

Ambiguous Freedom: A Grounded Theoretical Analysis of Life Outside Prison

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ABSTRACT

Prisonization refers to the idea that prisoners assimilate to prison society, import criminogenic characteristics, and are deprived by prison culture. Post-carceral prisonization is the process by which exarcerated prisoners (EXP) are socialized by features of prisonization that persist after release, and which manifest under probation and parole. Post-carceral prisonization occurs as a result of stigma and discrimination and a lack of access to crucial resources like employment, housing, and prosocial ties. EXPs make a decision to change their lives during or immediately following release from prison or jail, usually accompanied by a spiritual or religious change. EXPs seek to reform identities constructed both by years of incarceration and by their experiences with “prison satellites,” which are prisonization agents that emerge after release. Hindered by a loss of social, economic, and material assets, the threat of sudden and unexplainable incarceration, and lifelong criminal stigma, EXPs endeavor to positively reform their identities and their lives.

DEDICATION

For Nicki, 11 years and you've never given up on me, and for these 19 participants,
whose courage made this study possible.

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“A wall standing alone is useless, but put three or four walls together,

and they’ll support a roof and keep grain dry and safe.

When ink joins with a pen, then the blank page can say something.

Rushes and reeds must be woven to be useful as a mat.

If they weren’t interlaced; the wind would blow them away.

Like that, God paired up creatures, and gave them friendship.”

-Rumi

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1 Introduction

Two years ago, I traveled to Bogota, Colombia for a research project. When I arrived, I located the currency exchange and traded American dollars for Colombian pesos. It was a simple transaction, and I was happy to discover that the exchange rate favored my dollars, which more than doubled in value. Were I to travel to England, however, I would be disappointed to find my value diminished, curtailed by the dollar's depreciated capital in the shadow of the British pound.

Excarcerated prisoners (EXP) are like hopeful visitors to a new country. Only when EXPs attempt to exchange currency, they are hindered by a lower exchange rate. EXPs' education, former training, age, work history and life skills are rendered null and void, depreciated by the stain of a criminal label. EXPs emerge into an unfamiliar society daunted by the task of shedding a prisonized identity, eschewing a cumbersome criminal lifestyle, and staying free.

In this study, I aimed to discover how prisonization, represented by violent ideation, criminal histories, aggressive attitudes, poor social relationships, and drug use emerge outside prison. I borrow Codd's (2007) jargon, "excarcerated" to describe former prisoners who are both released from prison, but bound by other restrictions I will describe. In addition, the term 'post-carceral' refers to the time frame following an EXP's release from prison or jail.

I was driven to discover whether former inmates transfer prisonization characteristics from prison to their communities, whether new prisonization characteristics emerged under probation or parole, and how these processes impacted family life and individual behavioral or psychological adjustment to reentry. To accomplish this, I interviewed 19 former inmates of prisons and jails and produced a grounded theoretical analysis life outside prison.

Prisonization is the process by which prisoners acculturate to a punitive penal environment during confinement and establish a prisonized identity (Clemmer, 1940; Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Sykes 1958). Identity refers to a persons' self-concept that emerges as a result of their affiliation with social groups (Turner & Oakes, 1986). Inmates who adapt to jails and prisons internalize cultural cues such as racial and ethnic isolation, aggressive attitudes, possessiveness, education and skill gaps, and gang affiliation. This occurs through more frequent contact with other offenders, by the loss of civic engagement, and through restricted access to social and family relationships. Prisonization may be responsible for making transition to public life more difficult encumbering reentry with more adjustment challenges such as poverty, mental illness, and a high recidivism risk (Clemmer, 1949; Wacquant, 2010).

Post-carcer supervision, more frequent contact with law enforcement, inadequate access to health care, limited contact with social and family relationships, and a loss of upward mobility contribute to hazardous physical and mental health outcomes for ex-offenders (Gerber & Fritsch, 1995; Hairston, 1991; Lowenstein & Ayton, 2006). I intended to advance knowledge by exploring how EXPs experience prisonization after release, how post-carcer prisonization (PCP) impacts identity development, and what role PCP plays in family relationships.

At an unprecedented rate, formerly incarcerated women and men are being released from jails and prisons into communities depleted of the resources necessary to facilitate a healthy transition from punitive institutionalization to productive citizenship. EXPs face an exceptional deprivation of rights such as inadequate access to adequate housing, poor health care, and a dearth of access to family members while under post-carcer supervision. In addition to the lack of adequate resources, prisoners may have been socialized by the prison institution and may also face a similar socialization outside the prison through such means as social isolation, frequent

interactions with law enforcement, or as a result of an inability to generate livable income which results in a higher risk of criminogenic behavior.

Offenders admitted to jails and prisons must adapt to an environment that compels a loss of personal freedom and agency, the inability to manage one's own schedule, a lack of direct access to loved ones, physical and social isolation from the outside world, inadequate nutrition, and the threat of violence. The literature has described that the changes prisoners go through in order to adapt to this kind of environment often leaves them more prone to violence, present with more symptoms of mental illness, and with an increased risk for substance abuse and recidivism (Arrigo & Bullock, 2008; Dickman & Rich, 2011; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996).

Recidivism refers to the rate at which inmates are re-incarcerated after release. In 1994, for example, 67.5% of released inmates returned to prison within three years, and in 2007, 16% of inmates were returned to prison in less than a year (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008, Table 6).

To address recidivism and other post-carceral challenges, legislators and public policy makers have developed reentry programs and activities to increase EXPs' employment prospects, facilitate desistance from substance abuse, and encourage prosocial behaviors. Results are muddy at best, however, suggesting the need for clarity about what EXPs need for successful reentry and in what ways prisonization is antithetical to those needs (Martin, 2011; Peat & Winfree, 1992).

There is a missing link in social service programs aimed at preventing further recidivism and other dangerous outcomes such as mental illness. Scholars have yet to develop a theoretical framework that describes how EXPs experience prisonization or what happens when EXPs transmit socialization features into receiving communities.

1.1 Background

The U.S. incarcerates more of its citizens than any other country in the world (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Massoglia & Warner, 2011), and state and federal prisons are by far the costliest in history (Hong Chui, 2010). Criminal policies directed by a “tough on crime” obligation such as mandatory minimum sentencing and the war on drugs create a drastic demand for carceral resources that state and federal budgets cannot maintain (Sabol & Minton, 2008). Although Bureau of Justice Statistics’ (BJS) reports indicate a slight decline in prison population growth in certain states, this decline can largely be attributed the economic burden of incarceration, as opposed to any major policy change (Minton, 2011). In other words, many states can no longer supply the resources that “tough on crime” policies, and the resultant mass incarceration, demand.

Unprecedented prison growth. The massive growth of U.S. prison populations situates prisonization by providing a framework for who is most directly impacted (Pew Center on the States, 2009). Critics argue that mass incarceration, the term referring to the dramatic increase in the overall prison population in the last 30 years, may have a role in shaping prisonization by creating an atmosphere where too many prisoners inhabit the relatively small space of the institution, depleting resources, creating volatile conflict, and isolating prisoners in such a way that incarcerated persons’ values and attitudes are altered according to prison mores and principles (McGarrell, 1993). Disproportionately poor American citizens of color are the most acutely incarcerated population in the world. Our criminal justice system stands alone not only in the amount of our population we imprison, but also in our selective conviction rate, targeting impoverished women and men of color (Cole, 2011; Pew Center on the States, 2008). The result is an inversely stratified prison population, whereby African American, Hispanic, and Latino inmates comprise the majority of prisoners while white non-Latino inmates are the minority

(Guerino, Harrison, & Sabol, 2011; Keen & Jacobs, 2009; London, 2011). Human rights researchers and sociologists (Beckerman, 1998; Richters & Martinez, 1993) have taken aim to understand how societal influences contribute to disproportionate numbers of poor people of color confined to prison. But how did mass incarceration begin? Western, Kleycamp, and Rosenfeld (2006) agree that in addition to the war on drugs that racialized prison populations by punishing crack use more harshly than other drugs and that resulted in more African American men being arrested for marijuana violations, poor wages and few employment options for non-college educated men promoted criminogenic behavior. The combination of harsh criminal sentencing and poor upward mobility options may have created social conditions that favored social control (i.e. prisons) over social opportunities (i.e. employment).

Sociological literature has explained this manifestation of social inequality by pointing to cumulative disadvantages (Briere, 1992; Schoeni, Martin, Andreski, & Freedman, 2005) comprised of individual, family, social risks that contribute to the likelihood of incarceration. Primary among them are poverty, high rates of neighborhood crime, and social exclusion (Foster & Hagan, 2007). Social exclusion refers to the way that prisoners are excluded from legal rights in their probation and parole requirements, but also how they are socially marginalized due to their status as a former prisoner. Western and Pettit (2010) argue that social policy and mass incarceration mingled to create a socially excluded population who lack access to vital resources to reclaim public favor necessary to overcome the effects of stigma. Foster and Hagan report that the stigma of incarceration is related to high recidivism rates. How this process occurs remains unclear. In addition, families of incarcerated women and men are at risk of substance abuse, family violence, and other spillover effects of the criminal justice system (Hagan & Foster, 2012). One example of a spillover effect is untreated mental illness.

Scholars estimate that a large portion of inmates have unclassified and untreated mental illness diagnoses that are directly related to the institution. Because prisoners have poor access to adequate health care both during and following incarceration, families are met with the burden of care. As a result, broad classes of people are successively constrained by risk and may be the target of selective crime and population control through the use of mass incarceration (Austin, Bruce, Carroll, McCall, & Richards, 2000). These trends highlight the continued and widespread use of imprisonment as a failed crime control strategy (Oliver, 2008; Stemen, 2007). Subsequently, incarceration and prisoner reentry are perhaps two of the most dramatically influential social problems in U.S. history, both of which contribute to the recidivism cycle, which refers to the manner in which restricted rights and challenges such as mental illness contribute to criminogenic behavior and successive rearrest following release from jail or prison (Arditti, 2012).

Recidivism. Although incarceration rates are high, recidivism rates are even more astounding (Petersilia, 2003). Reports from the Pew Center on the States (2008) indicate that more than four in ten offenders nationwide return to prison within three years despite spending increases on U.S. prisons. At midyear 2009, U.S. prisons had jurisdiction over roughly 1.7 million prisoners (West, 2010). This number does not account for those detained in county and city jails, which increases the total population by approximately 700,000 inmates (Minton, 2012). According to the Pew estimates, about 960,000 of these inmates can expect to recidivate within three years. Mass incarceration creates disproportionate strain on the poor, populating poor communities of color with EXPs who are ill-equipped for society and disenfranchised by the prison stigma. Thus, mass incarceration further destabilizes receiving communities by

straining resources and saturating the population with undereducated and undertrained citizens (Lynch & Sabol, 2000).

Post-carceral adjustment. For this study's purpose, I refer to prisoners' lives and experiences following release using the sensitizing concept of the "post-carceral context." The post-carceral context is that time and space in which prisoners are adjusting to life without the physical constraints of prison, but during which prisoners may also experience restrictions levied onto them by the requirements of their parole or probation supervision. It may also sensitize the unique way in which prison-related challenges such as stigma, the lack of gainful employment due to felony restrictions, or other yet unknown challenges shape a prisoner's social and family lives. This study aimed to explicate and understand the challenges within the post-carceral context.

Ultimately, former inmates return to the communities from which they were detained. The rate at which inmates are released into a receiving community and the phenomena formerly incarcerated persons experience as a part of their adjustment are the subjects of much research (Mandracchia & Morgan, 2012; Veraitis, Kovandzic, & Marvell, 2007). The literature has documented the multiple challenges that hinder EXPs' ability to join society as productive citizens. EXPs' capacity to find gainful employment and secure housing, establish healthy social relationships, retain assets, and desist from criminalized behavior such as substance abuse is severely limited by their loss of social rights and privileges (Camp, Daggett, Kwon, & Klein-Saffran, 2008; Inderbitzin, 2009; Martin, 2011; Wheeler & Patterson, 2008). Many EXPs are required to wear ankle monitors that account for everywhere they go, which represents a loss of social mobility that potentiates gainful employment. Additionally, excarcerated felons often lose the right to

vote for elected leaders, many of whom make the very decisions about criminal justice policies that directly impact them.

In light of these various forms of disenfranchisement which are manifestations of deprivation consistent with Clemmer's (1940) conceptualization, it is likely that prisonization extends beyond prison walls and is a force that influences adjustment after release. The mechanisms by which prisonization occur after release are a mystery, but they may involve conditions of parole and probation. For example, Comfort's (2007) secondary prisonization theory, which focused on family members impacted by incarceration, indicates that prisonization impacts the post-carceral environment through family contact. Female partners of male inmates report changing elements of their schedule and taking on financial burdens as a result of strict dress code regulations, financial contributions to prisoners, and the prison staff's treatment of visitors.

Prisonization is characterized by a propensity for violent attitudes resulting from long-term incarceration, substance abuse, and criminogenic behavior like theft. Yet, extant literature lacks a cohesive narrative regarding how these mechanisms interact with post-carceral processes such as family reunification and psychological, emotional, and behavioral adjustment (Delisi & Walters, 2011; Stretesky, Pogrebin, & Unnithan, 2007; Ward, Lawson, & Segrin, 1996). A cohesive narrative is needed so that social service agencies and scholars can directly support ex-offender's adjustment to society; PCP may be an invisible process that undermines reintegration.

Prisonization studies focus largely on two primary tenets: 1) whether inmates are socialized as the result of characteristics that existed before incarceration such as previous criminal history and attitudes held prior to incarceration (Camp & Gaes, 2005); or 2) prison conditions based on hierarchy, isolation, and aggression which deprive prisoners of quality of

life (Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Paterline & Petersen, 1999; Sorensen, Wrinkle, & Gutierrez, 1998). More recent studies have analyzed the interactive effects of these two constructs and concluded that an interactive effect between preexisting characteristics and prison conditions can better account for poor outcomes like mental illness (DeLisi & Walters, 2011; Dhami, Ayton, & Loewenstein, 2007; Stretesky, Pogrebin, & Unnithan, 2007). I sought to advance the literature by considering how similar tenets of prisonization are manifested and maintained once prisoners are released.

