed to predict future criminal behavior and to reduce recidivism rates. The following chapter begins this examination by outlining the ways that correctional employees interpreted and accepted EBPs.

CHAPTER 3: Scientization of Incarceration: Risk Reduction and Prisoner Reentry

Ms. Jean guided me to places I never thought to visit. We traveled through the kitchen where the incarcerated men prepared the food, then into the winding ominous concrete hallway where the food was stored. As we walked through the hallway, Ms. Jean told me that reentry was not just about programs or services. For her, food service was part of reentry. Ms. Jean explained that maintaining a 2000-calorie diet for "offenders" was difficult with budgetary cutbacks. She showed me the packaged cookies made in India and emphasized that reentry entailed keeping incarcerated people "healthy" and "alive." I spent a lot of time with Ms. Jean, a unit team counselor at one of the men's facilities where I conducted research. Ms. Jean was a stout late 50s white woman with long red hair pulled back into a bun. She started working in the correctional system in the mid 80s as a lower ranking correctional officer. Now a well-respected unit team counselor who taught one of life skills courses, she guided me through the over crowded housing units where the men slept in an open gymnasium-like space.[16] There was absolutely no privacy in this area. I diverted my eyes, gazed at the floor, as we passed men changing their clothes, using the open toilet area, and taking showers. Ms. Jean, on the other hand, spoke directly to the men, shook their hands and called them by their name. Her tone was respectful, with a slightly firm motherly quality.

Later that day, Ms. Jean also showed me the can of mace on her hip. In a straightforward manner she recounted that she had used mace on offenders when disruptive situations occurred. This was an old school management practice; and she would do it again if she had to. Even as

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[16] Prior to the mid 1970s, most incarcerated people were typically housed in single cells with a bed and a single sink and toilet unit. After the incarceration boom, correctional facilities started doubling up and using gymnasiums and other open spaces as sleeping areas (Travis and Western 2014: 179-80; Gottfredson 1984). Prison overcrowding was addressed in the Supreme Court Case, Brown v. Plata, 131 S. Ct. 1910, in 2011. The decision upheld population limits in correctional institutions because it violated incarcerated people's eighth amendment rights.

Ms. Jean embraced the new methods of working with incarcerated people that required staff to position themselves as motivators rather than enforcers and to use evidence-based practices, she was not afraid to revert to harsher methods of control. Not everyone possessed (or chose to incorporate) the same fluidity as Ms. Jean—maneuvering between using pro-social communication techniques associated with evidence-based practices and more custodial forms of control.

In the first section I explore the dissemination of evidence-based practices within correctional facilities. This process entailed training DOC employees to develop an expertise in using EBPs when interacting with incarcerated people. In the same ways that incarcerated people were disciplined and governed, so to were staff members. Correctional staff not only used evidence-based practices but the evidence-based practices dictated how they worked. There were constant trainings and reevaluations to insure that staff stayed in compliance. Yet, the intended cultural shift and integration of EBPs into the everyday practices did not always run smoothly. This section also examines the difficulties of getting staff to shift from coercive styles of punishment to ones that used the least amount of force and promoted pro-social behavior.

Next, I lay the groundwork for understanding the *scientization of incarceration.* I outline how evidence-based practices and policies produced a particular understanding of incarceration that hinged on predicting uncertainty. Most officials accepted risk/needs assessments—one commonly used form of EBPs—as objectively reflecting scientific knowledge. The majority of my informants could not explicitly define what were evidence-based practices and policies. Instead of defining specific components of the evidence-based practices and policies, they talked about risk reduction and reentry. Thus, I paid close attention to *talk* about risk reduction and reentry as a way to uncover how my informants understood evidence-based practices and

policies. This chapter asks the reader to question what evidence-based practices "do" for the

penal state? To this end, I conclude this chapter by examining the use of scientific knowledge

(and numbers) to predict what is unpredictable.

The "Scientization of Incarceration"

The use of actuarial tests produce a statistical kind of knowledge (Asad 1994) that

justifies the correctional system's practice of "targeted governance" (Hannah-Moffat 2005;

Moore and Hannah-Moffat 2005). The idea of targeting services dovetails with the rise of the

needs principle in corrections. Instead of just offering services, interventions should target

certain changeable behaviors that are associated with criminal behavior, such as anti-social

behavior, values and beliefs and substance abuse. Asad (1994) argues that statistics have a

certain power that organizes and structures peoples' lives. The state has a long history of

organizing and classifying people based on deaths, diseases, and crimes; this practice is "not

merely a mode of understanding and representing populations but also an instrument for

regulating and transforming them" (Asad 1994). The numbers make it possible to create

hierarchies of who needs what service, while informal methods of assessment are imbued with

limited power. Counting becomes an important process in which certain categories come into

being page (Hacking 2004).

In the correctional institutions where I conducted research, the majority of services were

targeted toward high-risk offenders, which is in-line with the risk principle that calls for services

to be directed to people who are more likely to recidivate. This is a change within corrections

since previous work focused on trying to keep low-risk offenders from reoffending. In other

words, through the process of labeling "social reality is conditioned, stabilized, or even created

by the labels we apply to people, actions, and communities" (Hacking 2004). Hence, statistical

knowledge of what works for certain groups of people has a broader effect on how the institution functions. When assessments determine that a group is high-risk, services and resources are redirected and the knowledge produced by these assessments is trusted as the "truth." As more resources have been geared toward this population, the quantifiable results have helped to stabilize it as a risk group that deserves more resources so that several employees have accepted the results produced by risk/needs assessments as the objective truth. Yet, the acceptance has not been universal.

The multiple ways that officials and staff talked about or could not talk about evidence-based practices was a vital site to understand the *scientization of incarceration*. Their talk became a way of solidifying their actions as something that was valid; and yet it produced ambiguity about what were evidence-based practices. When I asked what was different about the way they "do business," staff typically mentioned they were using evidence-based practices without giving specifics. When I asked what evidence-based practices were, I did not receive a detailed answer. Instead, they remarked that these were practices proven to work because they were based in "science" or "meta studies." But I was still unclear on what was different. I usually followed up with asking: "what did you do before that wasn't evidence-based?" My respondents fumbled on this, either they did not know or they were reluctant to talk their actions before evidence-based practices. The few that did respond mentioned boot camps, explaining how studies show that harsh military style programs did not work.

When I spoke with Ms. Helen, a whites supervisor at a local community corrections office, she explained that in the early 80s her office heard that treatment did not work. Ms. Helen also commented that programs like "scared straight" and "dare programs" did not work either, thus there was a push to find out what *did* work. I was also told, by several employees,

correctional officers, parole officers, unit team counselors and officials that current practices

differ from earlier practices that were based on what the counselor "felt" or "thought" because

they did not have any "real training" about how to treat incarcerated people. These comments

harken back to Ms. Jean's idea that she could not rehabilitate someone and that she believed

there needed to be some systems and programs in place to foster change. Typically, unit team

counselors were not trained as social workers despite the expectation that they would perform

social work type activities, such as aiding incarcerated people to work through personal and

family issues in addition to simple containment issues like room changes or replacing shoes or

institutional clothing. Ms. Tiffany, a senior unit team counselor who had worked in the system

for years, first as a correctional officer, told me that previous interactions with offenders were

more like "trial and error" until you found something that worked.

Mr. Dan related non-evidence based practices to his work. He said that the mixing of

classes with high, medium and low risk groups was not evidence based. Part of the problem he

thought was that high-risk offenders could influence low-risk offenders, adding that from what

he had heard, is that it was whatever the "flavor of the week, or the month." "Folks would try

one thing and then move onto the next thing" in regards to programming, like trail and error.

In another interview, Deputy Warden Eugene at one of the male institutions, who also

started off as a correctional officer, got really frank with me. This was the first time I had

interacted with Deputy Warden Eugene. My contact at the institution helped arrange this

interview since I did not have much contact with the officials at this facility. He was well built

white man in his mid 40s with several visible tattoos. In a laid back manner, he explained the

codes of the institution. Instead of talking to people or trying to motivate them, officers would

have snitches and offenders who would "beat up" the offender in question for him/her. Basically, if a correctional officer had a problem, he would have "his guys" get the person causing trouble.

In spite of some officials' and unit team counselors' inability to name specific evidence-based practices and policies, it was through an exploration of reentry that I began to piece together how scientific knowledge shaped the contours of reentry and risk reduction and hence this shift from the "old" to "the new." I found that for staff and officials, the use of risk/ needs assessments was at the center of evidence-based practices in correctional institutions.

When I initially asked them about prisoner reentry, I also received mixed answers. Correctional facility personnel did not talk about "prisoner reentry." Instead "reentry," without the descriptor "prisoner," was a commonly used term. Several of my informants explained the different programs that the correctional institution offered while others also thought it was just a "point in time." At the same time, it was clear that for the most of my informants reentry denoted more than a temporal moment of leaving prison. It was also a process that started once a person entered prison and was about changing behavior (and reducing risk). In my interview with a Warden, she called attention to this process:

> K: In your own words, what's prisoner reentry?
> W: Again, I talk about everybody [is] one decision away from being an inmate. Everybody … not everybody… the majority of inmates released and go back into the community so that reentry piece is from the moment they make that decision that will land them in prison, um, its working with them right away finding out what got you to make that decision? How can we get you to change that decision you made so the next time you are faced with something similar you are not making the same choice. So it's giving them the tools and the ability to make a different decision and that is prisoner re-entry. Getting them to be successful in the community because the majority of people are going back into the community. That's what makes the community safer and makes them successful.

As we continued to talk, the Warden's concept of prisoner reentry and risk reduction became clearer. Prisoner reentry, although typically thought of as programming, was more process

oriented. She asserted that everyone was "one decision away from being an inmate," hence, her comments individualized criminal behavior and made it about choice. For her, prisoner reentry was getting people to make "different decisions" when faced with the same situations in the future. This was different from risk reduction work, which focused on finding the root causes of behavior or risk containment work, which focused on security inside the facility.

K: Do you differentiate from risk reduction?
W: My philosophy on reentry is that reentry starts the moment they enter the system. I know… there is some disagreement sometimes that there are these reentry programs that start six months from release in prison. For me, it's about when it starts. The risk reduction piece goes hand in hand with reentry…I believe in a very balanced approach to reentry in that, especially from a … well it's with supervision as well …you have to balance risk containment and risk reduction. So you have to contain the bad behavior in order to isolate and figure out what's driving that behavior…. To me the reentry piece is really what we do and the risk reduction is … really figuring out what is driving that behavior. It goes hand in hand. The difference between reentry and risk reduction, I think risk reduction is a part of reentry and that process of getting them back.

Therefore, as "walking risk reducers" as Ms. Martha stated, it was the employee's job to figure out what was the root cause.

The use of risk/need technologies signals a deep desire that populations of "individuals should and can be changed" (Moore and Hannah-Moffat 2005). The ideology behind the tests assume that criminal behavior was a choice and that people come into contact with the law based on their own free will. In short, offenders were perceived as having a choice about whether they will commit more crimes. In my interview with Ms. Gloria, a white DOC administrator, I asked how the risk/ needs assessment worked, she told me:

K: How does the [risk/need assessments] affect your work? And I know a little bit about it, but just in general, on a day-to-day or weekly, do you see that?
G: It shows us the risk areas that each inmate has, so you can kind of get a quick overview of, hey, what's a specific inmate risk…I just flip up his [assessment score] and see what areas are super high in…. So, I can kind of look at those and

see, hey, is this some guy that we're going to need to send to substance abuse treatment? Should he go there before he actually goes out to a residence?

These statistically based systems for evaluating risk/needs are used to guide treatment options, not custody level of supervision, for example, whether to place an individual in a high, medium, and low risk group. The methods used to determine custody levels were different in the two states I researched. However, in general, the institutions used a different set of actuarial tests to determine initial custody level, and custody levels changes were typically tied to behavioral problems inside. If an incarcerated person received a series of disciplinary reports, their custody level would increase. For example, an incarcerated person could be in for first-degree murder but have a low custody level because she had good behavior or she was toward the end of her sentence. Despite the low custody level, the person might need more services because she had a high-risk score on the risk/needs assessment used to determine risk of recidivism. Ms. Gloria explained:

> K: Okay, so, there's the [risk/need] assessment score that helps you determine the programming that they get, right?
> G: Mmhmm.
> K: How is it … determined …if they're medium, max, or minimum custody?
> G: Custody, that's custody. Custody is… and I can actually even look on here. Custody has how many different sections?
> K: But that's not part of the [risk/need assessment?]
> G: No.
> K: Okay.
> G: There's a lot of little things that determine people's custodies—their past criminal history… how much time they have left in prison determines what custody level … the severity of their prior convictions, if they have an escape history, what's their most serious current offense, you know. Those are what are the risk levels of keeping them maintained in prison. That's what custody is. Can we have, I mean, 40-plus [score] over here in minimum compound? Yeah, we do.

This recent move within the DOC toward relying on risk/needs assessments was not without consequence. I found that risk/ need assessments elided personal history of marginalization and/or trauma by stripping criminal behavior of all social phenomena, such that racism and

economic inequality were not factored into how people come in conflict with the law (Moore & Hannah-Moffett 2005). The assessments did not ask about discrimination experiences in terms of race or gender. When incarcerated people were questioned about financial stability, if the person had accessed "welfare" or other social services, the person was seen as having more needs and therefore had riskier behavior. Thus the long history of social and economic inequality within the US and in particular in these racially charged regions was over looked.

In some cases, these scores followed offenders once released into the parole system through linked database systems and file sharing. Correctional officials and staff expressed excitement about this extended level of supervision because it allowed them to see what areas were being worked on. This oversight also made sure they not over-servicing an offender. Yet this process is punitive. It extends the level of surveillance the system has over a person, stagnates their ability to change, and creates more stigma once s/he returns to society.

Being able to use evidence-based practices also required an understanding of how much or how little to use. Officials talked about being able to provide the "right dosage"—that is the right number of hours of "pro social" contact and "cognitive based therapy"—for each incarcerated person. In my conversation with Ms. Martha, she explained how getting the right dosage was the next step as they understood it in the "science of risk reduction."

> K: And that recidivism reduction work, you're targeting high-risk offenders, right?
> M: Well, moderate and high….What we're trying to do, and this is sort of like the 2.0 release of our [redacted] work. In the past, we focused on the science of risk reduction. Now we know that science. Now we're trying to add some layers of the entire population getting the right dose of service.

The idea of dosage placed these programs squarely in a medical model, such that offenders were assessed and then provided the appropriate amount of or level of treatment. For Ms. Martha, the majority of staff had accepted risk reduction science. After studying the science and mastering

how it worked, science now guided their work with high-risk offenders. The next phase, as she explained it, was working with moderate and low-risk offenders by tweaking the dosage.

> M: We've always known we needed to look at low-risk offenders. So now using good time as an incentive, we're beefing that up a little bit and working with case managers to think dose.… If you're in prison, you have a little bit of risk. But we have to take the more intense doses and intense clumps of services and target high risk, I mean number one, because they present higher risk to the community. Number two, that's where your outcomes come from. But we're also trying to not leave out low-moderate, and low. Like give them low doses, but still give them the ability to have a good reentry plan, do some reinforcing of pro social [behavior], have access to job readiness at a lower dose, that kind of thing. That's another place where mentors are real effective. Sometimes a short skills-building class, a couple of goals, and a mentor, and you've taken a 20 or 22 on that [risk/needs assessment] and brushed them up as it were and given them a good chance of not returning.

DOC's investment in getting offenders the right dosage was important because giving them the wrong dosage could increase their level of risk. In my interview with Ms. Martha she explained: recent correctional studies posit that too many services to low-level offenders increased their chance of reoffending because low-risk offenders would be exposed to offenders who had higher levels of criminal thinking. And since public safety was part and partial of the role-out of evidence-based practices and policy, it was important to focus on incarcerated people who were more likely to recidivate. This was also a way of getting better outcomes.

Most unit team counselors and officials told me that "this is not a philosophy" or that it is not a "program." I took this to mean that risk reduction work was not just about one person's ideas or values. Neither was it something that could be seen or explained via one program, such as substance abuse treatment or a cognitive behavioral class, or the utilization of risk/needs assessments. As a result of this new rationale, correctional officials and staff were charged to take them seriously and use them on a daily bases.

It was 8:15 in the morning, and no one seemed to be overly enthusiastic about the training. Correctional employees from all over the state trickled into the large meeting room. Some employees chatted with old friends while others settled into their seats and waited for the training to begin. When I introduced myself as a researcher to the few people around me, I immediately sensed their uneasiness, despite the fact that I said that I was not evaluating their performance. Often, our conversations did not go beyond introductions. Sometimes I would chat with the person and she would eventually start talking to someone else or casually begin flipping through the training books on our table. Around 8:25 am, the facilitators announced that they would start in five minutes. They were going to close the doors. A few left the room, but mostly we all stayed in our seats. At 8:30 am, the facilitators closed the doors and started the training.

Since the wide-spread roll-out of EBPs, the Department of Corrections has trained correctional employees to administer risk/needs assessments and to use motivational interviewing techniques – two commonly used EBPs in the DOC. Training staff was a laborious process that took a lot of funding and time. These trainings were key areas that built the institutional rationale. According to Rose (2002), as the notion of risk thinking takes hold, numerous techniques and practices develop to reinforce it. One key way to maintain a connection to risk thinking within institutions was through trainings, inter-agency collaborations, and strategies geared toward risk management. These trainings become a way to create a cadre of paraprofessionals, people who were either partially trained or not trained at all in risk management (Rose 2002). This cadre of employees carried out the practices that reinforced risk thinking. So even though the majority of the evidence-based practices were centered on managing incarcerated people, a closer examination of its deployment revealed that "well

trained" employees were intrinsic to the process of institutionalizing evidence-based practices. The power embedded in the numbers was maintained by staff's use and belief in the new way of doing business. This was the first step in the governance of formerly incarcerated people. If staff were not trained to properly govern, then things could go awry.

During my fieldwork, I attended trainings and read manuals on how to use risk/needs assessments, e.g., LSI-R and Gender-Responsive Risk/Needs Assessment (GRA) and motivational interviewing.[17] As discussed in the introduction, actuarial assessments were not new in the DOC. Yet my informants constantly told me that these were significant changes. The use of evidence-based practices was not superficial. Unit team counselors, reentry staff and officials told me it was not just a matter of adding new classes or programs. All correctional employees were part of the move toward using evidence-based practices. This was a system-wide change that effected how they were expected to approach their job. In one state, the former Secretary of Corrections explained:

> It took a lot of reframing of the arguments and redefining job expectations. We were going to use - I know it's a buzzword - evidence-based practice, actuarial risk assessments to guide our work. …We were going to use actuarial risk assessments to guide our supervision. We were going to focus on efforts on the worst people as opposed [to] the easiest folks. That was a switch for a lot of folks. We were going [to] introduce cognitive intervention and cognitive principles into all our education and treatment programs. We rewrote everybody's job descriptions. We changed performance expectations. Massive retraining [of] staff because they need[ed] to have skills to do these things. If [we] are going expect that of them, we changed interview questions. So we had corrections officers call up our reentry people and say tell me about the cognitive stuff, tell me about risk reduction. We got a lot of interest in that. We talked to the legislator about how we wanted them to evaluate our performances.

The former Secretary of Corrections pointed out that the institution of EBPs was not just about training staff. It was about changing things from the ground up, so that institutional functions

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[17] Although both of the states I worked in instituted evidence-based practices, notably the LSI-R and the GRA. Outside of the various assessments used during intake, Kansas had a more robust training and used risk assessments more frequently than Missouri.

shifted towards reducing risk. Changing job descriptions and performance evaluations were

necessary to maintain the integrity of evidence-based practices and policies. This level of

redefinition highlighted the expected cultural change that was embedded in retraining staff to

rely on scientific knowledge to guide their work.

Numerous correctional employees, like Ms. Jean, had worked in the Department a long

time. It was not uncommon for people to work their way up from a level one correctional officer,

C1, to a unit team counselor—someone who worked on the dorms with incarcerated people on a

daily basis. Some of them were only comfortable with old custodial methods. There was not

complete "buy in" and this attitude was most prominent with correctional officers commonly

called prison guards or custodial staff. Unit team counselors and other staff members also had

varying degrees of buy-in.

Officials made training systematic and accessible to minimize the resistance of shifting

from coercive power to using a more consensual mode of power. Ms. Martha, a higher official

who was a champion of the reentry initiatives pointed out:

> One of the key planks of this new wave, is a cadre of skills developers. We purposefully
> didn't call them "staff development" or "trainers" because that draws the mind to a
> lecture hall classroom. We have to [offer] way more than the lecture hall classroom. So
> these skills developers, they do develop curricula. It's curricula about evidence-based
> [practices and policies].

In all the trainings that I attended, the trainers were either DOC employees who worked inside

the facility or DOC employees who worked at the main office. Most of the trainers completed

additional trainings, particularly if they were leading classes on risk/needs assessment tools,

motivational interviewing, or cognitive behavioral courses. Officials thought that not having to

constantly bring in trainers from the outside was an asset. It was cost efficient since new

correctional staff members were constantly being added. Moreover, it allowed new employees to be trained earlier, which was important in instituting the new logic.

Ms. Gretchen was leading the training for new correctional officers. Ms. Gretchen was a white senior unit team counselor at one of the men's facilities. She explained that higher officials incorporated these trainings into the basic training session as a way to introduce all new correctional officers to the concepts of reentry and risk reduction. During the training Ms. Gretchen explained the reentry model. She emphasized the differences between risk containment work and risk reduction work. According to the new logic, correctional officers' work was focused on containment but risk reduction work was also part of their work. By doing risk reduction work could mean having a more peaceful housing unit. For example using non-aggressive communication styles or finding alternatives for first time offenses (e.g. thinking reports, discussed later) were ways to cultivate pro-social environments and counter punishment-based approaches. Ms. Gretchen assured the correctional officers that safety should not be compromised. However, she made it clear that studies posit that old ways of handling conflict were not successful. As she talked I noticed that most of the young recruits did not seem overly interested. The presentation lasted about 15-20 minutes. On our way back to her office, she expressed that although the presentation was short, it was better that they learn about risk reduction early on.

Training was just one aspect. Getting staff to practice the skills was where things gelled together. Ms. Martha explained to me, "[going] past the theory, into what it looks like on the ground" was where everything happened. She explained, with evidence-based practices, a high-risk offender needs "at least 300 hours" of pro-social contact time. Pro-social contact meant positive interactions that helped incarcerated people undo criminal thinking, or thinking that

caused criminal behavior. Classes such as Thinking for a Change or other cognitive based programs, although "robust," could only give about "100 hours" of pro-social contact.[18] The remaining 200 hours of pro-social contact time needed to come from incarcerated people interacting with correctional officers, line staff, work supervisors, counselors, and mental health staff. Ms. Martha continued:

> We can't stop the work there, so how do we bring it over to the case manager? How do we bring it into the interactions with the uniform staff? Interactions with the…what we call the detail supervisors, doing all the maintenance for the grounds, the various jobs we have developed with private industry and all that? Every place that anyone is interacting with an offender. We had to take it from the theory to the practice. For reality, for all aspects of the work. What we do in the classroom with staff is about 20% of it. The rest is getting next to them, reinforcing, letting them practice the skills safely, giving them feedback on their skill -- coaching, mentoring, developing is capacity-building. To *walking risk reducers*, that's how we had to approach it (emphasis added).

The idea that all staff members were "walking risk reducers" reinforced the notion that staff members were an extension of this larger technology that was geared toward changing the approach to incarceration. Correctional officers were no longer holding incarcerated people captive and counselors were no longer coercing incarcerated people to change. Rather, all staff members embodied science and charged to use the scientific knowledge to reduce risk and support prisoner reentry.

Over lunch, a group of unit team counselors explained how this changed was difficult, specifically that trainings do not always go as planned. Mr. Dan, a young white male with dark brown hair who regularly trained correctional officers and other unit team counselors. He was giving a presentation on thinking reports and a correctional officer voiced his discontent. Thinking reports were an alternative to an official sanction and were usually given for minor

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[18] Thinking for Change is a cognitive behavioral class that focuses on changing thinking patterns. The curriculum is built around having people see how their actions affect other people, while helping them to build critical thinking skills and problem solving skills. One of the main goals is to replace "bad" thinking with "good" or more productive thinking.

infractions such as not finishing dorm duties or "mouthing off" to an officer. He explained that these trainings were geared toward providing less punitive measures for minor infractions. In other words, these trainings were basically guiding staff to use the least amount of force, a component of reducing risks while addressing needs. Mr. Dan's colleague told me that in the training, one of the officers blurted out "I don't give a fuck about them (offenders)." The correctional officer continued to be disrespectful and in his outburst, he proclaimed that he only cared about his family. Although correctional officers and other employees held these sentiments about the changes being made inside, rarely were they expressed in such an overt manner during the training. Instead, during the trainings I witnessed dismissive gestures, dehumanizing jokes and under-the-breath talk. In regards to humor and dehumanizing jokes in the trainings, I was told it was a mechanism to lighten the fact that they worked inside a correctional facility. An officer explained, they should be understood as a tongue and cheek statement, and nothing serious. It is important to note that outside of the trainings I witnessed several incidents that did not use motivational or more communicative techniques but instead were more akin to the use of overt power or shaming.

Notwithstanding, in the trainings and during regular conversations, training facilitators (and other correctional employees I spoke with) framed incarcerated people as potential neighbors as a way to get past these negative feelings. Mr. Dan and numerous counselors told me, "this person could be your neighbor." This saying pointed to the fact that what happened inside was linked to issues of public safety in the community. But more importantly, it was intended to invoke a response on a personal level. This statement was a deliberate attempt to reflect one's desire to live next door to productive, honest neighbors. I suggest that this new rationale was meant to yield a change in correctional employees' physical labor but also in their

emotional labor. Correctional staff members were supposed to care about incarcerated people, in the same way they would care about their neighbors' well-being. This meant treating incarcerated people as human beings who had made mistakes. It also implied that staff needed to get to know an incarcerated person's story, within reason. Due to the policies of undue familiarity, officers were not supposed to divulge too much information to incarcerated people about their personal lives. I am not suggesting that correctional employees should treat incarcerated people as their colleagues and vice versa, but there will always be uneven power dynamics in system. And these power dynamics are difficult to overcome even with evidence-based practices. Moreover, institutional policy required staff to constantly rotate among the housing units. This required counselors to continually adjust and relearn who was on their caseload. So when an incarcerated person developed a good working relationship with a counselor that counselor would eventually have to move to another housing unit because of the rotation schedule. These policies made the process one sided. And these policies did not reflect the true sentiments of how staff might interact with a neighbor. If staff could not see incarcerated people as their neighbors (within these boundaries), then at least, as Ms. Martha explained, they should do no harm while on the job.

I had expected this resistance from people who worked in the system prior to the onset of using evidence-based practices. A Warden explained that the older employees tend to be supervisors, and their efforts can solidify cultural shifts among lower-ranking staff. The Warden explained that she kept hearing complaints about the evening correctional officer staff. There were a lot negative attitudes and unsupportive chatter about reentry and risk reduction. The Warden decided to talk with the supervisor to figure out their concerns. After she visited the officers during their work shift, things started to change in a more positive manner.

Pilot programs were introduced at the facilities on a regular basis. However, because of budgetary cuts or lack of funding, these programs were sometimes short-lived and ended after the pilot stage. Several unit team counselors and officials explained that when they first heard about evidence-based practices and the new programs and assessments associated with reentry, they thought it was just another "fly by the night" type of thing. This constant change made staff skeptical of evidence-based practices unless they could actually see results. "Seeing it work" meant that staff members were did not see the same people cycle in and out of prison or that they witnessed offenders make pro-social choices while inside prison.

In an unrecorded interview with the Assistant Warden Michele, she abruptly stopped our easy flow of conversation. She emphatically told me, "I believe in reentry…with the right tools they can change…At first I didn't." I was curious about what made her change. When I inquired what made her rethink her position, she said, "I changed when I started hearing the success stories. I started to believe that it could work." She had worked in the system for over 15 years and was one of the few women of color that I met in administration. In our interview she spoke about discrimination in the system towards both her and the offenders. She said:

> In regards to having more minorities work at the facility… The guys on the hill began to see a change. The minorities began to work with the minority inmates. In the past they got picked on a lot…. Why are you building prisons where there is no representation? You have farmers supervising urban minorities. You'd have guys out in the rural area and the only black people would be the one's that were in prison.

There appeared to be strong racial tensions between staff and incarcerated people as this facility. For example, one afternoon while walking with Assistant Warden Michele an incarcerated white man made a racial slur as we passed. She explained that white incarcerated people (and white employees) tried to disrespect her authority; yet she still secured promotions. During our interview she elaborated:

[When] I became a correctional officer there was a lot of racism going on…. In some places they still call people [she whispered] the N word. There was sexism…I was on of the first people to file complaints…. Most of officers were white farm boys. Back then when they started hiring black people [they] were over qualified, very educated, while the other people [white men]… only had GEDs. …There were also a lot of men who were coming in with a military background. This was their second career. They [will collect] a pension from the military and from the DOC.

Assistant Warden Michele's comments highlighted the racism and sexism that circumscribed correctional practices and policies prior to evidence-based practices. Except for a few conversations like this one, correctional employees rarely mentioned race/ racism or sexism in regards to work or reentry work. To me, this silence (Davis 2007; Mullings 2005) asserted that correctional employees thought that standardized practices and relying on numerical calculations insured an unbiased, non-coercive type of treatment. They informally upheld these policies and practices as "color-blind" (Alexander 2010; Brewer and Heitzeg 2008; Brown, et al. 2003) – and as a way to diminish coercive power. So while using scientific knowledge did not reverse the long history of violence or racial discrimination, correctional officials and employees felt that they did not perpetuate the racial or gender biases in the criminal justice system.

However, these unsaid racial biases were deployed when employees felt the new practices were soft on offenders. In almost every facility that I visited, someone asked me if I knew about "hug-a-thug." The saying "hug-a-thug" illuminated the tensions between custody and programming aimed to help, such as treatment or reentry services. Characterizing the new practices as "hug-a-thug" demonized and racialized incarcerated people. It reinforced the idea of an "us and them" attitude toward incarcerated people that placed them outside of the normalized social body. Some correctional officers and unit team counselors suggested that instead of punishing an offender for doing something "wrong" or "bad," they needed to talk with the offender to find out what was wrong. Employees felt they were being asked to excuse behavioral

issues when services or programming were offered to incarcerated men and women. So according to them, this new way of addressing behavior did not actually discipline incarcerated people. On the contrary, as I will demonstrate in the following chapters, the new practices do discipline offenders.

Mr. Dan also saw the discord among staff in terms of a generational gap. He explained, "there is the security versus the rehabilitation. … Some people are interested in risk reduction while other are still old school." A lot of correctional officers I conversed with were ex-military or ex-police officers. I noticed that some of them, not all, had a more hierarchal, abrasive and tough attitude. "Security focused people," Mr. Dan said, "view the rehabilitation people as hug-a-thug." Although, Mr. Dan initially likened the resistance to a generational gap, his final comments reinforced the "muted" application of racism. Hug-a-thug functioned as a coded language such that employees could avoid talking about racial inequality. But is also made the people who supported rehabilitation efforts outcasts, even as their support was not grounded in a racial analysis and upheld color-blind view points.

I concluded that the subtext of not accepting the new practices was embedded in employees' lack of interest in developing a more meaningful connection with incarcerated people. Staff members were expected to develop more sympathy for incarcerated people, but also the new programs required that staff accept the idea that incarcerated men and women are human beings who have made unskillful decisions and can change.

Predicting Uncertainty

Statistics also shape how we determine what is more reasonable in a social world of uncertainty.
–Asad 1994:75

On one level, reducing crime in order to maintain public safety is one of the correctional system's main concerns. In conjunction with this concern is the desire to predict criminal behavior despite its uncertainty. In order to preserve public safety and quell public fears of crime, the criminal justice system is constantly implementing tools to determine who is more likely to commit a crime if released. Incidents in which ex-offenders recommit crimes sometimes lead to high profile cases that result in new legislation. For example, Megan's Law requires people with sex offenses to register with the local precinct and a public notification of their presence be announced to the community. The more accurately that the correctional system can predict risk, the more trust the public has in the penal state. Taken from this perspective, the resurgence of risk/needs assessments can be characterized as a political move rather than social services for incarcerated people. When officials and staff talked about evidence-based practices and policies, there was an overt emphasis on public safety and budgetary cuts, which was different from ideals of the past that focused on rehabilitation.

Using evidence-based practices, particularly assessments provided a mechanism to group populations together, which in turn created an order for limited resources and services to be distributed – a way to "moneyball" the system. Despite sharp criticisms about being able to predict dangerous behavior with science, the use of evidence-based practices continues to gain credence within the Department of Corrections across the United States (States 2011). All entities within the criminal justice system—courts, parole boards, prison and jails, probation and parole agencies, and sex offender treatment centers—are using risk/needs assessments to better calculate decisions and manage incarcerated people. Yet, even with the broad acceptance of evidence-based practices as a system that leads to better incarceration and reentry practices, a few senior employees confided their real opinions about using evidence-based practices. Their

concerns focused on using the results as objective truths and the implications for grouping "different" people together, as a way to offer services. I spoke with Ms. Sarah, a Latina correctional administrator who had previously work as a unit team counselor, about her thoughts on risk/needs assessments and evidence-based practices. Ms. Sarah explained:

> This is my honest opinion…You know, evidence-based is a term that a lot of people out here don't even know what you're talking about. Because it was proven in research that this works on these types of people, okay? How do you figure everybody is so different? I don't know of two individuals that are exactly alike. Either they have different backgrounds. They exhibit the same types of behaviors on some things. Okay, I give you that. This program…works for all these people because it's an evidence-based program. It's had the research. It shows that it works for these people. It changes their thinking patterns. I think it's an extreme word that sounds good to people and sound[s] good to legislation to get budgeting, sadly.