1.2 Rationale

Why study post-carceral prisonization (PCP)? It is worthwhile to consider how PCP may connect to EXPs' reintegration experiences because: 1) prisonization is related to inmates' poor adjustment to prisons; 2) prisoners' poor prison adjustment is associated with post-carceral negative outcomes such as substance abuse, poor mental health, fractured family relationships, and poor quality of life; 3) poor post-carceral adjustment predicts recidivism and reduces the likelihood of successful reentry; and 4) the mechanisms of prisonization plausibly play a significant role in EXPs' post-carceral adjustment both as an extension of the "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958, p. 287) and as an undiscovered prisonization process that occurs under probation and parole (Gendreau et al., 1996; Phillips, 2010; Lattimore, Krebs, Koeste, Lindquist, & Cowell, 2005; Petersilia, 2001).

The pains of imprisonment refer to the unique challenges that accompany confinement such as the deprivation of autonomy, heterosexual relationships, security, and goods and services. It is plausible to assume that prisoners experience the pains of imprisonment outside prison due to their potentially restricted access to family members or loved ones, loss of ability to financially support the purchase of goods and services, and loss of security due to the

tendency for there to be a higher rate of violence within communities with a greater concentration of EXPs. There may also be unknown elements of prisonization that occur without regard to requirements of probation and parole, such as the impact that incarceration has had on family members and how that effect manifests as a dynamic between family members and newly released incarcerated women and men.

U.S. prisons and their policies are commonly the topic of controversy. Politicians and legislators are often pulled between the public's demands for punishment and their budgetary limitations. This thrusts the issue of public safety and the high cost of incarceration into public and legislative dialogues. A good example of this tension is the impact of the war on drugs, which gave rise to a meteoric increase in drug-related prison sentences even though policy makers drastically overestimated drug-related crime, potentially resulting in an increase in other types of crime (Arditti, 2012; Shepard & Blackley, 2005; Stevens, 2008). To exacerbate the problem, arrested individuals are often processed with a mandatory minimum sentence and held for an extreme amount of time, leading some to criticize judicial practice as punitive and unfair (Frost, 2006). Length of prison sentences has long been understood as a variable that puts individuals at an increased risk of prisonization (Alpert, 1979).

Prisonization does not simply disappear once inmates are released. EXPs are discharged to predominately poor neighborhoods of color with limited resources, creating populations of dispossessed prisoners whose interaction with community members and families creates a process by which prisoners transfer prison-related deprivation into the community, which reinforces prisonization thereby creating a context that is antithetical to positive rehabilitation (Comfort, 2003; Dumont, Brockmann, Dickman, Alexander, & Rich, 2012).

Schnittker, Massoglia, and Uggen (2011) report that “some of the strongest negative effects of incarceration emerge after release, and the struggles of reintegration are as important as the conditions of incarceration” (p. 133). When examined as an invisible punishment (Travis, 2002), which is a punishment that extends beyond incarceration that is less visible or invisible to the public than the penal institution, reentry challenges emerge as key socializing elements. For example, when prisoners are released they are met with the need to find employment to pay bills and possibly bond payments, court fines, etc. However, criminal records often prevent employment. This is a reentry struggle. It is connected to PCP because while this struggle is ongoing, probation officers and court requirements often restrict probationers and parolees from traveling at any great distance to find more employment options without written consent from probation officers, which is notoriously difficult (Rayno, 2012). Consequently, the pains of imprisonment are not confined to detainment, but rather, may exist as a condition of post-carceral supervision. The scientific community needs to examine how EXPs transfer prisonization to their receiving communities to encourage preventive care and advance best practices with former inmates.

1.3 Research Questions

This study aimed to provide a substantive grounded theory of post-carceral prisonization. Specifically, I endeavored to examine the role prisonization plays in recently released prisoners’ experiences of community reentry, which include their social relationships, desistance from troubling criminogenic behaviors such as substance abuse, and issues related to upward mobility such as ability to secure employment. Given these goals, I intended to address the following research questions:

1. How do EXPs experience and define post-carceral prisonization?

2. When and how does post-carceral prisonization occur?
 - a. What features of prisonization persist in life outside prison?
 - b. What novel features of post-carceral prisonization manifest in life outside prison?
3. What role does post-carceral prisonization play in EXPs' identity development?
4. How do former prisoners experience family life outside prison?

2 Literature Review

Mass incarceration describes expansive and unprecedented growth in U.S. prisons since the 1970s (Pew Center on the States, 2011). The U.S. criminal justice system currently incarcerates 1 out of every 10 persons in the general population, and our rate of incarceration is higher than any other country's (Pew Center on the States; Hong Chui, 2010). Currently, over 2,000,000 incarcerated men and women populate U.S. prisons and jails and over 7,000,000 exarcerated people remain supervised by the criminal justice system. This means that not only are we the most frequently incarcerating country, but once released, our EXPs are also the most heavily supervised.

Despite the proliferation of empirical studies devoted to explicating the causes and consequences of mass incarceration, the phenomenon remains underdeveloped and vaguely defined (Lynch, 2011). Studies have demonstrated that mass incarceration remains one of the costliest phenomena in history, yet the role of mass incarceration on individual lives, most notably the relationship between mass incarceration and prisonization have yet to be understood. In order to contextualize prisonization, I present the political and historical antecedents that gave way to mass incarceration, describe its consequences, and illustrate how prisonization is one product of a poorly executed penal system.

2.1 Mass Incarceration

Measurements of mass incarceration are varied, but most are comprised of sweeping statistical analyses of incarceration and release rates (Kovandzic & Vieraitus, 2006). State-level data, such as sentencing rates, release rates, etc., are variable across jurisdictions. Some studies have utilized state-level data to provide a narrative of mass incarceration, and have often homogenized these data, nationally in ways that provide incomplete causal explanations or misleading explanatory narratives. Marvell and Moody (1996) for example estimated prison population growth by examining sentencing practices in multiple districts. Determinate sentencing, the act of allowing a judge to set a sentence length in place of a parole board, was shown to promote prison population growth in Indiana while greatly reducing prison population growth in Minnesota and Washington. Determinate sentencing is one of the most important criminological trends because it was an effort to curb the effects of mass incarceration by individualizing punishment. When these data are aggregated, national reports indicate massive prison population growth, however when individually examined, some districts show improvement in prison population control.

Because mass incarceration is so commonly described as a national-level problem, it is difficult to reduce to the local county and city jails, where the majority of the burden rests. Even though the national impact of mass incarceration since has been drastic, microlevel outcomes including the psychological impact on prisoners, economic effect on families, and even the cost of communities densely populated with inmates are cast under the shadow of aggregated data (Lynch, 2011). Despite the severe economic toll mass incarceration wreaks on state and federal budgets, the most severe penalties are paid by individual prisoners and their families who not only must sacrifice time during incarceration, but also forfeit their rights (depending on the severity of the legal infraction), submit to post-carceral supervision, and relinquish total freedom

of their financial, travel, familial, social decision-making (Vieraitis, Kovandzic, & Marvell, 2007).

Prison population growth has a national scope, but the causes vary across jurisdictions (Lynch, 2011). As evidence of this fact, Lynch points out that in Minnesota, sentencing constraints were set in place in the 1980s to counteract the troubling population growth. Similar constraints were set up in Louisiana. Louisiana's legislative efforts, however, resulted with an incarceration rate five times that of Minnesota, which has the lowest incarceration rate second only to Maine. This is preliminary evidence that state-level indicators of mass incarceration cannot be accounted for by the same legislative actions. Lynch further argues that limited state funding for prisons is both a cause and consequence of increased incarceration rates. Greenberg and West (2001) report that levels of state revenue predict incarceration rates, even after controlling for time such that revenue income preceded growth. In other words, Greenberg and West report that more swollen state budgets results in a slower prison population growth. Lynch (2009), though, found that the opposite was true in Arizona, where legislative action was followed by the need for increased revenue to keep up with carceral demands. Incarceration-based pressure leveraged legislators to increase revenue. These differing reports are evidence of the difficulty of identifying a single cause of mass incarceration, and thus points to a potential reason that researchers have chosen instead to focus on more summative descriptions such as those reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS).

Local governments experience mass incarceration to the same extent, if not more than, federal and state jurisdictions (Lynch, 2011). Penal change (mass incarceration) is brought on by a number of factors: 1) public policy and perception; 2) changes to law and policy; and 3) changes to legal practices. Indeed, over the last three decades, elected officials have been under

pressure to balance cultural demands for punitive prison policies with state and local budgets. The public demand for retribution has normally outweighed its desire for prisoner rehabilitation. Because legislators' allegiance is first to their constituency, and public constituencies are largely unaware of the full range of prison-related problems, legislators rarely enact legislation that eases conviction laws or promotes rehabilitation over punishment (Pew Center on the States, 2009). Critics argue that policy makers at the local level were more than willing to implement criminal justice policies they knew states could not sustain to promote political agendas (Gottschalk, 2006; Lynch, 2009; Miller, 2008; Provine, 2007). Legislators were resistant to evidence-based analyses of criminal justice policies, and in local jails and prisons, the combination of public pressure and poor legislative action gave rise to immediate growth.

At the national level, federal growth can be accounted for by a number of factors: 1) a national trend of rejecting penal legislative policies mixed with both punitive and rehabilitative policies, which has led to a cultural acceptance of punitive policy that preceded mass incarceration (Allen, 1981); 2) federal sentencing rates, although outmatched at the local level, increased due to nation-wide adoption of the "three strikes rule," which ensured long-term penal sentencing for relatively minor infractions; 3) lawmaking strategies such as the "direct-democracy" initiatives and "no frills" prison policies which restricted, even further, the rights of incarcerated prisoners; and 4) the war on drugs (Arditti, 2012; Baude, 1998; Johnson, Bennett, & Flanagan, 1997; Sorensen, Hope, & Stemen, 2003). Researchers have examined these policies, many of whom have concluded that they deprive prisoners of assets like marketable job skills, literacy, and ties to the community, which are needed for upward mobility (Gipson & Pierce, 1996; Lucken, 2011).

Racial and ethnic disparities. Critics of mass incarceration argue that punitive policies share responsibility for poor sociological outcomes in marginalized communities (Hartney & Vuong, 2009). Alexander (2010) suggests that mass incarceration illustrates the most poignant racial disparity since prior to the civil rights movement. African American men comprise the majority of the male prison population, followed by Latino men, and European American men. Women represent the fastest growing prison population, but their overall numbers are far fewer than are those for men. Within this demographic, however, ethnic trends follow. African American women make up the majority of the prison population, followed by Latina women, and European American women. Prison population disparities point to various negative outcomes for poor communities that are simultaneously burdened with the responsibility of rehabilitating prisoners following release (Codd, 2007). Communities saddled with the burden of rehabilitation as well as multiple social, health, educational, and economic challenges suffer higher rates of violent crime, poverty, and poorer health (Truman & Rand, 2010; West & Sabol, 2010).

Racial and ethnic minorities also face risk for longer sentences. The literature has documented that in both capital and noncapital cases such as drug offenses, race is often found to contribute to harsher judgment (Baldus & Woodworth, 2004; Spohn, 2000). Mass incarceration consequences are perhaps more keenly evident when expressed in the widespread sentencing rates across individual districts in the United States, but at the individual level, mental expressions of regret and intention to do better upon release remains at its highest during incarceration (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1995). The ability to rehabilitate properly requires economic resources, access to transportation, and the right to work. Racial and ethnic minorities have a more restricted access to these valuable assets. Mauer (2011), in a critique of this

situation, points out that racial disparity is a *function* of criminal justice decision making. This risk increases with longer and harsher sentences.

Prison policies often create a racially divergent prison population supported by officials' adoption of segregation tactics, which disrupts the only consistent social relationships to which inmates have access (Gendreau & Keyes, 2001; Massoglia, 2008; Toch & Acker, 2004).

Overpopulating communities with incarcerated inmates creates a disparate resource burden by filling labor markets with unskilled workers who are unable to provide for themselves. This practice has recently grown in popularity to counteract the negative consequences of overcrowding. High rates of incarceration and the resultant financial burden lead legislators to adjudicate sentences and provide early release. The sporadic sentencing practices and what critics would call a mishandling of punitive policy has reduced the public's belief in the legitimacy of the criminal justice system (Mauer, 2011). Finally, recidivism encumbers the general public with a significant tax burden when districts require higher revenues to provide for criminal justice costs.

High rates of incarceration and recidivism represent an unsustainable demand placed on American financial institutions, both private and governmental. Legislators have taken public strides to counter the budgetary constraints resulting from the costs of the criminal justice system. In California, Governor Schwarzenegger attempted to include a policy that spending on state prisons would not exceed the state budget for public universities (Steinhauer, 2010). The tax burden for the general public remains high, costing the public about \$20,000 annually to provide for one inmate, and this excludes the cost required for post-carceral supervision (Pew Center on The States, 2010).

Policies that gave rise to mass incarceration impact communities variably. In an analysis of public perception of authoritative response to criminogenic behavior, Bobo and Thompson (2006) found that 79.4% of white respondents indicated that drug enforcement policies are fairly applied, as opposed to only 33.7% of African Americans. Such a crisis in public perception undermines the integrity of local, state, and federal districts and may increase the public health risk. This may represent a loose tie to post-carceral prisonization. Excarcerated individuals, their friends, and families may experience greater anxiety if the majority of persons believe that law enforcement policies are unfairly applied. This is one speculative link between criminal justice-related enforcement strategies and individual mental health.

2.2 Prisonization

Prisonization describes the process by which prisoners adjust and assimilate to prison, the extent to which they introduce criminal histories, mental illness, and other personal characteristics into the prison, and how prisoners are deprived by the prison context (Gendreau, Irvine, & Knight, 1973; Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Loewenstein & Ayton, 2006). Prisonization shapes inmates' social relationships, attitudes, behavioral characteristics, and post-carceral negative outcomes such as criminal careers and life trajectories (Alpert, 1979; Anson & Cole, 1984; Cohen & Taylor, 1972; Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Peat & Winfree, 1992; Walters, 2003). Gendreau et al., (1996) measured prisonization by the number of disciplinary infractions prisoners accrued and concluded that greater levels of prisonization predicts recidivism. Others have analyzed prisonization based on psychological factors. Thomas, Petersen, and Zingraff (1978) argue that prisonization is the result of integrated psychological and behavioral features like disciplinary infractions and poor mental health. Some sociologists argue that mental health symptoms precede incarceration, and may have played a role in contributing to the law-breaking

behavior that led to incarceration. Others argue that the prison environment is somewhat responsible for creating symptoms of mental health. Prisonization scholarship tends to support the idea that poor mental health is an appropriate reaction to an environment deprived of basic liberties, access to appropriate healthcare, and other limitations.

Classic prisonization literature examines two important features: 1) importation, which is the result of prisoners' background variables including previous criminal history or mental health; and 2) deprivation, referring to how prison conditions deprive prisoners of individual liberties, access to health care, and personal value (Jensen & Jones, 1976). Critiques of the importation model suggest that although pre-prison factors have important bearing on prisoners' ability to adjust to prison, only the prison can deprive prisoners as Clemmer (1940; 1949) defined it. Deprivation critics regard a prison-focused model as a close-minded theory that badly underestimates the importance of personal qualities that precede prison. The literature has established that both imported characteristics and the deprivation process correctly qualifies prisonization, but each has a different impact on individuals who experience prisonization.

Prison imports. Prisoners with more disciplinary infractions are also more likely to have social or criminal problems before prison (Adams, 1977). Thus, prisonization may be connected to inmates' personal characteristics like poor social relationships. Consequently, prisonization may be exacerbated by a combination of deprivation and individual-level characteristics such as mental illness. Psychopathic personality, for example, predicts carceral misconduct (Edens, Poythress, Lilienfeld, Patrick, & Test, 2008). Edens et al. report that inmates with moderate to severe levels of psychopathology were at least twice as likely as inmates with moderate to no levels of psychopathology to have disciplinary infractions and poor social relationships before imprisonment.

The importation model was originally developed by John Irwin and Donald Cressey in 1962, who believed that prison alone could not fully account traditional prisonization, because too much variance existed between some prisoners with poor outcomes and others with moderate or limited negative outcomes. Contrary to early studies that examine prisonization based on prison structure, importation scholars argue that prisoners' prisonization can be better accounted for by pre-prison experiences (DeLisi et al., 2011). Applying a life course model to pre-prison features of prisonization, DeLisi et al. report that prison is an institution where prisoners' pre-existing maladaptive behavior can be exercised without fear of social judgment. This is why prisoners' negative outcomes are attributes of previous criminogenic incidents, like drug use, rather than incarceration. This is consistent with scholars who attribute problematic prison behaviors such as disciplinary infractions and prison violence to early risks of criminal activity rather than incarceration.

Deprivation. Whereas imported features of prisonization come from prisoners' early life experiences, deprivation scholars argue that the prison is *the* structure responsible for prisonization and negative outcomes (Edens, Polythress, & Lillienfeld, 1999; Jiang & Fisher-Giorlando, 2002). Donald Clemmer's (1940) initial observations were truly a deprivation only model. Although Clemmer was concerned with prisoners' experiences prior to their incarceration, he considered preexisting characteristics only to the extent that they inhibited or promoted deprivation. Deprivation scholars argue that prisons are responsible for not only assimilating and changing individuals, but also for altering their life trajectories, including increasing the risk of future criminal behavior. Deprivation scholars argue that behavioral and psychological deviance like violence, drug use, and gang affiliations result when inmates lose the ability to regulate their own schedules, lose access to family members, are racially segregated,

and deprived of personal choice. Cloward (1975) argues this case when discussing the traumatic reality of the prison context:

The inmate, who has to live under conditions of deprivation even in the most humane institutions, develops norms for his protection, a status system for the maintenance of his self-image, and adaptive behavior to cushion the deprivations; he thereby retains a modicum of control over the situation. The possible interrelationships between prison culture, personality types, and role types are relevant problems for further research. (p. 116)

Deprivation critics argue that classical interpretations of prisonization do not fully capture inmates' prisonized experience because individuals are unique, with their own personal histories. On the other hand, proponents reason that individual characteristics are responsible for creating the prison context, thus emerging as features of deprivation. Both deprivation and importation, however, may collectively predict prisonization with greater accuracy. Prisoners' internalized attitudes may be better explained by both their pre-prison experiences and how they are shaped by the prison atmosphere.

Combined model. Although early prisonization studies examined importation and deprivation individually, recent scholarship analyzed the interactive effects of a combined model. Results have thus far been inconclusive. Some studies have found that interactive effects of prisonization account for the majority of variance for negative outcomes like recidivism, other studies have found that interactive effects account for less variance than does each model. Dhimi et al. (2007) measured whether deprivation and importation predicted prosocial outcomes. Dhimi et al. measured deprivation as time spent in prison whereas importation was measured as quality of life prior to prison. Dhimi et al. found that independent effects of each

model accounted for more of the outcome variance than did a convergent model. DeLisi and Walters (2011) examined instrumental contemporaneous offending, which refers to consistent offenses not related to violence or homicide. DeLisi and Walters report that an interactive model successfully predicted prisoners' likelihood of engaging in homicidal or extremely violent offenses in the future. DeLisi and Walters provide evidence that prisonization increases the risk of criminogenic behavior.

Scholars measure prisonization differently. Some, like criminal history, individually predicts negative outcomes like disciplinary infractions during confinement. Other variables like length of confinement predict negative outcomes like drug abuse after release. Scholars are inconclusive about what fully constitutes prisonization. Although outcomes related to prisonization, community reentry, and recidivism each have their own body of literature, the psychological effects of prisonization (i.e. internalized attitudes about criminal behavior) are cyclical. They precede, develop during, and follow confinement. Scholars connect poor reentry outcomes with prisonization risks, but it may be that EXPs are deprived outside prison. What if post-carceral deprivation (i.e. novel features of prisonization outside prison) or features of prisonization that persist after release (i.e. attitudes and behaviors that prisoners bring to receiving communities) contribute to long-term negative outcomes like homelessness or recidivism?

Scholars have yet to establish how prison-based attitudes such as violent responses to conflict, thrive in post-carceral environments as a function of severe supervision policies, the threat of minimum sentencing for probation violations, and a lack of support for mental health problems such as substance dependence. Prisonization research has made strides since scholars expanded its borders to encompass prisoners' pre-carceral experiences, *yet studies may*

inconclusively measure post-carceral experiences as a product of rather than an extension of prisonization. Thus, I argue that life outside prison may be a context for continued prisonization because prisoners face similar prisonization features under probation and parole, but may also find that prisonized attitudes and behaviors do not disappear after release.

Imports such as poor family support and poverty, and prison deprivation maintain prisonization. If, however, prisoners internalize prison culture illustrated by changing attitudes about violence, and “export” these behaviors and beliefs into the environment, then it follows that prisonization emerges in life outside prison. Comfort’s (2003) secondary prisonization is an appropriate example of one way that prison characteristics such as prisons’ control of time and dress impact the free community by extending that control to inmates’ intimate partners.

Early indicators of prisonization. Prisonization indicators vary according to sentence length, prison security level, and criminal history (Goodstein, MacKenzie, & Shotland, 1984). For example, first time offenders have less exposure to the prison environment than do recurrent offenders. Measurements of recidivism risk and criminal culpability among first time offenders are insufficient by themselves because their responses to incarceration vary (O’Neill, 2005). Some first time offenders respond positively to incarceration, altering criminogenic behaviors and avoiding risky behaviors during incarceration such as gang-related activity. Others’ criminogenic behaviors worsen during confinement, often as a result of the changes required to survive (Van Tongeren & Klebe, 2010). Therefore, early indicators of prisonization are measured with some uncertainty across studies.

Scholars have addressed this confusion by framing prisonization as both an immediate behavioral response to incarceration and as a long-term assimilation process. Cao, Zhao, and Van Dine (1997) measured prisonization by observing whether the number of disciplinary

infractions in three years or less of confinement could successfully predict prisonization. Cao et al. found that prisoners who were ticketed more often were less likely to be well adjusted and more likely to be deprived the prison. Stretesky et al. (2007) studied prisonization by examining intrinsic attitudes and beliefs about violence in long-term prisoners versus short term. Stretesky et al. found that prisoners who were incarcerated longer were more likely to believe that guns were necessary to exert power as opposed to those who were incarcerated for a shorter amount of time, who believed that guns were necessary for protection. These findings suggest that a longer sentence may indicate more violent attitudes, which Stretesky et al. linked directly to prisonization. These studies and others indicate that greater sentence length may indicate a greater depth of prisonization, but also that early indicators of prisonization appear with any length of incarceration.

Adjustment. Adjustment refers to the way prisoners behaviorally, emotionally, and psychologically respond to confinement. Carceral adjustment measurements examine a prisoner's ability to respond well or poorly to the prison context, but do not address long-term psychological issues such as internalization of or assimilation to a prison culture. Van Tongeren and Klebe (2010) broadened the definition of adjustment by examining inmates' direct behavioral responses to their environment and long-term psychological adjustment issues such as self-esteem, ability to maintain a locus of control, their motivation to change, and religiosity. Van Tongeren and Klebe report that adjustment is multifaceted, encompassing multiple long-term needs. Adjustment scholars such as Van Tongeren and Klebe argue that poor adjustment points toward poorer long-term outcomes such as criminogenic behavior during incarceration, which leads to longer prison sentences (Thomas, 1977; Wheeler, 1961). The most consistent indicator of prisonization is the lengths of time prisoners spend incarcerated. Therefore, there

may be a causal link between poor carceral adjustment and prisonization, but this has yet to be fully examined.

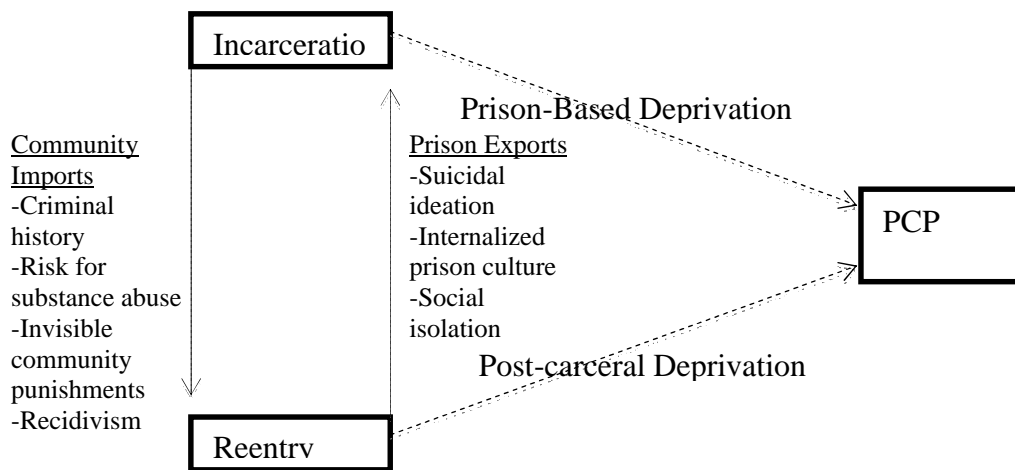
Adjustment has been studied at both the carceral level, analyzing how prisoners respond to prison, and at the community level, analyzing how prisoners respond to being outside of prison (Petersilia, 2001). Prisonization, however, has yet to be analyzed outside prison. Most of the literature has focused on examining the social culture of prison, and its impact on individuals, situating prisonization as the result of assimilation to the prison culture, thereby creating a counter culture (Clemmer, 1940; 1949). Prisonization may help contextualize reentry challenges by shedding light on how prisoners apply meaning to their post-carceral experiences.

Prisonization in communities. Characteristics of prisonization can be seen in areas with high recidivism (Swartz, 2010), or, recidivism “hot spots”. Recidivism hot spots are small portions of urban communities that are flooded with EXPs. Swartz used a regression model to discover as many as six recidivism hot spots in Brooklyn, the physical characteristics of which included a significantly restricted access to prosocial institutions such as churches, increased poverty rates, an increased prisoner density, and a higher rate of single motherhood. Swartz concluded that environment has a significant measurable effect on recidivism. Based on Swartz’s analysis, it is plausible to assume that prisonization impacts communities when prisoners “export” prison-based attitudes and behaviors, which fosters characteristics like social isolation and a lack of employable skills.

Examples of potentially transferable prison-based characteristics are violent or suicidal ideation, substance abuse risk, loss of upward mobility, or social isolation. Once prisoners are socialized by prison and jail society, family members and social service organizations may be responsible for rehabilitating former prisoners, placing the burden of rehabilitation on families

and community members already suffering from a dearth of resources. Studies indicate that prisoners' personal agency and resilience can sometimes offset the risk of suicide or poorer physical and mental health, but given the high recidivism rates among mentally ill prisoners, the transfer of prison characteristics is problematic. In addition, EXPs return with traits that may have developed in prison such as violent and possessive attitudes (Gillespie, 2002; Megarit, 2012). This process acts as a kind of revolving door, which perpetuates and intensifies prisonization. Figure 1 illustrates this cycle.

Figure 1
PCP Revolving Door



Huey Dye (2010) found that prisoners' past contact with law enforcement was correlated with how likely they were to commit suicide. Former prisoners who have less frequent contact with family members, were mentally ill, or who reported at least one incidence of depression were at a greater risk for self-inflicted harm. However, Codd (2007) reports the risks family members incur when bearing the burden of rehabilitation. Codd reports that the legal system

expects EXPs' social supports, such as families, to supply resources they may not have. Given the high rate of mental health concerns, poverty, and poor health among families of prisoners, it is no surprise that social groups related to former prisoners suffer either through secondary prisonization (Comfort, 2007) or because of post-carceral demands on formerly imprisoned family members.

Huey Dye's findings suggest that both features of post-carceral deprivation (family expectations to rehabilitate) and prison exports (attitudes and behaviors persisting from prison) more fully explain the relationship prisonization and community outcomes. In other words, both those characteristics that preceded prison such as a lack of family support and those that were developed during prison such as suicidal ideation, more appropriately describe prisonization.

Prisonization and families of incarcerated prisoners. Although prisonization has yet to be studied outside prison, emerging literature describes how prisonization impacts partners and families of men who are currently incarcerated. Codd (2007) points out that nonincarcerated female kin are burdened with prison work, which refers to the emotional and financial costs of caring for incarcerated prisoners. Outside prison, families of prisoners also face many challenges. Until very recently, most studies have conceptualized prisoner resettlement as an individual, isolated process that prisoners have to endure to be initiated back into society (Chiu, 2010). Families and kin networks of imprisoned men suffer by having less frequent access to them, fewer economic resources, and increase in mental health symptomology (Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Hairston, 2001; 2003).

Comfort's (2003) ethnographic study produced the theory of secondary prisonization, which is defined as the process by which prison policies organize family structure, rituals, freedom, and time by withholding visitors' access through random and inconsistent visitation

policies, maintaining an unclear and rigid dress code for visitation, by transforming the prison into a home away from home where prisoners and visitors engage in sexual interactions, weddings, and child-rearing, and by altering family members' daily schedules through controlling the time frames during which prisoners can communicate by telephone. Comfort's theory developed from field observations as well as interviews from 50 female partners of male inmates whose sentence length varied from as little as a few months to multiple term life sentences. Comfort reported that nonincarcerated female partners' entire lives were reorganized according to both the expansive "security" measures taken by the prison and also as a result of control tactics by imprisoned men who would react aggressively to partners when they were not available to take their phone calls. Women's lives were also reorganized around the times that their partners were available for visitation and phone conversations. Female partners reorganized their time, altered their clothing and appearance, changed their beliefs about prison staff and officials, and reattributed prison as a kind of "domestic satellite" (Comfort, 2002, p. 470), which refers to domestic rituals enacted within the prison.