Ms. Sarah's comments pointed to three things that were surfacing in my exploration of reentry and risk reduction. While Ms. Sarah could accept that offenders exhibited similar behaviors, she still believed that offenders were different because of their background. From my perspective, Ms. Sarah's comment highlights a social ecological framework, which forces us to consider how behavior is shaped beyond the individual level. Instead, family, school, politics, media and culture interact and impact behavior. And for Mr. Sarah, this was not captured in the risk/needs assessments. Doing this would truly individualize treatment and the rehabilitation process.

Secondly, when unit team counselors (or offenders) challenged evidence-based practices also meant that choice and risk must be reframed. We would have to ask: Why are certain populations criminalized? Background information like race, class, gender, sexual orientation and structural factors like poverty and violence would need to be factored into our analysis of choice and risk. But more importantly, it would position debates around incarceration and reentry back into the debates that dismantled indeterminate sentencing policy (see chapter 1).

Lastly, Ms. Sarah's comment articulated the deeply embedded nature of evidence-based practices in the incarceration process. Federal and state funding dollars are now being tied to the use of evidence-based practices. This means organizations and institutions that apply for funding must demonstrate that they are using evidence-based practices. So their use becomes necessary, which in turn fuels development and testing, producing a cyclical process of chasing science.

The cracks evidence-based policies can be best analyzed when staff operationalize them into daily practice—that is when theory moves into practice. In the next chapter, I examine the ways that staff operationalize evidence-based practices on a daily basis. I show how prison staff members uphold the *scientization of incarceration* and work around the numbers in order to get incarcerated people the services that they think are needed.

CHAPTER 4: "Trust the Instrument"

Mr. Sam told me that when correctional officers are trained on the LSI-R, they are taught to "trust the instrument." On the simplest level, trusting the instrument meant having faith that the scores represented the risk/needs of the incarcerated person. By trusting the instrument to give good results, staff could feel confident that their case management was guided by high-quality knowledge. However, trusting the instrument also had multi-faceted effects in terms of changing institutional culture and how staff understood their role within the institution. Mr. Sam, a tall slender white man with glasses, was my inside person. He previously worked as a probation officer but now he focused on reentry. He was calm and admirably efficient. Mr. Sam and other counselors explained that staff's position on rehabilitation shifted as they trusted the instrument.

Mr. Sam's comments about "trust [ing] the instrument" clearly pointed to the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R), one of the assessment tools used at this facility. However, my analysis in this chapter extends what is considered the instrument. The *instrument* not only included the Level of Service Inventory-Revised but a range of assessments used in the criminal justice system to determine risk and needs such as substance use assessments, mental health assessments and sex offense assessments; communication styles such as motivational interviewing; personalized treatment plans, such as transitional accountability plans (TAP) and reentry plans; and the offender files, including adult and juvenile. I propose that the *instrument* becomes an assemblage of things, people and processes (Ong and Collier 2005). This assemblage is performed, documented, re-analyzed and re-documented (Amsterdamska 2007; Riles 2006). Through the process the *instrument* materializes the high-risk offender, a population category that must be acted upon.

This chapter explores the ways that the *instrument* was implemented in daily reentry work. I foreground the practices rather than the object—that is the risk assessment tool or the criminal file itself. By examining the operationalization of the *instrument,* I shed light on how the material realities of high-risk offenders are created through practice (Taylor 2005). I demonstrate how realities are multiple and the *instrument* is something done in multiple ways (Mol 2005). As the *instrument* was practiced, I began to see how staff struggled. I noticed that the *instrument* meant different things for employees and that employees had divergent thoughts about its value and usefulness. Some staff took a hard line and solely relied on risk/needs assessment scores to case manage. Others thought that the tools were only as "good"—that is, good at recognizing risks and needs—as the person administrating the tool. Hence, there were "bad" or "varying" results. In interactions with incarcerated people, staff may chose to adhere to scores but they may also go "off-script" and revert to old disciplinary techniques or find ways to maneuver around the scores. Sometimes, going off-script could mean providing resources that may not be given other wise but it also could mean denying resources. Moreover, the assessment results may contradict staff's experiences or fail to reveal everything needed to help incarcerated people be successful, particularly when dealing with gender differences, cultural difference, or long-timers. Thus, this section also considers how parts of the *instrument* or the assessment scores miss the mark. I suspend judgment on whether these assessment tools were effective, as that evaluation is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead my analysis of the *instrument* draws attention to the dynamics that emerge as the *instrument* is practiced and, therefore, institutionalized.

Lastly, this chapter examines the power struggles that occur between staff's ability to judiciously provide interventions in accordance to a person's risk/needs scores and the broader

institutional goals to decrease prison population. Because of budgetary cuts, often there were not enough resources to provide certain classes. As a result, unit team counselors and reentry staff were charged with providing more classes and programs because by taking these classes incarcerated people were able to earn up to 60 days off their sentence. So while higher officials were concerned with using EBPs to push people through the system, UTCs and reentry staff worried about being overworked and having to dilute classes because of the lack of resources.

Scoring Risk/ Needs Assessments—Scoring the LSI-R

As discussed in the previous chapter, courts, parole and probation agencies, jails and prisons, and parole boards across the nation are using the new iterations of risk/ needs assessments (Pew Center on the States 2011). While in the field I was introduced to several risk/needs assessments, including: the LSI-R, which was used on both male and female adults; the GRA which focused on women; and the Acute-2007, Static-99, and Stable-2007, three assessments used for sex offenders. For the purpose of this dissertation, I am primarily examining the LSI-R. Although I learned about the other instruments, examined the score sheets, and read a few of the manuals, the LSI-R (except for the drug and sex treatment related ones) was the only instrument I was partially trained to use. Moreover, the LSI-R has a more solid history of validation than other assessment tools that are used for the same purposes. The LSI-R is also one of the cornerstones of the Risk Needs Responsivity model (RNR).

The Level of Service Inventory–Revised (LSI-R) is a quantitative risk/needs assessment designed to assess "offender attributes and their situations relevant to level of supervision and treatment decisions" (Andrews and Bonta 2004). Don A. Andrews, Ph.D. and James Bonta, Ph.D. of Ottawa, Canada created the LSI-R and it is now one of the most commonly used risk/ needs assessments tools used in both Canada and the United States (see Hannah-Moffat 2005 for

a history of the four iterations of the LSI-R). Andrews and Bonta (2010) suggest that certain behaviors and factors correlate with increasing the risk of recidivism. These risks are covered in ten domains: criminal history, education/employment, financial, family/marital, accommodation, leisure/recreation, companions, alcohol/drug problems, emotional/personal, and attitudes/orientation (Andrews and Bonta 2002). These domains were reflected in 54 questions comprised of 2-10 questions from each domain. Criminal history and alcohol/drug problems have the most questions, 10 and 9 respectively. Financial and leisure/recreation only have two questions each. There are two styles of questions: 1.) Static questions that focus on aspects that do not change, such as criminal history or 2.) Dynamic questions that focus on aspects that may change over time if the proper treatment is provided, such as employment, attitudes/orientation or accommodation. It is an oral assessment that lasts approximately an hour and ideally should be "like a conversation" where the interviewer gathers information from the interviewee. Prior to the interview, the interviewee should review the offender's file. By doing so the interviewee can better formulate follow-up questions, but also insure that the person is not lying. Depending on the question, answers are ranked from 0-3 or yes/no. Each question is time-based, has a specific purpose, has scoring rules, and sample questions to help determine the score. For example, the financial section determines if the person can "support a pro-social life style." Specifically, the questions determine if in the past year they have suffered financial problems or relied on public assistance. Additionally, there are scoring rules that the interviewer must follow, therefore the final score is not typically calculated in the interview. The interview is a time to gather information, since all answers should be checked against a person's file notes and any other supporting documentation about the offender.

Offenders are given an overall score and separate scores in each domain. Though the highest score possible is 54, unit team counselors, told me it is not possible for anyone to *really* get a 54. The overall score is used to determine if an offender has a low, medium or high risk of reoffending. Offenders who have overall scores of less than 23 are typically are not recommended to take programs. This means those offenders will have more idle time while incarcerated. If offenders have a moderate score, 24-40, they will receive some treatment, while high-risk offenders who score 41+ will receive the most treatment. The overall score is not an average but a calculation of all the scores from the 10 domains. Classes offered in the facility target the dynamic domains with the highest scores. For example, to qualify for a cognitive behavioral class (1), an offender must have an overall LSI-R score of 32+ with a 3+ in attitudes and orientation.

There are several staff members in each facility that are trained on the LSI-R; however, each facility usually has only one person who is designated to do the LSI-R when offenders first come into the facility. The training for the LSI-R is a 40-hour training session that last five days and has a two day follow-up a few months later. During the months off, trainees are expected to complete and record mock assessments that are scored by the trainers. I completed only the 40-hour training session. One of the more interesting parts of the training requires staff to score mock LSI-R assessments from a video. These scores are compared with each other and with the "official" score from the trainer's guide. This official score, or *right* score, was the score that the creator of the tool provided. On a few occasions in the training sessions, the facilitators accused a few of us for "being soft" because our score were so low.

These trainings were also a space where staff members are supposed to "get on board" with the new way of doing business. Since these trainings are for new employees, this is a way to

introduce them to the rationale the DOC is now using to approach reentry. In this next section I

turn to how the *instrument* is operationalized on a daily basis.

Operationalizing the Tools and Technologies

Several factors played a role in determining the way the *instrument* was mobilized in

daily practices. The structure of the facility, internal and external policy and available resources,

and more importantly, the "buy in" of using the *instrument* were three primary areas that

emerged as determining how the *instrument* was mobilized. As a result of these variances, the

combination of practices fell along the continuum between coercion and consent despite the goal

to use non-coercive methods that targeted high-risk offenders.

During fieldwork I frequently attended "treatment team" meetings, which are weekly

meetings where a combination of staff—reentry personal, the records administrator, unit team

counselors and sometimes work supervisors—discuss reentry plans for incarcerated people in the

facility.[19] The reentry plan was a road map for how an incarcerated person could make time

productive while inside. The plans were based on the person's risk/needs assessment scores,

criminal history file and how long s/he would be incarcerated. Treatment team meetings usually

happened within the first weeks of incarceration and were loosely based on the operational

principle that "reentry" starts on the first day of incarceration. There were usually four to six

people on the docket, but the specific number was determined by how many people were

admitted into the facility the previous week.

At first glance, all treatment team meetings appeared to be similar. They were similar in

format. But each meeting unfolded differently depending on who facilitated and which unit team

counselors were present. Mr. Sam set up the DOC laptop to record the information from the

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[19] Not all the facilities had "treatment team" meetings. Yet, each facility that I visited had a
system where staff members discussed reentry plans with incarcerated people.

meeting and handed out the docket for the day. Mr. Sam and his staff provided me with a lot of background and clarifying information, such as what was encompassed in the offender file and how to interpret the information on the docket. The docket was a quick reference for the meeting.[20] It contained the names of people who would be seen that day and various assessment scores. At the bottom of the docket, there was a scale showing the range of scores that made an individual eligible for certain programs. Having a quick reference for assessment scores and program guidelines kept the treatment team moving efficiently and quickly. This was important because treatment team members only had two or three hours to get though the entire docket. Typically, members of the team reviewed the files of the people for whom they were responsible before the meeting. While we waited for the meeting to begin, staff engaged in a number of activities. Sometimes, they chatted about events that happened at a facility or about personal matters. At other times the team briefly discussed the documents in the file to determine what classes to recommend. They also re-organized their files and filled out program recommendation forms. Despite the similar structure, there were different ways of engaging with the *instrument* and approaching case management across various facilities.

On this particular day, Ms. Gibb, a unit team manager, began extensively reviewing the first "offender's file." As she leafed through the pages she read the report aloud in a slightly frantic manner. This was the first time I encountered a reentry team member reading the information out loud. Sometimes staff flipped through a file to confirm information or to bring attention to items to consider, but few read out loud as did Ms. Gibb. Ms. Gibb had a long history within the DOC, working in both men's and women's correctional facilities. A white

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[20] A sheet with their DOC number, release date, level of service inventory-revised score (LSI-R), high school diploma/GED status, IQ, reading, math and language scores, current charge, county where the crime was committed and mental health level.

woman with medium length dark brown hair in her mid 40's, she had worked as a unit team counselor in various sections of the compound including in the general population, medium security and maximum security, until being promoted to a unit team manager. One of her primary jobs was dealing with work release assignments. Work release allowed low level incarcerated people to obtain regular paid industry jobs outside the facility, e.g., in fast food or factory work. Ms. Gibb considered herself a "strong person" while others read her controlling manner as negative. As I listened and watched I found that her seemingly negative attitude signified disenchantment with the system. Stopping periodically to look at me or make comments on the commotion outside her window, she explained her opinions about the lack of concern in the system. She said, "care…people have to care, staff have to care enough to come and do the job; inmates have to care enough to try something new, address their behaviors and access the resources available to them."

As I listened to Ms. Gibb read through the file in the treatment team meeting, I asked Mr. Sam what she was reading. Ms. Gibb looked up and asked me, "Do you have a problem?" I replied, "No. I just wanted to know what you were reading." Without answering my question Ms. Gibb continued to read and informed me, "I like to know who I'm dealing with." I later found out that she was reading the Research and Diagnostic Unit report (RDU), which was a detailed narrative about an offender's past. The report included: previous case worker notes; incidents of abuse (drug, sexual, domestic violence); a detailed crime report; mental health evaluations; information about children; work history; and IQ test scores. The information in the file was assembled from self-reports, various institutional reports, court documents, and parole

and probation reports.[21] Anneliese Riles' scholarship on documents as artifacts of knowledge

points out that the document is "at once an ethnographic object, an analytical category, and a

methodological orientation" (2006:7). This assemblage of documents was a vital part of the

instrument and served as a checks-and-balances system of social control. Anyone could read the

file, but "knowing" what was in the file gave insight. Using that insight to guide one's decisions

became central to operationalizing the *instrument* and doing effective case management. Ms.

Gibbs comments about wanting to "know who" she was "dealing with" signified how knowing

the file provided her with both a clearer understanding of the person being governed and her

internalization of the knowledge enabled her to wield the *instrument*. Knowing also meant that

incarcerated people could not lie about their history during treatment team meetings. In many

ways, the file was the embodiment of the offender. It was an ethnographic object for the

treatment team staff but the file had to be studied, deciphered and expanded on through each

encounter.

Ms. Gibb stopped reading the RDU report for Angela, the first "offender" to be seen, and

then called her into the meeting. However, Angela was not waiting outside in the hallway. Ms.

Gibb had a correctional officer call the housing unit. While we waited, Ms. Gibb read a letter

from another incarcerated woman who was asking to change work release jobs. In the letter, the

woman explained that the new job would have better pay and provide more opportunities for

advancement. Work release jobs were reserved for people who were close to release and had

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[21] I was not able to review the files of incarcerated people. This was in part because I decided not to request the extra clearance and IRB approval. Later, I realized there were other ways that I could corroborate criminal history if needed. Most states have registries where the public can look up an incarcerated person's record online. Although this information is limited and you need the person's real name or some other way to identify him/her, the registries provide a base level of understanding of criminal history, such as convictions, disciplinary reports inside, facilities imprisoned at, etc. In most cases, I had people's name and DOC number so I could look them up.

graduated from the substance abuse treatment program.[22] These jobs were in the community and they paid regular wages. The correctional facility provided limited transportation, but most of time the person took the bus to and from work. Either way, the incarcerated person was responsible for paying for transportation. Ms. Gibb finished the letter and asked, "Guess who it is from?" Mr. Sam replied, "Trina" and Ms. Gibb confirmed that he was right. Mr. Sam stated, "Trina didn't write the letter. Someone else wrote that…. There might be some of her in the letter, but she didn't write the letter. She doesn't write like that." Mr. Sam was referring to the fact that the letter was well written and that it contained a sincere tone of wanting to change and advance through a more fruitful job opportunity. Reading a letter from an incarcerated person who was not being seen in treatment team seemed out of place. Yet Ms. Gibb's actions brought attention to how day-to-day interactions with incarcerated people helped staff become familiar with a person's communication styles in ways that were not captured by statistics. Much of the treatment team's work was centered around analyzing the "offender's file" and making sure incarcerated people were placed in appropriate classes based on their assessment scores. In this case, rather than solely relying on the file or assessments scores to know and assign activities, staff relied on informal interactions. They used non-scientific analysis to legitimate the authenticity of the document. "Knowing" in this case that Trina did not write the letter reinforced perceptions of Trina's inability to change or develop while situating the counselor and other personal as disciplined subjects who know how to divvy up resources to deserving offenders. Still, it is important to contemplate whether it mattered if Trina did not write the letter, in part because the act of getting someone to write a letter and handing it in suggested that there was some truth in it. Would she have a letter written if she did not believe some of it? This situation

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[22] Not all correctional facilities in this study have work release.

suggests that there was no "real" way out for Trina since the words on the paper could not trump the unit team counselors "knowing." Ms. Gibb's evaluation was reminiscent of older judgmental assessments.

Ms. Gibb became more agitated because Angela had not arrived. The correctional officers called for her again. Angela finally arrived. Angela was a soft-spoken white woman with a medium to small frame. Ms. Gibb asked, "Where have you been? We've been waiting for you for 30 minutes. Didn't the officer tell you to come down? … It should only take 5 minutes at the most to get down here [from her housing unit to the reentry building]." In a very straightforward manner Angela replied, "I didn't know I had this meeting. I was looking all over for where the meeting was. I looked in the basement room, the library, other classrooms." Ms. Gibb finished scolding Angela and started the meeting.

Angela had a drug charge for manufacturing meth. Her overall LSI-R score was 39 (54 is the highest) and she had a four in attitudes and orientation, which both are considered "high-risk" scores. Angela's high score in attitudes and orientation signified that she had "non-conventional norms" and did not take full responsibility for her criminal activities. Angela did not have a high school diploma or a GED. Her mental health level was a three with five being the highest mental health level. And because Angela did not have a valid driver's license she qualified for the driver's license clinic. In both states I conducted research staff tried to ensure that each incarcerated person had a birth certificate, driver's license and social security card. If the person did not have one of these forms of ID, they were automatically signed up for the clinics that helped them obtain the documents. Getting incarcerated people documents was a widespread practice across facilities and states. It was seen as an innovative approach to help with

employment and housing post-incarceration. Currently there is no data on how many people leave prisons without IDs.

Ms. Gibb checked off several classes, turned the paper around for Angela to review, and then read aloud the classes that she was recommending for Angela: driver's license clinic, Thinking for a Change, Managing Funds, Employment and Development, parenting classes and GED. Although Angela scored high in the substance abuse category, Ms. Gibb could not recommend the substance abuse program. She would only be in the facility for six months, which was not enough time to complete this program. As Ms. Gibb read off the list of recommended classes, another unit team counselor in the meeting interjected and told Angela that she would not be able to complete all the recommended programs but that she should try to complete as many as possible. The unit team counselor's interjection made it appear as though it was up to Angela to choose which classes she would want to complete. Presenting Angela's treatment plan in terms of options was a clear way to involve her and make her responsible for her treatment plan. In reality Angela had little choice. Angela's choice was shaped by what classes would be available at that time and what she had time to take given her short sentence. But more importantly, her choice revolved around taking responsibility for self and staying in the class for the entire time because if she did, she would earn early release credit.

The meeting continued and Ms. Gibb proceeded to ask the standard list of questions and document her answers. Ms. Gibb asked Angela, "How many children do you have?" As Angela's eyes filled with tears, she answered "three." Ms. Gibb continued with the questioning. I pushed a box of Kleenex towards her and Angela started to cry more. Moments later, Gibb questioned Angela about her crying.

B: Did I make you cry? I can be…come off as rough some times.
A: You didn't, it's the children…when I talk about my children I get upset.

B: Will you be OK?… Should we call someone (from medical) now?
A: No, I'll be OK.

Ms. Gibb finished the standard list of questions and closed the meeting by telling Angela, "No

one should be treated the way you were treated." Through the file review we gleaned that Angela

was a victim of domestic violence. While in jail, Angela reported that her husband left her

because he was lonely and that the ex-husband sent pictures of him and his new girlfriend to her.

Before Angela left, Ms. Gibb told her, "You handled the situation in the beginning really well

(her being late). You stayed calm and didn't yell back. You need to keep that up when dealing

with interactions with the officers."

        The risk/needs scores were the basis for creating Angela's reentry plan and were at the

forefront in this meeting. In this instance, Ms. Gibb was a well-disciplined staff member who

looked at the assessment scores and the files and then slotted Angela into the appropriate classes.

At the same time, Ms. Gibb's approach to treatment was flexible and discretionary. She freely

moved from using the assessment scores and motivational interviewing techniques to relying on

her gut feelings and experience in direct confrontation with Angela. Ms. Gibb attempted to show

empathy by acknowledging the possibility that she had made Angela cry.

        Ms. Christine on the other hand did not use the file in the same way. Ms. Christine, a

white middle-aged woman worked outside the correctional institution at a parole office. I had

just finished visiting her employment class. While we were chatting she said she wanted to check

something. As she opened the file she said, "I don't look through their files unless I'm looking

for something. I don't want to associate their crimes with their face." Jesus, a young Latino man

in the class had spoken about getting a job in the music industry. She was looking through his

file to find out his LSI-R score, which turned out to be high. She kept looking for something,

flipping through the pages quickly. He had a very thick file. She said, "each time they come out they put a green piece of paper in the file" as a way to separate the cases. Jesus had at least three green pieces of paper. Ms. Christine commented that he had juvenile and adult charges. She found out he had finished the 11th grade and half of 12th grade, and had done some GED while incarcerated. She closed the file and told me she was going to keep encouraging him to get his GED or his high-school diploma. Unlike Ms. Gibb, she utilized the file sparingly for her case-management. Despite this difference, they both relied on the numbers to tell them something about how risky a person is.

Motivational Interviewing

Treatment team was just one site where pieces of the *instrument* were practiced. This section examines communication styles used by staff members when interacting with incarcerated people one-on-one to set goals and address behavior. Officials and staff trainers taught unit team counselors that effective case management depended on being able to relate to offenders. Evidence-based practices were not just about using a particular risk/needs assessment. Staff had to be able to comfortably communicate in ways that empowered offenders. I came across several communication styles in the correctional institutions. Motivational interviewing was the most widely used technique. William Miller and Stephen Rollnick (2013) developed motivational interviewing in 1983 while working with problem drinkers. Since then, motivational interviewing has been used with people with a range of substance abuse issues as well as with other populations.

Staff members used motivational interviewing to encourage incarcerated people to contemplate their actions and change their "stinking thinking" in order to take responsibility for their decisions. Unlike past communication styles where staff members told offenders what to

do, staff used motivational interviewing to focus on empowerment, to meet them where they were, and to listen to what and how information was communicated. Several informants explained that using motivational interviewing placed offenders in charge of their life. This in turn encouraged offenders to find their own solutions, though only in a limited manner. In correctional literature this ability to change within was often referred to as "intrinsic motivation," and it required staff to relate to offenders in "interpersonally sensitive and constructive ways."

Ms. Deena, a white parole officer, said that when she was growing up she loved music and did cheerleading among other activities. She had positive, "normal" activities and had intrinsic motivation. But she suggested that the parolees only know "drugs" and "sex" and that was what was "normal to them." For her, part of motivational interviewing was to help parolees see and want for something different to become normal. Ms. Deena's views were based on stereotypes of incarcerated people and were reminiscent of the culture of poverty argument. The culture of poverty argument attracted a lot of attention from politicians and academics in the 1970s and resurged in the 21st century. This theory attempted to explain why systemic poverty persisted in the urban communities among people of color. It hypnotized that poor families were caught in an intergenerational cycle of poverty. Several scholars have challenged these theoretical assumptions and demonstrated that poor urban families are not disorganized and outside of normalcy (Goode and Maskovsky 2001; Hyatt 2001; Soss, et al. 2011; Stack 1975). Likewise, I found that incarcerated people and formerly incarcerated people were aware of their unskillful behavior and shared the same ideals about what is "normal" as the rest of society. There choices were based on limited access to resources including education, substance abuse treatment, housing and employment.

Motivational interviewing techniques reframed how the correctional employees can 'be' and shifted relational dynamics between staff and incarcerated people. Staff members' responsibility was not to change a person or even to suggest that a person needed changing. Their role was to explore why there were blockages in self-motivation. It was assumed that, through this exploration, incarcerated people would come to the self-realization of their own goals. Motivational interviewing techniques required staff to use open-ended questions, affirmations, reflective listening, summarizations, and self-motivating statements.

This cultural shift caused conflict with correctional officers who were generally more interested in custody and containment. While standing outside with the activities coordinator, Ms. Miller, on her smoke break, she explained that all staff members are supposed to use the "least amount of force" necessary without compromising the safety of the institution. Ms. Miller was a young white woman with a very laid back approach. She did not have long history within the DOC but she was keenly aware of the different attitudes about the new reentry policies. Unit team counselors and mental health staff complained that correctional officers did not always share those same values. And Ms. Miller was reiterating critiques that I had heard before. She told me that some correctional officers were not going to be onboard because they were still steeped in the "old culture of the institution."

I asked Ms. Heidi, a white a unit team manager, about this cultural shift. She explained by retelling a story of how a correctional officer (CO) disciplined a woman in the cafeteria with two trays of food. The CO asked the "offender" why she had two trays of food and she responded that another "offender" had given it to her. The CO told the "offender" to get up and she replied that she had not eaten. He called over another officer who told her to get up and leave. The woman was put in solitary confinement for eight days while she waited for the

charges to be reviewed. Ms. Heidi elaborated that it was clear that the "offender" had contraband but there was no need to call over another officer to escalate the situation. Institutional policy stated that each "offender" was allowed one tray of food so the second tray of food was considered contraband, something that was forbidden. "Part of my job is to review cases to make sure they are fair," Ms. Heidi explained. She considered herself well versed on the reentry model and she ran things by the book. She really believed in the new reentry strategies despite her less enthusiastic colleagues. She had worked for the DOC for over 14 years and she had managed several housing units: general housing unit, drug treatment housing unit, the house for new arrivals and now the reentry housing unit. She went on to inform me that she was going to recommend that the case be dismissed because the CO had abused his power by violating the "offender's" right to eat. If thrown out, the violation against the "offender" would not be on her record. In the meantime, the "offender" in question did serve time in "the hole," commonly referred to as solitary confinement. I asked about the time served in "the hole." She explained that most offenders spend time in the hole while they are waiting for a decision and "offenders" do not complain because they are happy that the violation will not be documented in their file. If the incident was documented, it could follow them throughout their incarceration and would be later factored into their risk/needs scoring. Heidi explained that the CO should have made her throw out the second tray of food and let her eat her tray. Afterwards, he could have written her up on contraband for having two trays of food or perhaps given her more dorm duties. Heidi pointed out that, "We are focused on contraband, custody issues and not … rehabilitation. Just that little shift makes a big difference."

At another correctional facility, Lieutenant Thomas taught Cognitive Reflective Communication (CRC), a communication technique similar to motivational interviewing. A

young white woman with hair pulled back in a ponytail, Lt. Thomas has worked for the

department of corrections for over 15 years. She started as a level one correctional officer (C1)

and worked her way up to Lieutenant. She was one of two custodial staff members who would

complete a semi-structured interview—all others only informally spoke with me. She had seen

several additions to the programming for incarcerated people for which she felt "grateful." She

stated, "I really don't worry when I come to work. I feel relatively safe with all the things going

on for inmates, how occupied we keep them." She named several programs that I had already

heard of, so I asked her to explain CRC, a program that was new to me. Lt. Thomas explained

the process:

> Lieut.: CRC is for the inmate. It's a technique where you basically ask three questions to the inmate. When you ask those three questions, the inmate is supposed to reflect on their behavior because your thoughts drive your feelings, which drive your outward behavior. So they reflect on their thoughts and behavior. And hopefully they can, you know, when they see that pattern, come back again; and they can stop the bad, the negative thoughts.
>
> Me: What are those three questions?
>
> Lieut.: What are you thinking? What are you feeling? And how did it affect you? …There is more to it than that. It's a five-step process. Say for instance, you're an inmate, and you're in the cell house. Today you have an attitude and you're not talking to me like you do normally, or whatever. So I see this and I'm thinking to myself, "I wonder what is going on? What's he thinking?" Then I think, "What are they thinking? Who knows what they are thinking?" They could be pissed off at their cellmate or something could have happened, whatever. And then you gotta think. Whatever I think they're thinking I need to reframe my thoughts. So whatever it is, I know that I'm gonna be able to talk to you in an open, non-judgmental way. So, okay. I just need to find out what is going on with this guy. So I say, "Hey, I see you aren't normal, you're acting different. You kinda have an attitude. What you thinking?" So they tell me. And then you repeat that back and you ask 'em. And then you ask 'em, if they have any feelings associated with that and you repeat that back. So you're like, "You're thinking this, and you're feeling this. How does that affect you?" A lot of times, we do it with negative things. These guys in here are in a very negative environment. So they have a lot of negative outbursts. So mostly it's pretty easy. So inmates go to the hole or restriction, you know something happened. So it's easy to key on those things. Okay, this is what I'm thinking, these are the feelings I have associated with those thoughts and this is what happens when I think those feelings or think those

thoughts and have those feelings. This is what I do. So hopefully they stop. And uhmm realize uhmm and change those behaviors.

Although Lt. Thomas stated that this communication style was for the "inmate," it is the correctional employees who must mobilize CRC through practice. In fact, CRC and motivational interviewing required more time and more attuned listening skills from correctional staff. While correctional employees still maintained their position of power, CRC only worked when they related to incarcerated people on a more collaborative level. For some employees, particularly security staff, this was new and hard to grasp. Lt. Thomas paused and shifted her tone with me. "I know as far as security staff. Security staff are against that kind of stuff. It's kind of 'hug-a-thug.' They think of it as a 'hug-a-thug' type of thing." As shown earlier in the chapter, these "real" statements were not uncommon when it came to the realities of working with incarcerated people. Jim, a white male with a short athletic build, was another long-time correctional employee who had worked both inside the facility and in the central office. Our interview was laid back because, in a sense, he had nothing to lose since he was retiring from the DOC. He told me that one of the biggest issues with reentry was "finding a staff member that wants to help them." As I looked at him tentatively, he continued, "That might not be the politically correct thing to say. Not all staff want to help inmates. Some just sit there. I've seen that. The inmate might come in and ask for help, and the person would tell them to get out of their office. The inmates know who to talk with to get help…who will help them." Communicating with incarcerated people is a big part of all correctional employees' jobs, not just the mental health staff or unit team counselors. It can take time to sort through what someone needs, as it may be more than just putting in a request for new shoes or bedding.

Incarcerated people were aware that staff did not want to work with them and therefore found some of the classes useless. For example, Ricardo, a 40-year old Latino man, was

incarcerated for methamphetamine charges. Except for a violent incident in high school, he did

not have any prior convictions, despite his drug use. When we spoke about the classes and

working with correctional officers he said:

> I guess the class was developed so that inmates could you know, work better with officers I would imagine. But uh, not all officers are going to participate in the program. I mean, some officers … just not gonna agree with what, you know, you're trying to do and so, it kinda makes it difficult.

> K: What, what do you mean the officers won't agree? Is there a specific thing in the class that they won't agree with…

> R: Well I mean, there is just some people that just ain't gonna change no matter what. They're not gonna, you know what I mean? You could talk to em and try to see eye to eye with them and at the end of the day, there are some officers that work here that they're just like you're the inmate and they're the officer. There's no you're a person and I'm a person to them, you know what I mean. So, they're difficult, you know what I mean. They're just uh, you could, you could have all the of the proactive cognitive things in your favor and you can try to utilize all the information that you've gained on that person but, you know, if he's not willing to uh, accept the fact the fact that you're trying to do something different with your life then it's not going to work. There's just officers in here that are like that. I mean it's sad but I mean it's true. Uhm pretty much you're just the inmate. You're here to do what they tell you to do.

Ricardo's insights highlight the fact that incarcerated people were expected to self govern and

change their thinking but when they did it was not well received. In some ways no matter how

much they learned, if correctional staff did not adjust their thinking, then the process was mute.

Ms. Terri, a young white unit team counselor who worked with medium security "high

risk offenders," told me the new evidence-based practices might mean "entertaining something

that seems unattainable" and thus time-consuming for counselors. As we walked through the hot,

sticky, non-air-conditioned housing unit, it was evident that the correctional facility was

overcrowded. With everyone hanging out, there was clearly a lack of activities for the men.

There were about 250 men living in the entire housing unit with about 62-65 people on each unit

wing. Once we reached her air-conditioned office, Ms. Terri explained that if an "offender" came in and wanted to start a business post-release she would give him a packet on how to be an entrepreneur and start a business plan. Ms. Terri handed me an information sheet and continued explaining in a matter of fact manner, "some of the guys think that they are going to make a million dollars really fast when they get out. They want to open their own business." Ms. Terri explained how she and the "offender" would meet to discuss the material, but for various reasons the "offender" would frequently not follow through and just give up. She saw this as wasted time because meeting one-on-one with these "offenders" was going nowhere. She felt her time would be better served completing other paper work. Ms. Terri did not give me a clear sense of why incarcerated people did not follow through. But from her comment about "making a million dollars" and the comments that I heard from other unit team counselors, I gathered that they felt incarcerated people did not have realistic goals about what was possible post-release.

In addition to having unrealistic goals about starting a business and making money, I also heard unit team counselors explain that offenders felt that working at a low-wage job, like a fast food place, was undesirable. A unit team counselor at different facility shared, "One guy said he was making 35K every two months selling, so why would he want to work at a job (like Sonic)?" Ms. Terri and other UTC's were committed to using the practices associated with the *instrument* and allowing incarcerated people to actively set reentry goals. However, they felt that the approach was not always feasible with the "high risk offenders" they worked with.

Later Ms. Cathy and Ms. May—two of Ms. Terri's colleagues, both white and casually dressed—joined us and we began discussing how the lack of funding exasperated the situation. Despite unrealistic job goals and going down an "unattainable" path, Ms. Terri must document the one-on-one meetings as well as finish all the other paper work she had. In facilities where

there were limited resources and where employment and cognitive behavioral classes were not offered frequently, these on-one-on meetings were crucial sites where motivational interviewing techniques came into play. The meetings counted toward earning good time as long as they were used to address goals. Ms. May expounded, "The classes only come up so often. It's not like college where the classes are rotated every few months…. If there isn't a class, we can work with them individually…. We come up with goals…. If they have two contacts [with the UTC] within six months and complete two goals that they are working on, then they get credit." While May's comment touches on the scarcity of resources, it also highlighted how, in these cases, UTCs must overcome scarcity by making themselves more available, so that offenders are equipped to overcome institutional barriers. Despite the UTC's personal belief that there may be high level of failure, this was not to say that all the meetings were wasted. An incarcerated person may have a goal such as completing a resume, working on pro-social behavior or not getting a disciplinary report. These smaller goals were more representative of what was practical, given the nature of the correctional institutions.

Even with the extensive efforts to disseminate communication methods among staff, a few DOC employees thought that the new communication style was not new. When I asked Ms. JoAnn, a probation officer who had worked in the system for over 29 years, about EBPs, she told me that they were just repackaging things. Ms. JoAnn was one of the few African American DOC employees that I had a chance to speak with at length. When dealing with her "clients," she took a more compassionate but hard line approach that had religious overtones. She frequently threw in references to God and prayer during our interview. The sign that she had on her office wall, which read "Save your drama for you mama," spoke volumes. She emphatically told me, "I tell probationers 'learn from your experience, move on.'" In regard to EBPs she stated, "I think

the majority of us have been doing EBPs. We just didn't call it under that name. You know we are trying to get people, okay, to look at what they are doing. How is that the best decision to make? How is this really helping you? … We need to sit back and look. That's what I do best. I try to encourage my clients." She stopped, then directed my attention to around the room. "You see the inspirations."

Like Ms. JoAnn, one of the Wardens I spoke with was quite familiar with evidence-based practices. The Warden and I discussed the benefits of using evidence-based practices as opposed to non-evidence-based practices. She explained, "because I come from [a] counseling field, so, you use the research to drive what you do. So from a counseling perspective that was what I did…I brought that in here. So again, humm. The department was a fit for my philosophy as opposed to me having to change my views." The Warden's ideas about evidence-based practices contradicted how other people characterized and used them. Her counseling background and the ability to make judgments on behavior was rooted in years of practice and scientific evidence from her social work background.

Using this part of the *instrument* was time-consuming. Nonetheless several employees continued to use it even if, as Ms. JoAnn told me, she could "see over the trees" and her "client" could not. This viewpoint, according to Ms. JoAnn let her know that a certain decision was not progressing and should be abandoned. At other times, correctional staff's personal values, previous education, or experience moving up in the ranks could influence how they perceived and used the *instrument.* In the next section, I examine moments where using the *instrument* to manage uncertainty breaks down.

Getting "Good" Results

Everything is based on the initial LSI-R. You have to spend time to get the information…it's just another [tool]. …The LSI-R doesn't reflect everything. …It's for work purposes only. …You only do another assessment if something significant changes in their life. …It takes about two hours to do a really good assessment, but they are 1-1.5 hrs. –Mr. Dean, DOC employee

Getting "good" results on the assessment was extremely important so that correctional staff could formulate individual reentry plans. When incarcerated people trusted prison staff members they were more likely to openly share information for the assessments. This in turn would better reflect offenders' real needs and risks. In my interview with Ms. Gibb, the unit team counselor from the treatment team meeting, she told me that the LSI-R is the cornerstone of her team's work. Like Mr. Dean, the employee quoted above, she explained how the LSI-R started the process for developing a reentry plan. Ms. Gibb also felt that the LSI-R is "only as good as the honesty of the inmates," which was a source of frustration for her. Ms. Gibb's concern with honesty suggested that she was wary of incarcerated people's ability to lie in order to manipulate the system.[23] In this sense, operationalizing the LSI-R involved more than asking questions and writing down the answers. Rather, interviewers had to garner trust when interacting with incarcerated people if interviewers wanted honest information. The LSI-R became somewhat unreliable as a tool (or link in the *instrument)* when the interviewer was not sufficiently disciplined in using motivational interviewing techniques.

I observed a mock LSI-R interview between a parole officer and a parolee. This mock interview highlighted the difficulty of getting truthful information and relying on the tool. Ms.

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[23] Several DOC employees thought that offenders could manipulate the system. Because of this, some employees would not tell offenders their assessment scores. They felt if they knew high scores qualified them for substance abuse treatment, they would lie to get or not get treatment. But on the other hand, when I brought this up, some counselors said they always give them their score. They did not know it was a practice not to do so.

Alives was a new parole officer, a younger Hispanic woman sharply dressed in a pencil skirt and low pumps. In order to complete her LSI-R training, she had to record herself completing several mock assessments. The recordings and any notes taken during the interview would be submitted to the DOC trainers, who then checked to see if the interviewer scored the offender correctly and how well the interviewer conducted the assessment. For example, did she use open-ended questions? Did she follow up? Did she take notes on what was said? Dee, the parolee, was an outspoken self-identified Native American woman in her mid-twenties. She was the only woman in the employment class at the parole office. She came to the group regularly and was also one of the few people who had steady employment. I conducted a group interview with the class, but Dee was the only parolee from this group who agreed to be interviewed one-on-one. So when I observed the mock interview, I had some previous knowledge of her history.

In the mock assessment, Ms. Alives asked Dee about losing her mother while she was incarcerated. Based on my previous training on this assessment, I sensed that Ms. Alives was trying to assess Dee's ability to cope with difficult situations on the outside. Dee deflected the question by telling Ms. Alives, "I don't see the point of talking about sad things." Instead of following up with another open-ended question, Ms. Alives moved on. Later in the interview, Ms. Alives asked Dee about her career goals. Dee responded, "I'm just trying to stay present…I'm happy working where I am." Dee told me in our private interview that she attended Growing with Loss while incarcerated. The program was peer-led, and it focused on helping incarcerated people deal with losing a loved one. Dee explained to me how she helped other women open up. Growing with Loss was a powerful experience for her and, as a result, she wanted to become a grief counselor. In my follow-up interview with Dee after the mock interview, I inquired why she had told us different stories. Dee simply told me that she did not

want Ms. Alives in her business and perhaps her short answer with me indicated she did not want

me in her business either.[24]

File reviews and styles of communication were considered important methods to limit

discrepancies in final scores because incarcerated people can and do give false information at

times. Before each LSI-R the interviewer was expected to do an in-depth read through the

"offenders' file" and any supplemental materials to know her history. At the beginning of each

assessment the interviewer informs the interviewee that her file was reviewed. This was meant to

encourage interviewees to give truthful information, but it also helped the interviewer to probe

more deeply into certain areas. But reading the entire file was time consuming, particularly if the

staff have large caseloads. Through follow-up interviews with Dee, I realized that she wanted to

help people through some sort of counseling. However, she had doubts because she did not know

how to accomplish her goals. I gathered that her inability to talk about her goals in the "right

way" made her less likely to share them. In fact, she never shared these goals in the group.

Even with the file review and effective communication skills there was still the issue of

objectivity. In the group interview with Ms. Terri, May, and Cathy, Ms. May blurted out, "You

know the test is subjective." The other two unit team counselors silently agreed with head nods

and serious faces. I probed other staff members about the subjective nature of the test. Several

staff members informed me that fidelity checks were in place to ensure that scores were accurate.

This means that any staff member who was trained to use the LSI-R should be able to conduct an

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[24] It is important to note that Dee was distracted during the interview. She was texting, looking at me and smiling. Since the interviewer was sitting behind her desk and taking written notes, her head was down a lot. As a result, she did not see when Dee sent texts or glanced at me. I acknowledge that Dee could have been performing for me, but since we had already talked, she had no apparent reason to tell a different story. Nonetheless, whether she told the truth or not, this still highlighted the uncertainty of the LSI-R as an effective means to help correctional employees discipline.

LSI-R on the same person and get within 2 or 3 points of the same score. If one counselor did an assessment and the "offender" got an overall score of 24, then the next counselor should get an overall score in the range of 21-27, as long as there were no significant changes in the incarcerated person's life. How well the interviewer listened to what was being said does affect the score but, more importantly, how the interviewer interpreted the information can vary. The counselors explained it in this way, "If a person comes from a social work background, s/he will see things differently from a person who has worked their way up from a C1 [level one correctional officer], custody, or someone from mental health. Or if you've worked in the housing unit…your whole time. It makes a difference in how you see things." In many ways I found this to be true. Since I had taken part in the staff trainings, I was fully aware of how background influenced scoring. I was consistently accused of being "soft" because my assessment scores were lower than other correctional employees taking the trainings. And in some cases, my perceived softness suggested that I must be a "hug-a-thug" supporter.

Moreover, if a staff member found an LSI-R score that was off too much, s/he was expected to report it to the central office. Typically, staff suspected wrong scores after they completed an assessment if their assessment was not within the point range. Mr. Dan, the reentry staff member who conducted trainings, explained to me that when he first started working at the facility he would find LSI-R scores that did not make any sense to him. "They didn't have any notes," he explained. All interviewers are expected to make notes on their rationale for scoring a certain way. In the beginning, he reported his concerns but it became tiring and caused conflicts in the office and at the facility. When I asked another staff member in the same office about this, she confirmed that there are several discrepancies. She explained how she was working with an offender who clearly had a substance abuse problem, but the offender was not recommended for

treatment because his alcohol/substance abuse score was low. After conducting a file review, she confirmed that he had a history of substance abuse. Correctional staff mentioned these discrepancies from time to time. Several of them also brought up that after the facility hired another person to do the LSI-R during intake they started getting more accurate scores.

Missing the Mark: Gender, Lifers and Risk Assessments

In general, most staff members confirmed that the LSI-R a "good tool" and produced good data. Although Ms. Gibb felt it was the "corner stone" of the work, she and a few other staff members thought the LSI-R did not capture everything and they voiced concerns about blindly using the LSI-R or other risk/needs assessments, e.g., GRA, Static-99, or the Acute-2007. One of the main reasons for using risk/needs assessments was because the tools were supposed to produce accurate scores of risk levels. Yet like among the staff, there are disagreements within the community of experts on risk assessment. These disagreements typically center on defining what constitutes "risk," what are the various risk levels and how does one respond to risk (Petersen and Bunton 2006). In particular, feminist critiques highlight concerns about the degree to which the production of scientific knowledge is biased and based on social and cultural norms (Wyer, et al. 2013). In my observations, staff members did not address the biased nature of scientific knowledge, yet staff members did raise concerns about women's needs.

Most of the current actuarial tests administered inside correctional facilities use males as the test subjects. Even as incarceration rates for women continue to rise, there is still a paucity of scientific studies and meta-analysis focused solely on incarcerated women. The lack also extends into the ethnographic literature on the gender-specific barriers that impede successful reentry, specifically how gender makes women's incarceration reentry process different than men who reenter society (Lewis 1981; Richie 2005; Richie 2001; Sudbury 2005). Statistics indicate that

most incarcerated women in state prisons are more likely to have minor children then men (Phillips 2012). These mothers often struggle with maintaining parental rights while incarcerated and upon release. Additionally, in 2004 three quarters of incarcerated women in state prisons (73%) had mental illness symptoms compared to 55% of men (Phillips 2012).

Ms. Gibb told me women's issues are not covered in the LSI-R. For example, LSI-R questions do not address "self-esteem" nor do they take into account how central family is to women's lives. Ms. Gibb told me "women will fight over their family." She went on to elaborate that the LSI-R did cover attitudes, but it mainly focused on how the women felt about supervision or authority. Ms. Gibb's comments pointed to a indescribable bond that women feel for their children. While Ms. Gibb's comments might be read as romanticizing motherhood or a mother's instinct, she believed that some women would commit certain acts to safeguard their children. Merely measuring their attitude toward authority figures did not capture the full spectrum of women's attitudes and emotions.

Correctional staff often told me that attitude or a persons' criminal thinking was the main reason for criminal behavior. In the beginning, I assumed that this assessment was based on a combination of years of experience and literature staff had read on criminal behavior. When I inquired how they came to that conclusion, staff responded by saying "that's what the evidence shows" and pointed to the fact that the majority of offenders who had taken the LSI-R scored high in the attitudes/orientation section.[25] For them, the numbers were enough "evidence." Despite Ms. Gibb's personal thoughts and concern that gendered differences were not being accounted for, the classes most often recommended are based on cognitive behavioral change

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[25] On the LSI-R there are four questions in the attitudes and orientation domain. The questions measure the offender's viewpoints, in the past year, on "conventional and non-conventional norms," attitude toward crime, attitude toward their sentence, and attitude toward supervision.

model. Thus, they are geared toward changing negative and anti-social attitudes that are linked to criminal behavior. Low self-esteem and the centrality of family are not linked to those areas of concern. In fact, when examining the literature from criminology on risk/needs assessments, scholars argue that self-esteem does not affect whether a person will commit a crime or not (Cullen and Applegate 1997; MacKenzie 2006).

In response to women's various needs, some states are adopting the Gender-Responsive Assessment, which is a qualitative/quantitative risk assessment tool specifically designed to measure women's criminogenic risks and needs.[26] I was told that this tool focused on strengths as opposed to just areas of weaknesses and risks/needs. Another key feature of the assessment was that it considered relationships with family, partners, and other key people in women's lives more thoroughly than other assessments, which are not gender sensitive. I did not get a chance to see the GRA in application, as they were just beginning to train correctional staff in its use. A unit team member, Ms. Sophia, explained that she was on the GRA pilot program committee. Although talk about implementing the GRA had been happening for a long time, they were still in the pilot phase. After Ms. Sophia completed the training, she would be able to use the tool at her institution. In fact, she was the only one at the institution trained on the GRA, so she would more than likely become the point person who helped to train other staff members.

Another key concern was how to provide appropriate services to people who were incarcerated for long periods of time. It is widely known that when people are released from prison they typically go back to the same neighborhoods, which are often poor, segregated and have high crime rates.[27] Given this issue, I asked several staff members, "why not have people

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[26] The University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute designed this tool.
[27] This is not just a phenomenon in urban areas. In my research, many people came from poor, white, rural areas.

move to someplace new and help them set up a new life?" Despite the fact that most case managers and housing specialists thought that a new environment would be beneficial to many people leaving prison, institutional policy required that all parolees move back to a place where there was some support or connection. Such places were typically with a family member or spouse. When I asked about this contradiction, I got a restrained and silent acknowledgment of the paradox, but no real solutions. Sitting with his arms crossed, Mr. Dean explained,

> It [LSI-R] doesn't reflect some changes. What I was talking about earlier.…It needs more flexibility in terms of how we update a particular domain from the behavior that we have seen. …If a person has a low score, but they are getting out, they may still have issues with housing. But that isn't coming up because they have been in the facility for such a long time.…The LSI-R really has a complete picture in terms of the domains that it covers, but as time goes on it's unclear how it changes.

Mr. Dean was a middle-aged white man who had worked in the system for a long time. He did not administer the LSI-R. But he was quite familiar with it since his colleagues used it and its results regularly. Ms. Shelly, a unit team manager who worked with Mr. Dean shared similar sentiments:

> [We] try to make exceptions. Lifers often get special care. [We] are always being told to 'trust the instrument' [LSI-R]. However, in some areas lifers will score low on the LSI-R because they have been incarcerated for a long time. Do [we] not give them services? No, because many of them don't know how to function on the outside.'

Mr. Dean and Ms. Shelly both highlight how people with long sentences, 10-15 years or more, will score very low in the housing domain (and other domains) when they are re-tested because their housing has technically been stable. If an offender's housing score is low, s/he is not eligible to take the housing class, which helps offenders navigate finding housing because most classes are for people with "high-risk" needs. Moreover, the longer a person has been incarcerated, the lower his/her scores will be in a lot of areas, not just housing. The narrow focus

on assessment scores sometimes diminishes case managers' ability to actively intervene.

However many case managers work around it. In my interview with Samantha, an administrator

who used to work as a UTC, I asked about the constraints of "trusting the instrument." She

explained,

> I work around. I say that a lot of people take those scores exactly. Hey, if this guy is a 16
> on this, we're putting him in this class. If he scores, you know, if he's a 35 overall, we're
> putting him in this class, and he gets in that class over this guy who had a 30 because his
> score was higher. Yeah, that happens all the time. Or this guy, his score's not high
> enough to get him in this class. You know, yeah, I think that a lot of our staff looks
> specifically at that. If you actually delve into it a little bit further, and we try… if we
> think that something's going to be good for somebody, we try to provide justification to
> still put him in it. I don't care if his score is 30 or his score is 15, this is his history of this.
> We think he will benefit out of this class. How do we get him into it? So yeah, I think a
> lot of staff do look at specific scores. And again, it's because of time, you know. There's
> always… there's always the option of staff out here—and it happens at every job you
> have. You have your staff out here who want to do something to help inmates. You have
> staff who need a job and need money. It depends on what kind of staff you're working
> with. Are they just going through the motions? This is what the policy says I have to do
> on this and this, so, yup, you get in, nope, you don't. I'm not going any further with it.
> Does that happen? Yeah, sure it does. Sure it does. It just depends on the staff member.

Her answer summed up this predicament and revealed how staff's sense of caring and

willingness to help often defies evidence-based practices.

At the Cross Roads of Science and "Caring"

The use of assessment tools were ingrained in staff's everyday practices such that it was

difficult to understand why staff did things if you were unfamiliar with the *instrument*. On the

surface this appears to be a seamless process but it changed depending on who was using the

instrument. There was no set way of doing things. So the *instrument* was not a thing or method,

it was an ongoing amalgamation of elements that were constantly being re-negotiated by various

actors and perspectives which in turn created the boundaries for a high-risk offender.

"Trusting the instrument" and using tools appropriately was a way to manage prison

populations, but it also caused unforeseen conflicts, particularly when the instrument missed the

mark. A long time employee explained that what often played out was "us and them" dynamics. She explained that Wardens and higher officials were concerned with reducing the prison population and bed space. In both Kansas and Missouri, there were no funds to build prisons. In fact, they were actively trying to close prisons. The Wardens see a group of people who could be released if they get their good time credit. There was a call for an increase in services from the top down. Ms. Janice, a unit team counselor, shared this sentiment and expressed concerns about keeping the integrity of the programs. Facilitators of classes and counselors had to increase services without increasing staff because program eligibility had been expanded. But I also witnessed situations that resulted in a decrease in services. For example, due to overcrowding, incarcerated people were being moved to the transitional housing unit (the unit that offered special classes and resources to prepare people for going home) too early or too late.

But higher officials were also concerned with making sure dosage and resources were given out according to program eligibility. "It's the whole dose model … evidence-based practices, you don't over service a person," Ms. Janice explained. In some cases, despite the fact that some incarcerated people needed the services, the offender's low number prevented UTCs ability to provide them. It was about dosage, particularly with new programming, but it was also about how funds can and cannot be spent. Regardless of the staff's insights from of working with incarcerated people daily and despite the assessment of need, staff were often caught in the middle of the bureaucratic cross currents. The cross roads revolved around decisions about giving out services based on scientific evidence and maintaining the integrity of the program versus the need to decrease the prison population. This loosely webbed amalgamation becomes tenuous when budgetary needs and staff's ability to effectively roll out evidence-based practices conflict with "integrity" and care.

At first glance, I thought adhering to rigid categorization meant that staff did not care about incarcerated people. But this was not true. Returning to Ms. Bibb's statement "staff have to care enough to come and do the job," I ask, what does care do and not do? Inserting care into the job becomes a messy space that can be value laden. Lorna Rhodes' question, "what of the institution itself" offers way to better understand what care can and cannot do when it intersects with the institution. As shown in the ethnographic examples, some employees do "care" to do their job well and use the *instrument* in a fair and responsible way that does not simply punish. Some employees even try to work around institutional policies such that incarcerated people were provided needed resources despite their low risk level. Yet, at the same time, care cannot erase the eight days in the hole or completely erase the punishment culture of an institution.

What, then, is the function of care within an institution solidified in punishment ideals but now focused on risk reduction and the use of the *instrument*? Intrigued with the messiness of this question, I asked informants to tell me what they thought of this statement: "People can do their jobs well, and not have any real concern for inmates' lives and their well-being as people." While most people genuinely disagreed with the statement and thought you needed some notion of caring for incarcerated people's humanity, Ms. Martha highlighted the importance of risk reduction and how risk reduction does not require care. She stated:

> I hope we don't have many people working for us who think that. I think that would be a bad fit. I think it would make them uncomfortable. But that doesn't mean that there aren't people who think that. But more important than that, when I start wrapping my mind around risk reduction…you often would hear, especially in the context of parole officers…that person's like a police officer; that person's like a social worker…You were one or the other if you worked in this business.

For Ms. Martha the dichotomy between police officer, someone who is harsh and punishes, and a social worker, someone who cares, is a farce. She continued to explain that in the middle of the

spectrum between police officer and social worker is the risk reducer. A risk reducer is someone

who is not steeped in any particular value about incarcerated people. As she explained, she saw

staff as "walking risk reducers" (see previous chapter).

> This isn't about personal values. It shouldn't be…Don't bring your values to risk
> reduction work. Whether you think they are all downtrodden and mistreated, or whether
> you think they all have it coming and then some. That's kind of the two
> extremes…[Y]ou've got to be purposeful when you do risk reduction work. Honest to
> goodness, Karen, I don't care what you think about inmates, about offenders. Do the
> work this way, and you'll get good outcomes. Be very purposeful…[I]f you can treat
> them like a human being in the process, I say hallelujah because I personally think you
> get a good response from a fellow human if you treat 'em like a human being…I have
> found it's much more productive in talking to staff and partners if you stay out of the
> values discussion and stay focused on purposeful communication, purposeful
> interventions, purposeful engagement, purposeful strategies that change behaviors. And if
> that happens to make you feel good, great. If it's what you'll do to get your paycheck,
> I'm equally happy. You see what I mean? So, that's the best I can give you on that.

Risk reduction work was seen as the primary practice because science backed it up, the numbers

were there, and numbers do not have values and beliefs. If you ran the programs right, integrated

the evidence-based principles, then you would get good results. I found the process was not a

simple matter. In this chapter, I demonstrated how staff accepted, rejected and worked around

evidence-based practices. In the next chapter, I examine how incarcerated people's lived

experiences challenge how risk reduction work gets done in the classroom.

CHAPTER 5: In The "Reentry" Classroom: Responsibility and Transformation

The classroom was not a typical classroom with individual desks. Instead, there were folding tables of various sizes pushed together in a rectangle, surrounded with different types of chairs. Although there was enough room at the makeshift conference table for everyone, several of the people in the class chose to sit away from the table.[28] In many ways, the makeshift aspects of the classroom décor and haphazard seating signified the messiness of the program's approach: trying to use skills development and cognitive behavioral change methods as a means to change anti-social behavior and to reduce recidivism rates without addressing structural inequalities.

Several correctional employees believed that the impetus to commit crime is often located in the self; therefore their approach to transformation was rooted in changing thinking patterns and having offenders take responsibility for criminal their behavior. This was counter to approaches that acknowledged social factors that influence criminality such as poverty, racial profiling or unfair sentencing policy. For example, Hannah-Moffat points out, an "intervenable need is not an individual's self perceived need"(2005:39). And sometimes a person's self-identified need may mean addressing poverty or discriminatory practices in the criminal justice system. So, instead of examining needs on an individual basis, needs were defined as characteristics that were shared within populations and have been statistically correlated with recidivism, e.g., anti-social behavior.

In this chapter, I examine how the classroom is not only a place where subjects are held responsible (Cruikshank 1999), transformed (Hannah-Moffat 2005) and disciplined (Foucault

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[28] After trial and error with situating myself in the classes, I usually sat away from the table unless the instructor invited me to join the group. Yet there were times when I declined to sit with the group even when the instructor insisted that I sit at the table. I found that it was easier to take notes as I did not have to worry about people looking over to see what I was writing. Both incarcerated people and staff members tended to glimpse at my notes.

1995; Rhodes 2004) but subjects are taught to become more skilled, thoughtful and ethically sensitive people. I use a number of different courses to call attention to "messiness," failures, and resistance in the classroom. Each ethnographic example is a matrix of perspectives that demonstrate what I observed. They include the ways that both staff and incarcerated people understand the classroom. Additionally, each section illuminates how bureaucratic goals, evidence-based practice outcomes, and the everydayness of living collided in the reentry classroom. The classroom became a dynamic space that was both inconsistent and contradictory.

I begin this chapter with Andy's profile. This partial view of Andy's journey provides a glimpse of how the two levels of becoming a governable citizen work together—being skilled and becoming ethically sensitive. I show how Andy acquired skills and came to embody responsibility, transformation, remorse, and thoughtfulness. I use Andy's story as the archetypical story for this process. Her story illustrates how the "technology of the panopticon" (Duguid 2000:56) permeated her time inside and how the DOC's struggle to make incarcerated people skilled and ethical citizens appears to succeed. Even with Andy's success, I found that most stories did not unfold in this way.

Additionally, this chapter analyzes the push toward training incarcerated people to become ethically sensitive people. In addition to learning skills to live a *good* life (like finding housing or employment), there was a clear emphasis on becoming aware of other people's feelings and emotions and recognizing how one's behavior influences other people. Understanding how criminal behavior harms the wider community was part of the *responsibilization*. This was not simply the old way of admitting that s/he committed a crime but it involved a deeper shift in the inner world. Offenders were charged to develop problem-solving skills and to think about other people's feelings and how their actions affected others. Proponents

supportive of the RNR model argue that people who are convicted of crimes are not empathic towards other people and do not see how their actions harm others and that this is part of criminal thinking and behavior (Andrews and Bonta 2002).

Lastly, classroom power dynamics were interpreted in ways that help transfer responsibility onto the individual. Correctional staff members were trained to engage offenders where they are and to roll with resistance. This quasi-shift in power was geared toward making incarcerated people more governable citizens, but, like any other classroom, there is resistance. Thus, throughout this chapter I examine the verbal tangents, side comments and more action-based forms of resistance in the classroom.

There were an array of classes, and I found that no two facilities were alike in their offerings. The myriad of class offerings functioned as a panoptic gaze (Foucault 1995), covering all aspects of the lives of incarcerated people. As shown in the previous chapter which explored reentry plans, it was not uncommon for incarcerated people to be placed in several classes at one time or to work their way through the several classes and programs at different points of incarceration. I have excluded recreational activities, religious services and vocational courses for the purpose of this dissertation.[29] I have grouped the classes into three categories. First, the

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[29] There are several opportunities offered inside the facility that incarcerated people can take if they want "something to do" and have "good behavior," including religious services or recreational programs like knitting, crocheting or the running club. There were also vocational classes, which allowed incarcerated people to learn trade skills. Although vocational classes are important in providing more tangible skills for employment post incarceration, I spent limited time in these courses for several reasons. I had limited time at the facility therefore I had to pick which classes I wanted to visit on regular basis and which ones I wanted to drop into. In some cases the vocational class was not in session. Vocational courses were more prominent during the 1980s and 90s, but nowadays they are dwindling because of the lack of funding. Vocational courses seemed to offer real opportunities for incarcerated people to build skills and become engaged in "real" work on the outside. I visited the automotive course where the teacher explained that many of the offenders were able to get jobs at Jiffy Lube or other car shops. There was a cosmetology course. This course was unique in that they took the women out, in shackles

more functional courses addressed skills and basic needs such as money management, housing, employment, and general reentry goals. These courses may or may not be evidence-based courses developed by scholars and researchers at academic institutions or institutions such the National Institute of Justice. Second, there were courses that emphasized changing "criminal thinking" patterns or learning to consider other people's thoughts and feelings, whether it be family, friends, victims, other offenders, or authority figures. Many of these courses were based on cognitive behavioral change theory, including Thinking for a Change and Moral Reconation Therapy (MRT). But others courses were not. For example, Core Pathways, Impact of Crime on Victims Course (ICVC), Family Transitions, and anger management courses emphasized changing thinking patterns, but these courses also included other theories and have different goals and outcomes. Lastly, there were treatment programs that included sex offender treatment (not discussed in this dissertation) and substance abuse programs. These treatment programs were geared toward changing criminal behavior and criminal thinking in populations who were more at risk of committing future crimes.

Two of the correctional facilities I studied used incentivizing participation for positive behavioral outcomes, which was an aspect of evidence-based practices. Program credit was awarded if an incarcerated person completed two approved classes or courses. Incarcerated people who earned program credit were eligible to be released up to 60 days early. Officials could take away days for "bad" behavior, thus an individual's credit for 60 days was not guaranteed. Because of this incentive, there were a fair number of incarcerated people who were more concerned with the completion of the class than with its content. At the facilities that

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to take the first part of their exam. This was done close to their release, so that once they were released they were within the window to finish the second part of the course. However at another facility, the culinary class, there was no hands-on experience. I chose to focus on courses central to the resurgence of scientific-based interventions.

offered program credit but did not offer certificates of completion, incarcerated people were concerned with whether the class was documented on their official record. They wanted to reposition themselves as being "responsible" and "accountable," and the certificates were written proof of their growth. This documentation was extremely important. In some cases, the judge may have mandated anger management or drug treatment classes as part of an individual's sentence. I bring this up not to discount the possible shifts that may occur within the classroom but to highlight the various factors that influence the ever-changing coercive and consensual dynamics in the classroom.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

I first noticed Andy while observing the last day of the Money Management class, but it was her grittiness in the Tenant Responsibilities class that sparked my interest and I began to pay attention to her. The Tenant Responsibilities class was designed to teach incarcerated people about how to be more responsible tenants and how to navigate housing processes with criminal records. The class curriculum covered tenant rights, interviews with landlords, apartment walk-throughs and housing applications. The class met once a week in two-hour sessions for four or five weeks. Andy was a short, broad white woman with long dark brown hair that was messily pulled back. She sat quietly at the opposite end of the folding tables from me. Like many of the other women in the facility, she wore a plain white T-shirt instead of the institutional grey shirt.

As we waited for the housing specialist to arrive, several of the other women chatted to their neighbors. Ms. Kelly, a fashionably dressed white woman with heels and a blackberry strapped to her waist, arrived with a stack of folders. She was a bit flushed. Although we had met before, in the Tenant Responsibilities class held on the medium- and maximum-security housing unit, she did not remember my name. I introduced myself again and created a name card like the

other women in the class. Ms. Kelly was a housing specialist and traveled from facility to

facility, conducting workshops, and helping parolees and probationers find stable housing. She

jokingly told me, her office was "in her car."

The class began with introductions.[30] Each person said her name and where she would

live once she was released. This was typically known as a "housing plan." Some women had no

idea where they would live. Others wanted to return to a spouse or boyfriend or live with their

children. Still others were going into drug rehabilitation programs or to other transitional

programs like Oxford House or T-Map.[31] There was one woman who was returning to Montana.

She told the class she had a house there. However, she did not have a housing plan yet because

the DOC does not do interstate compacts until 90 days before release. Interstate compacts

involve the DOC in the state where the individual is incarcerated contacting the DOC in the

receiving state to make sure it will assume supervision over the parolee. There were also several

women who were not going to be placed on parole, which meant they did not require a housing

plan. When women without parole announced their status, the other women responded positively

with soft cheers and clapping. Andy was the last person to introduce herself to the group. She

said, "I'm staying with my grandmother. I'm only taking the class to have something to do." The

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[30] There were 12 women in the class. Ten were white. One woman identified herself as Native
American, while another woman was Latina. There were no African American women in the
class. Having more white women in the class was not unusual since this prison was in the
Midwest. Although there is a disproportionate number of African Americans incarcerated in the
Midwest, a greater number of whites are incarcerated. This meant that class composition varied
greatly. In some instances, the majority of people in the class were African American, Latino/a,
or West-Indian, while at other times the majority of participants were white. Moreover, because
of the way criminality is policed, it was not unusual for the men's facilities to have more men of
color in the classroom.
[31] Oxford House is transitional housing for people dealing with drug addiction. The tenants of the
house are charged with keeping each other on track. T-Map is a 13-week program for homeless
people, and it is designed to help build community support, address addiction, build self-efficacy
and economic sufficiency. In order to qualify for the program they must go through an interview
process.

instructor questioned Andy by suggesting that perhaps she might want her own place. Andy was uninterested in having her own place, and she reiterated that she was content with staying with her grandmother.