Comfort (2002) reports that women who have had partners previously incarcerated, or whose partners have been incarcerated for longer periods of time are more deeply entrenched within and adapted to prison policies. They are also those whose attitudes about prisons are more receptive, even to the extent that women utilize the prison as a home away from home, exchanging prison for what would normally be private events including sex, weddings, and child-rearing. Although Comfort's analysis was not longitudinal or outcome-based, Comfort found that the vast majority of her participants were impoverished women of color who reported that due to the inconsistent visitation rituals and the demanding financial burden of caring for an

incarcerated intimate partner, women's health, personal economies, and social relationships suffered. Comfort related this suffering directly to the prison environment.

Women's experiences of being secondarily prisonized is an example of how prison can control time and shape daily living outside prison. This is connected to PCP because it demonstrates that prison characteristics that work to control and restrict behaviors transcend prison. Although female partners of male prisoners are not incarcerated in Comfort's (2002) study, the carceral impact is felt through the mechanism of their relationship to their incarcerated partners. The mechanisms for male PCP may be different, to the extent that they are not the result of a relationship with an intimate partner, but is possible that EXPs' relationships with their parole and probation officers, other members of the criminal justice system, and the psychological effects of those relationships continue the prisonization process following release.

Comfort (2002) analyzed the transfer of prisonization mechanisms from the prison to the community. In this way, prisoners' access to the phone and their demands that their nonincarcerated loved ones change their schedules to be available for a phone call acted as a mechanism through which time was managed by prison demands. In this case, the phone schedule was the mechanism. Further, the physical space of the institution acted as the transferring mechanism by molding into the place where romantic and relational rituals occurred. Weddings, sexual encounters, and nurture all took place at the prison, leading Comfort to describe the prison as a domestic satellite. Although the features of PCP are yet to be discovered, it is possible that restrictive parole and probationary requirements, prison stigma, and beliefs or attitudes developed during incarceration function as these mechanisms.

Beyond the task of reorganizing daily life such as that which was detailed in Comfort's (2002) study, female partners and children of incarcerated men face unprecedented risks. These

risks continue to demonstrate the significant role that prison plays on family members. In a substantive review of the literature, Murray, Farrington, Sekol, and Olsen (2009) found that children of incarcerated parents were at an increased risk of antisocial behavior and mental health risks, and at a long-time risk for incarceration themselves. Although incarcerated men benefit from family visitation; children and partners are at an increased risk of negative outcomes such as depression and attachment anxiety if they visit consistently (Poehlmann, Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010).

Secondary prisonization provides a plausible theoretical connection between male prisoners' prisonization features during confinement and their experiences of life outside prison. The association between prisonization and PCP require greater clarity. What makes prisonization different from PCP? How does prisonization transfer to the post-carceral community? What are the implications of PCP on exarcerated inmates social and family relationships? On former prisoners' identities? Answering these questions will improve health practitioners' and researchers' understanding of EXPs' mental and physical health needs as it relates to deinstitutionalizing prison upon release.

2.3 Reentry

In 2007, local community penal systems shouldered just over 50% of the total supervisory responsibilities of former prisoners (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008). The most recent BJS statistics report that in 2010, more than 4.4 million adults moved into or out of probation (Glaze & Bonczar, 2011). Even though total correctional populations across state and federal reports show a decline in the prison population, the number of parolees at risk of violating the terms of their supervision, and thus, at risk of recidivism remained unchanged since 2005. The combined number of incarcerated individuals at yearend 2010 remained nearly 6

million, and many more were at risk of recidivism following the terms of their supervision. As an example, Richards, Austin, & Jones (2004) argue that parole has failed Kentucky prisoners by emphasizing supervision of prisoners over rehabilitation. About one third of all Kentucky prisoners who were rearrested had committed some kind of nonfelony technical violation. This trend is common across U.S. state jurisdictions (Petersilia, 1999).

Risks. There is some evidence to indicate that EXPs suffer poorer physical and mental health effects after they are released than during their incarceration. Schnittker and John (2007), in an in-depth analysis of the physical and mental health effects of prison on prisoners, found that prisoners suffered slow wage growth, long-term stigma, an increased rate of communicable diseases, and higher rates of physical impairments, *but the long-term effects were only significant once prisoners were released.* Schnittker and John suggest further that the risk is significant for any length of confinement, as opposed to a greater number of incarcerations or length of incarceration. Therefore, it is possible that the post-carceral risks like stigma combined with reentry challenges that comprise post-carceral prisonization (i.e. inability to gain wage growth due to limited mobility due to probation constraints, social isolation resulting from the stigma of incarceration, and increased criminogenic risk) coalesce to make long-term risks worse for prisoners than for those who remain incarcerated or for those who recidivate more frequently.

Because of the dramatic rise in the number of incarcerated individuals since 1982, and the fact that this rise does not match the U.S. population increase (Glaze, 2010), it is plausible to conclude that U.S. prison policy has failed to address what are the most pressing needs of recently released prisoners. For example, Glaze reports that despite the fact there have been more legislative efforts at the state and federal level to slow the prison population growth since 2000 than there ever has been, prison population has continued to rise. Glaze argues that this is

because policy efforts are primarily constructed around zero tolerance and minimum sentencing, both of which have been shown to increase recidivism risks. One poignant example of this is the legislative war on drugs, which has placed the criminal burden primarily on users of rather than distributors of illegal drugs.

Reentry literature documents EXPs' risks, resilience, criminal, health, and behavioral outcomes (Beck, 2000; Ditton, 1999; Petersilia, 1999; 2003). Reentry critics point out that there is little that separates incarcerated prisoners from exarcerated ones. Wacquant (2010) describes the reentry system in its entirety as system of myth and ceremony in order for social and legislative powers to wage a kind of social warfare on poor and marginalized communities. Wacquant promotes the idea of the idea of "prisonfare" (Wacquant, p. 607), which denotes the idea that state and federal governments have made an ideological shift from social welfare to punitive management of marginalized groups of poor people through incarceration. Wacquant's argument resonates in part with Petersilia (2001), who explains that released prisoners are simply exchanging their confinement for imprisonment on the streets. This may have some bearing on prisoners' likelihood to reengage in criminal economies because their access to better jobs and social relationships are limited, or restricted depending on the conditions of their probation. Petersilia reports that when former prisoners have less frequent access to positive social relationships, their risk of arrest increases.

Criminal economies. In a four year ethnographic study of exarcerated men at a boxing gym in New York City, Trimbur (2009) found that men who reenter their communities after incarceration decide to participate in criminal economies such as illegal violence or theft based on their perceptions of the lack of opportunities they had to secure employment or participate in community activities. The term "criminal economy" refers to criminogenic behavior that

functions as a social and economic system of benefits as well as risks. Trimbur conducted over 50 semi-structured interviews with men to discover how they perceived the possibility of success following incarceration. Men in the study were likely to believe they could succeed in life if they had access to social and civic resources, like a driver's license or voting rights. If they could not gain access to these privileges, they described that they were more likely to engage in criminogenic behavior.

In addition to poor access to social economies, the post-carceral system (i.e. probation and parole officers, public and criminal databases such as the sex offender registry, and post-carceral restrictions) may foster prisonization, just without bars or walls. Trimbur's (2009) report suggested that while men's punitive parole and probation restrictions, the threat of incarceration, and frequent drug testing were distressing, they were not enough to reduce the likelihood of criminal behavior. It is possible, therefore, that the strict punitive strategy of the post-carceral criminal justice system has a negligible impact on criminal behavior. It is also because Trimbur's criminal economies are described as something in which prisoners participate after release. Trimbur's study, however, does not regard criminal economies as something developed during prison. In other words, it is possible that prisoners are engaging in criminal economies such as theft, drug abuse, or violence, as a result of prisonization, which could be sustained by yet to be discovered pathways of PCP, likely to be found in the lived experience of post-carceral stigma, social isolation, and cumbersome parole and probation requirements.

2.4 Programs and Policies

Post-carceral policies and programs are an important part of EXPs' reentry experience (Martin, Sechrest, & Redner, 1981; Visher, 2006; 2007; Visher & Travis, 2003). Policies and programs refer primarily to state and federal legislative and reentry programs that provide

prisoners with resources such as job training, access to housing, food, clothing, and other basic needs. In an effort to answer the most basic questions about reentry policies, “Do Prison reentry programs work?” Petersilia (2004) conducted an in-depth review of outcome research. Petersilia provided a set of criteria that reentry programs should follow in order to see successful gains. These criteria included brief, community-based, and behaviorally-oriented interventions, positive reinforcement, and culturally sensitive treatment. When treatment modalities attend to these criteria, recidivism rates are reduced by at least 30%. When these criteria were not attended to, there was a wide gap between research-based outcomes and the reality of prisoners’ experiences. In these cases, treatment modalities tended to lack culturally relevant mental health support, for example, focusing exclusively on 12 step programs rather than community-based mental health or family-based services. Others provided no mental health support, but instead, referred for psychiatric treatment.

To address this gap, the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Research on Rehabilitative Techniques (NAS) panel called on increased attention to research on effective research design, theory, and treatment of formerly incarcerated prisoners. In order to address the outcome gap, The NAS panel promoted research designs that were process rather than outcome oriented (see Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Here, I provide a review of policies and programs resulting from the NAS panel. I will also provide a summary of drug courts and a few other programs used as post-carceral alternatives to incarceration.

Programs. In the past 15 to 20 years, lawmakers and legislators have placed pressure on researchers to create programs that are evidence-based. Because of this, a partnership has developed between the legal and scientific community that Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006) report has been both beneficial and deleterious to prisoner reentry: 1) drug courts are one of the most

commonly used policy-based programs available to prisoners both during and after release, often as a condition of parole or of a reduced sentence; 2) offenders with mental illness are sometimes diverted from traditional jail communities into alternate confinement institutions; 3) sex, general, and domestic violence offenders are usually given the option for post-carceral behavioral modification as a parole condition. This option is loosely called a program or policy because it is often simply psychotherapy as a parole condition; and 4) perhaps the most widely used programs besides drug courts are those pertaining to work and education, which focus on basic as well as job skills training, mostly from prison but also in the community.

Alternatives to incarceration. Some post-carceral programs are designed as an alternative to incarceration although some of these programs are pre-booking as well as post-booking diversion programs. Mental health diversions, for example, are just as likely to be housed by primary offenders as those who are on their second and third offenses. Many jail diversion programs are intended for mentally ill offenders who have not committed a violent crime. It is well documented that many prison populations are comprised of inmates who have or who could have a mentally ill diagnosis with proper medical care (Diamond, Wang, Holzer, Thomas, & des Agnes, 2001; MacDonald, 2010). By this strategy, pre and post arrest mental illness diversion programs differ. One jail diversion program, adult boot camp, has gained popularity since the NAS report (Aos et al., 2006). Boot camps are intensive disciplinary and punitive programs designed to redirect unwanted criminogenic behavior. In assessing boot camp effectiveness, Jones and Ross (1997) and MacKenzie and Souryal (1995) report that less is more when it comes to shock incarceration programs (SIP). SIPs intend to divert criminal behavior through an immersion experience that scares inmates out of their antisocial behavior. Fear-based SIPs such as boot camps have been inconsistently reviewed in scientific literature. The variable

tactics (i.e. intensive work programs, punitive exercise, military-style discipline) used by boot camps makes them difficult to evaluate. For example, some jurisdictions use boot camps as intensive workforce skill-building projects. When these strategies are applied, the studies cautiously report higher effectiveness (Visher, 2006). When boot camps employ scare tactics and fear-based immersion such as the SIP, recidivism rates increase and negative outcomes are rampant (Stinchcomb & Terry, 2001; Wright & Mays, 1998). As a result of the inconsistent and immeasurable strategies used in boot camps, Stinchcomb and Terry conclude that boot camps are ineffective and harmful and should not be used as either a pre or post booking jail diversion program.

Drug courts. Drug courts are one of the most widely used programs for prisoners convicted of drug-related crimes (Eckley, 2006). Drug courts are criminal dockets that address criminal substance abuse in the community by pooling mental health, judicial, and case management resources for post-carceral offenders. In a report by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) Gonzales, Schofield, & Schmitt (2006) report that there are competing narratives on substance abuse. The criminal justice community views substance abuse as criminogenic antisocial behavior whereas the medical community views it as a chronic health condition. These two competing narratives are each partially addressed in the drug court treatment model, and have created some problems in the general populations' reentry process.

Drug courts began as a response to both the obvious mental health needs of prisoners who committed drug-related crimes as well as prison overcrowding. Reports vary on how successful drug courts have been, although the literature consistently states that drug courts reduce recidivism, tax-payer burdens for prison-related expenses, increase resource allocation, and decrease the cost burden EXPs face after release (Gonzales et al., 2006; Wilson, Mitchell, &

Mackenzie, 2006). Drug court critics suggest that it is only limited by its lack of portability, further suggesting that although drug courts have been shown to have great benefits, they are not easily transferred to low-income recidivism hot spots (Gonzales et al.). Critics also argue that while drug courts have positive outcomes, it is unknown exactly what creates these outcomes and whether those outcomes might apply to programs that can be made available to the general prison population. There is a dearth of process-oriented research that outlines how drug courts are successful. Because drug courts are only available to populations who have committed a drug-related crime, they are not an option for offenders whose primary mental health issue is a substance abuse-related diagnosis, but whose criminal behavior was related to a nonviolent robbery or some other nonviolent crime. Finally, drug court critics are quick to point out that drug courts may be useful only for those with the individual characteristics that make it possible, and to provide evidence for this, they often point to data that show that between 80% and 90% of all parolees for whom drug court is available, drop out within the first 12 months (Gonzales et al., 2006).

Overall, reception of the drug court program since the mid 1980s has been positive, due to the consistent outcomes for those who complete the program and avoid dropping out before 12 months. Holloway, Bennett, and Farrington (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of drug-related post-carceral treatment programs. Individual effect sizes for drug-related treatment programs were modeled and the overall risk for recidivism post-treatment was reduced for program participants. The variability of the results depended on individuals' characteristics of the prisoner, type of drug used, and history of offense.