There were classes and activities that you could sign up for, if you wanted something to do. Tenant Responsibility was not one of those classes, since it was eligible for program credit and was tied to assessment scores. To get into the class, an incarcerated person must have a 32+ overall score on the LSI-R assessment and a 2+ on the housing portion of the assessment (see chapter 4 for in-depth explanation of LSI-R scoring). Tenant Responsibility was just one class that the correctional facility offered to help incarcerated people learn to navigate their life on the outside with a criminal record. Over 80% of the incarcerated people whom I interviewed had taken two or more classes.[32] So I was not surprised when I saw Andy in the Thinking for a Change.

Andy's teeth were blackened from doing methamphetamine. There was one tooth missing on the front left side, something I had not noticed until our interview. While working on the Section 8 housing application in the Tenant Responsibility class, Andy disclosed that she had meth charges, but it was during the interview that she revealed the extent of her drug use. She stated, "Listen, I think meth is the devil, okay. And that is one of my biggest addictions. And I'm an IV drug user, have been for ten years. And God, I loved it for a long time, but it just brings so much chaos in your life." Her meth charge was the main reason why she was staying with her grandmother.

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[32] Most of the people I interviewed had taken several classes while serving their current sentence. Others had taken different classes over their life-course of being incarcerated. If they were incarcerated before, the class may or may not be still in existence.

HUD's public housing has a lifetime ban on people who have a conviction for producing methamphetamine or people who have a lifetime registered sex offender status. The federal government allows local public housing authorities to review people with other criminal convictions on a case-by-case basis. Though most people with criminal records get turned down, formerly incarcerated people can appeal the decision. In many cases, they can gain access to public housing (see chapter 7).[33] Some proponents find these laws punitive because they exclude people who need housing assistance. But others argue that it is part of ensuring the safety of the community. There has been a decline in half-way housing and transitional housing across the nation. In addition, several officials with whom I spoke thought that half-way housing and transitional housing were becoming unsafe options due to drugs and crime. The situation was even direr for people with sex offenses.

Andy was a bit reserved during our interview despite our previous interactions in Tenant Responsibility and Thinking for a Change (T4C). She sat across from me with her body facing slightly to one side. She continually glanced at the digital recorder. Then she noticed the book I was reading between interviews and focused on reading the title upside down. With the hope of easing her nervousness, I took a moment to talk about the book, "Radical Acceptance" by Tara Brach. I explained that the book was about accepting our full selves. And that many times we think we are not "good enough" or that something is wrong with us. I told her that these thoughts

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[33] After Ms. Tammy's clients were denied several times in the appeal process she reached out to Section 8 to find out what they could do to get accepted. Since then, she has had a good track record. She explained that most places will deny you housing if you have any felony convictions. It is through the appeal process that you can gain Section 8 housing. At the appeal the client is encouraged to bring family, friends and church members for support and to have one or two of them speak on her behalf. The client is also encouraged to send letters of support with the application. In addition to the housing ban, one of the states where I did my field work also banned people who had with felony drug convictions from TANF and SNAP. The second state opted out of the federal bans.

cause us pain but we do not have to believe our thoughts. We can just accept who we are in this

moment. Afterward, Andy's opened up in the interview.

> R: No, sounds great [in regards to the book]. You know, see, for a long time my whole thing is that I stuffed [my feelings] and I stuffed and I stuffed. And my dad was very hard. You know what I'm saying? He used to tell me, what am I raising, a pack of pussies? I'm like dad, I just cut my foot damn near off, you know? You're supposed to cry when that happens. So, I mean, yeah, this book looks really interesting. Wow. So, I'm glad I'm not the only one that reads all them books.
>
> I: No, believe me, no, you're totally not the only one. I get what you're talking about, about not wanting to be sad anymore. It's hard.
>
> R: And the last three years have been, oh my God, it's been one bad thing after another. You know? I had to sign my baby up for adoption because I was incarcerated. I lost my other three. My youngest son was four months old when I went into jail. He doesn't even know who I am. My ex-husband, who was my husband at the time, cheated on me with my sister, you know. It's just like everything just snowballed. You know what I'm saying? So, for a long time, I cried myself to sleep, you know. And I still cry every time I think about it.
>
> I: It's hard.
>
> R: So, I read a lot of books trying to figure out…because I don't want to be sad when I get out of here. Because I want to get out. I'm so sad that I'm going to go back to the same thing I've always done.
>
> I: Right. I get it.
>
> R: So, I want some…[long pause]
>
> I: Something different.
>
> R: Yeah, yeah. And I never wanted that before. I was okay with just being worthless because I didn't see myself like that. Because I don't know. Drugs give you this false illusion. I don't know. I'm sure you know a little bit about drugs, but they give you this false illusion that you're something that you're not. It's everybody else's fault. It's never your fault. Do you know what I'm saying? And when you stop long enough and you have to take a look at yourself, you're like, oh shit, I don't think I like this person. You know? So, then you have to learn how to be sober and not have anxiety attacks, you know? Because I had one in the library the other day. I felt like I was having a heart attack. I couldn't breathe. Anyways, I'm probably getting off track here.

Andy's feelings of loneliness and worthlessness were echoed in other interviews I had with men

and women. For Andy, she held onto her childhood experience of not being able to cry or be

vulnerable when hurt. She was committed to a "hard" stance, and that was performed via explicit

language. She went on to explain that negotiating visitation with her children was a big issue

between her and her ex-husband. Andy said,

> Okay, so you know how I talk. When I'm dealing with my ex, you know what I'm
> saying, and all I can think are these bad thoughts about him, I wish that fucker would die,
> you know, I don't know, for the first time I'm starting to look at that, you know. And
> we've only been in it [T4C] like four or five weeks, you know.

Andy called attention to the fact that, in the short time I had observed her, I should have a sense

of her speech patterns. Early on I did notice that Andy liked to use the word "fuck" a lot. She

would sometimes use "fuck" two or three times in one sentence. Some instructors ask students to

curb their language, while others allow various degrees of one's natural talk to shine through.

But in terms of T4C objectives, the "breakthrough" for Andy was that she was looking at her

behavior more deeply. More specifically, she examined how she thought and felt about her

interactions with her ex-husband and what possible impacts her responses to him might have. In

class that week, she reported to the group about a phone conversation between her and her

husband. 'I felt myself getting hot, my heart was racing…I didn't hang up in his face.' As

Andy's continued to report to the class, she reflected on how she "could understand" why he

wanted to protect the children by limiting her contact. Andy's consideration for her husband's

feelings and clarity about how her thinking guides her actions dovetails with the ideological

beliefs that knowing oneself is at the heart of transformation. In contemporary correctional

strategies, there is a deep belief that, by knowing oneself, one can begin to see the faults in one's

thinking and subsequent actions and therefore chose to change one's behavior (Duguid 2000).

Andy's cognitive development and learning about tenant rights was only one part of her

transformation. She was also taking the GED course.[34]

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[34] While Andy waited for her final scores, she expressed how nervous she was about failing.
Before the end course ended, Andy received her GED.

Because Andy had been taken several courses at the facility, I wanted to know what she thought could be done with more funding for programs.

I: So, with that, say we had some funding, what kind of class, or what would you like to see happen?

R: Hmmm. Maybe some self-help groups.

I: Like what kind?

R: You know, like it would be nice if women could get together and talk about their experiences and what led them to being addicted to drugs, and what led them to be in prison maybe, you know. More counselors.

I: More counselors?

R: Yeah.

I: Have you ever been to the freedom planning?

R: Yeah, I'm supposed to, but I don't. Because this is like drug…I'm talking more about one-on-one therapy for people.

I: Gotcha.

R: Because I think that would help a lot of women in here because a lot of women have been physically abused, sexually abused, you know. And therefore, that strings a whole bunch of issues. You know what I'm saying? And maybe if you could get down to the core of what's going on with you, maybe you would want not to get high anymore. Maybe you would want not to commit felonies. You know?

At first, Andy was interested in self-help groups but her strong feelings was that there should be more counselors. Her hesitation about Freedom Planning was unclear. Freedom Planning was a voluntary small group discussion for people with drug addictions. It is not the treatment offered by the facility, so there were less restrictions on who could attend the group. Since she wanted "one-on-one therapy," I gathered that it was the group dynamics that turned her away. There was one-on-one therapy in the drug treatment program, and there were mental health services. For incarcerated people who do not qualify for drug treatment, their one-on-one sessions generally came from interactions from unit team counselors (UTCs), who may or may not have a therapeutic background. For me, Andy was indicating that she wanted more connection. Also, she was making it clear that her basic needs were not being met, and that was why she turned to drugs in the first place. Andy was not specific about what needs but based on

our interview, I took this to mean her emotional needs and the need to feel connected. This was something that could not be addressed through the housing class through Thinking for Change or through getting her GED. So it was only the intervenable risk/needs that were documented in her file and reflected in her statistical score.

<center>*********</center>

Surface Responsibility

Sociologists have theorized the porous nature of prisons, suggesting that prisons are a microcosm of the outside (Irwin 1970). From this perspective power dynamics and other practices that happen on the outside also occur on the inside. Studies have shown that both staff and incarcerated people bring gender, racial and sexual bias into the prison system and that these values and beliefs about power, agency and structure govern how they interact with people who are incarcerated and how they implement new ideas (Philliber 1987). This porous boundary highlights similarities between the two spheres, but it also characterizes the inside as fake in comparison to the outside. The work to prepare incarcerated people to return home to be governable citizens is centered on being "real." On the one hand, being real is about making sure incarcerated people have skills to gain employment, housing and manage money. On the other hand, it is focused on the ideas that incarcerated people must deal with their reality, that is, how their past behavior constructs their present realities.

My informants often spoke about how incarcerated people do not have a handle on the real world and that their understanding of how things work was warped, not normal. It was thought that by learning soft skills, they would be able to function in society and be responsible. I suggest that the classroom provided opportunities for incarcerated people to develop and rehearse responsibilization, as the staff (peers) guided and evaluated this transformation. I am not

arguing that learning soft skills, creating resumes, and having mock interviews were superfluous. In fact, people at all levels of education and statuses gather feedback from their peers and practice these interviewing skills. Yet, the context of learning these skills inside an oppressive environment with a deep history of racism looms large. This is so much so that these practices remain superficial, even as unit team counselors try to simulate real outside experiences.

Mock Applications and "Offender Speeches"

The way that participants talked about their history became a way for the program staff to determine how much responsibility they have taken for their crimes (Carr 2011). Incarcerated people therefore, had to speak about their criminal history in ways that were precise and careful. Correctional staff viewed offenders talked as anti-social behavior or criminal thinking when they minimized or neutralized their choice to commit crimes by denying injury or when they bashed the system. If they were able to talk about their crime(s) in a manner that recognized their participation and that acknowledged the victim, this signified that they had gained "insight" about their inner selves (Carr 2006). This section examines the "offender speech" or "incarceration speech," which were scripts written by incarcerated people that were intended to help them navigate post-incarceration barriers. Correctional staff trained formerly incarcerated people to use these scripts in two important areas, housing and employment.

In the classrooms, I observed both the scripting of language and the performance of these scripts (Carr 2011). Staff and peers evaluated participants' levels of remorsefulness and authenticity as they rehearsed what I call the "offender speech." This process became another marker of the self, another opportunity to determine if s/he was ready to succeed. The scientific aspects of evidence-based practices were not implicitly present in the "offender speech," yet it does not mean there was not a logical process. These speeches were not generic; participants

could write and say anything. Staff taught the basic formula, which was the "Three R's:" responsibility, regret and redemption.[35] Each speech contained these aspects as a way to demonstrate a sense of moving forward and a willingness to change. In "How to do Things with Words," Austin (1962) elucidates the ways that language and utterances do things in the sense that they call on the person uttering the words to do something. In regard to the "offender speeches," these scripts were meant to not only demonstrate that participants had changed, but also to convince landlords and employees that they would be governable citizens. Moreover, unlike performatives that are found in legal proceedings, these utterances were not binding. Instead, they are judged on how well they were performed. If done well, the speeches signified an acceptance of pro-social thinking and non-criminal rationalization. The performance had to be fluid, believable, and natural such that language and performance intersected to demonstrate the potentiality of successful citizenship.

In the following section, I return to Tenant Responsibility, one of the classes where I observed Andy highlighting how class facilitators coached incarcerated people through "offender speeches" in order to convey their criminal history in positive manners. I explore the difficulty with the preparatory work of filling out housing applications and subsequent offender speeches that go along with the paperwork. The women in these classes tried to address something that I would hear and grapple with during my research: How can this script, which is predicated on a process of revealing, serve as a way to navigate and negate the stigma that comes with incarceration once they leave prison?

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[35] The 3 R's was formally taught at two of the four facilities. Nonetheless, the sentiment that incarcerated people needed to practice responsibility, regret and redemption was present at all the facilities.

It was the second week of Tenant Responsibilities and the assignment was to complete the six-page housing authority application. Ms. Kelly told the class that this was one of the harder applications and that, if they could fill out this application, they would be able to fill out any housing application. All of the women looked through the application, but only a handful of the women started working on it. The ones who were working were intently focused, and they were writing down as much information as possible. Maggie was sitting close to me. She flipped through the application but did not fill it out. Maggie was an outspoken, dark-haired white woman who made it her business to tell me the "real deal" on the housing situation, specifically Oxford Housing. Like Andy, Maggie could not get into public housing because of her methamphetamine charges. She explained this to me on the first day of class as well as in our interview.

As the women filled out the forms, Ms. Kelly emphasized that they should fill out the application as thoroughly as possible. Page three of the application required a full residential history for the last five years. This brought on anxiety for several women. Revel, a tall white women with long blonde hair, was having trouble. As Ms. Kelly made her rounds, Revel said, "I don't think I'll every feel comfortable…I'm embarrassed." She explained that she "house jump[ed]" because of her drug addiction and that, for the last four years, she did not have a stable place to live. She revealed to Ms. Kelly, "There seems to be so many places that I can't remember them all…I stayed a few weeks at this place and a few weeks there." As she continued to speak, she got more upset and was on the verge of crying. Ms. Kelly encouraged her to finish the address sheet. She told her, "You have an issue with what is real." At that moment, Revel was faced with her reality of her instability and the role that her drug addiction had played in creating chaos in her life. Again, Ms. Kelly encouraged her to do her best and moved on to the

next student. Visibly upset, Revel kept writing. Studies have shown that the lack of housing makes formerly incarcerated people more vulnerable to recidivism. In order to be released, incarcerated people had to provide an address for where they will live. Depending on the state and the resources available, parole officers check to make sure that it was a stable place. I was told that this was an important step because of a number of challenges: some people use other incarcerated people's contacts, the people on the outside do not want them back, or they will now be stable places for the people in recovery to live. People with sex crime convictions had more strenuous restrictions that made it challenging to procure housing. For example, a woman in sex offender treatment explained to me that she was denied housing because the place was 999 feet. away from a playground instead of the required 1000 feet.

Even I felt daunted as I looked at the application. I realized that I would have trouble filling out this application. Finally, Ms. Kelly instructed them to hand in the applications. Many of the women looked surprised. A few women asked if they could turn them in next week. Maggie, who sat next to me and who did not work on the application said, "I want to look up my housing history to make sure that it is correct." With all the shuffling of passing in the applications, it was unclear if Ms. Kelly collected them all, as she did not count to make sure she had them all.

Since many of the women will rely on public housing once released, this exercise was supposed to prepare them for the process. There were also women in the class who would be in private housing. When discussing housing, several questions emerged as to how best represent oneself to a potential landlord. One of the women in the class asked if you needed to inform landlords outside of the public housing system if you had a felony conviction. Ms. Kelly explained that most housing application forms do not ask about felony convictions, yet when the

landlord does a background check, "things will come up." Someone suggested printing and attaching a copy of your criminal report from the public repository that is online. Another woman countered her suggestion by asserting that most landlords do not know what they are looking at. Then a third woman said, "I always put 'will explain.' If they don't want to look at me (rent from me), it's none of their business." Landlords generally have negative responses toward formerly incarcerated people, so the participants are encouraged to give potential landlords both their parole information and reasons for incarceration upfront, even if it is not requested. By giving landlords all the information upfront, the women supposedly circumvent their criminal records becoming a cause for eviction if the landlord finds out.

Filling out the forms was just one part of obtaining housing. Ms. Kelly stressed that your in-person interactions with potential landlords (and even employers) can make a difference. According to Ms. Kelly, an interview with the landlord occurs anytime you talk to a potential landlord. She stated, "It's important to practice. What will happen if you don't practice?" The women responded: "You will get nervous." "You might lie…because you are nervous." "You might tell them more than they need to know." Ms. Kelly told the women, "I have parole staff do the speeches, and they all say it is uncomfortable…Landlords are looking for honest talk, simple honest statements. I'm not making you do this to embarrass you, but for you to see what sounds good."

As they worked on their offender speeches Susan, a white woman with gang symbols tattooed on her face and neck, was having difficulties with the assignment. Susan asked, "Which conviction do I tell them about? I have a bunch." She began to list all her convictions, and she gave details about what happened in each situation. Susan indicated, "It all began with post-partum depression and…How do I say that?" Ms. Kelly interjected and said "Stop, that's exactly

what you don't want to do". Instead of being too open, the women are advised to keep it general, to not give too much information and to redirect the conversation to focus on the positive and on the here and now. On the one hand, the frmaing was that the women have trouble dealing with what was "real" and the consequences of their behavior. At the same time, when the women brought in what they thought was the root of the behavior, it was pushed aside as too much information, or it was characterized as excuse-making.

The room grew quiet once most of the women finished their drafts. Ms. Kelly instructed them to pair up and practice. The women blankly stared at her. Ms. Kelly repeated herself and they still looked at her. Then Maggie asked, in a troubled voice signaling that she did not want to do it, "You want us to answer the question (in groups)?" There was a desire among the women to share, as Andy had alluded when I asked about what she would do with more funding. But it was difficult. A few of my interviewees explained that if you shared in class, you might be susceptible to gossip. In another class, I witnessed the fallout of someone being accused of gossiping about personal information shared in class in the prison-housing unit. Ms. Kelly stood before the class, and she told them that their speeches needed to be practiced more than once. Ms. Kelly looked at me. I tried to resist participation since I was curious as to how this would end. She continued looking at me, I tilted my head sideways and raised an eyebrow, which was enough to signal a silent agreement. With that, Ms. Kelly motioned with her hands to pair up.

It was hard to listen to one group since the women did not spread out in the room. Instead they maneuvered as though they were in close quarters, turning to the person sitting next to them. Andy and her partner, an older white woman who was getting out in two months, started laughing and getting loud. Ms. Kelly walked around to listen to them practice. When Ms. Kelly stopped to help Maggie, she said, "I didn't answer that question yet…I'm not there yet. I'm still

stuck on one." Maggie was referring to the third part of the three Rs, redemption, where you explained how you would be a good tenant. The three Rs are responsibility, regret and redemption. The ability to talk about crimes committed and to incorporate an acknowledgement of wrongs and an affirmation that s/he had turned his/her life around was the most difficult part. Several of the men and women whom I interviewed shared that they had a hard time talking positively about themselves. Their lives were filled with so much trauma and disappointment that it was challenging to dispel the negative self-talk and to focus on what areas they are good at.

It became laborious to listen. Some of the groups had fun with the exercise. I tuned an ear toward Andy and her partner as they role played various scenarios. Andy and her partner let out a loud laugh, then Andy said in a fake snobby voice, "Does your apartment have a master bedroom?" Her partner replied, "No." Andy refuted, "Then I can't rent from you, if your apartment doesn't have a master bedroom." They dissolved into a clamorous laughter then switched roles, with Andy playing a mean landlord. Andy could not get through the role playing and she started laughing so much she held her belly. While Andy and her partner were approaching the exercise in a playful manner, other women in the room took it very seriously. A woman from across the table said, "You are having too much fun over there. This is serious." Another woman chimed in, "I've been in housing interviews. They are hard." This type of peer checking was not uncommon, but I typically witnessed it in the cognitive behavioral courses.

The next step of preparation involved sharing their speeches. Despite the reluctance to pair up, several of the women were eager to go first. Many of the speeches were straightforward, so Ms. Kelly did not have a lot of feedback. The first person spoke about being a "good tenant" and how she "wouldn't have people in and out" and how she was "sober." Sobriety and keeping foot traffic down to a minimum was a common theme among the speeches, particularly for the

women who had a history of substance abuse. The women took the exercise seriously, but they also regularly made humorous side comments as a way to gain attention and lighten the mood and the gravity of their situations. For example, as the first woman talked about being sober, someone made a side comment, "If I smell any wacky weed…" After she finished, Ms. Kelly told her, "It felt honest."

Not all the speeches ran smoothly. In addition to giving too much detail, speeches were flagged when men were mentioned, especially if the man was part of their criminal history or was not their steady partner. A woman mentioned that the man with whom she had committed crimes, and a few women in the class pushed back. One woman thought that mentioning her co-conspirator meant that she was minimizing and not taking responsibility for what she had done. A few women in the class shook their heads in agreement. Ms. Kelly, however, did not fully agree that she was minimizing, but she thanked the person for the comment and said that she could understand her point. Another woman said, "When I heard a man…I thought, 'Wow, is there going to be a problem with a man coming in and out?'" Ms. Kelly responded, "Ohh, that's a good point." Here the mere mention of a man triggered the need to police women's sexual behavior. The woman in question was perceived as possible being "loose," but also this unknown man became someone to fear and to be policed. In many ways, people with criminal histories were imagined as people with no social or sexual life. This reimagining was therefore the only way to self-manage in society. I noticed that this was the first speech that the women actually critiqued and the first that Ms. Kelly did, too. At the end of the discussion, Ms. Kelly told the woman, "It's not that your speech was bad. It's great that it allowed us to talk about these things." Ms. Kelly moved to the next person, Maggie, another person that I had began to watch more closely. The speeches tended to be about three minutes; however, in Maggie's case, the

speech was very quick. Maggie finished her speech in about a minute and told the class, "I'm not one to give you a long bullshit answer." Instead of responding to the content of Maggie's speech, Ms. Kelly responded, "I think that is good. Each person's personality needs to fit their speech." The back and forth between the Ms. Kelly and the women continued until everyone was done.

In working the 3 Rs of responsibility, regret and redemption, it was important not to give too much information in the speech. In a few cases, the offenders divulged all the details of what they did, how they felt, and what was happening in their life at the time of the offense. This was fascinating information because it contextualized their crime but it was also too much information. And yet, not giving enough information was considered a misrepresentation of their criminal offenses. The women in the class were concerned that, if they did not explain the crimes in detail, the landlord would not understand the information. For example, with drug offenses and sex crimes, there were various degrees of the crime and different categorizations based on the seriousness. These nuances were not always apparent in their offender speeches. Moreover, if a person was convicted of theft, the person may reveal in the interview that s/he was stealing to support their drug habit. Now s/he is sober, stealing was no longer an issue. Context was important, but they were told that they did not need to recount what was stolen or the drug(s) they are were addicted to. In response to a question about letting the landlord know about treatment, Ms. Kelly explained that a lot of landlords like to hear about treatment. She said, "It's like a magic bullet." However, one of the students refuted, "I wouldn't tell them that because it doesn't show up on my history." Ms. Kelly acknowledged that it indeed did not show up on their history (that is, on background checks or online repository reports), but that it was still good to include.

At the end, Ms. Kelly discussed the connections between housing and other aspects of life, like employment. In each class, I observed that the facilitator emphasized their area of expertise as the lynchpin for recidivism. In this case, housing did indeed matter most for some of the women in the class. Maggie interjected, "In my criminal history, if I had a roof over my head, no matter how little food I had, it made a difference as to what my next move would be." Another student chimed in, "If you don't have stability it's hard to get other things, and, without the other things, then you can't get stability." Several women simultaneously commented. Gaining stability through housing was necessary for survival, and having housing also represented the desire to have beautiful things and "a room of one's own," a sentiment that I heard several time in my formal interviews with women. Someone in class said, "Having a roommate here makes you want a place of your own." Then someone else explained, "I dream about my comforter, making matching pillows and curtains." Several of the women agreed that they missed their own stuff. These comments settled in the room as though nothing had been said. Many of the women just sat back and silently agreed. During the class, Andy had only offered silent agreement. In the interview with Andy, we talked about her staying with her grandmother. Bright eyed and thankful, she returned to the theme of having beautiful things and staying sober. She recounted the conversation she had with her grandmother. Andy said,

> We talked about my bed and my two flurry (sic) pillows and my 700-thread Egyptian cotton sheets. Yeah. The comforter because I'm getting this really nice down comforter, oh God. And all because… just because I'm coming home. Do you know what I'm saying? Because I've been gone for three years. And so I hope I don't disappoint her. Do you know what I'm saying? Because she's doing all this on hopes that I'm not going to go out there and fall head first into a dope sack.

In the Tenant Responsibility class, language and representation come together in the attempt to counter discriminatory apparatuses in the housing market. And in the midst of trying to come to terms with their "reality"—their criminal history—so that they can perfect their "offender

speeches," there was still another reality. This reality was a deep desire to live beautifully and autonomously. It was in the meeting of these two realities that the messiness between incarcerated people's lived experiences and the program's goals of reducing recidivism rates and increasing public safety were laid bare.

Resumes and Tax Credits

The DOC asks questions that they don't need to know…'Where will you be employed?" That's a dumb question for now, like I know, unless I have someone who owns a business on the outside. –Incarcerated man

They can't come across to the employer as deceptive, deviant, allusive…criminal…they all mean the same thing to me. Instead they need to [be] seen as a human being… someone who has made mistakes. –Ms. Gibbs, unit team counselor

Studies have shown that the lack of employment post incarceration increases the risk of formerly incarcerated people returning to prison (Pager, et al. 2009b; Western and Pettit 2010). Generally, DOC staff were aware of this and therefore spoke highly of the employment classes that provided incarcerated people the opportunity to create resumes and practice employment interviews. Ms. Terri, a unit team counselor described in chapter four, told me, "I'm big on Workforce and Employment, this class gets them ready for interviews…helps them build resumes…I really like this class…and it's program credit eligible…so it's a good thing." Since the classes were designed to provide tools that participants needed to find employment, this also meant that staff members were quick to voice disapproval over incarcerated people's inability to find jobs. Several unit team counselors explained that "offenders lacked soft skills," like not getting to work on time or not calling in when they are sick. They also realized that transportation was much more difficult for people living in rural areas because they did not have access to public transportation equivalent to people in urban areas. But all of these points were

considered excuses that incarcerated people make instead of taking responsibility and finding a job. When I asked about the stigma against hiring people with felony convictions, unit team counselors and parole officers were aware of this barrier. They even worked with "offenders" to overcome this barrier in the "offender speeches." But they always reiterated the bottom line: "There are jobs out there." They might "not be the best jobs," but "there are jobs."

Similar to the "offender speeches," language, representation and presentation were of the upmost importance in the process of writing resumes. For example, I was told that using the word "prison" on a resume, a mock interview or offender speech implied that you were in a bad place, while using the term "correctional facility" implied you were rehabilitated. In addition to these questions of language, staff used a variety of styles to organize resumes. In one employment class, Mr. Dan, explained that the less job experience you have, the more you should focus on your skills. Additionally, staff were adamant that the resumes be one page, that it was better to have a simple one-page resume than a two-page resume with extra space. Mr. Carlton told me, "I work with the guys to develop a one-page resume…resumes should only be one-page." Perhaps the one-page rule was about formatting and lack of job experience, but I noticed that the program's lack of resources and time was another factor. Mr. Carlton, a short and slender balding white man with glasses, had been teaching in the correctional system for several years. His classroom was in the basement and it felt like a rehabbed dungeon. It was a large space with small windows starting above eye level. It was not dark but it had a musty feel to it. There was also a fireplace on one side, which was not being used. The room was separated in half. The tables, chairs, computers and a fireplace were on one side, while the other half was used for Mr. Carlton's desk and storage space.

Only a small number of incarcerated people have resumes, Mr. Carlton explained, and part of his goal was to make sure that everyone leaving his class had one. Creating resumes was a cumbersome process, since most correctional facilities either do not have updated computers with Internet access or they do not allow for incarcerated people access to the Internet. In Mr. Carlton's class, one or two guys would come with hand-written resumes. In other facilities, staff met with incarcerated people one-on-one, and they used their own office computers. If the person was computer literate, s/he could type up their resumes. If not, the staff member had to type the resume.

Mr. Carlton's approach to explaining felony convictions was different from all the other approaches that I encountered in the field. In my conversation with Mr. Carlton, who was an Employment Skills / Life Skills (ES/LS) instructor, he stated:

> Along with the resume, I do a letter of explanation, which focuses on why the person has been incarcerated. I do this instead of the typical thing: putting 'explain in interview'…Any curious person will read the letter.

His letters for people incarcerated served as recommendations. Therefore, in writing them, he positioned himself as a potential mediator in the hiring process. He explained that his letters acknowledged people's criminal history and vouched for their ability to be good employees, the same things that the offender speeches aimed to accomplish.

Most of the instructors who taught employment classes told offenders to write "Will explain in interview" after checking "yes" to having a felony conviction, rather than writing letters to be attached to the resumes. The instructors informed me that writing "will explain in interview" meant that the formerly incarcerated person did not have to state what they did, and needlessly expose themselves if they interviewed. The "offender speech" then becomes an essential component in these post-application interviews.

These speeches were similar to the ones constructed for housing interviews. It was important for formerly incarcerated people's personalities to shine through. Wording and rehearsing became important. The basic 3 R's were the same. However, in job interviews, the central point revolved around why someone should hire them. Several times, I was asked to participate in the mock interviews to provide people with a chance to practice "offender speeches" with an outside person. One day I was working with Mr. Dan, and he instructed me to ask the typical questions: "Why do you want the job?" "What are your strengths and weaknesses?" "Tell me about how you would handle a stressful situation." I was also instructed to ask about the gaps in their employment histories and to assume that they had checked the box that indicated s/he had a felony conviction. Sally, a meek middle-aged white woman with stringy dark brown hair, handed me her resume. I immediately noticed that she had worked in a veterinarian office and had a lot of secretarial skills. I created a position at a veterinarian hospital for her. During the interview she explained nervously but clearly why she wanted the job, her assets and her weaknesses. When I asked about her prior convictions, her body stiffened slightly, and she began to focus intently on the script she had tried to memorize. At that time, I was unaware of her convictions. She was careful to not give too much information, so much so that, at the end of the mock interview, I could not name her conviction(s). She spoke about how she had committed crimes in the past, but now she was in treatment. She said that she had turned her life around.

I did not find staff's concerns with how "well" they did with their "offender speeches" or resume writing to be disingenuous; in fact most unit team counselors wanted incarcerated people to succeed. As we stood on the lawn after the building evacuation, the co-facilitator of the employment class asked me, "How did they do?…I'm really concerned about how they talked

about their records." Regardless of their intent, the constant requirement to write and perform the script seemed to be devoid of any notion that structural and social inequalities impacted these women's lives. But was that true? On one level, the women did need to rehearse their speeches until they became natural performances, delivered without hesitation, if they were to feel confident and comfortable with interview processes. This more natural delivery would help them to appear "normal" to their potential interviewers, rather than reinforcing stigma. But this performance of normalization fell short of confronting the stigma these women will face on the outside. Yet it speaks to how the women were expected to take their situations and turn them into something positive, so that they could, in turn, mobilize themselves so that they would no longer be risks to society once they were released. Once again, this scenario holds incarcerated people responsible for structural and social failures.

Two of the facilities that I researched permitted incarcerated people to engage in "work release." Work release programs allowed incarcerated people to leave the prison and work in jobs that paid outside wages. These were mostly low-wage jobs at fast food restaurants and entry-level factory work. This was generally seen as better than working on the inside in jobs that paid little or nothing. Western and Pettit suggest that the incarceration experience itself "may promote habits and behaviors that are poorly suited to the routines of regular work" (2010:14). Thus, the time spent inside puts incarcerated people at a disadvantage in terms of gaining and maintaining employment. Work release jobs in fast food industry and factories, along with vocational training, such as automotive skills or cosmetology, may have helped to alleviate this disadvantage. But there were limited spaces in these programs, so the programs were highly selective. Moreover, not all correctional facilities have work release programs, and the vocational training courses are not consistent at the facilities. In the work release program at

one facility, participants paid for clothing, transportation, and other incidentals out of their paychecks. The checks were deposited into a DOC account, and they were able to withdraw funds for the above-mentioned items as well as to buy items from the canteen. They could also save their money or send resources home.

In my interview with the unit team counselor from treatment team, Ms. Gibb, we discussed the importance of preparing the women for work-release interviews. While working at her computer, glancing at me here and there, she explained that the women are excited about work release, but they do not realize that it is not a "walk in the park." Ms. Gibb wanted to help even if it meant addressing the hard things, like the issues the led to their incarceration, She pushed them to create another ending to their story. As Ms. Gibb explained work release to me, she suddenly stopped typing, turned to me and said, "There is work that they have to do." I asked, "If I was an inmate coming down for work release, what is the process?" She told me, "The first thing I would do is hand you a packet so you could read through the expectations." She handed me a packet and continued to outline the process. Each person would fill out the last page of the packet, which had two questions: 1) List and give five examples of why a prospective employer should hire you? 2) Prepare your "incarceration speech." The women were asked to think in terms of past, present, and future. "The hardest part" commented Ms. Gibb, "is preparing the incarceration speech because we have let them [incarcerated people] walk through with any story they have told themselves. I have them strip things down. They have to be honest with what they have done…I interview all the women first, before they go out to a job [interview]." As we continued to talk, Ms. Gibb highlighted the same difficulties that the women in the housing class were dealing with: what is "real." Instead of relying on their previous stories about themselves, which might be false, the women had to be honest with themselves if they wanted to

be successful. Ms. Gibb understood her job as helping to strip back the layers of deception to reveal what is "real," that is, a sense of reality that forced incarcerated people to collide with their past and present. In her view, it was a privilege for people to be able to leave the compound for work, since they had to be trusted to come back. For Ms. Gibb, if an incarcerated person could not take responsibility for his or her criminal behavior and understand his or her "self" in a way that fostered transformation, then they were not ready for work release.

In addition to the working on resumes and doing mock interviews, DOC staff and officials tried to incorporate other methods to help incarcerated people secure jobs. In the digital age, the way in which people apply for jobs is continually changing. As more job applications are done online, it has become necessary to have access to the Internet to procure employment. These changes were challenging for incarcerated people and for prison officials, given the lack of computers in prisons and the lack of computer skills among incarcerated people.[36] There was always talk among DOC staff and officials about how to overcome these challenges. One suggestion I heard was to create video resumes. At a community-based reentry meeting, a DOC official explained, "If someone wanted a plumber, then the employer could go to the DOC website and look for a plumber…Sometime during the video resume…they would talk about his/her convictions." The idea of video resumes was an attempt to get incarcerated people into the job market and to make them available to potential employers before they left prison. Although some incarcerated people obtained jobs via connections before leaving (like from their old employers), these outcomes were rare. While the DOC staff made attempts to make incarcerated people more accessible to potential employers, incarcerated people had the perspective that gaining employment pre-release was extremely difficult. As the person quoted at

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[36] This is also a problem with taking the GED since it is transitioning to an online-only test.

the beginning of this section stated, inquiring about potential employment while incarcerated was "dumb." His comments reflected the fact that, once he gets out of prison, he will have numerous parole obligations and family obligations to negotiate, so how will he know where he can work?

Potential employers often fear the liabilities of hiring someone with a felony conviction in the same way that landlords have anxieties about renting to someone with a record. Formerly incarcerated people are stereotyped as being destructive and unreliable employees. To navigate this employment barrier, tax credits and bonding were introduced in the employment classes as a way to quell fears of potential employers. The tax credit is a federal program that allows businesses that hire a formerly incarcerated people to receive a tax credit of $2,000-2,500. Businesses can also bond the individual in case something happens on the job, such as stealing. Even though there was seemingly widespread acceptance of these programs among DOC staff and officials, there was controversy about how incarcerated people should introduce these programs during their interview. In the employment classes, facilitators thoroughly reviewed the programs with incarcerated people. They encouraged them to mention them in their "offender speeches." They could also leave a brochure with potential employers if they received an interview. But some staff felt that pitches for these programs were used too much, and that they diminished the one-on-one work with incarcerated people focused on getting them job-ready.

An exchange during a staff meeting, which featured a guest speaker from another state department, demonstrated staff's reluctance to focus on the tax credit. Mr. Harper, the guest speaker, began with few cursory comments about how "generic resumes" will help them with job applications and how more "employers are leaning toward electronic resumes," but that computer literacy was an issue inside. Next, Mr. Harper began to talk about the tax credit program. I noticed that most people in the room had a glazed look on their faces. Several people

started going to the bathroom, getting more coffee and donuts. When he finished, a unit team counselor interjected, "We don't like them [incarcerated people] to stand on a tax credit to get employment…Some of them attach it to their resume as secondary. So they aren't standing on it, but it is an incentive." Mr. Harper slightly acknowledged the comment and continued with the next point of his presentation: creating portfolios inside that could be used with the tax credit. Another more out-spoken unit team counselor interrupted and reaffirmed what the previous person said about the tax program. "I've done work release, and what helps is intensive long-term training. The tax credit…it's a rebate." There was chuckling from other people, and a few people repeated what was said under their breath. The counselor continued, "This is what many offenders lead with. It takes time, to teach them how to talk about their skills. You need someone who can pull that out of them." Staff members are concerned that the tax credit was a reason for employers to hire people instead relying on their skills. As one staff member said in response, it "takes time" to develop incarcerated people's skills. So adding on other components, such as creating an in-depth portfolio, may be time-consuming. Case management, which sometimes includes building resumes, was already demanding, particularly if you had more than forty people in your caseload, which many of them did. Mr. Harper's portfolio suggestion was meant to be a way to individualize reentry opportunities, even if it meant more time. However, staff already thought that they provided individualized case management and that the portfolio was just another "fly by night" strategy.

"Money Matters"

One day after a lunchtime discussion, Ms. Holly the Employment Skills /Life Skills (ES/LS) instructor, invited me to her classroom, which was located in a wing in the housing unit. The classroom was set up like a traditional classroom, not like the messiness that I had seen in

other classrooms. She had inspirational wall hangings and posters focused on lessons plans, a projector, and folding tables put together with chairs around them. Her room had windows at the ground level, which allowed for natural light to stream in. Ms. Holly, an average middle-aged white woman with long dark hair, had taught inside the DOC for several years. Nothing stood out about Ms. Holly, but staff across the facility respected her and spoke highly of her work. I arrived in her classroom, but, before I could ask questions or ask for permission to observe a few classes, she took on a serious matter-of-fact tone. Ms. Holly questioned me about my schooling and the project. But most importantly, she wanted to know what propelled me to do this research project. This was not the first time I had been questioned. I suspected that she was trying to gauge my motives by asking questions about my background and knowledge.

After gaining her approval, Ms. Holly asked if I knew about Maslow's hierarchy of needs. As we talked, she pulled up a slide with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Maslow wanted to know what motivated people. In his exploration, he developed a five-stage model that is divided into two categories, basic needs (physiological, safety, love, and esteem) and growth needs (self-actualization) (Maslow 1943). His theory of needs suggest that people need to meet the lower needs first before they can obtain the higher need of self-actualization. Furthermore, everyone has a desire to move up the pyramid. As his theory suggests and Ms. Holly explained to me, life setbacks make it difficult for people to make it to self-actualization.

The DOC had shifted the ES/LS program such that most of the life skills curriculum was removed. This was no surprise, since obtaining employment was thought to be a prime concern for formerly incarcerated people. Although the life skills curriculum, such as goal setting, was de-emphasized, Ms. Holly still incorporated these topics into her lesson plans. Ms. Holly said, "You can have a resume, you can have a budget, but if you do not have goals or you do not know

how to set goals, you will have trouble." She explained that inside the facility, "We are trying to meet the higher needs first" like self -actualization. We therefore "forget the lower needs," such as physiological and safety needs. "Many of the women inside the facility have trouble feeding and clothing themselves and their children. And if they cannot do that, how then will she be able to focus on being a better parent, being drug free or keeping a employment?" Finding food and clothing are particularly difficult for women (and men) who are drug addicted, who have suffered abusive relationships and/ or who have severe histories of trauma. Her concerns about goal-setting and satisfying basic needs represented the first step in reentry: determining what is it that one needs and how to make sure those needs get met.

In order to bring goal-setting back into the curriculum, Ms. Holly's instituted a payment system in the course. The women were required to pay for everything in the course, plus fake living expenses. The exercise was an opportunity for the women to not only follow a budget, but also to set saving goals that required them to make decisions on how to spend any discretionary money they may have had. The rest of this section examines the unfolding of the exercise. In this section, I pay attention to how activities were geared toward simulating real life situations, but in a playful manner. But no matter how well activities were constructed, these simulations were periodically disrupted by institutional contexts and personal desires.

Each person earned $1,000 in Monopoly money by correctly answering a money-related trivia question.[37] For example, "How many ridges does a dime have?" (The answer was 118) or "How many ways can you make change with a dollar?" (The answer was 293). The answers were either multiple-choice or true/false, so the women had a fair chance of guessing the right

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[37] In addition, the women signed a contract and took a pre-test. This same test would be taken after the 6-week course was completed. The class covered several topics, including employment skills such as career exploration, job applications, job interviews, and resume writing. In terms of life skills, it covered communication, diversity, goal setting, and healthy lifestyle.

answer. After one woman got her money she commented, "My kids can have a good Christmas." In that moment, her comment was blown off though it was inline with the playfulness of the moment. It implied her desire to provide for her children in a traditional manner. Her comment also pointed to how poverty prevented her from doing so.

Ms. Holly had to go through three rounds of questions to make sure that each person won $1,000. Once everyone had their Monopoly money, they counted it to make sure that there was $1,000. Although Ms. Holly prefaced this exercise by telling the class that there could be mistakes because other women used the packets of money, it was clearly an exercise in counting money. Some of the women were indeed short. A couple of the women had trouble counting their money, so they had to count it several times. After all the money was counted and corrected, Ms. Holly handed out a sheet with a price list for basic class needs. Each person received a different card that listed specific expenses such as auto insurance, medical insurance (with or without dental and mental), rent and expenses for children. These cards were supposed to represent how each household has different survival needs. The auto insurance ranged between $10 and $20, medical insurance was between $25 and $50 while rent was between $25 and $50. Based on the specifics of the card, each person had to make their budget for the next five weeks. In addition, she gave each person a coupon for a free bathroom break or a pass on eating candy in class. After the free pass was used, they were responsible for paying to go to the bathroom or to eat candy in class. The latter part of these expenses seemed a bit absurd or petty, but it created opportunities for the women to manage their money by foregoing small pleasures like eating candy or making sure they used the bathroom before class.

Once a week, they paid for the household bill listed on the cards that were handed out at the beginning of the class. After everything was paid off, if they had excess money, they could

decide to deposit funds into their savings accounts in increments of $50. After the deposit, Holly

would give them $5 back as an incentive for saving. The catch was that their savings could not

be withdrawn during the course. This meant they had to be smart about saving, so that they had

enough money on hand to pay their bills each week. There were other ways to potentially save

and these required collaboration with other incarcerated people. They had to pay for

transportation to the class, mimicking the reality that, once they were released, they would need

to find ways to get to school and/or work. Not all situations were equal. If someone lived on the

same housing unit, they could carpool and share the expense. If they lived on the unit where the

class was held, there was no expense. That is, they could walk to work. If you lived on the

housing unit that was furthest away, your transportation cost was more expensive. There was

only one woman who lived on the furthest unit, so she had to pay the whole cost.

Disruptions in the classroom were common occurrences. They were either predicated on

institutional flow, or they were related directly to classroom discussions. Institutions

occasionally had fundraisers where incarcerated people could buy special things from the

canteen, e.g. chicken cutlets or special candy. The funds were used to supplement institutional

supplies for programs and classes. Most of the facilitators allowed people to leave and get their

items, but this was not done without hesitation. Despite Ms. Holly cutting the ES/LS short for the

candy fundraiser pick-ups, she told them, "I'll allow it this time. But if it happens again, then you

will have to go get your stuff at an alternative time…I'm not interested in letting people out

early." In addition to the fundraisers, the constant smoke-break announcements or med-line

announcements pulled people out of class. I had been in another class where there was a candy

give-away. The women were so distracted that they kept looking out the door to see if the other

wings were called, since the later wings got the left-overs. Like Ms. Holly, the instructor let the women out early.

During our initial interview, Ms. Holly exclaimed, "money matters." Some women do have money saved at the end of the course and others have used all their money by the end. Whichever outcome, Ms. Holly felt that it was a learning experience with budgeting that the women who took the exercise seriously could use in the future. This course was viewed as one of the better courses because it allowed incarcerated people to learn how to manage money and to set money management goals that would eventually help them meet their basic needs.

In this case, money management was integrated into a broader course, but there were also stand-alone courses on money management. The emphasis on managing money seemed to assume that incarcerated people actually have money to manage and budget. It also assumed that poverty is created by individual choices, that people over-spend and do not know how to manage their money. Characterizing "money management" as the ability to meet needs overlooked the impact of the widening wealth gap and the fact that that expansion of the poor and the working poor is based in structural dynamics. In another money management course, Mike, named a root problem with this approach. A tall black man who always had his shirt neatly tucked in, Mike commented to me (loudly enough for the facilitators to hear), "I've been incarcerated since 1975. What money do I have to manage?" The facilitators ignored his comment. Nonetheless, Mike's comment highlighted the point that given his poverty status, learning how to budget money, to establish credit and to understand the difference between a credit card and charge card was frivolous. This knowledge would not eliminate his poverty. Once released, he would not have money to manage, except for the small amount of money every person receives upon release. Mike, along with many of the women in this course, will most likely be employed in low-wage

or under-the-table jobs once released. They will be forced to reestablish their positions within an oversaturated labor force that discriminates against people with criminal records.

Transformation

Thus far, I have shown the classroom to be a site where incarcerated people learn soft skills and practice how to talk about their criminal records in order to become more responsible and self-managing citizens. The process of becoming "responsible" includes a moral element where incarcerated people learn to consider other people's feelings, including victims' positions. These elements were most prominent in cognitive behavioral-based classes, Victims Rights courses and anger management programs. Like in the skills classes, people incarcerated resisted. The resistance to the curriculum was more apparent in these classes in part because it required them to do more than learn skills or make speeches; it was part of a deeper transformation.

Resistance tended to take the form of small disruptions, rather than explosive or violent disruptions.[38] Instead, the resistance from incarcerated people appeared in subtler ways that interrupted the flow of the classroom. It manifested as participants not doing homework, speaking out of turn, using dismissive body language, or forcing an issue. These simple actions also occur in classrooms outside of prisons, so they can be viewed as "normal" classroom behavior. However, when incarcerated people pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable, they were characterized as "reverting to criminal thinking" and "anti-social behavior." Bodily actions, verbal outbursts or acts that do not conform to "pro-social behavior" were automatically judged to reflect an inability to self-regulate and to take responsibility.

In this section, I offer two ethnographic excerpts from the classroom to illustrate that as facilitators pushed toward pro-social behavior, incarcerated people spoke from their lived

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[38] During my whole time in the field, I never witnessed a fight, but I did hear reports of violence. I witnessed the mobilization of security when violence erupted in a housing unit.

situations which were overlooked or only addressed at a surface level. Characterized as resistance, their push-backs expressed the difficulty of living in environments (both inside and outside prison) that had limited choices and that were compounded by poverty, violence and racism. This is not to say that they did not transform. Many of them had "ah-ha" moments, but whether that moment of understanding kept them from recidivating is something this dissertation cannot answer.

Choosing the "Right" Associates

Tiffany, a tall slender African-American woman with plaited hair, typically sat on the end of the semi-circular table formation. Despite coming to class on time, her demeanor suggested that she was not interested in the class. Tiffany laid her head down on the table, slouched back in her chair with her head to the side and snapped her fingers with a slight cheekiness instead of clapping. This was a cognitive behavioral-based class, not a skills class. It met twice a week for a total of four to five hours per week. It was a manualized, evidence-based class. The manuals provided power point presentations, role-plays, discussion questions, prompts and homework to ensure fidelity and standardization. The manualized classes were easier for the less-trained facilitators to follow the script, at least when no one interrupted. When interruptions occurred, often with participants reflecting that the proposed strategies do not always work when they leave prison, the facilitators often went into "manual override" in order to make things work.

One of the strategies taught was "Stop and Think." This strategy encouraged incarcerated people to notice the connections between thoughts and actions. I saw this strategy communicated in numerous classes—anger management, MRT, family transitions, Pathways to Change—in various forms. A popular aspect of mindfulness teaches that we have thoughts and those thoughts are not always true. When we react based on those thoughts, we may not always make wise

decisions. Hence based on logic, both incarcerated people and staff members believed that part of the reason people returned to prison is that they made "bad choices" or "stupid" decisions. So, in order to make "better" choices, they needed to "stop and think."

Mr. Steve read from the manual, "Can you make an 'in-your-face [situation],' a 'time to think' problem?" Mr. Steve was a middle-aged African-American man with closely cropped hair. Mr. Steve was not a unit team counselor, but part of the reentry team. Nancy, an African American woman in her early 50s who had a long history of institutionalization, responded to Mr. Steve's question, "Sometimes inside." Nancy did not say that you could change an outside situation into a "stop and think." Several of the women in the class agreed with Nancy. Ms. Turner interjected, "When you are on the outside, you control yourself. And on the inside it's structured. And you have someone telling you what to do…You will never stop having negative reactions but you can slow it down, so you can know yourself." Ms. Turner was a young white woman who had worked as a unit team counselor for two years, so teaching the class was not her main responsibility. Another woman in the class, who went by the name of Sweets and identified as a "real lesbian," shared the same sentiments as Ms. Turner's. In an interview with Sweets (see chapter 2), she explained how she did well inside. She participated in classes, did her homework for the most part, though at times she did not understand it. Sweets worked well with authority; she was also considered a trusted and skilled worker at the facility. Sweets worked on the outside yard crew, and she was allowed to lay pipe throughout the compound. However, when she went home, Sweets did not know how to apply her newly acquired thinking and problem solving skills. She talked about getting caught up with her girlfriend, who she had met inside. Sweets recounted how she made promises to her daughter, but that she would not keep the promises. For Sweets and several other incarcerated people with whom I talked, the inside environment was

too artificial to practice the skills that were actually supposed to transform their lives. Therefore, they often failed to apply them outside.

During the classroom exercises, incarcerated people were given space to discuss their feelings about situations related to family and friends. The class continued and Mr. Steve passed out small index cards. "Cognitive self-change has three steps and you should memorize them because you will use them the in the future." The three steps were: 1.) pay attention to your thoughts, 2.) recognize risk and 3.) use new thinking. Mr. Steve and Ms. Turner started a role-play that required the class to narrate through the cognitive self-change steps. The role-play was about an inmate coming in from working outside. The CO was having a conversation with another CO, so the inmate had to wait to be checked in. The inmate became impatient with the correctional officer and then the officer also became frustrated too. This led to a verbal altercation about being respectful. Before they actually started the role-play, the women began to complain about being strip-searched when they come in from the outside. One woman in the class said that she quit her off site job because of having to wait around for an officer to check her back into the facility and be strip-searched. Another woman said that she wanted to quit her job for similar reasons but had not. There was a clear disdain for the strip-search process. The women felt so violated that they were compelled to quit their only access to meaningful income. But there was no way to fully address or change the issue in this class. The women continue to offer their thoughts, and Mr. Steve and Ms. Turner tried their best to not take sides. Instead, they reminded the women that strip-searches are the policy.

Over the next few weeks, the class discussed how their thoughts and feelings influenced their actions. The women completed written assignments that helped them to distinguish their bodily sensations, feelings, and thoughts. These assignments were presented to the class,

similarly to the way that Andy had reported the feelings and bodily sensations that she had when talking to her husband. Now, as the class moved on to discuss "new thinking," Mr. Steve showed a slide:

> There is always more than one way to think about a situation.
> Control of thinking results in real power over life.
> When we think differently, we act differently.

This week, Tiffany was clearly not interested. Sitting in her regular spot on the side end, she blurted, "You can't always stop and think." Everyone stopped and looked at her. "If I'm on the street and someone approaches me, I don't have time to stop and think. I'm going to fight." I could tell that several people in the class agreed with Tiffany, or they were at least contemplating her position. They did not verbally agree with her, but they nodded their heads and looked inquisitively at her. A few people in the class challenged her by using the material that was discussed earlier. Before Mr. Steve and Ms. Turner could really address her comment, a woman in the class asked her why she was hanging out with those people anyway. Tiffany was silent. The conversation was shut down by the implication that Tiffany's choice of associates was bad and that this was one of the main reasons why she could not incorporate new thinking.

In another class at a men's facility that was focused on reuniting family, this same issue about choosing the right associates came up. It was the last class, and the assignment was to write a forgiveness letter to a family member. Only half the class had written the letter, so Ms. Greta allowed them to finish the letters during the break, since they needed the letters to complete the next lesson. The facility had been on lockdown for several days because an offender had been stabbed, thus the class time was extended in order to cover all the lessons. Ms. Greta, a tall European woman with a thick British accent co-facilitated the class. Choked up, trying to hold her emotions back, she spoke about making the choice to forgive. Once she

finished several men began to share their thoughts on forgiveness. Frank, a short muscular African American man, interjected, "I set goals to forgive myself… If I know myself, then I know the universe." Then another person, reflected, "If you can't forgive yourself, you are cheating yourself out of life…I'm tired of cheating myself… If I'm just angry with myself, it leads to destruction…" Through their proclamations about the positive effects of forgiveness, the men demonstrated their acceptance of self-responsibility. Not forgiving is equated with cheating yourself, while forgiving, as Frank pointed out, enables you to see something beyond one's self, "the universe." Being able to practice forgiveness is linked to pro-social behavior, not criminal thinking or destructive behavior.

Although the majority of the class contributed in an affirmative manner, there were a few people who were not receptive. Henry, a tall, large-framed African American Vietnam War veteran who was missing a few fingers, had a persistence that unnerved the instructors. Henry barely spoke during the entire class, so when he narrated a long story about how his family members stole his property, most of us were in awe. In the story, he explained how he had forgiven his family, but then they did it again. He plainly told Ms. Greta that he wanted his stuff back once he was released or he would sue his family. As Ms. Greta challenged him to think about seeking retribution, Henry bluntly asked, "How many times is enough?" The conversation continued without a direct answer, and it was obvious that Henry felt wronged. He wanted to be compensated, even if he had forgiven the family member. Instead of answering Mr. Henderson's question by quantifying how many times should a person forgive someone, Ms. Greta tried to coach him toward reflecting on the present and letting that remain in the past. After several minutes, someone in the class says, "You should stop associating with them." I have heard conversations that challenge proposed behavioral change shut down numerous times with this

comment or similar remarks. By evoking the "you should" or "you need to" comment, the speaker highlighted a lack of self-control and demanded that the person take responsibility to make better choices. Pro-social behavior is often linked with associating with positive people.

After watching a few minutes of a video, Henry came back to his question and reframed it. Marcy asked the group, "What does it take to forgive yourself?" Henry countered her question and asked, "Is there a limit [to forgiveness]?" His question was passed over, and the discussion continued with other students offering comments aligned with the pro-social behavior that the facilitators sought. Another ten or fifteen minutes passed, and the class completed a series of exercises and readings that emphasized the power of letting go, the difference between forgiving and being sorry, and not hanging on to the past. The last exercise consisted of each person receiving a slip of paper with a question and answering it. Frank read the question, "How easy is it to confront forgiveness?" The guys were confused about the question so Ms. Greta's tried to clarify. Henderson once again stated, "How many times [you are supposed to forgive someone]…depends on your state of mind." It was clear that his comment was not related to the question, that he was still invested in his original question, which had not been answered. Henderson further explained, "Someone slaps you, and you forgive them and turn to the other cheek, And then they slap you again, and you turn to the other cheek…when is enough?" Once again, a few of the guys responded by imploring that he not be associated with those people anymore. "You have to know when a relationship is healthy and productive for you." Then someone attempted to quantify how many times by reverting to an old cliché, "Hurt me once, shame on you, Hurt me twice, shame on me." The conversation spiraled away from Henry's question. I gathered that Ms. Greta realized that no answer would satisfy Henry, since you cannot quantify how many times you will forgive a person.

"It's Not about You"

When I arrived at the correctional facility, the peer facilitators had already started the orientation for the Victims Course. I was held up because I had to wait for my escort. Before I could enter into the classroom, Isaiah approached me to request an interview.[39] Ms. Jean, the unit team counselor from the introduction, had recommended that he talk to me. I made my way to a seat in the back of the class. There was no air conditioner in this building. The industrial fans used to cool the space provided a deep overpowering monotonous hum that made it difficult to hear at times. Despite the hum, I could clearly hear Micah's voice as he stood at the front reading from cue cards, "You will not hold this class hostage, manipulate…or focus on self…ICVC is built to make amends to [sic] our family…restoring life, our reputation. This is a serious class. This is not a joke. Don't drag others down because you are down." Micah, a 50-year old medium build, bald chocolate brown African American man, was very eager to talk me. He had a warm and serious demeanor. During the time we spent together, he was always curious about what I thought and he encouraged other guys to speak with me about their incarceration experiences. When I met him, he had served seven years on a fifteen-year charge. He first went to prison in the early 1990s, and this was his third incarceration. Micah had moved from a level-five facility (the maximum level) all the way down to a level-two facility (the lowest before he would be released). Like many "old timers," he had taken almost every program in the facility, and he had seen a lot of guys return to prison. As a result, he was very opinionated about which programs were transformative. For him, the Impact of Crime on Victims Course (ICVC), a course he was

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[39] Like Micah and Daryl, Isaiah had been incarcerated over 25 years. A well-spoken Afro-Caribbean man, he was eager to share his story. After a few initial questions in the interview, he quickly took over, and set the pace. I mainly listened, only intervening for clarification. For two hours (lasting over two days) he retold intimate details of his life, his crimes, and his regrets.

preparing to co-teach with 8 other guys, and Criminal Thinking, a course that was no longer

offered at the facility, were the best, so we focused on those in our interview. The central theme

in ICVC was understanding how your criminal behavior affects victim(s). This class went

beyond practical skills-buildings or developing problem-solving and critical thinking skills.

ICVC attempted to hit incarcerated people at their "core," and foster a deeper level of knowing

through empathizing with the victim and taking responsibility for one's criminal behavior.[40]

ICVC and other restorative justice programs represent a national shift that highlights the rights of

victims.

ICVC was not a manualized evidence-based class like some of the other courses that are

explored in this chapter.[41] In fact, the course differed significantly from facility to facility. These

differences were based on facility time constraints and ideas about how best to cultivate the most

effective response from incarcerated people. In one facility, the class was conducted over three

days, usually half of Friday and all day Saturday and Sunday. Staff who taught the three-day

class explained that, by doing it in a short time frame, incarcerated people are able to get a more

concentrated feeling, causing them to hit emotional highs very quickly. In turn, this intensity

allowed for incarcerated people to transform and to confront their problems. For example, on the

first day, more than half the class was crying after a woman narrated her story about losing her

daughter to physical abuse. At other facilities, the program lasted a full week, which allowed the

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[40] Ms. Emily, who is also a unit team counselor, used to teach the ICVC class. She informed me that this was her "favorite class." She explained that if more staff took the class, then they would see how the offenders are just like them and have more compassion for the offenders. Staff can sit in on the class or portions of the class. The ICVC class is not just about offenders seeing their "victims" as humans, but also about having staff develop compassion and see offenders as humans, too.

[41] I was not allotted time to review the curriculum. It was presented to me during my observation time, thus causing me to choose between looking at the manual or focusing on the observations. Despite my attempts, I was never allowed to keep the material for the class.

facilitators to be more thorough with the material. Still other facilities chose to run the course over several weeks, only meeting once or twice a week.

It is important to note that this was one of the few classes that addressed race and racism, although in the context of hate crimes. By discussing the race and racism within the frame of hate crimes, the facilitators overlooked how race was constructed. Through the group exercises, race become concretized as something solid and hate crimes were portrayed as being committed out of a desire for a "pure race." For example, in one exercise, the facilitator asked how people identified. Most people proclaimed that they were solely African-American or just white. Some people said they were mixed. The facilitators challenged the people who said they were only African-American or only white. They claimed that there was no such thing as a pure race. Despite this assertion, the facilitators still did not discuss race as something that was constructed.

There were also several similarities in the approach and course curriculum. In both facilities, incarcerated people taught the course with support from correctional staff. Micah showed me his packet of reading materials, and he informed me that they had to complete trainings and undergo extensive preparation with the staff's support in order to teach the class. I was told by staff, and Micah reiterated this, that the reason "offenders teach" the class was because "other offenders can hear it better from them." In regards to the curriculum, facilitators (both incarcerated people and support staff) underscored that the class was "not about you." This was done directly through verbal comments, like the one just mentioned. This was also emphasized through exercises that brought attention to one's criminality; they pointed out the

victim in the crime, even in seemingly victimless crimes, such as selling dope; and through the victim's panel.[42]

Micah's in-your-face approach was common, and it did not let up. I had witnessed this same command of the classroom in the other ICVC class. Facilitators, and eventually other participants, were quick to tell each other this is not a "pity party" where participants made excuses for their criminal behavior. Owning one's criminality was linked to the notion that ICVC was not about the incarcerated person. For example, during the introductions, each person said their name, crime, sentence, first name of their victim. They also answered these questions, "Are you guilty?" "Are you a criminal?" and "Why are you taking ICVC?" In the introductions, the facilitator confronted the participant if he did not tell the whole story or admit that he was a criminal.[43] Bringing attention to the victim and honoring the victim meant that there had to be a criminal in the act. Therefore, each person was required to be responsible of his criminality and to proclaim that he was a criminal.

In this course, incarcerated people are taught to be ethical and sensitive in preparation for becoming responsible citizens who can be incorporated back into society. To familiarize the class with these ideas, Micah wrote the word "victim" on the board and then defined it as "someone who had no choice in the matter." Then he wrote "criminal, apathy, empathy, sympathy, accountability, remorse, [and] ripple effect." These words served as the foundation for the course. Depending on how well the participants displayed their understanding, they may or

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[42] The Victims Panel is where people who have been victims of crime retell their stories to offenders. The panel can consist of one person or several people. Afterwards the offenders can make comments and ask questions. Correctional staff suggested that this process was transformative in terms of helping offenders to understand their criminal thinking and the impact of their crimes. Several of the incarcerated people I spoke to felt that the panels did transform their criminal thinking.

[43] At the women's facility, they did not have to admit to being criminals or give information about their crime(s).

may not be challenged. When he got to the word "empathy," Micah asked the class if anyone knew what the word meant. Only one person raised his hand. Sarcastically, Micah responded, "Only one person knows what empathy means…Do they sell dictionaries here?" The participants replied, "Yes." Micah retorted, "Would it be better to buy that instead of honey buns?" He then asked if anyone knew what "remorse" meant. Most participants blankly stared at Micah, while others looked down or away. Micah turned toward a white guy who was incarcerated for not paying child support and said, "Remorse is something you should feel for being a deadbeat dad…all crimes produce a ripple effect."

The interactions between the facilitators and the participants were structured to get a response that brought attention to their criminal behavior and the effect their behavior had on victims. In the exchange above it is assumed that, because they do not know what the words mean, they could not possibly have empathetic feelings toward the victims of crime. Moreover, Micah's last statement, "All crimes produce a ripple effect," highlighted the belief that there were no victimless crimes. In a discussion about selling drugs, several participants believed that there were no victims since the person buying the drugs was responsible for his/her own actions. However, the facilitators were quick to point out that selling drugs to someone who is addicted caused harm to their families. The drug dealer was essentially taking money from that family, maybe even from kids. S/he was mindlessly using court time and public defenders' time. From this perspective, everyone was affected by "your criminal behavior." That was the "ripple effect." Hence there were no victimless crimes. Through this process of finding the victim in victimless crimes, incarcerated people were charged with transforming themselves into sensitive and thoughtful beings by thinking about the range of possible consequences for each action.

This theme continued into the next day, particularly after an incident where a participant was accused of stealing a pen. The class had to collectively decide how to punish him. The class never agreed on his punishment. Since he returned to the class after lunch and the next day, I assumed that it was part of the "show." After the incident, Micah sat down next to me, leaned over and commented, "See what people *will do*, it's that criminal thinking…starts as a child." I told him that I did not agree with him that criminal thinking starts when you are a child. He responded, "That's what we've been reading…. My criminal thinking began when I was a child." Micah reiterated that, "Your thoughts guide your actions," and handed me his trainers packet and pointed out two articles by Staton E. Samenow, Ph. D. "Inside the Criminal Minds" and "Straight Talk about Criminals."

ICVC was pitted against other classes that focus on skills-building rather than on the victim. ICVC's emphasis on the victim and developing empathy became clear as the class progressed. Daryl, another co-facilitator, took over the class after the break. Daryl, a bald well-built West-Indian man, worked as a porter at the front entrance. His work assignment alone suggested that he was a trusted person. Daryl was considered "institutionalized" because he had spent his formative years behind bars. I first noticed him while waiting for my escort, but it would be a week or so before he approached me. He began the conversation with the fact that Micah had suggested that we talk. From our interview, it was clear that Daryl had come a long way from his first day of incarceration at age 19 when he beat the crap out of a guy in the hallway for no "real" reason other than to prevent himself from being pegged as a "punk." Despite this earlier incident to establish his alpha status, Daryl had grown. The exchange below demonstrates how he facilitated class with a commanding spirit and maintained the direction of the class, which revolved around respecting the victims of violence.

Daryl: [directed to one participant] This class is about understanding what the victim goes through. This ain't [redacted]…[this is] not about helping you…. You said you should be a facilitator. What do you feel about your victim?

Guy: No respect

D: Why you taking the class?…

G: I need help.

D: This is not a self-help, self-serving program. It's not about us. It's about them.

Micah: ….Eat nice up with a spoon….want people to pet you? …. be nice…it should taste like shit in your mouth.