The limited number of effective post-incarceration jail diversion and reentry programs can partially be attributed to the social appeal of programs like boot camps, which focus on

punitive, rather than rehabilitation change, which is oriented toward improving mental health and reducing criminogenic behavior. Wacquant (2008) argues that reentry programs will fail because the criminal justice system is intended as an “outlaw” institution that is not built for rehabilitation. There is, however, limited evidence of effective programs aimed at reducing unwanted behavior as opposed to punishing previous criminal behavior, but a dearth of federal and state funding makes these programs, such as drug courts, difficult for high enrollment of EXPs. As a result, large numbers of EXPs may not be diverted from previous criminal behavior, but there is evidence that incarceration actually increases the risk of criminogenic behavior upon release. Research indicates that former offenders recidivate primarily because of probation and parole violations, indicating that post-carceral criminal justice supervision programs may actually contribute to criminogenic behavior risk (Hartney & Vuong, 2009). I argue that one process by which prisonization post-carceral occurs is through extended contact with probation and parole systems, but the mechanisms that facilitate PCP are unclear.

2.5 Theoretical Implications

Prisonization imposes criminal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors during incarceration. But what happens once prisoners leave? Below, I describe potential theoretical foundations for how and why prisonization extends beyond prisons and jails. I locate the self of the prisoner within the context of prisonization and reentry by describing the value of identity after release to describe how PCP may occur individually.

Post-carceral prisonization. What potentiates prisonization outside prison? Are post-carceral challenges really features of prisonization or could they simply be problems in reentry? Reentry problems like adjusting to new or different family roles, acute employment loss, and barriers to financial growth may not socialize former prisoners to depreciate their internal value

or limit their ability to eschew a prisonized identity that they developed while incarcerated. Potential PCP agents like frequent contact with probation or parole officers, social exclusion (i.e. inability to vote, lack of access to housing), and chronic unemployment due to a criminal record may encourage drug-dealing or other criminal behaviors to make ends meet.

I argue that challenges outside prison have the effect of *socializing* individuals, changing their attitudes and behaviors in ways that would be impossible were it not for uniquely prisonized structures like probation and parole. Comfort (2006) argued that prison serves as a domestic satellite when women and incarcerated men enact domestic rituals like sex, child-rearing, and even weddings. In the same way, it is possible that probation and parole serve as *prison satellites* that ritualize prisonized values, reinforce prisonized attitudes, and encourage prisonized behaviors. Individuals admitted to the criminal justice system encounter a ritualized process built to transform a person into a criminal (Maruna, 2011).

The criminal justice system ritualizes incarceration, which helps to solidify prisonized identities. Maruna argues that one problem with reentry is that it lacks rituals that support individuality and reintegration. While arrests, courtrooms, and prisons serve as rituals that criminalize individuals, reentry contains no comparative rituals in place to reintegrate EXPs as members of society. However, it is possible that while reentry contains no humanizing rituals, equivalent to how prison rituals de-individualize prisoners, reentry may contain rituals that further ritualize prisonization. Probation and parole reports, deprivation features like restricted access to social resources, and voting restrictions may promote social exclusion, thus, encouraging prisoners to believe they don't belong, or to encourage criminal activity to make ends meet.

Identity. Prison ritualizes identity loss, but prisonization creates prisonized identities characterized by violent and aggressive attitudes, social isolation, and substance abuse. In addition, prison encourages EXPs to describe themselves just as equally by their limitations as by of what they are capable. Incarcerated fathers, for example, conceive their paternal roles inasmuch by their limitations as their ability to parent their children (Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005). In other words, EXPs develop identities centered on helplessness.

Prisonized identities vary. Terry (2003) reports that when men are incarcerated, they eventually internalize different identities (i.e. lifer, youngster, passing through) depending on how long they are incarcerated, their physical size, their pre-carceral gang affiliations, and how quickly they identify with racially segregated groups. For example, Terry writes that younger prisoners were more likely to be prisonized because they quickly joined prison gangs to seek out protection and group affiliation. Other prisoners who may not have been incarcerated long enough or who needed protection less because of their physical size, or who are older may not internalize prisonized beliefs because they are less involved in the criminal culture. Either way, identity development is an important part of prisonization because individuals less susceptible to prisonization due to certain personal characteristics (such as age) may internalize prisonization less, and thus, experience better long-term outcomes after release. Arditti and Parkman (2011), for example, report that young men between the ages of 18 and 24 encounter a developmental paradox, which refers to how young men required essential resources like employment to develop their adult prosocial identities after release. However, due to their involvement with the criminal justice system, they were restricted from employment, potentially restricting identity development and hindering reintegration.

Just as prisonization modifies prisoners' identities, contributing to long-term negative outcomes, post-release identity may be just as important for predicting negative outcomes like recidivism. Boduszek, Adamson, Shevlin, Mallett, and Hyland (2013) argue that recidivistic prisoners develop criminal social identities as a result of ties with criminal friends, peer rejection, and self-esteem. The authors argue that social identity theory, which highlights the importance of self-esteem and group ties, may appropriately characterize how former prisoners risk recidivism after release. Individuals may develop prisonized identities after release losing access to valuable developmental needs as a result of their criminal histories (Arditti & Parkman, 2011), because of prisonized beliefs and behaviors that persist after release, early life peer rejection (Boduszek et al.), or post-carceral ties to criminal friends. Identity situates prisonization by placing the self within the struggle to be successful after release. Prisonized identities may linger, putting EXPs at risk for negative outcomes and recidivism.

Intersectionality. I aim to make my critical stance toward criminal justice policy clear. In addition, in this theoretical discussion, I endeavor to explain my social justice stance toward criminal justice policy, describe how the theory of intersectionality, which refers to the study of intersections between multiple systems of oppression or discrimination, contextualizes prisoners' experiences as a marginalized group, and explore the social categories that differentiates groups of prisoners (Gopaldas, 2013; Carbado, 2013).

In the following, I discuss the social categories that former prisoners share both across and within prisoner groups. I discuss gender, class, race, and crime as four categories that bind prisoners together in relationships of oppression and production (McCall, 2005). By production, I refer to the manner in which social discourses about prisoners actually produces them, creating them into villains and criminals after release and constructing a prisonized script that former

prisoners must either work to abandon or internalize. I accomplish these goals in two ways. First, I describe the intersection of subjects by contextualizing prisoners as an oppressed group. I also describe what categories differentiate groups of prisoners. Second, I describe the intersection of structures by explicating social structures of oppression and production such as legislation, social exclusion, and prison policies. I describe these structures by their relationships with prisoners.

Structures. What are the structures that oppress prisoners? A structure refers to a mechanism, like probation and parole, which oppresses (Brown, 1997). Prisoners are a marginalized group because their credibility with social structures is diminished as a result of their ties to prison. Society colludes with probation and parole in this way, and authorizes criminal justice structures to oppress prisoners because society produces a discourse that dehumanizes prisoners. The difference between *produce* and *oppress* is that a social structure lacks the ability to oppress without a greater structure that gives it power by casting or producing a group as villainous, other, or dirty (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008). At the intersection of society and criminal justice, therefore, society retains the dominant discourse that prisoners, and by extension, all men of color are dangerous, villainous, and should be treated with suspicion. Criminal justice structures such as probation and parole are justified when they marginalize and oppress prisoners through institutional and class racism, unexplainable and sudden arrest, and chronic supervision violations because the dominant discourse about prisoners is that this treatment is what they deserve.

The theory of intersectionality extends the argument about oppression to critically examine who stands to benefit from a relationship of oppressive structures. In the case of prisoners, state and federal governments benefit by maintaining a subverted poor working class

to populate intolerably low-wage jobs that fail to support a healthy living standard (Cardabo, 2013). In other words, governments stand to benefit from incarceration because it stigmatizes and thus, produces villainous prisoners who then are oppressed by employers, landlords, and social groups because of their status as criminalized figures. By vilifying prisoners, governments sustain an unskilled labor force that deserves nothing but the lowest wages. Society benefits from prisoners' criminalized identities because the cheaper the labor, the lower the cost of goods and services. In this way, the intersection of prisoners' structures is almost certainly a form of population control.

Given that prisons have consistently swelled with African American men since slavery, a critical observer should wonder whether mass incarceration is an attempt to replicate slavery (Alexander, 2010). For example, with the advent of Jim Crow laws, African American families broke apart under harshly punitive criminal strategies at controlling African American populations. As a result, African American women and children represent some of the most frequently incarcerated groups to this day (Pew, 2010). African American youth, for example, are almost three times as likely to be expelled from school and criminally detained than are European American youth (Skiba, Michael, Carroll Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). Thus, a racist discourse about African American women, men, and children produced a social underclass. Today, African American families are disparate at almost every social demographic and health category, including high rates of incarceration. In other words, a racist discourse helped to produce mass incarceration, and high rates of incarcerated African American men, women, and children helps to justify the discourse because as a societal structure, we have empowered the criminal justice system as the objective beacon of justice.

Recent reports about state, and more recently, federal prison populations indicate that the total prison population has declined (Glaze & Bonczar, 2010). Statisticians, politicians, and criminal justice officials tout this as a new trend that criminal justice policies are succeeding, but a critical examination of the data suggests that the social discourses about prisoners have not changed, and neither have punitive policies on crime. Rather, the social discourse has shifted to implicate prisoners yet again for the monetary burden they've become to the privileged middle class. Thus, prisoners bear the social shame of both a tie to the prison and the cause of budgetary crises. Despite that mass incarceration is inexorably linked to legislators' punitive decisions about drug use, the burden of paying for those decisions remains at prisoners' feet. By maintaining this discourse, criminal justice structures retain their oppressive power over prisoners.

Subjects. The term "subjects" refers to an oppressed group whose social categories are produced by dominant discourses. Prisoners represent a marginalized group because of the relationship of social categories that potentiate their criminalized identities. Specifically, race, class, gender, and crime intersect to produce a group of marginalized prisoners from which intersecting structure such as probation, parole, and society stand to benefit. However, in order to maintain an oppressed group such as prisoners, society must develop what McCall (2005) describes as social fictions, the purpose of which is produce inequalities:

Social life is considered to irreducibly complex – overflowing with multiple and fluid determinations of both subjects and structures – to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences. (p. 1773).

Therefore, oppressive social structures exist to produce oppressed groups like prisoners. However, within group social categories also exist that replicate social oppression (Cole, 2009). For example, African American prisoners, whose race is socially constructed to be synonymous with prison, are more deeply oppressed than are European American prisoners. One needs only to examine rates of arrests among substance-abusing former offenders to understand that African American men are more than three times as likely to recidivate for drug related charges (Pew, 2007) than are European American men. Thus, European American men are not really criminals, but rather, a prisoner sub-class with the privilege of a second chance. Not until European American men overtly identify themselves with socially taboo groups like racist prison gangs can they experience something of the social oppression that African American men endure. The obvious difference, however, is that those European American prisoners' decisions to mark their skin with tattoos and not their skin's pigment induces discrimination. So even in this way, race remains a more powerfully discriminated against social category.

At the intersection of race and crime, therefore, African American men populate what Falicov (1998) describes as a cultural borderland, which describes the social margins inhabited by groups that society has disdained. Prison is a kind of cultural borderland because it reflects society's choice to confine and control prisonized behavior. However, American society produces the discourse about criminal as opposed to mental health behavior. Substance abuse is an example of such a behavior. Travis (2006) argues that the prison is a socially necessary structure not because of its function, but as a visual structure to reinforce social order. In other words, society is civil because we have a place for criminals. However, when prisoners leave prisons, they continue to suffer punishments that extend beyond the visual cue of social order. Thus, three of prisoners' post-carceral social categories, which are race, gender, and class,

intersect with dominant discourses about crime to produce an identity. The identity is stronger for African American prisoners, but Latino and European American prisoners fit within social categories by virtue of a criminal record. The prisoner identity is, by definition, social exclusion. Terry (2003) suggests that isolation and exclusion are an inherent component of criminal identities, even to the extent that symbols of social interaction like public dinners and social gatherings produce fear and anxiety.

I argue that prisoners' identities are constructed for them by powerful structures, and EXPs' prisonized identities are non-negotiable. In other words, when former prisoners leave prison, they adopt the social fictions within race, gender, and social status that coalesce for a prisonized identity. In this way, African American and, to a lesser extent, Latino men suffer a kind of post-carceral prisonization, which is the result of dominant social discourses about what it means to be a prisoner.

Prisoner ecologies. Extant literature has provided insight into how EXPs experience consequences across social ecologies, which may shed light on the process. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) family ecology theory applies five layers of social ecology to individual and family experience. In addition, Travis' (2002) theory of invisible punishments contextualizes EXPs by describing how EXPs may experience prisonization outside prison.

The immediate context. The *microsystem* is the immediate setting into which EXPs are reintroduced. This includes their individual-level experiences and characteristics such as age, mental health, disability or ability, sexual orientation, and outcomes like grief or ambiguous loss (Arditti, 2005; Bocknek, Sanderson, & Britner, 2009).

EXPs' microsystemic experiences represent the context within which outcomes related to PCP will occur. For example, it may be that increased contact with probation officers

monopolizes EXPs' time and resources, taking away from their capacity to find gainful employment. Outcomes occur at the microsystem level because all other social ecologies converge to impact EXPs' microecologies. Of particular importance is how EXPs' microecologies are affected by the transition from prison to the community. While microsystems change during reentry (i.e. EXPs interact with criminal justice systems less frequently), mesosystems may remain the same. In other words, mesosystemic experiences such as access to children and other social relationships may still be restricted due to post-carceral limitations even though EXPs have already "done their time".

Social relationships. The link between home and prison represents a key mesosystemic interaction (Arditti, 2012). Because prisoners still frequently and regularly interact with the criminal justice system, it may be possible that prison-based rituals, roles, behaviors, and interactions occur domestically and after release. For example, research has documented that prison changes individuals' attitudes about guns as a representation of their overall beliefs about aggression and violence such that prison increases the tendency toward violent ideas and behaviors that did not previously exist (Stretesky et al., 2007). Pritkin (2008) discovered that incarceration increases crime rates by about 7%, including domestic violence and child abuse. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that some prisonization increases the risk of harm in prisoners' post-carceral *mesosystems* such as family and social relationships.