Guy: [trying several time to interject] Can I say something? Can…Can I say…?

Fac.: [several responded emphatically] No.

D: You should be thinking about your victims. No more victims. Think about your victims and hopefully you will change. …[to everyone] How many of you will be back?… [to the guy] You had four times….

David: [walks to the front of the room] I never got that chance….

To be successful in the class, participants must have respect for the victims, no matter the situation. There was an underlying belief that if you were incarcerated, you have done something wrong. To be a facilitator, you must fully internalize this notion, as well as be humble and leave your ego aside. These were qualities that the facilitators did not think Guy had. After the exchange above, Guy tried to justify why he committed the crime, but he was quickly shut down again. Emphasizing the centrality of the victim and placing all blame on the person incarcerated overlooked how environmental issues, such as poverty, may play a part in someone's choices. And if these circumstances do surface, they do become another aspect of their story but they often get interpreted as not taking responsibility.

The ability to take or not take full responsibility was most illustrative when facilitators narrated their crime(s). The course was divided into topics that highlight various criminal acts such as hate crimes, child offenses, and drug and alcohol offenses among others. I noticed that drug and alcohol abuse were big areas of concern, particularly when they led to homicide and theft. In both of the classes, at least one facilitator narrated how addiction was a leading factor in his crime.

Chad, a young white male with light brown hair, was in on DUI charges. He had received over three DUI charges and he was now serving time for involuntary manslaughter. As he walked to the front of the room, he began telling the class how he was a star athlete at his high school and then college. Although he did not get excellent grades, he still got by. After one particularly raucous party, he and his friends went out to get more drinks. Already intoxicated, they ended up in an accident, and he killed his best friend. After he finished his story, Micah put on a video on drunk driving. The video consisted of a montage of people who were victims of drunk driving. The cutting music drove home the message that your choice to drink and drive can have life-changing ripple effects for people and for families who you do not know. This exercise became a cathartic dramatization in which the facilitators perform their crimes and demonstrate how they have taken full responsibility for their actions.

This process occurred during both ICVC courses at various times. In a women's facility, Angie, a middle-aged white woman offered her story when they focused on the child abuse section. She took 40+ minutes to narrate her story. As she told the class her story, peer facilitators and staff offered comments about how she was opening up and delving into new places. She had not actually killed her child. Someone else abused her child and since she did not notice the abuse until it was too late, she was also charged. By the end of her story, almost all the women in the class were crying. Like Chad's story, her story ended with a video featuring the climatic country pop song recorded by Martina McBride, "Concrete Angels," which centered on child abuse.

It had been a long day of ICVC at the men's facility. And Micah instructed everyone to stand to do the ritual that honored the many victims of crime. The lights were turned off and the huge industrial fans were also turned off. With bowed heads, as if in prayer, the men stood in

silence. Micah was unsatisfied with the silence. In a loud voice he stated, "You should have

nothing in your hand, no movement, nothing on your mind. And close your eyes." Micah

instructed them to take another moment of silence. Micah said, "Remember your victims." The

lights were turned on, and the class was released. This ritual was performed at the beginning of

class, at the end of class, and before and after lunch. The ritual helped to set the tone and solidify

that this was class was "not about you."

The victims' panel was a moment of truth. The panel was the culminating event for the

class. People who were victims of violence shared their stories with incarcerated people. A

central theme of their story was how they practiced forgiveness. Staff members regularly

attended these events. There was so much hype around the event that I was constantly reminded

that I needed to make sure I attended. The event was set up for incarcerated people to experience

the ripple effects of their criminal behavior. In our interview, Micah explained,

> ICVC has had the most [impact on me]. And that's because the one-on-one with the
> victims. When they come in, the victim's family, and I can actually see that person face-
> to-face, and I can actually hear that person. How something that I could have done…how
> it has affected them emotionally, physically, and financially. And that's why I said that's
> a class … that shakes you the most. That hits you to the core because there's no ifs, ands
> or buts. You can't say I didn't meant (sic) to. You can't say I didn't. And it's right there
> in black and white, it hits you right in the face.

The "Real(lity)"

One might ask, "What's so wrong with taking responsibility?" There is nothing wrong

with taking responsibility. Most people understand responsibility as something that we all must

assume. We are taught that taking responsibility is part of growing up and being accountable. In

the context of prisoner reentry, "taking responsibility" gets linked to a moral obligation in which,

if you do not take responsibility, then you are bad or self-indulgent. In the classroom,

incarcerated people are charged with taking responsibility for their actions. In order to do this,

they must first come to terms with the "the real," the reality that they have done something

wrong and must now deal with the consequences of their actions. Yet, the manner in which they

can deal with the real is constrained by the institution. Lorna Rhodes' connection between

rational choice and the structure of the "institution itself" can help us to understand how

incarcerated people can only take responsibility on a surface level in these classes, since the

curriculum can not truly deal with the "real" on the outside. The ethnographic examples

presented in this chapter illustrate how taking responsibility and transformation happens on two

levels. First, it means addressing possible risk areas such as managing money, gaining housing or

obtaining stable employment. Second, it means recognizing your thoughts and feelings and

transforming self into an ethical, sensitive being.

The use of evidence-based practices becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. If people cycle

back in, it proves that they are not responsible. If the data states that these are the risk areas and

the areas have been attended to by EBPs, then the DOC does not have to take responsibility for

failed rehabilitation. We also have to take a step back and look at how science itself is working

in and through the prison system, regulating how choices are being made. This concept is more

transparent in the previous chapter's exploration of treatment teams. In this chapter, science's

regulation is subtler. We can see how it is carried out in the classroom. Data collected about each

incarcerated person is grouped together, and this data is then used to determine what class is

appropriate for that individual. However there is a disconnect between how the data is

operationalized in the classroom and the specific outcomes. Put another way, there is no way to

determine if the class itself has disciplined that person in the way that was intended.

An important component in the classes I observed was the use of role-playing situations.

Through role-playing, participants were taught to internalize situations so that when they had the

same situations outside they could better respond. The women in the employment class worked diligently to craft resumes and to prepare for mock interviews as a way to demonstrate that they are have taken responsibility for their actions. Yet, the performatives meant to convince future employers cannot account for the wide spread discrimination in the labor market. Studies indicate that in the low wage job market, white men without criminal records are still more likely to be hired than black men with criminal records (Pager, et al. 2009a). Moreover, the mere fact that someone is incarcerated puts them at disadvantage in the labor market because the correctional environment diminishes skills needed to work a job (Western and Pettit 2010). Thus while these speech acts persuade and convince correctional employees that they are prepared, the speech acts have limited power outside the prison context. These acts of responsibilization or ability to self-govern are only surface based.

Yes, I witnessed a change in Andy, as well as in other people, in the limited time that I was there. Yet, this is not a longitudinal study, so it is difficult to tell whether the intended goals of the evidence-based practices are actually working. Incarcerated people are treated as though they can be agents, but then they are not allowed real agency within the classes. Their "real" questions are ignored, if these questions refer to systemic inequalities. And often incarcerated men and women did not always understand how these skills can be applied to their situations of poverty, violence, and trauma. More importantly, the classroom revealed ways evidence-based practices are used to remake incarcerated people into governable citizens. On the one hand, incarcerated people are trying to make sense of their lives through this lens. They are trying to be responsible through the learning of soft skills. This presents a problem when they come face-to-face with their real lives when they return home. When they recidivate, they are perceived, both by themselves and others, as unstable and hard. Instructors must also face the reality that, as they

administer these classes, outcomes must be met and that there is resistance unfolding in the classroom due to the "reality" of people's lives.

These are the challenges facing these programs ability to fulfill their stated purposes, so what other purposes do these programs fulfill? What is rarely recognized, is that after years of increasing prison population, we are now in a situation where budgetary constraints call for austerity measures. Through these classes, incarcerated people are able to get program credit and are then eligible for early release, therefore pushing people out of the prisons. From this perspective, perhaps implementing policy based on evidence-based practices is not about rehabilitation.

CHAPTER 6: Navigating Addiction and Sobriety while Locked Up

The criminalization of drugs reflects our general cultural obsession with drug use and sobriety: the 'war' to stop drug use reflects these broader ideological concerns and is motivated by ideas that have been solidified into punitive practice. –Tiger 2012:31

This chapter draws attention to one particular risk/need area outlined in the assessments—substance abuse. When I asked counselors, officials and incarcerated people what brought people to prison, most people expressed that use of drugs and alcohol brought incarcerated people into the system. One incarcerated woman explained, "That drug had me doing so much stuff. I would have never got a case [slang for being convicted] and come to prison if it had not been for crack because me in my right mind, I don't even think like that." Whether it was for a drug crime per se, or the person was under the influence of drugs when committing the crime, most correctional employees viewed substance abuse as the crux of offenders' criminality. But at other times, their drug use was medicalized and criminalized.

Despite the fact that an overwhelming number of incarcerated people considered drug abuse a key issue for recidivism and that they would need treatment for their substance abuse to successfully reenter society, it was difficult to get into the treatment programs both on the inside and post-release—there simply was not enough bed space. Depending on the program other factors came into play: participants had to score a certain number on the assessments to qualify for treatment, as well as be incarcerated long enough to complete the program, among other reasons. This meant that in some facilities, people who had short prison terms and clearly needed substance abuse treatment might not be offered the opportunity.

By focusing on substance-abuse treatment programs, I offer another site to understand how certain interventions inside the prison system get enveloped into the governing strategies of evidence-based practices. The preceding chapters focused on the institutionalization of scientific

knowledge and how unit-team counselors and correctional staff implemented the *instrument* in daily practices with "high-risk offenders" in general populations. I demonstrated how staff members facilitated a series of skills-based courses and cognitive behavioral courses to transform incarcerated people into governable citizens who were both skilled and ethically sensitive. Like the unit-team counselors, substance abuse program staff members used motivational interviewing and skills-based and cognitive behavioral courses. However, they approached their work in ways that were more punitive and disciplinary. Moore and Hannah-Moffat (2005) posits that reform initiatives that include treatment are often juxtaposed to coercive forms of power such as solitary confinement, torture and facilities with no programming. This narrow definition of punitiveness limits our understanding of how therapeutic treatments are punitive and punishment-based (Moore and Hannah-Moffat 2005)

In treatment, staff members relied on relational and interpretive strategies to transform the "addict," the "bad," or the "unworthy woman" into a governable citizen. Instead of using statistical information, they were guided in their daily work by relational and interpretive processes; treatment was understood as a set of practices in which participants and counselors were co-producers in making healthy citizens who were sober. Substance abuse treatment moved the systems closer to a disciplinary power of order—and away from governing populations through a reliance on risk/needs assessment.

Part of this transformation, I suggest, happens through the policing and self-policing of *minuscule* behaviors. On one hand, counselors and participants heavily policed these *minuscule* behaviors and inmates were classified as rule-breaking and therefore deserving of punishment; on the other hand, they interpreted these *minuscule* behaviors committed inside correctional facilities as a gateway to larger, riskier behavior. Hunt and Barker suggest that sociological and

anthropological studies of treatment often normalize treatment, such that the concept of treatment is viewed as "unproblematic and its modes of operation known" (Hunt and Barker 1999: 126). Hunt and Barker (1999) posits that social science studies of treatment must examine a range of questions, such as what is being fixed, how is it measured, and who measures success, among others. Instead of focusing on whether a rule was broken and if so what punishment should follow, I call attention to the interpretive work of how minuscule acts are gendered (Ettorre 2004) and repositioned as future risk. To this end, while analyzing the policing of minuscule behaviors, I examine two questions central to this chapter: How are minuscule behaviors understood and transformed into bigger risks in the context of treatment? And what does this say about the type of citizens participants must become?

The first part of this chapter focuses on the access and structure of the treatment programs that I visited. Although each treatment program followed its own ideology, which shaped its approach to policing, commonalities existed regarding what was policed. The second section uses data from interviews and observations to examine the policing of minuscule behaviors that occur inside treatment programs and how they get connected to future risks and gender norms for women. There are two long-standing subjectivities within the treatment literature—"the sick" and "the bad" or "the medicalized" and "the criminalized" (Baer, et al. 2003; Petryna 2013; Tiger 2012). These two positions compete with each other, but also complement each other. To be "sick" means that addiction is located in the brain and treatment is the best option. The National Institute of Drug Addiction (NIDA), one of the leading drug research institutions, defines addiction on its website as "a chronic, relapsing brain disease that is characterized by compulsive drug-seeking and use despite harmful consequences." Many of the counselors and officials acknowledged addiction in the same ways as NIDA, and thus put a clear

emphasis on changing behavior as a way out of addiction. To be "bad" meant that addiction was located in self-destructive behavior—and that the only way to curtail such behavior is through punishment, such as that meted out by the criminal justice system.

I conclude this chapter by examining graduation ceremonies where women in the program publicly tell their stories of success and present their transformed selves. Through highly ritualized performances, the women show that they have internalized programmatic goals and have shed their old, addictive selves.

Access and Program Structure

My access to the treatment programs influenced what I could observe, and thus my interpretation of how small behavioral acts were policed. I learned about the monitoring of these small acts during structured activities and during the interviews that I conducted with the incarcerated women. I did not observe private counseling sessions, but a few of the women shared their opinions of counselors and small details about their sessions with me, such as assignments given and goals discussed. To preserve the anonymity of the programs, I renamed them in ways that convey the sentiments of the program itself. In my descriptions I maintain the structure of the program because the program structure dictates when and how behavior was patrolled.

I had access to three different types of treatment programs at two women's facilities. Two of the three programs were actually characterized as "behavioral modification programs," despite the fact that they were substance-abuse treatment programs. The current literature continues to emphasize the neurobiology of addiction such that behavior becomes the key aspect that needs to be changed. The third program was not a traditional substance-abuse treatment program; it was a Christian-based reentry program that dealt with substance abuse. Yet, like the other two, it

posited that changing behavior was the essential key to recovery and in this particular case, spiritual behavior.

The first program was based on the therapeutic community treatment model. Therapeutic communities (TC) used self-help and social psychological approaches (De Leon 2000). This TC was contracted through an agency I will call "Arches". The Director of Arches explained to me that they ran a modified therapeutic community in part because inside prisons, TCs have to adapt the models to integrate prison culture and policies. Unlike community-based TCs, modified TCs inside prisons often include the involvement of correctional officers, mental health and counseling staff, and TC paraprofessionals (De Leon 2000); in the Arches, unit-team staff sometimes helped lead groups but typically dealt with institutional concerns. Arches divided women in two ways. One section of the housing unit was for women in for shorter terms (six months) and the other section was for women in for longer terms (twelve months). In the short-term section, correctional staff involvement was more noticeable; this is where I spent most of my time. The length of stay was based on for how long the courts had mandated treatment and how long it took the institution to process the person upon entrance. (The facility it could take several days in processing, meaning an inmate might not get her full treatment time.)

Arches activities were held in the common spaces of the housing unit. There was one big, open room with chairs and tables, which were arranged differently depending on the current activity. On one side of the room, a hallway led to the sleeping units. Opposite the hallway was the officer's station, which could be seen through the glass doors and windows. Stenciled inspirational posters such as "Recovery is a journey, not a destination" and "You're #1" filled what little wall space was left in the main room. A second-floor balcony, where the women held additional activities, hung slightly over the first-floor hallway. In addition to the sleeping areas

on the first floor, there were more sleeping units upstairs. Despite the compactness of the space, my access in Arches was very controlled. I had little time to talk with the women one-on-one or to see the full range of "tellings" that occurred. Part of the TC model is based on participants working, in silence, on packets to deal with their emotions and behaviors, e.g., shame or leadership development. Talking was allowed at designated times, which also made it difficult to speak with the women during my observations. As a result, my main method of gathering data from Arches consisted of observations of regular activities, as well as sometimes talking with the women in small groups. Therapeutic communities are based on the idea that a person's behavior, attitude and values are the problem, not drug use per se; and thus recovery requires the person to change his/her behaviors, attitude and values in ways that lead to "right" living and sobriety (De Leon 2000).

The second program, which I will call "Grace," was a faith-based program. I was not originally scheduled to visit this program because it is not technically a drug treatment program—it was characterized as a reentry program. One day after a cognitive behavioral class, an incarcerated woman approached me and asked me to come to Grace before I left the facility. Afterwards I began speaking with people about Grace and noting how they talked about the program. My informants, both incarcerated people and unit-team counselors, spoke about Grace in relationship to Arches; from their perspective, it was a holistic alternative. During my final week, I spent the morning observing the program, and then conducted an impromptu group discussion in the evening. My exploration of Grace thus included a direct comparative analysis to Arches: how did its understanding of risks and risky behavior differ from that of Arches, and what made it a better alternative from the perspective of the women in the program?

Unlike Arches, in which the participants did not interact with the rest of the prison population, Grace participants took cognitive behavioral courses and ate their meals with the general population. Even with this privilege, unit-team counselors told me that Grace participants typically stayed together. Participants in Grace could talk with one another during the program activities, and even have minimal contact with each other, such as combing hair or hugging to console or to congratulate each other. This was not common practice in the treatment programs; in general populations of the prisons it occurred regularly, but was discouraged. In general population, an individual caught in someone's room was considered a violation, and could be penalized in numerous ways, depending on the nature of the activity going on and the officer who caught them. When I spoke with the Grace participants about this rule, a few women thought that other women took advantage of the rule. One woman told me there was a lot of "cupcaking"—i.e., cuddling, touching and flirting. While the facility allowed for all incarcerated people to take a smoke break, Grace participants were allowed to participate but Arches participants were not. The Grace program primarily followed institutional rules, but also deviated in order to make the women feel more at ease or more humanly engaged.

In addition to being less isolating, the décor of the Grace housing wing was calculated to help the participants feel warm and cared for. Notable mood-enhancing improvements included music playing from a console that included a TV, VCR and speakers; larger, more comfortable chairs that replaced the prison's uncomfortable plastic chairs; and decorations that were hung on the wall from top to bottom. The painting of a larger-than-life, white, religious figure dressed as a crusader was a clear indicator of the fundamental tenets of the program. As in Arches they did not directly talk about their "addictions." Instead the participants in Grace understood their addiction in terms of "falling out of God's grace." Thus according to the program the way to

become sober and change criminal behavior was best accomplished by accepting God into your heart. The morning session included a group presentation where Bible verses were used to explore the given topic. During the presentation, the women were allowed to tell stories and share comments. Some related directly to what was presented, but oftentimes they related testimonials that revealed their own risks for recidivism. This type of testimonial sharing was mirrored in the group conversation I had with the women. They focused on telling me about their fears and their biggest risks as well as the general program structure.

At the program I'll call "Reflections," I had the most access. Although I was able to come and go throughout the program, I typically scheduled times to observe. This program was smaller than the other programs at only 24 participants. Grace had about 30 participants and Arches had over 100 participants. Like Arches, Reflections was contracted through an outside agency and the unit-team counselors were not involved on a daily bases. The women in this program were also separated from the general compound; occasionally a reentry employee would facilitate a skills-based course focused on employment, but never the cognitive behavioral courses. Reflections was rooted in cognitive behavioral therapy, which required participants to understand how thoughts control actions. Additionally, the program director was an expert in leadership development, so there were clear remnants of self-empowerment in the ways in which she interacted with clients and managed the counselors. For example, each counselor used his/ her own approach to the sessions, which allowed the women to experience several different models of treatment and therapy. As one client explained, Ms. Saad could understand their situation more because she had experienced addiction, while Ms. Baymon followed a boot-camp style and paid close attention to detail, particularly when participants had to complete dorm duties.

There was a large common area divided by a paneled partition. On one side there were tables and chairs, a microwave, an ice machine, and doors leading to an outside area. The other side had chairs in a large circle, and staff offices. Along with these two common areas was another room, located closer to the sleeping area, where daily activities were held. The opening sessions, and sometimes the closing sessions, were held on one side of the partitioned area. In the morning the women, the counselors and the Program Director gathered for "First Things First", in which each person shared something positive or negative, or a goal for the day. These "tellings" typically focused on local and national news they had heard about. For example, there was a discussion about the listed meat percentage on packages of ground beef. A woman mentioned that fillers are put into ground beef (e.g. if the package says 90% beef, the other 10% is filler, such as tendons and joints from the animal). The woman who introduced the topic said, "I thought that the other percentage was just fat of some sort." Mr. Hasley, a counselor on the unit, chimed in saying, "If it doesn't say '100% organic beef,' then it most likely had fillers in it." He then explained the process by which the fillers are made. This discussion continued, and the women talked about the relationship between living healthy and knowing what you're putting into your body.

At other times, if a situation occurred after the treatment staff left, the Director and sometimes the unit-team counselor would dominate the sessions—turning the morning session into a time for scolding or updating the women on a situation. After First Things First, the women broke into smaller groups based on their level in the program. These groups would engage in courses similar to the ones in general population, such as one for cognitive behavioral change, or a course specifically regarding substance abuse, with a focus on something like addiction relapse or preparing to return to the community.

Making Minuscule Risks Bigger Risks

Change is the law of life. And those who look only to the past or present are certain to miss the future. —John F. Kennedy

We don't put people out; people behave themselves out. Choose the behavior, choose the consequences —Substance Abuse Staff Members

Across the treatment programs I observed, not being able to control minuscule behaviors signaled both past and future risky behavior. Counselors in the Reflections and Arches programs told me that changing behavior was not about focusing on the big incidents, but being attuned to the small things—an association reflective of the controversial "Broken Windows Theory," in which policing small examples of deviance is used as a means to decrease the likelihood of more serious crime (Kelling and Coles 1997). Despite its original intention for maintaining social control in the urban environment, its application in principle can be seen inside treatment facilities. For example, a woman was written up on misconduct for making a phone call for a friend. When confronted about her behavior, her housemates likened her action to "holding dope," "transporting dope" and "people-pleasing." Her characterization as an accomplice who had no self-discernment and could be easily manipulated is reminiscent of tropes that portray women as not having the cognition to make "good" rational choices. These negative associations loom large in regulating criminal thinking and are particularly damning for women, who are often accused of being accomplices in criminal activities, particularly for people with whom they are in a relationship. In short, this woman was willing to break the rules and commit "risky behavior" in order to gain favor, instead of putting herself at the center. The remainder of this section explores how self-regulation of the most minuscule behaviors was always at the forefront of determining future risky behaviors—which in turn impinged upon achieving sobriety.

For the morning check-in, everyone formed a circle on one side of the large common

space. The group circle was large, with two openings at opposite sides that allowed the women to easily enter and exit the circle. Ms. Jimenez (the Director) and the four counselors sat scattered throughout the circle. Gloreen sat by one of the openings in the circle. As each person spoke, Ms. Jimenez, a tall Dominican woman with short, curly hair, took notes. Ms. Jimenez kept notes on all the group meetings; her assistant would later enter them into participant profiles.

The first day I spoke to Gloreen she told me that she normally keeps to herself but for some reason she decided to talk to me. As we sat in the common area of the housing unit for substance abuse treatment, we talked about her efforts to exercise more, drink water and eat healthier. Looking down and to the side, she told me in a coy manner, "I want to get moving…I've been drinking lots of water, which makes me go to the bathroom more." Gloreen was a 38-year old, skittish white woman with long, dark-brown hair and severe acne on her face. At the time I did not realize that I had met her before in general population. In this facility, once people are admitted to the substance abuse program, they no longer take classes with the general population, but instead are segregated most of the time and socialize only with people in the program (unless they sneak off or talk with the general population in passing). In the facilities that I visited, isolating people in the substance-abuse treatment programs was common practice. This separation from unhealthy peers mimicked the same separation that they were supposed to self-employ once they left prison in order to maintain their sobriety.

Gloreen had a long criminal history with drugs, as well as traumatic experiences including physical abuse, group homes and the foster-care system. She had been homeless; had been incarcerated more than six times; had completed more than 12 drug treatment programs (both in- and outpatient treatment); and had bounced around so many foster-care systems that she initially had trouble telling me where she considered "home." The seriousness of Gloreen's drug

history was marked throughout her story, yet Gloreen was trying to use "healthy living" as a way to take control over her life. As we sat in the common area, Gloreen continued to talk about eating the fruit in the cafeteria instead of bread, and trying yoga and weight lifting. Gloreen wanted to take advantage of the small things as a way to position herself as someone who was sober, healthy and ready to be released.

Gloreen's story represented one of the more extreme cases of substance abuse. And yet many of the incarcerated women (and men) shared similar histories of substance abuse, fraught with mental and physical abuse, poverty, and numerous stints of incarceration and homelessness. In many of the stories I heard, drug use was only one mitigating factor in their crimes. Several of the women in the treatment programs, including Gloreen, revealed traumatic experiences such as parental death and domestic violence, which in turn triggered heavy substance use. Like Gloreen, the women in treatment struggled toward sobriety and their addiction was often constructed as being "bad" rather than "sick."

On the day I spoke with her, Gloreen quietly left the circle. Everyone noticed and a few people exchanged looks of curiosity, but most people continued with the check-in. It was soon clear that Gloreen was in the bathroom, as we heard her open the bathroom door and, later, flush the toilet (the thin walls did not allow for complete privacy). Ms. Jimenez was not pleased by Gloreen's departure; in the short time she was away the group quickly decided to orchestrate a prank. Several people in the room exchanged seats, such that Gloreen's original seat was occupied. (The group did this rather quickly, so I was unsure if this was something they had done before.) When Gloreen returned she looked around, confused at first, but she eventually walked across the circle to the only open seat. As I watched, I knew from our previous conversations that Gloreen was trying to stay healthy and drink more water. Before the morning session continued,

Ms. Jimenez told the group that they should wait until the break to use the bathroom. Critical medical anthropologists define health as "access to and control over the basic material and nonmaterial resources that sustain and promote life at a high level of satisfaction" (Baer, et al. 2003). Health is viewed as something that is not fixed but an "elastic concept" that must be analyzed within a broader social cultural context (Baer, et al. 2003). In this case, Gloreen's water drinking was an attempt to take control of her body and her life, yet her inability to wait to use the bathroom told a different story. Her behavior was partly seen as a hindrance to her future sobriety, as well as disruptive to the sharing process. In these treatment settings the inability to administer self-control over small things represented a potential disposition toward risky behavior. Gloreen's need to use the bathroom was quickly transformed into her not being able to control her addictive behaviors and became therefore linked to her sobriety. Although there was no written rule indicating that participants could not go to the bathroom, Gloreen's behavior demonstrated, to Mr. Jimenez' mind, that she had "stinking thinking" and was merely acting on her urges. Her inability to self-discipline had not only affected her, but also went against the group norms. In this instance, she was not "sick" and her pursuit of being healthy (in terms of self-regulating her body) told a different story, one that hovered around being "bad" and highlighted her criminality.

It was my first day at Arches. I sat with a group of women who had had all of their privileges revoked and therefore had to sit in silence at a table in the corner. At first I also sat silently, taking note of a poster that hung on the wall:

> Cookie Monster, Cookie Jar
> C ourage
> O vercoming obstacles
> O pen mindedness
> K nowledge
> I ntegrity

E xample
S erenity

But as I sat there longer, Zayla, a medium-built white woman with short red hair that

complemented her red jumpsuit, began to tell me in a whispery voice about her situation and her

thoughts on the program. Zalya's red jumpsuit represented her loss of privileges; these could

include a range of sanctions, including no church services, no snacks during the day, no talking,

and remaining in the common space during breaks. Two women stayed in silence; a fourth

woman, Alana, told Zayla she should not be talking. Zayla responded that since I was conducting

research she could talk to me. I took this as an invitation. I asked Zayla what she was working

on; she explained that she had to complete a behavioral packet because she was sanctioned for

"bad" behavior. Zayla told me she had shared half of her packet of sugar with another woman in

the program (apparently, this woman did not have privileges allowing her sugar). Zayla was

working on a shame packet; it was unclear what packets the other women were working on,

since they were reluctant to speak with me. The shame packet included a series of exercises that

required the offender to reflect on their behavior and develop new thinking patterns. From one

perspective this act of sharing may represent "basic connections to self and community," which

are far more significant in the context of incarceration (Solinger 2010). But from a programmatic

perspective, Zayla was not only breaking the rules, she was perpetuating criminal behavior and

disrespecting authority.

As the conversation continued, Zayla and Alana complained that the program was too

strict and affirmed to me that it was a behavior modification program. They believed that the

structure of competition inherent in the program was not good. Alana also shared her thoughts

about the sanctions: "I can't go to church because I'm in [a] red [jumpsuit]." Alana explained

that not going to church was "the hardest thing" for her because she had "never missed a Sunday

of church." She felt as though her "relationship with God was being compromised." Alana and Zayla also informed me that since they were sanctioned, they were allowed only three meals per day and no snacks, and therefore often felt hungry and tired. Because all the women in the program had to avoid contact with the rest of the prison population their breakfast hour was around 5 a.m., with lunch around 10 a.m. and dinner around 3 p.m.—meaning there was a 12-hour span without eating. I questioned other unit-team counselors about the meal practices. One counselor confirmed that it was true and secretly told me that she wished someone like me were around when the policies were being made.

Throughout the Arches program these seemingly minuscule behaviors, such as sharing a packet of sugar or making a phone call for someone, were brought up in activities called "encounters." When a participant broke either an institutional rule or a program rule, a fellow participant wrote a "ticket" on the person. The ticket writer would be subsequently rewarded because she was no longer concealing information, which was viewed as criminal thinking. This revealing behavior is like snitching but modernized: the person reporting the behavior is not anonymous and reporting it is considered part of one's recovery. Depending on the severity of the ticket, the encounters occur in front of the whole group or in a factory-style line. The following encounter was part of the small factory-style line, where several people were confronted about their tickets one after another. Tina, who had been accused of talking in line, stood with her hands to the side. As she stood there someone read her the ticket and then the investigator left to find three witnesses to either corroborate or invalidate the ticket. As I watched, I noticed the rules posted on the far wall: "No head bobbing or weaving; No eye-to-eye contact; No facial gestures; No feedback or dialogue; Thank the panel with the phrase: 'Thank you for your responsible concern.'" The investigator came back and Tina's ticket was found

valid, so she moved to the next station, where she was sanctioned: she had to complete a packet

of exercises based on respect. At the final table stood three people who represented the past,

present and future. Their job was to provide Tina with information about her current behavior

and how it affected the past and will affect the future:

Past*:* [We] bring information about your past, present, and future. In the past you were late to work and you got fired.

Present*:* We have rules here; [you] can't talk when you want and how you want.

Future: If you leave your P.O. [parole officer] and don't let him know…rude, disrespectful…you will come back to prison.

Tina: Thank you for your responsible concern.

Reminiscent of the classic Charles Dickens novel *A Christmas Carol*, where Ebenezer Scrooge

must face the ghosts of past, present and future, this encounter regarding Tina's inappropriate

talking in the present moment was indicative of her past and her future. She went from being

fired in the past, presumably for not following the rules, and her inability to follow rules would

eventually lead her back to prison. This association with rule-breaking and future criminal

behavior is at the crux of the risk/needs assessments that I examined. Tina was in the treatment

program to deal with her substance-abuse issues, which categorized her as "sick," but in a

coercive institution it is her small "bad" behavior that gets checked and will be the root cause of

her return.

Concealing and Telling

Correctional staff and treatment staff viewed acceptance of sobriety as a signal for non-

risky behavior. Their acceptance was measured through talk, or as Carr (2011) suggests, the

"scripting of addiction". Building on a long history of semiotic ideology, Carr's work

demonstrates how clients' sobriety is determined by how well their speech reflects internal

states—that is, an "ideology of inner reference." (Carr 2011:4). In this way the "addict's" speech

becomes a reference for who they are and how they have changed. All of the treatment programs that I observed had spaces where women would confess, reveal or proclaim their stories of addiction and sobriety about themselves or someone else. I call these narrations "tellings" as a way to call attention to the expectation that participants must give a frank account of what occurred—that is, to "tell it like it is." In this way, the women were not snitching or hiding secrets but shedding criminal thinking, which is seen as an obstacle to accomplishing their long-term goal of sobriety and not returning to prison. "Tellings" were a way to distinguish oneself from the others— that is, from the people in the program who had not changed their behavior, or from the people who were in general population.

In my interview with Courtney, an outspoken white women in her mid-twenties with no children, I asked what had happened to prompt her to change her behavior. She explained how she needed Ms. Jimenez to recognize that she was serious about her treatment and was willing to let go of her criminal thinking and give up the criminal code. Courtney explained her transformation thus:

> So, she's [Ms. Jimenez] been working with me since I came in. And I was like, okay, this is my last chance, for real, you know? And I need this woman to see that I'm serious. And I don't know. I just started…I said I was going to talk to Ms. Jimenez about any problems I could have, anything I see, you know, which is a big thing, I think. For me, the biggest part of the criminal code that I wasn't willing to let go of was telling on people or calling somebody on their behavior, or whatever, because I didn't want anybody to be able to do that to me. You know? So, my thing was I don't tell on you if you don't tell on me. So, I think the big turning point for me was anything I see I just have to tell. I might look like a little kindergartener going to tell the teacher, you know, but that's what it took because in a sense I didn't want anybody to tell on me, so I had to get my crap together. I couldn't be out doing whatever the hell I wanted to do, and then go on saying, "Well, I saw so and so." So, I had to clean out my closet, and then do it, and I don't know. Things started to happen. I feel like staff kind of looks at me different. Like if somebody asks me something, if a staff member asks me, "What's going on with such and such?" And I tell 'em; I would like them to know it's the truth because I ain't got no reason to lie. Whereas before they wouldn't even dare ask me my opinion about

something because hell, I was probably trying to cover up for somebody or, you know. There are probably some janky motives here, so yeah. That was a big part for me, just letting go what I believed to be was the biggest part of the criminal code.