Mesosystem outcomes play a significant role in family environments, such as work and home life. Gavazzi, Yarcheck, Rhine, & Partridge (2003), for example, observe the importance of incarcerated youths' family relationships with legal officials and those relationships' impact on parolees' reentry experience:

By the time a youth is placed on parole, the parent has often tried a number of things to get some sort of help, and now feels that nothing has worked and hence nothing will work. This parent often has been exposed to numerous professionals (i.e., therapists, judges, probation and parole officers) who have blamed them for causing the delinquent activity of their offspring. As a result, they are wary of professionals at the same time that they are weary from efforts to help their youth stay out of the juvenile justice system. (p. 304)

Another portrayal of mesosystem factors in the criminal justice literature includes the relationship between children's caregivers and incarcerated parents (Arditti, 2005; 2012; Poehlmann et al.), which impacts how often children see and talk to their incarcerated parents. EXPs often rely on the interactions in their mesosystem to successfully reenter. Although micro and mesosystem variables can explain a number of individual level characteristics, they cannot account for the complex dynamics that prisoners encounter within the multiple facets of the criminal justice system.

The setting that interferes. The *exosystem* is the broader environment in which, prisoners for example, do not directly participate, but which impacts them. One example of this is the legislative decisions lawmakers make about funding for prisons to curb the effects of prison overcrowding. Within prisons, inmates are often cramped and under-resourced as a result of local budget shortfalls (Morris, 2008; Spencer, 2012; Wheeler & Patterson, 2008). Former inmates are expected to successfully resettle within their communities after having adjusted to the prison culture even though they face punishments invisible to the public (Travis, 2002).

Immeasurable punishments like social stigma, the loss of social and civil privileges, and criminal records that make it difficult to acquire a living wage represent invisible punishments

that may contribute to PCP. One element of Travis' invisible punishments includes the unique way that criminal justice statutes related to post-carceral supervision are enacted in local, state, federal legislation. Because these statutes that affect policies are often considered "civil" rather than "criminal" statutes, they are often attached to larger legislation, thus, removing them from debate and critical consideration.

Travis points out that while prisons serve as a visible example of society's choice to punish individuals for breaking the law, expectations for better are high that incarcerated members of the community will "straighten up" once released, all the while forgetting that incarcerated persons face the challenge of post-carceral restriction and stigma, which are themselves invisible to society. These challenges are pertinent to the exosystem as they represent the indirect effects that interfere with their resettlement process, but over which, incarcerated persons have little to no control.

Exosystem factors such as the discipline of specific jail or prison, the health of the receiving communities, and funding for post-carceral programs contribute to these resettlement challenges. The literature has documented post-carceral deprivation in the form of severely restricted rights, leaving prisoners dependent on post-carceral policies and programs that often cannot meet criminal justice demands. Mellow, Schlager, and Caplan (2008) in an analysis of post-carceral prisoner services, report that access to resources is strained, placing further burden on communities. EXPs have a high rate of poverty and infrequent access to private and public resources. They are often highly concentrated in poor communities that already lack resources. As a result, it is possible that poverty, lack of access to health resources such as public clinics, inability to access existing resources due to a criminal record, and the inability to go outside of this community to due to parole or probation restrictions contributes to criminogenic behavior

and increased crime rates under post-carceral supervision – which are potential manifestations of prisonization (Lynch, 2006; Speck, 2010).

The case of stigma. Macrosystem factors reflect the societal and judicial values that shape prisoners' individual realities and permeate other levels of an individuals' social ecology. For example, Foster and Hagan (2007), to understand how racial discrimination and resource deprivation impacted recidivism, statistically modeled these two issues within the macrosystem of prisoners' social ecologies and found that racial discrimination has a direct impact on prisoners' sentencing. Outside prison, ex-offenders continue to be castigated and penalized under post-carceral supervision. (Travis, 2002).

Invisible punishments are often described as collateral consequences of criminogenic behavior. Sentencing is one example of an invisible punishment that is often hidden within layers of unfair litigation. Travis reports that state-level criminal punishments are subsumed by federal policy, resulting in state-level statutes that hand over jurisdiction to federal judges, worsening a crime for which a prisoner is incarcerated. Invisible punishments separate criminals' identity from the public. Travis reports that this creates a kind of "us" vs. "them" mentality, wherein prisoners may as well continue to be confined, as they are continuously socially excluded from the public after release. Post-carceral invisible punishments are manifestations of post-carceral prisonization. Mondo (2013), for example, reports on Anna Vasquez, a female sex offender who remains at the center of a public controversy over a conviction for sexual assault. In addition to having to reroute all of her daily travels at least 500 feet away from any facilities where children may be present, Vasquez is required to submit the location of anywhere she wants to go to her parole officer, including grocery stores, gas stations, malls, etc. Mondo reports that although Vasquez retains her gratitude for being out of prison, the

“archaic” (p. A17) laws that designate public sex offenses keep her under a blanket of scrutiny and shame. Mondo’s report is one example of the consequences of prisonization in the public domain. Perhaps the reason that public prisonization has yet to be considered is because it is also an invisible process. Invisible punishments are examples of socialization agents that restrict prisoners’ healthy reentry and may foster the transmission of prisonization to the community.

Social costs. Although family ecology theory provides insight into how prisonization may be observed, it does not explain how PCP is manifested, or why it is valuable to theorize on the topic. It is plausible to assume that EXPs maintain socialization because across men’s social ecologies, the organizing construct of prison has not disappeared, but is instead replaced by post-carceral supervision. Deprivation features such as psychological isolation, antisocial behaviors, and hierarchical role-based behavior may remain as internalized psychological constructs, impacting their roles within their social environments. Christian, Mellow, and Thomas (2006) found that although prisoners benefit from reintegrating with families, families pay dearly for continued interaction with EXPs. Families who wish to remain in frequent contact with prisoners are in consistent negotiation with competing interests. Parents of adult incarcerated children, for example, commonly retain custody of their grandchildren. Upon their formerly incarcerated child’s release, parents must choose whether to reserve limited resources for the child in their custody or their adult child recently released.

Parole officers make demands on their time when EXPs do not meet the terms of their release. Many prisoners have restricted access to their children and, thus, rely on family members for access. It is common, especially among former female inmates, that one or more family member is responsible for children’s primary care (Poehlman et al., 2010). In this case, EXPs must make demands of their family members’ time and economy. If parents choose to

have no contact with their children outside prison, it is common that children suffer as a result unless that parent was incarcerated as a result of family violence, and this serves as another illustration of EXPs' microsystem effect interacting across microsystem social ecologies (Krupat, 2007; Wildeman & Western, 2010). This study aims to better understand how prisoners "export" socialization features and how that socialization reorganizes and impacts their social and family relationships post-carceral.

I use the phrase "export" to describe a hypothetical transportation process whereby socialization features transfer from prison to the community, and as a direct nuance of the importation model. Although there is little evidence describing inmates' transmission of prison attitudes and behaviors post-carceral, there are an abundance of analyses that document the negative outcomes associated with reentry (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Petersilia, 2004). As I have described, prisonization is both a function of confinement and an imported feature. Prisonization results in deeply internalized psychological phenomena such as attitudinal changes about violent behavior (Stretesky et al., 2007). Ecology theory lends insight into how these features are transported across the penal institution into the community. Even though there is evidence of prisonization under post-carceral supervision, there is currently no empirical explanation for this transmission. This study aims to advance the literature in this regard and to aid scholars and helping professionals who interact with EXPs to make the resettlement transition easier, and, ultimately, contribute to fewer carceral-related challenges.

Conclusion. I provided a pattern of empirical evidence that gives some support to the idea that prisonization features transmit to life outside prison. EXPs are socialized according to an unwritten prisonized social code that is comprised of imported features, deprivation wrought by prison infrastructure and policy, and individual characteristics. But how do these features

manifest outside prison? How does PCP impact prisoners' post-carceral adjustment, efforts to develop their personal identities, and family relationships? This study sought to answer these questions.

3 Methodology

I endeavored to learn how incarcerated male prisoners experience prisonization outside prison. I am mindful of Anfara, Brown, and Mangione's (2002) critique that qualitative researchers often vaguely describe how they connect data collection to research questions, document emergent theory, and ensure trustworthiness. I attended to my study's trustworthiness using common qualitative techniques and expanding on others. I used peer debriefing, triangulation, thick description, purposive sampling, reflexivity, and peer examination. I describe grounded theory methods (hereafter, GTM) and how GTM are the framework for my study's emergent theory. GTM are qualitative methods first described by Glaser and Strauss (1965; 1967). Scholars disagree about which methods comprise GTM, but generally they refer to prolonged field engagement, intensive interviewing, coding processes that develop themes and categories, and constantly compared data. Researchers' approach to analyzing qualitative data vary, and sometimes there is confusion about how analysis is accomplished. Thus, I outline my coding strategy, and discuss why I included four coding phases.

I developed an interpretive repertoire that describes all theories, data, metaphors, vocabularies, and ideas related to the emergent theory (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011). The interpretive repertoire refers to the language I use to describe life after prison. I introduced that language in the literature review and explored its congruence with EXPs' realities. I aimed to challenge notions about prisonization by exploring the post-carceral context. I sought to unbind the data from assumptions about reentry, deconstruct conjecture about how former prisoners

experience life outside prison, construct new interpretive repertoires through the analytic process, and engage in ongoing reflexive critique (Alvesson & Kärreman).

3.1 Position Statement

Gary Marcus (2004) is a well-known researcher who specializes in gene-environment interactions and brain development. Marcus argues that we have “built-in” structures to regulate how we respond to various stimuli throughout our lives. This does not mean that our genes are all-determinate (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). Rather, we are “organized in advance of experience” (2004, p. 40). I use this metaphor to describe how my experiences, characteristics, and beliefs posture me toward my study’s various parts. Rather than avoid my beliefs, I temper them with clear study design and analytic strategy. My beliefs organize me, but my commitment to high-quality scholarship guides my methodological approach.

A contested GTM idea is that the researcher’s position within a study influences analysis and outcomes. Some researchers maintain that they collaborate in the research, dually responsible for the emerging theory. Others argue that the researcher stands at the edge of the study as an observer rather than a participant. To these researchers, reflexive work, which refers to researchers’ attempts to report how their personal characteristics interact with and influence their studies, are distracting (Glaser, 1998; 2001; Kelle, 2005). I agree with Strauss and Corbin (1994) that researchers are a part of the theory and cannot be divorced from the process. Like a careful botanist who scrutinizes her impact on her environment, I engage in reflexive work to catalogue my impact on my research. Ongoing reflexive work demands self-analysis in a way that brings the researcher into the process. Readers gain access to my interests, positions, and assumptions, and how those influenced inquiry (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Thus, I make my posture toward the data transparent and describe what role that might play in the theory.

I admit that I approach this statement with caution and a hint of hesitation. When I wrote my proposal, I did not know how to craft this statement, so I was academic and stale. Now that I've completed my study, I realize that my problem was not that I did not know how to write the statement, but rather, that I did now know how to be reflexive and self-critical in the context of a study. The only way I can illustrate my development as a reflexive researcher is to share with you a moment that thrust me into self-awareness.

It was my tenth interview. In front of me sat Ronnie, uncertainty expressed in his shoulders and caution on his face. I asked Ronnie when was the last time he was released from jail or prison, a standard fare demographic question I asked all my study 's participants. Ronnie responded that although he felt like he had been out for years, his most recent release came less than a few months ago. Most of his time locked up was in federal prison, so when I asked Ronnie what it was that sent him back, I expected to hear the standard response. Either he got caught up once again (language to describe drug involvement) or he violated probation. Ronnie explained that he was arrested again because his probation officer did not like the church he attended. Confused, I asked him to clarify. Ronnie reiterated that his probation officer explained to him that he was not allowed to attend the church at which he currently worshipped, and thus, he was forced to decide whether his freedom or his church was more valuable. He chose his church, and by consequence, Ronnie was arrested and sent back to prison for an additional year. As Ronnie shared his story, I developed a looming suspicion. The pieces did not add up. Why would Ronnie's probation officer arrest him because of the church he attended?

I chose to come back to this issue after the interview to determine if I could make sense of Ronnie's experience. After a few days, I spoke with a social worker from the site at which I conducted interviews who explained to me that " ex-cons " like to think themselves victims of

their parole and probation officers any time they violate. Indeed, I had collected many stories that describe how EXPs sometimes feel they 've been treated unjustly by probation or parole. I decided, almost unconsciously, to accept the social worker 's interpretation. There was probably more to Ronnie's story that I wasn 't hearing. I wrote a memo about how sometimes EXPs feel victimized by POs outside prison. In the middle of writing the memo, however, I suddenly realized that my decision to treat Ronnie's story with suspicion pushed him even farther to the margins.

Upon realizing that I had unwittingly made a methodological decision to be suspicious of my participants, I felt a sense of shame. I was surprised that despite all my education, class papers about social justice and intersectionality, and my two years in a research fellowship dedicated to increasing the visibility of marginalized groups, that I failed to accomplish one simple task: believe. Fighting through my shame and surprise, I made a methodological decision that brings me back here, to my position statement. The decision makes a difference in how you should interpret my findings. From Ronnie's interview to the last word I type in this dissertation, I have chosen to abandon personal skepticism that I believe is grounded in prison stereotypes and the very stigma that I sought to highlight in this study. I chose and continue to choose to believe my participants ' stories. As a result, I interpreted these stories outside the mainstream reentry culture, which views EXPs skeptically. I analyzed the stories according to my participants ' realities to my best ability. When participants ' stories seemed to conflict, rather than attempt to detect which story was truer, I simply chose to hold the two stories in tension and conclude that each experience played a unique role in in life outside prison.

My experience with Ronnie highlights two important features. First, the content feature that I described, which was my decision to believe participants' stories without question, and

second, the process feature, which was how I came to that decision. Every piece of my experience led me both to the original assumption about Ronnie and my latent decision to believe him. As a white, Christian, heterosexual male, I am imbued with privilege that puts me at a marginal risk for incarceration compared to my research participants. Deeply embedded within my cultural framework is the hint of a hidden bias. Like a creaky step on an otherwise well-built staircase, the bias pushed me toward skepticism, co-opting myself with the reentry personnel with whom I interacted. Would I have the creaky step were I less male, less heterosexual, less white, or less Christian? It is possible. More importantly, however, I imagine that did I not enjoy every social privilege upon which American culture exists, I may not have decided to be suspicious.

In the same way, my education and interaction with marginalized people is probably what promoted my self-criticism, allowing me the opportunity to rethink Ronnie's story. The process of identifying the hidden privilege and exposing it, also dethrones it from within my interpretive framework. Thus, I took this self-critical approach with every code, concept, category, and theme I co-constructed following Ronnie's interview. I brought all of myself fully into the research, and each methodological decision I made has a reflexive fingerprint on it.