For Courtney, keeping secrets no longer served her, so she started telling on herself as well as others. Unlike Arches, where there was a "ticket" system, participants in Reflections used private conversations in Ms. Jimenez's office to share the information. Courtney's ability to tell on others marked her as a trustworthy person who both respected authority and was not supportive of everyday behaviors associated with criminal behaviors. The process of breaking the criminal code also made Courtney realize that she needed to change her behavior because others may be telling on her, too.

The act of concealing information from authority was seen as counterproductive to the healing process and as with Courtney, many of the women I spoke to were keenly aware of this. This sentiment was also reiterated throughout treatment activities: Ms. Tory told Samantha, a young African-American woman with her hair pulled back, "You said you were never going to drop an encounter. I'm so proud of you." The next ticket being presented was written by Samantha; this was the first time she had written a ticket. Samantha sat in her chair and gave a shy smile, as though she were not comfortable with the public display of praise. After congratulating Samantha for writing the ticket, Ms. Tory turned to Vera, a young white woman with strawberry-blonde hair, who was being accused. The following interaction occurred:

> Ms. Tory*:*   What are we going to do?…Recovery is hard…You don't even believe that you are worth it. Do you want to be worth it? What have you done since you've been here?
> Vera*:*   Behavior packets.
> Tory: A behavior has to change…I want you to do the self-esteem packet. And do one positive affirmation in the mirror.

Ms. Tory assigned Vera a self-esteem packet and then instructed the group to give her positive affirmations. The group responded: "You're fun…God didn't make junk," said one woman. The

185

affirmations died down and Ms. Tory told the group that Vera keeps everything inside. Ms. Tory returned her attention to Vera and told her to tell the group something about her that they don't know. Looking distraught, the Vera responded: "Now? I guess everything I say is a secret because you all don't know me…I was abused for 20 years." Pleased with her response, Ms. Tory exclaimed, "Your whole persona changed after you shared that." This small act of sharing about her history of abuse seemed to allow her to be more real, and reflected her inner will to let go of criminal thinking patterns.

As seen in the examples above, policing, telling and revealing were parts of the healing process, but not everyone supported these methods. In my conversations with incarcerated women and staff, some felt these methods were punitive and restrictive. Mr. Polson, a unit-team manager who has worked on several compounds, told me that it's hard: "It's a program based on telling on others, confrontations. You are focused on what others are doing instead of focusing on yourself and your addiction." For this reason, Mr. Polson felt it was a "behavior modification program and not a drug addiction program," and drug addiction treatment was needed. Another unit-team counselor, Ms. Heller, explained it this way, "You are putting people down… I'm not sure why you have to punish, put people down, if they just want to do their work and keep quiet…If you are in the community and you just want to do the program, you get called out as not participating." The disapproval the counselors shared disproval hinged on the fact that participants had to tell on their peers' behavior to progress up the ladder. In other words, snitching becomes revealing when done for the right reasons.

Despite the concern about the effectiveness of the program and having to constantly confess and reveal behavior, the way the women in the Grace program described Arches brought attention to the punitive experience of the program. After a cognitive behavioral class, Althea, a

young white woman with chin-length brown hair, asked me to come to the Grace program. She explained that this program was different because it was "putting something in, not just taking it away." What did she mean by "putting something in"? What were dynamics of this subtraction/addition process?

I arrived early and sat at a round table in the back. I took note of the housing unit's décor and watched the women assemble for the group presentations. The presentation consisted of the women reading Bible verses and explaining how they related to the topic at hand, which was patience versus restlessness, specifically paying attention to "God's time." This presentation style was akin to a Bible study class, where Christian scriptures were explored and related back to life choices.[44] One of the presenters likened restlessness to their current situation: "We are in here and want things to happen right away." She pointed out how the participants can be impatient when interacting with unit-team counselors because they are trying to sort out an issue with their current charges. Readings by the presenters linked being patient with building strength, character and hope. One presenter explained that they were full of joy even when they suffer. She went on, "We know that our suffering gives us the strength to go on. The strength to go on produces character. Character produces hope."

These themes of having hope and being moved by God's spirit were reiterated in our conversations after lunch. At that time I returned to Grace to talk more informally with a small group of women. Among the women was a middle-aged African American woman named Sebene. She was the most vocal of the group, and when I sat down to talk with them, Sebene immediately set the tone. She exclaimed that it was a blessing that I had come and that "God had

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[44] The women began with Luke 21:19 and James 1:4 to explain patience and then Exodus 5:21 and Psalms 40:1 to explain restlessness.

sent [me]." She proclaimed that God didn't make mistakes and that I was [meant] to hear their story. I asked them how they thought this program was different from the Arches program. One woman quickly responded, "Grace…is different: there is hope in…this program; you learn to call on God. This program gives you the tools, gives you a little bit more to use." In Arches, she explained, "They want you to use them, your own strength, not God['s strength]." Sebene echoed these sentiments. "This program looks on the inside…Looks at how I'm addicted to pain…Feelings play tricks…You have to follow the Father of truth." Sebene continued to compare the programs' approaches:

> [Arches] doesn't get to the root…They do but they don't put anything in. [At Grace] we've pulled it out and filled it with something positive. It's not that I'm gonna get you in trouble to phase up [go up a level to get more privileges]…"

As I probed further to understand the differences, the women pointed to the feeling that Arches did not offer a solid inner foundation which they defined as not only trusting in God but also trusting that faith will result in practical resources. One participant said, "Arches breaks you down but doesn't give you any hope…They [Arches] don't give you contacts, [you've] got to find [contacts] for yourself. They [Arches] don't give you a foundation…Grace show[s] you how to work on it through faith." It was not until the end of our conversation that the women began to speak openly about their addictions. This was unlike Arches and Reflections, where the women's drug abuse was a constant reference point. For Sebene, the Grace program got to "the root of why [she] acted out." Sebene told me she was caught up in an abusive situation before drug use, and "drugs were just a cover-up. Pain is still there…The program has [made] me to face my pain." The women in the Grace program expressed that the development of spiritual relations represented a key difference from the more punitive programs. Their relationship with God

became a foundation for getting to the roots of their behavior in an environment that did not perpetuate coercive modes of operations, such as telling on others to be deemed rehabilitated.

"Worthy Ladies" Don't Behave Badly

In the recovery process self-discipline and disciplining others was also linked to gender norms—specifically, what it means to behave as a woman or lady who is "worthy." Some non-treatment staff members held the belief that the women in substance-abuse treatment were not worthy, and thus part of the treatment revolved around making the bad addict worthy. This idea of worth was wrapped around being pro-social; being valued as a governable citizen who maintains sobriety; being a good mother and daughter; and being trusted when freedom and privileges were granted. The women in treatment were not at the bottom of *non-worthy* people— typically seen as people who commit sex offenses against children or commit rape. Yet they received a host of negative characterizations that brought attention to their "bad behavior," as Ms. Jimenez pointed out to the women: "Depends on who you ask, you are a prisoner, a convict; you abandoned your children; you abandoned your life style."

Along with the staff, a few of the women indicated that they did not have positive mother roles to teach them how to be a woman who maneuvered in a positive way through the world. In my interview with Magda, I asked her to describe the program; she commented:

> It's behavioral treatment. Teaching us how to get back to society and have a healthy lifestyle and doing that. They're all about lifting us up, motivating us, inspiring us; teaching us how to be women, and not just women, to carry ourselves like ladies. We try to not use foul language; [to] get up and do something with yourself. Don't just roll out of bed and go sit in group. You know, wash your face, brush your teeth, feel good about yourself. To me, it's about self-respect, dignity, integrity, those things that I've been lacking. My mother, bless her heart, she loved me, but she just didn't teach me a lot about being a woman. And I kind of learned what I lived. And even though I knew better, I wasn't seeing better. I don't know why I didn't…It doesn't make sense, the question why I didn't, I guess, but things are just so much different. When I was growing up, I sure didn't think, "Oh, when I grow up, I want to be a prisoner," you know.

Magda felt that her mother did not teach her how to be a respectable woman. "She tried," said Magda, but she was unsuccessful. Like Gloreen, Magda had a long criminal history, starting when she was a juvenile. She explained that the first thing she stole was a York Peppermint Patty at age seven; after her mother found out, she had to take it back. Magda explained that she did not steal anything for a long time after that. However, around age 14 she was charged with truancy and possession of marijuana. After a long stint with drugs she finally turned her life around. It was after her mother died that her addiction started again, which resulted in her quitting college and getting fired from her job. Setting up a healthy lifestyle was the cornerstone of her recovery and included concepts such as "dignity" and "integrity." This success was tied to being "a lady," who adhered to normative values of how "ladies" should act.

These gendered notions of women were not uncommon in correctional facilities and were reified in everyday speech. For example, correctional officers or higher-ranking correctional officials typically referred to the women incarcerated as "ladies," which can be viewed better than the term "girls." Moreover, criminal behavior is often masculinized, such that when women are convicted of criminal behavior, stereotypically masculine behaviors—such as aggressiveness or deviance—are used to demonize and *defeminize* women, in order to show that they are outside of the normative gender binary of what it means to be "a lady." Hence in order to reemerge as governable citizen—who are sober mothers, wives, and daughters—incarcerated women must conform to standardized notions of white, middle-class womanhood. These tropes harken back to the idea of the "cult of true womanhood" that was prominent in the antebellum decades of the 19th century. The four cardinal virtues of true womanhood as described by Barbara Welter (1966) are piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Women used these attributes to judge each other, as would also a woman's husband, her neighbors, and society.

Sometimes the importance of learning to be a lady was explicit, while at other times it punctuated situations such that their "bad" behavior was seen as negating their femininity or reflecting on their worth as a woman. In Arches, Sandra was brought up on a ticket for dancing. Sandra, a tall white woman with blond hair pulled back in a ponytail, was the person who was in charge of validating tickets. The treatment counselor, Ms. Tory, said: "You're not supposed to be dancing…You are throwing roses"—meaning she was taking advantage of her position within the community. Ms. Tory plainly said, "Just because you are validating tickets doesn't mean you are not in charge of your behavior. You are still making excuses. Stop making excuses." The simple act of dancing became associated with her inability to change her addictive behaviors. In a loud domineering tone, Ms. Tory stated, "You are not dead yet. It's never too late to make a change….[stay]the same [you] will use again." Sandra's dancing act was quickly transformed into a possible act of future drug use that could eventually lead to an overdose. Since Sandra was still "alive," she needed to focus on changing her behavior, by which she could remain sober and not recidivate. The encounter continued and Ms. Tory called on the group to help police Sandra's small behaviors. Using call-and-response, Ms. Tory exclaimed, "Attitude is" and the group responded, "Everything." Ms. Tory and the group repeated the call-and-response: "Attitude is everything." Throughout the process Sandra did not openly admit to doing wrong, so Ms. Tory tried to get Sandra to admit to the ticket. For example, Ms. Tory would intermittently say, "I still didn't hear you say 'yes, what I did was negative.'" I had seen Ms. Tory use this direct approach in other encounters. She continued this until Sandra admitted to the deed. At the end of the encounter, Ms. Tory told Sandra, "This is your life…If you don't want to change, you'll leave here and die." Softening her voice a little, she concluded, "You are a worthy woman but you need to change your behavior."

When participants did not change their behavior, there was a possibility they could be dismissed from the program. The dismissals were not made public, but sometimes they were addressed publicly within the group afterwards, as a way to emphasize that the person "behaved" their way out of the program so that participants could learn from the example of the dismissed person. In the following example, the public acknowledgment of a participant's dismissal turned from being informative to a platform on to address how "bad" behavior that was not in line with being a woman.

At the morning meeting, one of the counselors, Ms. Saad, explained:

Ms. Saad*:*   There is a lot of money invested in people [here]…if you don't want to be here then you don't have to be…We aren't going to work harder than you do, it's too hard…Too time consuming. Many of you have said, for the first time, I have to become spiritually, emotionally…involved [with] myself…That's a big deal.

Ms. Saad concluded with the frequently spoken words, "We don't put people out—people behave themselves out…Choose the behavior, choose the consequences. People who leave the program aren't bad people, they have just made bad choices." Similar to Arches and the motto "Attitude is everything," the women in Reflection chimed in at the end, "Choose the consequences." Just as Ms. Saad was finishing up, Ms. Jimenez joined the circle and all the attention focused on her. Her message was somewhat contradictory about being put out of the program, but it still revolved around behavior, self-management and "being a lady."

Ms. Jimenez: We will put you out…if you don't abide by the [institutional rules]...That's why we don't have rules because mine might be in conflict with their rules…There is an honor system to this…this [is] deliberate…You say, 'I'm tired of running from the police [correctional officers]…When the popo is coming looking…then you know that they aren't looking for you…We only sell sobriety…It's like going to ACE looking for a prom dress….You can pitch a tent and stay overnight, but you ain't going to find it. There aren't any prom dresses at ACE…We think the world of you… Are you that lady?

Ms. Jimenez never indicated how her rules would differ from the institutional rules. Instead she

always insisted that her rules would be in conflict. Perhaps this was because in the evenings the

substance-abuse staff were not at the facility and the participants had to follow institutional rules.

The substance-abuse staff served as a buffer from the institutional staff. When I asked Veronica

about disciplinary reports (DR) she explained:

> One thing about down here is [that] they do treat our disciplinary things a lot different. Yeah, depending on the situation. There are situations, and I've been down here three months, and I think I've only heard of two people getting a DR. And there's been a lot of behaviors. They do try to help us out. It's more about them wanting to see, don't tell me you're going to change a behavior; just change it. And if you can prove that you're making an effort to change, then they're not trying to take anything from us or punish us. They just want to see us succeed…If you're still carrying behaviors that you're getting DRs for, then it's just something that you really need to check your motives and see why would you do that? Not for the prison, but for yourself, you know—losing good days and having consequences. The judge gave me my consequence. That's why I'm here, and I'm not going to make it any harder than it has to be.

The treatment staff members were in a position of discretion; not necessarily to bend the rules,

but they could institute a different type of sanctions for misconduct. It therefore became

important, as Ms. Jimenez pointed out, that if offenders followed the rules they would not have

to stress about whether or not *the police* were looking for them—meaning when the correctional

officers came to the housing unit. I later found out that Tammy was caught with contraband and

was sent back to general population early in the morning. But Ms. Jimenez's speech did not stop

with calling attention to bad behavior. If participants did not follow the institutional rules and

were kicked out, that meant that the participant was not "the lady" that the staff thought she

needed to be; in other words, good behavior meant being a trusted lady who deserved and could

handle the freedom of not having additional rules.

From the institutional perspective, when the women broke the rules in small ways they

were characterized as disrespecting authority, but more importantly this behavior potentially led

to larger *bad* behavior that brought them back to prison. Policing minuscule bad behaviors in the beginning could also be perceived as a way to maintain safety among the women. In my orientation trainings it was emphasized that gift-giving was not truly altruistic. Sharing potato chips (or sugar) created a system of "owing" rather than a "gift" (Mauss 2011 [1954]) and thus be potentially disruptive when it was not "paid back." While this interpretation of giving may be true, in some instances the women were sharing and building community in familiar ways, like they do outside of prison. Minuscule acts of bad behavior loomed large on a daily basis, but it was the bigger risks that women in substance abuse feared, and these were not always connected to these smaller risks. Policing minuscule behaviors was both an individualizing process and all about the authority of the institution.

Shedding Risky Behaviors

I say to myself, if I have the behaviors that are going to bring me to prison, then that means I have the behaviors that are going to kill me… I won't ever worry about coming back to prison, as long as I don't do any drugs. —Incarcerated women in Reflections

At first I thought I was being punished and they were taking my industry job…. I realized that this was not a punishment but about my future. —Incarcerated women in Reflections

Graduation inside was a special occasion where family, friends, correctional officials and employees came to witness the participant's transformation. It had a light and buoyant feeling as participants maneuvered among their peers, ate cake and socialized with family. Some of the graduation ceremonies mirrored graduation ceremonies as seen on the outside: selected graduates gave speeches, participants wore caps and gowns, and the ceremony ended with a turn of their tassels. On a few occasions, an outside person gave a keynote speech, in addition to the speeches given by unit-team counselors, program facilitators, and higher officials within the correctional system, such as the warden. Most ceremonies also included non-traditional aspects such as skits,

194

music and/or speeches by the participants. During fieldwork I witnessed three graduation

ceremonies at three different facilities. While the celebratory aspects of graduation were writ

large, the graduation ceremony was also a *rites de passage* where participants moved from being

"high-risk offenders" who were both "sick" and "bad" to governable citizens who were on their

path to sobriety.

In Arnold Van Gennep's (1960) seminal work on rituals, he elucidates three stages

present in *rites de passage*, namely, separation, transition (liminal) and reincorporation. The state

of liminality is commonly discussed as the state where participants(s) who are separated from

their communities are neither here nor there. It is a "betwixt and between" state, in which

participants are in the process of becoming (Turner 1986). In Turner's application of Van

Gennep's work, he recognized that in this liminal space, participants created a *communitas,*

which was defined by a shared language or way of operation. In turn, when participants exit the

liminal phase, participants take on these established values, ideals and languages as a part of

their reintegration. Returning to Carr's (2011) study on scripting addiction, these highly

ritualized ceremonies were an opportunity for the women to demonstrate their internalization of

the values and self-discipline instituted in the program. The policing of minuscule behaviors was

set aside at the graduation ceremonies, and the speeches and skits became the site where consent

was reaffirmed. I offer the words of the graduates (see below) and the speakers not to discern

whether they are true or not, but to explore this looping back of words as the women present

themselves as healthy governable citizens who have shed risky behaviors.

Personal transformation was a common theme in the speeches. When the women spoke

about these transformations, they often talked about how they were coming up from their rock-

bottom and how the program had helped them to transform their lives. For example, one

participant said:

> I am thankful to be here at the my rock-bottom…Some bottoms are jail cells, institutions, wheelchairs…Today I'm free to move around sober…What an oxymoron. I'm free in prison. I use to be a drug dealer in *[redacted]*…I'm entirely ready to…I'm thankful from the bottom of my heart.

For this participant, hitting rock-bottom was only part of her transformation. She found a sense

of freedom to "move around sober" while incarcerated. So while the program itself appears

constraining, the women can find a sense of freedom to be different while incarcerated.

Sometimes, the women suggested their transformations were because of higher powers.

Although Grace was the only program that explicitly spoke about using God as a foundation in

recovery, participants nonetheless often referenced God as a grounding higher power. When

higher powers are involved, such as a God figure, part of the transformation can come from

surrendering to his will and being in treatment. One woman from the Arches program said:

> I prayed on every night to come to treatment…I had shame and guilt coming back. I asked God to put me on the path and he did. They made me, helped me share my secrets…We can choose our bottom…. I'm not stopping here…It doesn't matter about our mistakes…I accept myself unconditionally. I can be the real [me] and accept myself. Surrender to him. Not our own. Thank God everyday that I'm not where I used to be.

In addition to surrendering to her own fate, this participant recalled her initial feeling of guilt and

shame. In the Arches program, shame packets were a common punishment and here the

participant spoke about letting go of her shame and guilt by being vulnerable to the group,

whether through forced encounters or on her own accord. Being vulnerable was considered one

element in the transformation process, since it pushed participants to come to terms with their

history and current reality; this was particularly true for repeat offenders. This vulnerability was

reminiscent of my classroom observations of Gloreen, the participant from the beginning of the

chapter. Gloreen was reluctant to tell the group how many times she had been in treatment. It

was at the prodding of a substance-abuse counselor that she revealed her history to the group. He

suggested it would help her come to terms with her long relationship with treatment. Being

vulnerable was a positive step in the transformation process that sometimes came from being

pushed by counselors and not fellow participants. In another ceremony a woman stated: "When I

arrived I was caked in dirt…I had to be willing to let go…You know a rough diamond doesn't

have much value: it's the person who cuts it, the jeweler." She finished her speech by thanking

them for making her "more valuable." For her the counselors in the program—the "jewelers"—

molded her into a new person. In addition, seeing herself as a jewel likened herself to the higher

worthiness that was stressed throughout all the treatment programs.

Arches and Reflections stressed that being worthy was tied to gender. Part of self-

management and empowerment meant that the women needed to see themselves not just as

worthy but as "worthy women," which implicitly meant adhering to normative values for

women. These sentiments were also apparent in their graduation speeches. For example, a

program participant from Arches approached the podium and said, "Good afternoon, family." (It

was common practice to address other participants in the Arches program as "family.") She

continued, "I'm grateful I found the true me…I chose drugs over my children and family. I'm a

worthy woman…I have recognized my self-defeating behavior due to the program…Thanks [to

it] I learned to trust in my higher power." She concluded her speech by thanking the staff and

counselors, as well the women who "brought [her] up" on encounters. In this case, being a

worthy woman meant not choosing drugs and adhering to the values of motherhood. She had

overcome her bad habits and now felt self-empowered to make the right decisions. In similar

fashion, a second woman approached the podium and began her speech, "Good afternoon,

family." Her speech echoed being a "worthy woman" and added a new element of forgiveness.

She said, "Thanks to my family for coming from *[redacted]*…In this long, demanding year we've learned to face our problems. We ask for forgiveness and move forward…I am a worthy woman." For this participant, now that she had come to terms with her problems through hard work, she was now worthy of forgiveness. Asking for forgiveness was something the women struggled with, given the strength of stigma held within their broader communities and often within their own families. By asking for forgiveness, the speaker also implied that she was ready to amend the bridges that she had damaged due to drug addiction.

Throughout the ceremonies there was also a sense of rebirth, in which old habits were shed; through this shedding an entirely different person emerged. In one of the skits the women began by filing in for a funeral. Non-graduate characters shared stories of how the graduates participated in "bad," risky behavior such as prostituting, smoking crack, and abandoning their children. This stopped when a preacher character said, "No one wants to be remembered by past failures…we want to be remembered by the changes in our lives. Rewind." The preacher proceeded to rip down drawings of various tombstones with the graduates' names on them. Underneath the tombstones were pictures with their names, decorated with flowers and colorful designs. The same non-graduates returned to the podium and offered positive accounts such as, "She's using alternative thinking," "She's no longer irrational," and "She's been restored." Although this was only a skit, it emphasized the women's process of using pro-social thinking to guide their behaviors. The treatment programs had ripped away past behaviors such that their new identities internalized ideals of productiveness, happiness and worthiness.

Yet for the women in the program, this rebirth would not be possible without giving up a sense of control. This process should not be confused with self-managing but understood as part of being a governable citizen. The policing of minuscule behaviors was intimately tied to

controlling the women: a way of stopping bad behaviors that would lead to larger, riskier behaviors. Ms. Bibb, the unit-team counselor discussed in previous chapters, told the group, "You look like entirely different people…That resistance isn't there. You have so much more to offer…I, too, am in the business because I care…It might not look [or] feel like it…You are worth it." On the one hand, Ms. Bibb's speech illustrated that the transformation was rooted in the women not resisting authority. Correctional officials (and in the literature) described offenders as people who opposed authority and did not follow rules. And when they resisted authority, force was traditionally used against them. Nonetheless, in this case non-resistance led to an arising of external beauty. On the other hand, Ms. Bibbs comments reinforced the "new way of doing business" which required less forceful interventions and more attention evidence-based practices and policies. Ms. Bibb was adamant about infusing care into her approach despite notions that she did not care, and that this was not the traditional way of conducting business inside prisons. In the end, the overt policing of minuscule behaviors helped participants to shed risky behavior while adhering to correctional goals of increasing public safety, reducing cost, and reducing recidivism rates.

After being assessed and policed, offenders do return home. Sociologist, Jeremy Travis states "reentry reflects the iron law of imprisonment: they all come back" (2005: xxi). In this sense, "reentry is not a goal, like rehabilitation or reintegration. Reentry is not an option" (2005: xxi). In the next chapter I examine the journey home and how formerly incarcerated people manage risk.

CHAPTER 7: The Bitter Sweetness of Returning Home

Raymond called me to say he would be late for the interview. I waited at the counter in the restaurant where he worked. Since I did not know what he looked like, his co-worker assured me that he would let me know when Raymond arrived. When I introduced myself, Raymond took a formal approach and called me Ms. Karen, despite me prompting him to just call me Karen. Raymond, a short dark skinned man with a baldhead, was living in the St. Louis area. He had been out of prison for less than a year and was still struggling with the bitter sweetness of settling into a life on the outside. Although he had a job as a dishwasher in a well-known soul food restaurant and had housing, he still had difficulty maintaining stability. He was dealing with what he called "normal people's crisis" which included paying bills and budgeting for the rising cost of food. In one of our interviews, he lamented about not being able to buy his godson an ice cream cone because it was too expensive. With no professional skills, Raymond was lucky to find a low-wage job washing dishes at The Sweet Potato. Raymond was struggling with navigating poverty with a criminal record.

This chapter brings the dissertation to a close by focusing on the last component of the Prisoner Reentry Initiative Model. In this last phase, mentors, advocates and community organizations on the outside help formerly incarcerated people integrate back into the community. Sometimes these programs started six months before their release, while other programs were a part of their parole. In my project I found that there were a host of issues that formerly incarcerated people faced, but employment and housing were the two main issues that hindered their progress. I use Raymond's journey as a way to illustrate how these two issues impact the post incarceration experience. Alongside Raymond's story, this chapter draws on ethnographic data from three different parole and probation offices. The first section examines

issues with finding secure employment while the second section examines the difficulties with finding adequate housing.

Overall, I found that much of the programming offered inside prisons was similar programming offered outside of prisons. However, on the outside the lives of formerly incarcerated people no longer hinged on evidence-based practices. The self-governance strategies that they learned on the inside were supposed to be put into action. Formerly incarcerated people faced structural issues of society like poverty and job discrimination that the risk/needs assessment scores did not track and could not fix. While incarcerated people scored high in the housing section of the assessment and therefore received trainings around housing, possessing a viable housing speech or even knowing their rights as tenants, incarcerated people were not prepared to face the long history of housing discrimination for people with felony convictions.

"I'm Not Going Back"

In our first interview in my car outside The Sweet Potato, Raymond wasted no time in telling me about his time served. Raymond was 62 years old and was in and out of prison for over 39 years. His last conviction was for double murder; and he spent additional time inside because he had committed offenses while incarcerated. Raymond explained that it took him several years in the system to finally settle down and want to change his life. He described the abuse of the guards and how he was one of the "longest inmates in the system." Raymond explained "white folks [would] kick us in our butts, lock us in seclusion butt naked…we had to dodo in a tub in the floor. And if we cursed them, that tub might stay there with us for a month, stinking." Raymond had witnessed a lot of abuse and a lot of changes in regards to rehabilitation

efforts in the correctional system. He felt that the abuse was still present in the system but it was more extreme when the system was segregated.

About ten minutes into the interview, Raymond candidly said, "you know, I thought you would be white." He recounted how numerous white women had approached him to do interviews and that he was happily surprised that I was a "sister".[45] Raymond went on to explain that it was financially difficult for him to survive on the outside. He had spent his last few dollars on public transportation to get to the interview. The reason he was late, he said, was that he had gotten lost. He had to pay for his fare twice. The public transportation system still confused him particularly when he did not take his usual route. On that day, he visited a "lady friend" who was hospitalized.

After being out of prison for three days, he secured a job at The Sweet Potato, a famous soul food restaurant in the heart of Saint Louis' tourist area. Raymond called the owner for a job because she was known to hire formerly incarcerated people. According to Raymond, most of the guys, the cooks and dishwashers, had been incarcerated. At first, the owner told Raymond that she did not have any openings; however, Raymond was persistent and offered his services for a week. He told the owner "if you don't like my work, then you don't have to pay me for the week or hire me." After three days of work, she offered him a job. Raymond explained that when he started, he would work through his breaks. He continued this pattern until the owner scolded him. Raymond narrated her words. "She told me 'I'm not paying you to work your breaks so you might as well take them.'" From then on, Raymond said he took his breaks.

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[45] My racial background offered me a certain connection with Raymond. We still check in three to four times a year, mostly around major holidays.

When formerly incarcerated people cannot find jobs they are characterized as having

poor work ethics and being lazy. Their failure is attributed to the inability to change their

criminal thinking. Rarely do correctional staff members bring up discrimination in the job market

when formerly incarcerated people have difficulty finding jobs. As mentioned in chapter 5,

incarcerated people were encouraged to tell the truth about their convictions and "check the box"

but the overt discrimination association with checking the box was not discussed. So, I was not

surprised that the ban the box initiative was not discussed in the employment classes. Ban the

box is a national campaign that supports eliminating workforce discrimination for formerly

incarcerated people by getting employers to remove the check box that indicates if you have a

prior criminal record. Currently, there is no systematic analysis of the Ban the Box movement. In

Missouri, there are fair chance hiring policies in Kansas City, Columbia, and St. Louis as well as

in Kansas City, Kansas (Emsellem and Rodriguez January 2015).[46] In my conversation about

employment opportunities, only two DOC employees spoke about ban the box and that was after

I introduced the topic. I found there were more open conversations about "ban the box" from

people working in community partnerships that served formerly incarcerated people. For

example, one prison community partnership outside of the St. Louis area actively supported ban

the box efforts and would occasionally send out information on the list serve.

In 2015 President Barack Obama came out in support of the ban the box initiative but it is

not enforced at the federal level. The initiative to ban the box on job applications has been

successful in 100 cities in 19 states (Rodriguez and Mehta 2015). While the ban the box calls for

employers to remove the check box on application, where a person indicates that they have a

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[46] On October 27, 2015, New York signed the Fair Chance Act into law.

criminal record, the removal of the box does not preclude employers from asking about criminal history or conducting background checks. However, some advocates felt it gave applicants a fair chance to be hired based on their skills instead of being discriminated against because of a criminal record. Specifically, a few people explained this could eliminate pre-interview discrimination and allow formerly incarcerated people to actually be interviewed for a job.

On a few occasions, while in conversation with staff members, I mentioned studies in anthropology and sociology that statistically showed racial discrimination in the employment industry for people with convictions. For example, Pager, et al. (2009a) conducted a study on low wage work that demonstrated how white men with felony convictions fare better than black or Hispanic men without felony convictions. No one disputed or denied racial discrimination. Rather staff redirected the conversation to discus how the courses provided necessary soft skills and resumes for incarcerated people. Correctional staff felt that resumes and doing mock employment interviews could help incarcerated people overcome structural inequalities in the job market, even if this meant only having a low-wage job in fast food.[47] In the end any job supported formerly incarcerated people to being more responsible.

My conversations with Raymond over the next few months deepened. He shared his difficulties with surviving financially on the outside. Despite this, every time I spoke with Raymond he had an upbeat tone and possessed a deep gratitude about being home. He had a strong conviction to never return to prison. He explained, "I've been into some trouble since I've

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[47] 'Sugar' in the after care program inside the correctional facility explained to me in our interview that she could get more money selling dope than if she worked a regular paying job. This was significant for her, since she had developed a lot of skills such as laying pipe, roofing and simple wiring while incarcerated. With family obligations to her daughter and granddaughter, she expressed that post incarceration choices became a matter of survival for her family. And it was also about knowing how to apply those skills outside where the structure was different.

been out…I've been in and out since I was young…I'm not going back. It's a fact…not an option…I'm not going back." After being incarcerated for such a long time he considered himself institutionalized and was accustomed to the ways of being inside prisons. Yet, Raymond worked hard to break away from his institutionalization and start over. For example, cell phones were new to him. He had a difficult time keeping track of his phone and had recently lost his cell phone. His brother bought him another one since it was his only means of communication. He had no food in his refrigerator, so he used the twenty dollars I gave him for the interview that day to buy hotdogs, buns, cereal and a few other items at the convenient store attached to the gas station.

Raymond's ability to reintegrate was in part due to the support of his "team." Unlike most incarcerated people coming home, Raymond had a team of five volunteer mentors (two couples and another person) who worked with him on a regular basis. Raymond's team was part of Project Hope, a church based program that provided mentoring services to help people reintegrate. His team provided him with rides to places, took him to church and helped him secure housing. Before Raymond was released, he started building a relationship the team. A friend of Raymond who was involved with the organization told them about Raymond and how long he was incarcerated. Raymond's team was formed and they started communicating with him while he was still inside. So when Raymond was released, his team picked him up from the correctional institution and assisted him with finding his first apartment.

This team approach was part of the new reentry model was a resource for formerly incarcerated people. Under the guise of public safety, correctional institutions were collaborating with outside agencies, community based organizations, volunteer mentors from local churches and organizations and parole and probation offices in order to provide wrap around services for

high-risk offenders. Depending on the dynamics of the organizations, formerly incarcerated people were involved in the leadership, but most of the meetings that I attended did not have formerly incarcerated people as stakeholders at the table. Despite the intended goals, lack of funding, scheduling difficulties between inside and outside stakeholders and broken equipment made some of the programs and community partnerships unsustainable.

It was not until Ms. Peggy, an institutional parole officer, invited me to a reentry team meeting that I learned how they operated in the community. Ms. Peggy, a white woman in her late 50s, had worked for the DOC for over 20 years. She wanted me to see what was happening in the community and better understand the different ways that the prisoner reentry partnerships were working to support people post-incarceration. For her, the important work was happening in the community. Ms. Peggy was enthusiastic about the new reentry model that included bridging the inside and outside and the formation of Transitional Housing Units inside several correctional facilities. She frequently traveled to meetings in the immediate areas, driving up to 30-40 minutes away and offering car pools to other correctional employees. At the same time, she expressed some disenchantment with how things were progressing. On our ride to one of the meetings, I asked about some of the biggest issues. She explained, "The economy is a concern. Apathy is a problem. People are down right resistant. Old heads think it's hug-a-thug. They [offenders] chose to do these things…I'm ex custody…but give them [offenders] the tools to do it. They'd like to make a change but don't know how…I do believe in it [reentry programming]." She also felt that they could have made better inroads and done more, but "things didn't pan out like they said that it would."

Interestingly, Ms. Peggy thought things were more "cookie cutter" under the new rationale. She thought that previous prisoner reentry work was more personalized and tailored to

the needs of the individual returning to the community. With the standardization of the Transitional Accountability Plans, prison staff members were not allowed to do things that deviated from the norm, such as work with a family member. She said the reentry plan was a great concept but needed more development. In the past, more state agencies were involved in setting up the services that incarcerated people needed before being released. But there was a history of issues between agencies and correctional institutions. Being careful not to mention any specifics, she told me, the Highway Patrol at one time would come in to give drivers tests, but not anymore. However, she was pleased that the Division of Workforce Development (DWD) "came on board 100% and stayed on board." The DWD is a state agency that administers the Workforce Innovations and Opportunity Act. Part of this work means overseeing the formation of one-stop shops or career centers in the community. Formerly incarcerated people are frequently referred to these career centers to find jobs and receive help with resumes. In general, Ms. Peggy said that more networking needed to happen in the community. She explained, "Churches have vans, people want to help…you can use the network." This type of networking was useful in small places when formerly incarcerated people needed a ride. She explained that you could post it on the listserv and hopefully someone in the area could offer a ride.

Raymond was tied into a network. He insisted that I meet his team. So one evening, I made the two-hour drive to St. Louis to have dinner with his team. I picked Raymond up so that we could talk before. On the way to the restaurant he explained that he was temporarily laid off from his job. There was an issue with the cooks playing in the kitchen (throwing chicken) and did not have the meats prepared for the lunch rush. As a result, the manager, who was the owner's son, temporarily closed the restaurant. Raymond was fearful of losing his job and not being about to buy food. Luckily, he had his rent paid, so that was not a problem. He also

updated me on his family situation and told me he was trying to save enough money to buy furniture for his apartment. His team had scolded him for throwing his money away and spending it on other people. In an easy-going way, Raymond explained that he was "no saint." He still dabbled with the street life and used drugs here and there, despite the fact that drug use was against his parole. Raymond let me know that the woman he was seeing at that time was a "street hustler" who stole from him occasionally and was a drug addict.

We arrived at Panera Bread early, so we chatted about disenfranchisement laws while we waited for the team to arrive. Raymond had never voted and was not registered. He wished he could have voted in President Barack Obama's elections but other than that he had no interest in voting. I probed him about getting registered after his parole was finished. Missouri does not allow people in prison or on parole or probation to vote. The team arrived and after very brief introductions we settled into dinner and a little chitchat while we waited for the last person to arrive. At one point, Ms. Sally, one of the team members leans over and says, "we were wondering why come all the way here, don't 'they have enough ex-convicts in New York?." I responded that I was interested in the new initiatives being implemented and that examining prisoner reentry in the Midwest could offer a new perspective on how we approach incarceration and reentry on a national scale.

Despite the fact that Raymond was sitting between us, Mr. Greg, another team member, began talking to me as though Raymond was not there. Mr. Greg a causally dressed older white man, leaned on the table and looked at me. He told me "Raymond is stubborn, he doesn't listen…you know a lot of the guys when they come out taste the women and drugs and alcohol. …Raymond has done both. He just won't listen…but we like him." This paternalistic talk continued for about three minutes, making it awkward for both Raymond and me. To ease the

conversation, Raymond said, "Yes, I am stubborn" and smiled. While they did not have any legal standing to revoke or write up Raymond, they made it apparent that his choices were not beneficial and that they knew better than him.

We sat and ate. The conversation shifted to the anniversary celebration for Project Hope. Raymond and I sat there and listened. Mr. Greg explained that they had worked together for about four years. They assisted with several formerly incarcerated people who were all older like Raymond. Mr. Greg said explained that he and Mr. Peter had worked together the longest and had supported several mentees. Mr. Peter was another white team member who was married to Ms. Sally. The teams were mainly coming from the faith-based community. The organization wanted more secular based people involved but for right now they did not the diversity. Mr. Greg said there was a Black Muslim church that worked with people but most of the people who volunteered in Project Hope where from the Methodist Church. The lack of diversity was a common issue that I heard about with these volunteer and mentoring programs. The lack of cultural sensitivity and unchecked racial bias and stigmatization were factors that impeded these mentoring relationships. On a few occasions, Raymond expressed that his team "did not know" him and "couldn't understand" him. He told me, "I feel more comfortable talking to you." Despite these shortcomings, the team was committed to making sure that Raymond was successful, even if it meant over-monitoring his behavior. When Raymond walked me to the car he assured me that they meant well and thanked me for coming.

Winners Not Victims

Ms. Janet, a young white woman, was a new facilitator for the job readiness program. When we first met, Ms. Janet was a little nervous and spoke with me as though I was there to evaluate her. The job readiness program was a mandated course designed to prepare parolees and

probationers for the job market. If the person was unemployed, s/he had to attend the 3-week course that met everyday. The course focused on soft skills and guided participants through a series of exercises that included career based questionnaires, mock interviews and personality tests. In the class there were both men and women but the majority of the participants were men. There was one African-American man in the class along with ten white men and three white women. The room where we met was a medium-sized rectangle with two windows on the long side of the room. On the other side there were bookshelves, a desk with a computer, phone and the door. There were several tables pushed together to make one big table. In the following section, I examine the challenges that parolees and probationers have when navigating the job market.

Transportation was a common problem, particularly for people living in rural areas or in small towns. Although the program tried to alleviate those issues, participants still struggled with finding reliable transportation and often had to turn down job because they did not have a ride. Ms. Janet started the class off by getting receipts for the gas cards. Not everyone lived in the town. Some of the participants lived several miles away and drove up to 30-minutes to reach the program site. The participants who commuted were allotted a $50 gas card if they provided receipts for the gas purchases. One participant, a middle-aged white man named Jun, had to reimburse the program six dollars because he accidently purchased a car wash with his gas card. Gas cards could only be used for gas. After Ms. Janet settled with the gas cards, she began announcing possible jobs. She had a few print outs of job advertisements that ranged from a CNA to putting in windows. They passed the advertisements around; yet, most people did not look at them. A few of the participants commented that they had experience with putting in

windows, but they do not have regular transportation to the job site. Ms. Janet told Jun about the

carpenter job in a city located 20 miles away and this short exchange occurred.

Jun: I don't have a way there.
Ms. Janet: You don't have a driver's license?
Jun: No, I don't have a car

With no public transportation, parolees and probationers depended on family members or

purchased old cars that were not gas efficient or reliable. In addition, many of the participants

needed a valid drivers license. Several of the correctional facilities where I conducted research

had driver's license clinics for incarcerated people to reinstate their suspended drivers license;

however, if there were fines and the incarcerated person could not pay the fines, s/he could not

get their license reinstated. Getting caught driving with a suspended license or without a license

could mean being sent to jail—it was a risk some of the parolees and probationers were willing

to take while others were not.

Even if they were hired, many of the participants feared that employers would find out

about their criminal records. Another white male participant in the class, said, "I hope they don't

see my felony." Ms. Janet quickly responded, "They will see it." The participant replied, "No, I

hope they don't see it, [cause then they will say] say opps, I won't hire him." Ms. Janet

continued to pass around job announcements. The participants continued to discuss jobs as she

used the Xerox machine in the room to photocopy a how to network chart. A young white man in

his mid 20s named Joseph said, "Aldi's didn't hire me…They told me what they wanted was a

stocker and a cashier…I can't do the cashier because of my theft charges." In addition to being

discriminated against because of their felony convictions, participants had to worry about

whether they will be discriminated because of a specific charge. Sometimes employers do not

understand the various degrees of charges and thus blankly discriminate. Other times, companies

discriminate based on the actual job responsibilities. For some of them, the latter was a plus because at least the company was willing to hire people with felony convictions. Formerly incarcerated people are also left in limbo about possible job prospects. Joseph said, "I applied at a temp service and they never called me back, it's been 3 months." This limbo discouraged formerly incarcerated people. While correctional staff and parole officers acknowledged the frustration with waiting, the antidote was to keep applying.

Ms. Janet moved onto the next subject, job searching. She began the discussion with a poem about never giving up and reaching for your dreams. No one responded to the poem, so Ms. Janet shrugged it off and introduced the video. Instead of focusing on the structural issues like the lack of available jobs or stigmatization and discrimination in the labor market, correctional staff focused on individual behaviors and how formerly incarcerated people presented themselves to employers. She inserted a DVD on job searching called "Career Plans and Goals: Expert Job Strategies for the Ex-Offender." As she put in the DVD, she offered one last preface, "It's a boring DVD". The video featured advice on what made a good employee and how to present oneself during a job interview. Most of the people featured in the video were managers and supervisors of larger corporations. After the video finished Ms. Janet said, "see I told you it was kind of lame." Ms. Janet tried to stick to the curriculum, while wavering back and forth between her off-handed comments and offering something out of the box, such as the poem.

Ms. Janet told the class that they should be concerned with how they present themselves. She turned toward a white woman at the far end of the table, "Some of you like to wear your hair in braids; you shouldn't do that." She hesitantly continued, "Dreads are probably not a good idea." The white woman sitting next to me looked at my dreads and waited to see if I would

respond. These micro aggressions about acceptability were not uncommon. Given that there was only one African-American male in the class who had his hair cut short, her comments reinforced whiteness as the norm and the preferred professional aesthetic. Ms. Janet continued and said no piercings nothing in your tongue…in Columbia the Mizzou logo is acceptable but no other logo…Make sure that your clothes are pressed. Do it the prison way if you don't have an iron…dampen, fold and put between your [bed] sheets." She finished going over dress codes and what type of shoes to wear to an interview. Her list reminded me of Mr. Dan's list, an employment specialist from the correctional facilities. Mr. Dan made sure to instruct the women not to wear "hooker boots." Ms. Janet finished by reading from a manual, "present yourself as a winner not a victim." I gathered that in order to "present yourself as a winner" meant being confident and not using your criminal history as an excuse for not securing a job. It also meant paying attention to how you dressed and styled your hair for an interview.

How Are You Managing?

At a job club located at another parole office in a suburban city, Ms. Clarissa went around the class to mark down whose supervision fees were current. Both Kansas and Missouri required parolees to pay monthly supervision fees. So, in addition to struggling with finding a job, parolees frequently discussed the difficulties of paying their supervision fees. Ms. Clarissa, a white mid 30s parole officer, created job club to check in on her clients as a group to save time. This parole office was very well kept. There was a large waiting area with individual chairs and a private bathroom located in the waiting room. When Ms. Clarissa gave me the tour she showed me the large meeting rooms and the newly remolded offices with large bay windows from the ceiling to the floor. Her office had bay windows with a view of trees and plants outside. Job club was not mandated like the job readiness program. If a person was in school or could not get off

work, she did not penalize him or her for not showing up. In fact, she allowed a young white man in his early 20s to leave because he had class. In this section, I also explore employment issues but with a focus on the financial challenges that arise when formerly incarcerated people are unemployed.

Ms. Clarissa had scheduled time for me to talk with the class by myself, but before that happened she wanted to check in with everyone about their supervision fees. She said, "Even if they don't have a job, it's important that they keep their supervision fees current." It was unclear how they consistently kept their supervision fees current if they were unemployed or underemployed. She told Steven, a young African American man in his mid 20s, "I can show it to my supervisor and say that you are doing good on parole, you are making an effort by actively participating in the groups, reporting. This is good until you can get a job…You must be doing some odd jobs to be able to pay for the parole fees." While odd jobs were *okay* for the moment, the goal was to get parolees and probationers in regular paying jobs where they received paycheck stubs. Ms. Clarissa handed Steven candy for paying his parole fees. Steven accepted the candy, which served as his reward for prioritizing supervision fees over other expenses he may have to pay on his limited income.

Dee, the African American woman from chapter four, brought in a $100 money order for her parole fees and the receipt for a driving violation ticket. Steven, asked her, "After paying all that, you have anything left in your check?" Dee looked at him sideways and responded, "yeah, the ticket was only ten dollars for not having a seat belt on." Ms. Clarissa was shocked and made a comment that she thought it should be more. Dee chuckled a little and then in a somewhat witty manner said, "Ten dollars, that's eight cheeseburgers." Everyone else in the room laughed. Dee was one of the few parolees at job club who had a stable job. Ten dollars was not a lot of

money to the parole officer but Dee's comment emphasized that ten dollars, if spent correctly was the difference between having a meal or not.

Ms. Clarissa moved on to another client. Torrance, an African-American male also in his mid 20s. He told Ms. Clarissa he had a painting job. He was in the grocery store and a woman in front of him started talking to the cashier about needing someone to paint. So Torrance interjected and her that he was interested. The woman hired him. The woman provided on the job training and showed him how to paint. He had only worked for her a week so he had not received a paycheck. Torrance assured Ms. Clarissa that he would be paid every other Friday and that this was "a legit job" with "paycheck stubs, it wasn't a cash job." He also told Ms. Clarissa that his grandmother had a stroke and they had to amputate her leg. She responded,

Ms. Clarissa:	How are you managing?
Torrance:	Stressed…but doing good.
C:	How are you coping? How do you cope with all the stress, do you smoke, drink…
T:	I'm just trying to keep it in.
C:	Think about your parole…Don't do anything to jeopardize your parole.

Ms. Clarissa made a deal with Torrance. If he brought in a paycheck stub for the painting job on the 10th, he did not have to attend job club meeting on the 24th. From what I observed, Ms. Clarissa offered herself a lot of leeway to incentivize the participants to find and maintain jobs, whether it was with small bonuses such as candy or larger things like having time off from the meetings. Before Ms. Clarissa left the room she announced that job club would change to Mondays in December. She did not consult with any of them to see if they had conflicts. Rather, they were expected to attend job club on the new day and time.

After Ms. Clarissa left the room, they continued discussing the difficulties of keeping up with the fees, finding a job and paying for housing. It was expensive to look for a job since gas prices were so high. Unlike the other program, this program did not provide a gas allowance.

Steven said, "You can put $20 in the tank and get two applications in." Other people in the room agreed.

This conversation quickly died down. I reintroduced the project and myself. I immediately noticed that with Ms. Clarissa absent, they started cursing. So much that one client used a curse word every few words. It was not that they were relaxed, but rather I felt that they were on their guard and telling me very sensational things to test me. After our initial *let-loose* conversation, I asked them about their reentry experience and if they felt prepared to reenter society after incarceration. Charles, a young African American male in in his mid-late 20s complained about work release. Charles said, that the work release job "played" him. He had no training and according to Charles they "kicked [him] out on [his] ass." Three of the other male participants expressed that unit team counselors were very selective with who received work release. They felt that if unit team counselors had offered them work release, perhaps they would have been more successful on the outside in terms of finding a job. Charles chimed in and said they "give [work release] to the lifers or people who will be in there for a long time."

Work release was viewed as a productive program, while other programs like the employment and cognitive and behavioral classes were not. This conversation unfolded between Charles and Steven

Steven:	It's common sense. It's about your thoughts and feeling before you make a decision. You get to hear your story…I took the class to get out of the cell, it's basic stuff.
Me:	Why is it common sense?
Steven:	I say its common sense because you fill out your resume, be respectable in an interview…we already use those things.
Charles:	We use the shit all your life…"stop and think"

I had heard other formerly incarcerated people talk about how inside programming did not prepare them for outside challenges. Programs were not always available and some people are

excluded because they do not fit the criteria. But more importantly, there was a deep stigma against people with criminal convictions and formerly incarcerated people carried this "shame." Several formerly incarcerated people explained to me how they felt like everyone knew they had committed a crime. The even felt that people in public places who they had never met knew, so of like an invisible scarlet A. These feelings sometimes immobilized formerly incarcerated people and placed them at a further disadvantage in the job market. Conversation about combating public stigma often dovetailed with conversations about registration. Sex offender and some drug crimes required formerly incarcerated people to register for the rest of their life or for extended periods of times. Charles pointed out to me that in Kansas, if you have to register, it is indicated on your driver's license. He pulled out his ID and showed me the RO# (registered offender number). As he pulled it out he said, "You could go into a restaurant and have to show them your ID and they might not serve you because you are a registered felon."

In addition to the challenges of finding work, not feeling prepared or feeling shame, finding secure housing was a huge concern. Another person in the group talked about living with his aunt. At first she was okay but now she was asking for food money. He did not have a job so he could not offer his aunt support to maintain the household needs. Steven pulled out a card and told the class, "you better get one of these." It was his food stamp card. Trying to comply with the system leaves formerly incarcerated to rely on their families who are also struggling. When those social ties wear thin, the "welfare" system becomes a buffer to make living in poverty more sustainable.

Finding Housing

Finding shelter post-incarceration has been identified as the "lynchpin that holds the reintegration process together" (Bradley et al. 2001:1). Research studies have shown that the lack

of available shelter increases recidivism rates and when bundled with other barriers including employment, welfare and family reunification, former inmates are more likely to become homeless or return to prison (c.f. Travis 2005). The interplay between prisoner reentry policy, housing policy and other social services becomes a key site of investigation that impacts prisoners and their families, as well as public safety. In this next section, I turn to housing and building relationship with landlords.

It was not uncommon for landlords to prey upon potential tenants. Raymond recounted two stories about landlords taking his money. In the last incident, he had put a deposit down on an apartment but the landlord could not get the electricity situation fixed, thus making it impossible for him and his new wife, Mrs. Carmen, to move. Raymond and Mrs. Carmen temporarily moved in with Mrs. Carmen's daughter for a month. Fortunately, Raymond and his wife secured housing at a subsidized senior citizen home where they pay $425 a month. When I spoke with Raymond, he was still waiting for his deposit. Raymond's housing situation was secure for now but it took a few years of hopping from here to there. Every time Raymond and I spoke, he was moving to another place. This constant movement was not uncommon for people coming out of prison, particularly people who do not have connections with family members. Doubling up was an option for some formerly incarcerated people, but not for others.

Ms. Victoria lamented, "some people who are released may come out with a weak plan or no plan…and the people who do not have supervision get lost." Ms. Victoria, a middle aged African American woman, had an office inside parole office located in a large urban city. She was not part of the parole and probation staff but worked closely with the staff. Her job entailed finding housing for parolees but she also provided services to non-parolees. Despite the difficulties of placing people, we discussed several places and landlords who she was building

relationships with. She spent a lot of time meeting with landlords and answering questions. Like

the employers, many of the landlords did not want to be known as places that accepted formerly

incarcerated people. But on the "flip side," Ms. Victoria said, "it feels really great when

landlords call to see if you have more people."

When I arrived at Ms. Victoria's office I immediately saw the difference between this

parole office in *the hood* and the other parole offices in the suburbs. It had a stuffy

claustrophobic feel and the furniture in the waiting area was worn down. It was cluttered with

papers everywhere. Her office was no different. There was one small window. It was tight inside

the office. It was as though she had just moved in. Even in the chaos there seemed to be some

order because as we talked she could find easily find the paperwork to show me what she was

talking about. According to Ms. Victoria's co-worker, her work was about "relationship

capacity." Ms. Victoria explained what her co-worker meant. "You may work with one property

owner and you stay true to your word, then you might get a call from his/her cousin saying they

have places too." Staying true to your word meant following up on placements in the building

and intervening when there were issues.

She continued,

> This county is very relationship based. The community historically has big churches…I
> was from here, so I had an in. Since I've been in this job, I've brought in about 1000
> pieces of property.

She acquired most of this through relationship building. Since landlords did not want their

information circulated, Ms. Victoria made sure that everything was confidential and more

importantly, she did not share information. She also conducted all the initial screenings of

formerly incarcerated people for the landlords. She commented, "If I don't think the match

between the landlord and the potential client is right then I won't make the match."

In addition to the people who did not make good matches, according to Ms. Victoria, "Some of the people I work with have jobs, they are employed but they can't get their foot in the door with housing." Victoria told me she had a client who was frustrated because he could not find housing for his family. "He sat in my office and cried. They had the money but could not find a place." So they went to some service and had them run a list of potential places. She held up a stack of papers that had some highlighting on it. She looked at me and said,

> Karen, most of these places I could have told you they don't accept offenders. Some places will prey on you, they will take your application fee, run the background check but then deny you because of your criminal record. I've talked to a lot of these places. That's why I tell them don't go out and give people your money…don't pay someone for something that I will do for free.

"Then there are those who are on SSI and have a limited income of $674 a month." Ms. Victoria continued, "they can't afford market rate housing or need some other type of assistance." While she could generally find housing for people with jobs, people who cannot afford market rate rent relied on public housing. However, public housing was not always a viable resource. "When I started, public housing hated parole." Ms. Victoria elaborated by saying that in the early 2000s parole did not follow through on its agreement to "watch ex-offender tenants." The tenants would "tear up the property" and do other things, so they "did not rent to ex-offenders." At first, she was not getting any response because landlords wanted to see parole at the table. When she started, she apologized to them for what happened and tried to build new relationships. It was hard because several landlords who were in the housing market had been there for a long time. Sometimes she talked to the same people who were burned in the early 2000s. When she started having these meetings, she brought a parole officer with her so that landlords and building complex owners knew she was serious about rebuilding their partnership.

Victoria explained that she dealt with the private and public sector and both had their difficulties. At the moment, she was working with landlords to set aside a few places for formerly incarcerated people. Victoria said she did not like to "concentrate people in the same area" but "spread offenders around" and "spread them around based on their crimes." In addition to the difficulties of dealing with "getting people in the apartment," she sometimes had to deal with a landlord harassing families once they moved in. Victoria recounted a case.

> I had this one case where an offender, his wife and two sons were living in their car. They would have the boys sleep at various relatives' houses. The children were missing school. They were racking up tickets because of where their car was parked…I finally got them a two-bedroom housing [unit] and they moved in. They were doing well, but two months out, the landlord wanted them to move. He started pressuring them. So I got the lease and talked to my housing people, we brought up some things about the contract and now he has backed off.

Ms. Victoria provided necessary services to formerly incarcerated people. The discrimination and stigma that formerly incarcerated people face in the housing market often times forecloses their chances of securing housing. So having incarcerated people practice filling out housing applications and offender speeches, as seen in chapter five, can only buffer them so much. All the personal preparation work completed on the inside was not effective if there were no apartments available to rent in either the private or public sector.

Nightmares

The documentary "Pete and Omar" by Tod Lending tells the story of two long-time friends, who cycled in and out of prison for over 30 years. In the film Omar focused on community service and finding a job while, Pete's addiction became too hard to overcome and he returned to prison. During my fieldwork I watched this movie twice during class observations and I heard it referenced several other times. The film represented two classical archetypes of formerly incarcerated people, one who adjusted to society and one who could not adjust to

society. After watching the film, the follow-up discussion centered on the fact that having the best intentions to avoid returning to prison was not enough to stay clean and be successful. Formerly incarcerated people had to be vigilant with their self-governance to stay clean and find a job. But more importantly, they must completely disassociate with negative influences. In the end, Raymond mirrored Omar. At the same time, it was a constant battle for him to keep a job, housing and deepen his family ties. Raymond's work ethic—offering to work for free to prove his self worth—was perceived as a characteristic that all formerly incarcerated people should aspire to.

In our second interview at the coffee shop, Raymond recounted the first time that he "came up for parole." He explained how he did not try to convince the panel he was remorseful; and when he came back to the housing unit, he set the unit on fire. "The smoke was choking everyone." Raymond said,

> They knew I had done it but this one officer said that he wasn't going to let me say that it was his fault…The system's fault that he didn't get parole…He gave me 15 days in my cell and an orange suit. So instead of giving me the hole, segregation, he wrote me up for a disturbance. If he had written me up for the fire, I surely wouldn't have gotten parole. And he was right, if I hadn't gotten it, I would have come back and bad mouthed them, instead of taking responsibility.

At this point in his life, Raymond was no longer trying to sabotage his future. Rather he looked forward to spending time with his family and friends over the holiday. Although he was still doing well and determined to not go back to prison, he was still in prison. He had nightmares about being in prison. Raymond said, he "wakes up in the middle of the night with nightmares." After spending so much time in prison, I was not surprised. Without going into details about the dreams, it was obvious that he was fearful. Before I could probe more, he quickly returned to his upbeat tone, telling me that he was finally being "responsible in his life" and how that was a "great feeling." Raymond's experience of being out was not the norm. Most formerly

incarcerated people do not work with a team of people and do not start working three days out of prison. Raymond was fortunate to have not returned to prison but it was clear that he struggled with post-traumatic stress. It was unclear if his mental health needs were being met. The services that Raymond received through his team are difficult to duplicate on a large scale, thus leaving most people unable to adjust to society.

When I spoke with Raymond in 2105, approximately three years after our first conversation, he was still at the same job and had not returned to prison. That, however, is not the case for most post-incarceration. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics special report on recidivism, within three years of release about two-thirds (67.8 percent) of released prisoners were rearrested (Durose, et al. 2014). There are countless factors that can lead a person to recidivate, including a technical parole violation such as being late to a meeting with the parole officer to something more serious like committing another crime. In our brief conversation on his 30-minute break from work, Raymond spoke about still being determined to live a "normal life" and be responsible. He told me he wanted to "die in the streets," meaning he did not want to die in prison.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion: Governing in a Post Mass Incarceration Era

We tend to think about it a bit larger…What we have talked about here is… reentry and risk reduction. [Redacted] is a very conservative state and the way we have gotten a lot of buy in, in what we wanted to do, is to say…we are making the state safer. There are typically three things that we get criticized about: how much we cost, escapes and what offenders do after they are released from prison. Or if they are on probation, what they do on parole… Around the late '90s and early 2000s, about 50% of people released, sometimes 60% were back in prison in 5 years. We stood at a really good chance of making [this state] safer so we talked about doing better in that area of business as opposed to spending a lot of money on escapes. –Former Secretary of Corrections

Studies estimate that over 2.2 people remain incarcerated in U.S. prisons and jails, and 650,000 people from state and federal prisons are released back into the community every year (Carson and Sabol 2012; Travis and Western 2014). With such large numbers of people being arrested and released, public and political concern over the cost of operating prisons has grown considerably. Reforms that would reduce incarceration rates at state and federal levels have gained bipartisan support in recent years, especially in the context of austerity. Such unlikely bedfellows as the Libertarian Party, the Koch Brothers, the ACLU and progressive anti-mass incarceration grassroots advocacy organizations have aligned to reform the criminal justice system. Parallel to these developments, calls for reform can now be heard within the criminal justice system itself. One result is policy and programmatic innovation in the areas of evidence-based practices and policies and building prison community partnerships. The changes within the criminal justice system are thought to provide cost effective solutions that will reduce recidivism and increase public safety.

Even with policy changes and a wide range of supporters, people coming home from prison are denied rights and benefits, if granted, would help to encourage their "reintegration." The American Bar Association created a database that lists over 47,172 state and federal laws

that restrict access to employment, housing, educational funds, social welfare benefits and other occupational licenses for the formerly incarcerated. These restrictions are commonly known as "collateral consequences" of mass incarceration, highlighting the invisible penalties for formerly incarcerated people (Mauer and Chesney-Lind 2002). In some states, formerly incarcerated people suffer lifelong disenfranchisement (Middlemass 2006). According to the Sentencing Project an estimated 5.85 million people are disenfranchised (Chung 2014). And because of racial disparities within the criminal justice system approximately 1 and 13 African Americans are denied the right to vote (Chung 2014). Other states deny people with felony drug convictions social welfare benefits such as TANF or SNAP (Allard 2002; Mauer 2013).

In Kansas alone, there are 607 entries, while Missouri has a little over 900. Although Kansas and Missouri had mechanisms in place to help incarcerated people obtain driver's licenses, some states do not provide mechanisms to help incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people to obtain restricted driver's licenses, which in turn limits their possibilities to find work and to attend school or treatment (Travis and Western 2014). States also routinely forbid people with criminal records licenses that would allow them access to jobs in a variety of industries, including plumbing, food catering and hair cutting—jobs that incarcerated people often are trained in while on the inside. These restrictions make formerly incarcerated people into "partial citizens" without full rights (Manza and Uggen 2006: 9). Since a disproportionate percentage of these "partial citizens" are people of color, it is reasonable, following Michelle Alexander, to call this a new form of Jim Crow, a system of stigmatization and lifelong marginalization inaugurated by entanglement with the criminal justice system that resembles an earlier pattern of racial segregation and legal discrimination (Alexander 2010).

Given the magnitude of these effects post incarceration, it is important to understand what comes before release. In this study of prisoner reentry and risk reduction, I explored what happens inside prisons when reentry begins on "the first day of incarceration." I demonstrated how institutions whose mission is primarily a coercive one—to warehouse and discipline incarcerated people—have begun to reframe their approach to this task with new models that emphasize evidence-based practices such as risk/needs assessments, empowering communication and skills-based and cognitive behavioral courses. By using practices codified by scientific knowledge to guide correctional work, power relationships were reimagined to be less coercive. Despite this re-imagination, my ethnographic data showed that the use of EBPs was not objective; rather, in practice EBPs were closely aligned with bureaucratic policies that circumscribed and reinforced existing structural inequalities both inside and outside of the penal system.

This dissertation illustrates how EBPs were implemented and understood. I show how the *scientization of incarceration*—that is, the criminal justice system's recalibration such that scientific practices and rationalities take over functions that were previously based on other kinds of rules and practices—reshapes penal practice. When staff used evidence-based practices, they were positioned as both agents who helped incarcerated people reduce their risks and as users of scientific knowledge whose work was grounded in methods proven to work. When staff members were viewed as helpers, not enforcers, the penal system was re-characterized as less coercive. At the same time, scientific practices released counselors and officials from being morally responsible for offenders' success and failures. Under the new way of doing business, prisoners were responsibilized so that their post-incarceration successes and failures became linked to their ability to self-govern. Since evidence-based practices are purported to be

scientifically proven to work to reduce risks and to lower recidivism rates, evidence-based practices are thought to be able to achieve that which decades of prison reform had failed to do: to modify individual behaviors and to make criminals into non-criminals.

Science not only governed incarcerated people. It also governed the staff. Interrelations aspects of rehabilitation and personal values were supposed to drop to the wayside. All employees were expected to become "walking risk reducers" who administered proper doses of interventions. Yet, my study demonstrated that penal employees, much like other practitioners of science, often defied, in both small and large ways, the rigid scientific protocols that they were expected to follow. For example, unit team counselors were taught to trust the risk/needs measurement instrument as the primary means through which they produced reliable information for use in the development of personalized reentry plans for incarcerated people. But the use of these practices was anything but a simple or straightforward process. Staff members in actuality used wide discretion in the implementation of EBPs. At times, staff strictly followed the protocol that they had been taught during training programs. At other times, they allowed or denied incarcerated people access to resources. In the end, the "effectiveness" of the risk/needs tools tended to hinge on the staffs' discretion, their willingness to accept and utilize EBPs and their understanding of EBPs.

Both staff and incarcerated people criticized EBPs, particularly risk/needs assessments, calling attention to the fact that assessments cannot account for all the factors that may lead to recidivism. Although individualized reentry plans and cognitive behavior courses may have helped incarcerated people to learn needed life skills and helped them plan for their futures, the EBPs could not help them to overcome the structural barriers found outside of prisons, including the new system of Jim Crow to which they were subjected. The "real" world experiences that is

purportedly offered to incarcerated people while in prison, is not the real world that formerly incarcerated people must navigate after they are released from prison. Incarcerated people often interrupted the idealistic narratives to which they were subjected with their own stories of trauma, poverty and structural inequality. Reducing one's risk of recidivism will never be a simple choice of *changing behavior*. A person's opportunities in life are bound up not just in their individual choices and behaviors but also in the actions of others who produce and reproduce unequal relations of power. In many ways EBPs allow officials, staff and the even the public itself to lay blame on incarcerated people instead of on the system that oppresses and imprisons so many people of color in the United States today.

APPENDIX

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRC—Cognitive Reflective Communication

CO—Correctional Officer

DOC—Department of Corrections

DUI—Driving under the Influence

ES/LS—Employment Skills / Life Skills

EBPs—Evidence-Based Practices and Policies

GRA—Gender-Responsive Risk/Needs Assessment

HUD—Housing and Urban Development

ICVC—Impact of Crime on Victims

KDOC—Kansas Department of Corrections

LSI-R—Level of Service Inventory-Revised

MODOC—Missouri Department of Corrections

MRP—Missouri Reentry Process

MRT—Moral Reconation Therapy

RDU—Research and Diagnostic Unit

RNR—Risk-need-responsivity model

SCIA—Second Chance in Action Grant

SNAP—Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

TANF—Temporary Assistance to Needy Families

TC—Therapeutic Communities

T4C—Thinking for Change

UTC—Unit Team Counselor

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