3.2 Population and Recruitment

I interviewed 19 men who were released from county or state jails, state or federal prison, or mandated drug treatment confinement. Of the 19 men I interviewed, 11 (58%) identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino, 6 (32%) identified themselves as Black or African American, 1 (5%) identified as White or European American, and 1 (<1%) as Native American. Seven (37%) of the participants retained hourly or wage employment, 8 (42%) reported being unemployed, three participants retained day labor (16%), and one (5%) was a salaried employee

with benefits. All participants were under parole or probation at some point after release, however at the time of the interview, 58% (n=11) were under state or federal supervision. Thirty-two percent (n=6) lived in a residential treatment facility or halfway house, twenty-one percent (n=4) lived with a family member or partner (this category designates “others” as paying rent or mortgage), and 8 (42%) rented an apartment or home. The youngest participant I interviewed was 22, and the oldest, 59 (m=42.8). I attached a comprehensive description of each interview in a data sample characteristics summary in appendix B. Demographic data are represented in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Characteristics and context variables (N=19)

Characteristic		
	N	%
Age		
18 to 24 years	1	5.2
25 to 29 years	3	15.7
30 to 39 years	4	21.1
40 to 49 years	2	10.5
50+ years	9	47.3
Ethnicity		
African American	5	26.3
European American	1	5.2
Latino or Hispanic	11	57.8
Native American	1	5.2
Other	1	5.2
Employment Status		
Salaried with benefits	1	5.2
Day labor	3	15.7
Hourly wage	7	36.8

Unemployed	8	42.1
Years Incarcerated		
1 to 5 years	7	36.8
6 to 10 years	6	31.5
11 to 15 years	2	10.5
15 to 20 years	3	15.7
20 + years	1	5.2
Facility Type		
Federal prison	4	21.1
State prison	11	57.8
County jail	2	10.5
Mandated drug treatment	2	10.5
Relationship status		
Married	1	5.2
Single	9	47.3
In a relationship	2	10.5
Divorced	3	15.7
Separated	3	15.7
Widower	1	5.2
Number of children		
0	6	31.5
1	5	26.3
2 to 3	4	21.1
4+	4	21.1
Years Since Release		
Less than 1 year	4	21.1
1 to 5 years	12	63.1
5 + years	3	15.7

I collected data from exarcerated men recruited from Bexar County Detention Ministries Incorporated (BCDM), a reentry nonprofit in San Antonio, TX. BCDM is a Christian faith-

based organization that provides services to any person who has “done time” in the Texas criminal justice system. I conducted 19 face-to-face interviews, which I recorded digitally and transcribed to support textual analyses. I conducted interviews in a privately enclosed office, and each interview lasted between 60 and 120 minutes. I constructed each interview question to purposely answer my research questions. I demonstrate the relationship between interview and research questions in Table 2.

Table 2

Research Questions in Relation to Interview Questions¹

Research Questions	Interview Questions
1. How do EXPs experience and define post-carceral prisonization?	1, 3, 4, 5, 16
2. In what ways do reentry challenges represent post-carceral prisonization?	6, 7, 13, 15, 16
a. What features of post-carceral prisonization existed during incarceration?	
b. How are these features manifested in life after prison?	
3. What role does post-carceral prisonization play in EXPs’ identity development?	2, 4, 12, 17
4. What role does post-carceral prisonization play in EXPs’ family relationships?	8, 9, 10, 11

1. Adapted from Anfara et al. (2002)

I restricted the population to men for multiple reasons. First, scholars acknowledge that criminological research is unique for both men and women. As a result, more women’s studies have emerged, and prison-based studies focus on the experience of being an incarcerated man and woman as opposed to promoting hegemonic prison-based research with men that is cloaked in gender neutrality (Fields & Abrams, 2010; O’Brien, 2001). In keeping with this scholarship, I do not assume that men and women have the same incarcerated experiences. I focus on men’s

experiences because that is where my interest leads me. I chose not to make exclusive decisions about parole or probation (i.e. Only probationers or parolees could participate) because I hoped to capture the essence of life after prison broadly in an effort to make suggestions for future research with specific incarcerated groups.

I collaborated with the program coordinator and five case workers, each of whom made phone calls to clients on their case loads who met the study requirements. We recruited men who were at least 18 years old who had been incarcerated in a county, state, or federal jail or prison. Once case workers called participants and they agreed to be interviewed, case workers inserted participants into 90 minute slots that I had previously inserted into a shared calendar. Case workers then notified me by email that I had a new appointment. Case workers identified potential participants without pressuring participants to be involved in the study. Before case workers started contacting participants, I conducted a two-hour introduction to the study, which included my selection criteria and the methods for recruiting participants. All case workers are professionally trained in the helping professions, and are experienced with former inmates. Although I was not responsible for direct recruitment, participants were directly referred to me by the program workers by advertising the opportunity through their case management services, with flyers on their central offices, and by word of mouth. The interview process was made available to all participants within the program.

3.3 Data Collection

I conducted grounded theory (GTM) interviews in three waves of five and one wave of four. I collected my data in waves for two reasons. First, GTM rely on the constant comparative method, which requires that researchers analyze and gather data simultaneously. Constant comparison provides researchers with access to developing concepts and themes, while

holding researchers accountable to new ideas and concepts that support, distinguish, or contraindicate the emerging theory. After my first wave of five interviews, I transcribed each interview to support data analysis. I read and re-read each interview transcript before coding to immerse myself in the data. I open and focused coded the interview transcripts to complete a preliminary analysis.

After I open coded the first five transcripts, I returned to data collection and did not code any further until I collected a second wave of five interviews. Once I reached the 13th interview, I concluded that I had reached a point that my emerging concepts were sufficiently saturated with indicators. This process seemed in line with qualitative researchers studying data saturation. In an attempt to document how many interviews are required to reach the point of data saturation, Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) examined interview data from 60 interviews with West African mothers. Guest et al. discovered that researchers reached data saturation within twelve interviews, although categories began to develop within as little as six interviews.

Even though I felt my concepts were saturated, I coded two more interviews (n=15) to complete the third wave of data collection. Finally, I collected the fourth and final wave of interviews after I fully saturated all 54 concepts that emerged from the preliminary data collection. I reserved the final five interviews for advanced analysis and theoretical sampling.

Theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling refers to how a researcher gathers more data to saturate categories that have emerged during preliminary data collection. After I conducted fifteen interviews, I constructed four themes that emerged from 54 concepts. Thus, I abandoned the interview script I had used to this point in favor of questions that focused on the emergent categories (n=14). For example, EXPs described feeling both psychologically captive to probation and parole. I needed to explore what exactly it meant to be restrain emotion. In my

interviews, I focused on this category by asking questions about my participant's experiences of restraining emotion. The category was saturated by the final five interviews. This process produced five themes that are subsumed by my core theoretical discovery. I document each theme's development adapting Anfara's et al. (2002) code map. I present each table with its concurrent theme in the results section.

3.4 Data Analysis

To analyze my data, I used a web-based software called 'Dedoose.' Dedoose is a qualitative and mixed methods data analysis tool that is stored completely online. All my interviews were transcribed using Microsoft Word. After I transcribed each wave of interviews, I uploaded text documents onto the Dedoose server so that I could access it at any point. I open coded all my transcripts using Dedoose, and selected indicators by hand, organizing them into visual maps in Microsoft Word.

3.5 Trustworthiness

There is considerable debate among researchers about how to judge GTM legitimacy. To address these concerns, I rely on Guba and Lincoln's (1985) four criteria for judging qualitative research. One general theme I hope emerges from my attempt to establish trustworthiness is transparency. I took every effort to make my research process visible, as jargon free as possible, and easily replicable. These trustworthiness standards outline the steps I took to ensure my study's transparency.

Credibility. To establish credibility, which refers to the extent to which the study is consistent with reality, I used negative case analysis, and my research background and therapeutic history provides a reasonable amount of familiarity with the reentry culture. Negative case analysis refers to a process that involves intentionally searching for or discussing

elements of the data that do not seem to support the emergent findings of the theory (Creswell, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Negative case requires that researchers document their search for data that does not seem to fit. In each wave of data collection, I reserved the fifth interview to explicitly search for examples of negative case that seem to contradict emergent findings. One example of negative case in my study was how some participants seemed to have a positive experience with their parole or probation officers. Others seemed to feel generally positive about life after prison. While these examples were limited, Guba and Lincoln suggest that to address negative case, the researcher should incorporate the negative case elements into the theory, which was what I chose to do by outlining how some prisoners' are better equipped to progress toward positive PC identity development than others because of greater family support and other resources I will outline later. After I searched every fifth interview for negative case, I recoded the the interview transcript in an open coding format.

Further, using a technique called referential adequacy, I retained the 10th and 19th interview for analysis at the end of my study. I archived these interviews for later analysis to make sure that I was staying true to the data, and that I wasn't going to find anything that would overtly disconfirm my findings. I found it necessary to use one interview about halfway through the study and one at the end so that I could profile participants' responses based on the original interview script and the augmented interviews that I used to theoretically sample categories.

Dependability. Dependability relies on how replicable and visible the methods and analytic processes were in the study. Qualitative dependability is concerned with the contextual aspects of the study, not to ensure that the same result can be found if a similar study is replicated, but to ensure that researchers maintain integrity with their emergent theory to illustrate that it can be reasonably compared to other emergent theories that study similar data.

To address dependability, I created detailed audit trails that ensure an easily replicated study, subjected my findings to external audit, provided documentation of emergent codes, concepts, categories, and themes, and tracked the theory in relation to the data by indicating what findings emerged from what pieces of data (i.e. Interviews, memos).

All of my techniques, interpretations, and documentation are subject to the scrutiny of my committee chair and members, which provided an external audit. My committee chair serves as a kind of ongoing auditor, as Dr. Arditti had access to every nook and cranny of my research throughout data collection and analysis. Dr. Arditti reviewed my findings and supported my analytic process.

External audits are not without critique. Critics argue that from a post-structural perspective, the notion of objectivity is irrelevant and external auditing simply lends itself to outside interpretation. Others who lend toward a pragmatist paradigm argue that external audits offer dependability by ensuring that other qualified professionals generally agree on the accuracy of the research process. I choose to rely on the external audit process and accept the risk of multiple interpretations of the emergent theory. The reason for this is because the benefits of an external audit are that it offers critical feedback on both the data and the research process.

Transferability. Transferability refers to the extent to which the study can transfer to other, real life contexts. It answers the question, “can other former prisoners relate to these findings?” I have addressed transferability in my literature review and background by providing adequate background data, literature, and theoretical implications. Additionally, I spent at least 60 minutes in each interview, collaborated with professionals rooted in the reentry field, and interviewed 19 participants. By spending ample time with 19 diverse participants, I ensured that I gathered enough data to build a theory grounded in my participants experiences. Thus, other

prisoners may not be able to relate to the findings 100%, but perhaps the idea is to get as close as possible. GTM are not an exact science. Further, I took special care in my report to document as much of the process as possible. This promotes open access to my findings, which is more an issue of dependability, but also supports the notion that participants of others studies can relate to the path that brought me to my conclusions.

Confirmability. I am somewhat hesitant about Guba and Lincoln's definition of confirmability. Confirmability is concerned with how deeply rooted the findings are rooted in the participants' data, as opposed to researcher bias, or in my case, input from social workers who saw me in the field. My belief about reflexivity and bias follow Malterud's (2001) assumptions insofar as they apply to qualitative research. Many qualitative researchers are concerned with researcher bias, and the way it infiltrates or corrupts a study. Malterud points out that researcher bias or belief is only damaging if it is left in the dark, thereby unaccountable to the research process. To address this concern, therefore, I kept detailed reflexivity memos during data collection and analysis. I created a memo for each interview that documented how I felt and my response to the discussion. It is difficult to know exactly where my interpretive process begins and my clients' stories end. However, my analytic goal was to remain as close to the clients' lived experiences as possible.

3.6 Coding

After nearly six decades of GTM, I assumed that coding processes would be clearly described, outlined, and theorized. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Coding practices can be confusing and controversial. When I reviewed available coding techniques, I was perplexed by jargon scholars used to explain methods. Charmaz's (2003) theoretical eloquence upstaged any attention to detail. LaRossa (2005) explained coding succinctly, but with too much interpretation

in the open coding phase for me to be comfortable. For example, LaRossa argues that the outcome of open coding should be to develop theoretical categories. Theoretical categories are three levels of interpretation away from the interview transcripts. I needed a coding option that develops one step at a time.

My coding approach is based on Strauss and Corbin's (1990; 1998), except that I add focused coding from Glazer (1978) and Charmaz (2003). I recognize that by combining a I think of coding as a ladder with four steps. The first step, open coding, is close to the ground. It doesn't take me too far from my data, but the goal was to develop indicators that stuck close to my participants' language. The second step is focused coding, which is a much higher climb up the ladder and resulted in 46 concepts, which categorized all the indicators that emerged from the 15 interviews that I open coded. The third step is even higher up the ladder. In axial coding, I compared all the concepts with each other, referring back to interview transcripts to saturate concepts that were a little thin, and ended up with categories. After constructing the initial categories, I coded to saturate each category by referring back to the previously coded interviews, which resulted in an additional eight concepts to help saturate the categories, for a total of 54.

Finally, my final step at the top of the ladder was the selective coding process. Selective coding resulted in developing my core themes. By comparing all the categories I developed, theoretically sampling the final four interviews, and solidifying the core themes, I reached the top of the ladder.

Open coding. The purpose of open coding is to construct concepts by reading the data line-by-line, searching for indicators that emerge directly from a participant's words. An indicator is another way to describe an open code. Indicators are the smallest molecular particles

that make up an atom. I read the text for salient events, beliefs, interpretations, and descriptions of PCP. I codified the stories using as many action words as possible. Action words are gerunds that “detect processes and stick to the data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 49). My goal was to yield fruit ripe for picking. In open coding, concepts are the grapes. They are short codes that subsume one or more indicators, capturing their collective essence. Concepts grow through detailed, line-by-line open coding, and are one abstract step away from the data. Indicators are the seeds, stems, sugars, and water that make the concept what it is.

First, as I coded transcripts for indicators, I discovered patterns of similarly themed events, illustrations, actions, or beliefs. Once I coded 13 interview transcripts, I no longer needed to code using new indicators because the previous twelve transcripts developed enough indicators such that coding no longer added no additional or novel meaning. Regardless, I open coded two more interviews (n=15) to be sure they blended sufficiently so that they became repetitive and were no longer adding new information to the emerging concepts. Thus, I sufficiently open coded the transcripts and developed 719 indicators, but I did not apply all of these to emerging concepts.

I abandoned indicators for two reasons. First, I discarded indicators that did not saturate, or were not theoretically related to other indicators. Second, I eliminated indicators that did not adequately describe life outside prison. For example, many participants spoke at length about their time during incarceration. While I found this information valuable and intriguing, much of it did not relate to life outside prison. I retained some interview data that described life in prison because it had a direct impact on life outside prison. For example, participants described “picking things up” in prison (i.e. attitudes and behaviors) that they then used in life outside prison. Indicators that illustrated a direct relationship between life in and outside prison, I

retained. Also, I combined indicators closely related by language (i.e. *suffering after leaving prison; suffering during post-release*) into a single indicator. After I discarded or combined the indicators meeting these criteria, 383 codes remained, which saturated 54 concepts (m=7.09).

Focused coding. Focused coding produces theoretically saturated categories. If open coding is one small step from the data, focused coding is one giant leap toward abstract interpretations. Each category I developed subsumed at least two concepts. Initially, categories needed only one concept, but like a good Bordeaux, categories need concepts that are well-blended, and complex enough to stand up to time and scrutiny. I read and re-read all 54 concepts multiple times before I made a decision about which concepts were similarly related. I grouped concepts that were closely themed, based on context (i.e. parole or probation), action (i.e. strategies for dealing with joblessness), or descriptions of attitudes and emotions (i.e. feelings about stigma). I did not realize until after codes were grouped that this order was how I chose to group concepts, but I reviewed overarching categorical descriptions that seemed to glue the concepts together. Some groups included insight about supervision or other elements of life outside prison, but most saliently described participants' emotions about an issue. Others discussed many issues, but were couched within one context, like probation or parole. Still, for others, the most important conceptual elements were the actions participants took to engage life outside prison.

Axial coding. The purpose of axial coding is to produce thick description around emergent categories and to understand the relationship between categories. Thick description refers to the depth of a category, and to the extent to which it describes an experience in full detail. In axial coding, I moved beyond describing events and actions taken in the data to examine the participants' goals and intentions. Axial coding related my categories to each other

and wove data back together that were fractured by previous layers of coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). Charmaz (2006) outlines axial coding as an important step in the analytic process:

Axial coding follows the development of a category, although it may be in an early stage of development. The purposes of axial coding are to sort, synthesize, and organize large amounts of data and reassemble them in new ways after open coding. (p. 60)

Qualitative researchers often cite the use of the “six C’s” as they are commonly called: causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariances, and conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 153). I felt that I could reduce the “six C’s” to three scientific principles without sacrificing rigor: 1) conditions; 2) actions; and 3) consequences. To examine these principles, I asked “what, where, when, why, and for what purpose?” of my data. What I mean by “asking” of my data is that I went back to data that I had already coded to examine the text segment by segment to look for information that linked categories together.

For example, I sought to discover when EXPs displayed resilience, under what conditions, what actions illustrated resilience, and why were they resilient rather than antisocial or criminogenic. Asking these questions developed relationships between the categories. I learned, for example, that participants constructed their identities as survivors, navigating challenges outside prison. One of the ways EXPs survived was by controlling their anger and walking away from fights. Thus, “identity” emerged as a major theme subsuming “survival,” and “emotional restraint,” both of which were categories.

Selective coding. Selective coding produces the narrative heart and soul of GTM research. To selectively code, researcher must be willing to theoretically saturate a single theme around which all other indicators, concepts, categories, and themes develop. Although selective

coding is a debated method because it assumes that all elements of participant narratives are interrelated, I chose to selectively code data because I wanted to identify the core substance of life outside prison and PCP. I recognized my participants' independent narrative components. Indeed, I respect those components and give them their own life by describing and illustrating experiences such as how EXPs progress toward positive identity development. However, I sought to find a single substance that seemed to capture how EXPs live with and respond to life outside prison.

To identify the core substance, I examined the relationship between the five emergent themes that I developed. I referred back to the 10th interview and the final interview conducted late in the analysis process. I conducted a final interview after I developed the emergent themes. In this interview, I focused exclusively on discovering relationships between the themes. For example, I was interested in discovering how challenges in life after prison contributed to EXPs' resilience. I asked questions like the following, "how have the challenges you've faced since you've been released contributed to the emotional strength you have now?" Early in my interviews, this question would have been too leading, but since I developed the major themes, I examined the relationships I developed from the data. I reviewed data in the five final interviews segment by segment to discover if the late interview data supported the core substance. I did not code the 10th and 19th transcripts, but I reviewed the data to discover key excerpts and look for data that seemed to contradict. I discovered no data that could both saturate and directly contradict the core substance, however I do provide evidence of negative case for each theme in my results section.

Using Anfara's et al. (2002, p. 32) code mapping chart, I illustrate the relationship between concepts, categories, and emergent themes. I include LaRossa's (2005, p. 852) core variable chart to depict how the major themes saturate the core substance.

3.7 Memos

The memos I wrote were like the post-it notes that you might leave on your vanity to remind you to do something important later. They were the heart of my analysis. Although coding drove the structure, memos drove my creativity. They connected my ideas to the data, held those ideas accountable, and sometimes reminded me that I was foolishly forcing ideas onto data. Thus, I discarded ideas, held accountable by analytical post-it notes that encouraged me to think and live in my participants' narratives. I wrote four types of memos. First, following Charmaz's (2006) two-stage memo method, I wrote early and advanced memos to document my analytical process. These included my thoughts, beliefs, frustrations, questions, and challenges about and toward data. Early memos were those that I wrote during open and focused coding. Advanced memos were any other memos after focused coding, and usually expanded on the relationships between emerging categories and themes. I was less frustrated at this point.

I also include two more types of memos. First, any methodological change I made during the study, I documented using a methodological memo. For example, one major change was how I decided to recruit participants from halfway houses. I documented the change to IRB and my reasons for this. Halfway house participants were still members of the reentry program in which I conducted interviews. It made little difference in terms of data, but it was important to document in keeping with my desire to create a trustworthy study. In addition, I documented my decision to eliminate indicators that were not saturating any concepts, and why. As I illustrated in my discussion about indicators, all memos eventually found themselves within this report.

Finally, I included InVivo codes, which Charmaz (2006) uses to pay particular attention to participant's use of language that makes no sense anywhere else. For example, the concept "Deprogramming" began as an InVivo code. Many participants used this word to describe the process of shedding prison attitudes and behaviors in life outside prison. Thus, I documented this term, as it made little sense without context.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Conducting research with incarcerated populations poses unique ethical dilemmas. As a clinician, I approach ethics with care because I am accustomed to the clients' welfare entrusted to me. Some of the unique ethical considerations I will need to make for this population follow. First, I ensured that no research participants were manipulated into participating in my study. I conducted a thorough training with referring staff to illustrate how to recruit participants without coercing them. Staff at BCDM were highly motivated to recruit participants and believed that by producing research participants, it would benefit their program. Thus the training was important to both reassure staff that we did not need to "push" anyone to be in the study because we would almost certainly reach my goal number of 20 participants. I conducted mock phone calls with staff to illustrate the difference between a casual and informative request, and a coercive one.

I provided research participants with written copies of informed consent documents that I kept for my records and they kept themselves. I verbally informed participants to make sure they understood that they were under no pressure to participate in the interviews simply because their case worker invited them to participate. I ensured that participants understood the limits, benefits, potential risks, and purpose of the study in order to confirm that participants are capable of giving voluntary consent. I collected verbal and written confirmation that participants understand they can leave the study at any point, if they wished.

Many of my research participants were both probationers and parolees whose participation in the study could have put them at risk of violation if they tell me they are involved in any child abuse or neglect. This is an example of something I shared with each participant who goes through informed consent prior to the study to ensure participants were fully aware of the risks they took by sharing information with me.

I was diligent about how I collected participants' information. Because I was working within a cooperating agency, I used the agency's space and participant referrals came from agency case workers. This presented a possible ethical challenge when it came to participants' data as well as ensuring participants' anonymity. I informed participants that I could not completely secure their anonymity because they were referred to me by their case worker who contacted them to see if they were interested. However, scheduling the appointment was done anonymously, using no identifying information. I escorted participants through an undisclosed back door to a securely located location where no other staff or participants were present. Also, I retained no identifying information.

Perhaps the most important ethical step I took was my effort to protect my participant's psychological safety, or to increase their peace of mind about participating in the interviews. Out of ignorance, I did not consider this before I started my interviews. My first interview, however, made me realize that although participants willingly consented without coercion, many did not consider the interview safe. As a result I amended the interview protocol and provided more background information on myself, clarified the study's prospective outcomes, and offered multiple opportunities for participants to ask questions. This seemed to ease the participants' anxiety about participating.

Summary. There is much to learn about how EXPs' experience of prisonization plays a role in their reentry process, how it organizes their social relationships, and how it contributes to outcomes that are commonly associated with reentry. I expect to describe how EXPs transmit specific features of prisonization into their relationships with their families and friends, their ability to find employment, and their ability to desist from substance abuse or criminogenic behaviors. I also expect to discover how EXPs experience life outside prison, and what factors contribute or limit agency. The scope of this study is to discover these relationships in an effort to advance scientific knowledge and empower helping professionals to attend to the consequences of incarceration.

4 Results

I sought to discover how PCP emerges after release from prison or jail, how EXPs reform their identities, and how PCP influences EXPs' post-carceral adjustment and family relationships. In the course of this study, I discovered that some novel elements of PCP emerge after prison. For example, EXPs encountered "prison satellites" when they reported to probation and parole. I also discovered that EXPs "export" elements of prisonization as they import criminal histories into prison. I discovered that although PCP exists, EXPs pursuit of freedom and the challenges that obstruct their pursuit define life outside prison.

Here, I describe how when EXPs return to their receiving communities, they bring prison outside with them, and choose which prisonized behaviors they retain and adapt, and why. I describe how EXPs shed a prisonized identity in exchanged for a reformed one. I explain how social, economic, and material assets potentiate a reformed identity. Finally, I explain how despite agency and a reformed identity, the freedom EXPs gain is ambiguous, which permanently challenges EXPs' ability to break completely free of the stigma of being a former

prisoner or in some cases, break free of recidivism cycles. In figure two, I present my four themes, which both summarizes the major thematic findings as well as illustrates extent to which the participants saturated each result.

Figure 2

Data Saturation Matrix¹

Major finding	Interview source ²																		
<u>Returning Prisonized</u>	M	I	Je	Jo	B	E	D	Ma	R	P	El	Z	Je	Js	Ro	Da	Er	Dv	Ri
1. Adaptive exports are those that support freedom.		X	X	X					X	X			X	X	X	X			X
2. Inhibitive prison exports threaten freedom and have no supportive function.	X	X		X				X	X	X		X	X		X				X
3. EXPs lose access to social and civic resources.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X			X
4. EXPs sacrifice time to probation and parole.	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. EXPs sacrifice financial resources to probation and parole for the promise of freedom.	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Identity</u>																			
6. EXPs create psychological distance between themselves and their former criminal identity.		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
7. EXPs rebuild social ties within supportive communities.		X	X	X	X	X	X			X				X	X	X	X	X	X
8. EXPs exchange criminal identities for spiritual or religious ones.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
<u>Assets</u>																			
9. EXPs lack social assets, illustrated by stigma.	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X			X	X
10. EXPs lack material assets, evidenced by a dearth of available housing.	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X
11. EXPs lack economic assets, represented by employment barriers.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X		X
<u>Ambiguous Freedom</u>																			
12. EXPs experience a loss of credit with local, state, and federal governments.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
13. EXPs endure a constant threat of arrest and incarceration by potentially violating parole or probation, or because of pending cases.	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
14. EXPs endure long-term threats from random acts of incarceration.	X			X	X	X	X	X		X			X		X	X	X	X	X

1. Adapted from Anfara et al. (2002)

2. I abbreviate interview sources using the participants' aliases, which can be located in the sample characteristics appendix.

4.1 Theme One: Returning Prisonized

When EXPs leave confinement, they return, inculcated with prison-based language, behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes. This is the result of prisonization. But how does prisonization extend or manifest within the post-carceral community? How do EXPs thrive in a society that is vastly different than the hierarchically-based, aggressive, and strict role-enforced prison context? To begin, EXPs strive to adjust to a new way of life. Adjustment refers to the behavioral and attitudinal changes EXPs make to assimilate to life outside prison. EXPs discover that prisonized behaviors and attitudes are risky outside of prison. While incarcerated, a violent response to a perceived threat increases status among the social order of other prisoners. Outside of prison, violence becomes an unacceptable behavior that potentially threatens freedom if violent perpetrators are arrested. Given the social identity to which EXPs assimilate, what actions must EXPs take in order to retain their freedom and adjust to a new way of life?

First, EXPs make a choice to live a different lifestyle than the one that led to their arrest and subsequent incarceration. Not all EXPs make this choice, but those who no longer want to live a criminal lifestyle make an active choice to live free of illegal activities. This choice is usually prompted or accompanied by a spiritual or religious change experience during or soon after incarceration. Once released, EXPs must decide whether or how to change prisonized behaviors and how to respond to novel manifestations of prisonization that emerge after release (i.e. reporting to probation or parole as a “prison satellite”). EXPs strive to adapt to life outside prison by facing new responsibilities like financially providing for self and family members, dealing with pending cases in other jurisdictions, paying fines and fees, and finding employment. Second, EXPs must adjust to new social norms outside prison. To accomplish this, EXPs abandon prisonized behaviors that threaten freedom, such as aggressive or violent conflict.

However, EXPs do not abandon all prisonized behaviors. My findings suggest that EXPs retain some prisonized behaviors that they find useful outside prison. Thus, in the same way that prisoners “import” criminal histories, gang affiliations, and a family history of criminal activity, EXPs “export” prisonized beliefs and behaviors when they return to society. Below, I describe how EXPs return to society, what prisonized behaviors they retain, and which they abandon. Table three documents this theme’s development.

Table 3

Code Mapping: Theme One

RQ#1: Definition of PCP?

RQ#2: When and where does PCP occur?

RQ#4: family relationships?

(Third iteration: Emergent Theme)

Theme One: Returning Prisonized

(Second Iteration: Categories)

A. Learning from prison	B. Leaving with prison	C. Emotional restraint
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(First Iteration: Concepts/Content Analysis)

1A. Using what prison gave me	1B. Choosing prison behaviors	1C. Learning to hide anger
2A. Changing my behavior for the better	2B. Taking prison outside	2C. Thinking before taking action
3A. Being better than before	3B. Carrying prison inside me	3C. Avoiding anger or hurt
4A. Learning from my		4C. Responding calmly

mistakes

Family outcome: Accepting changes, supporting, providing resources

DATA	DATA	DATA	DATA
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Prison exports. Participants adjusted to life outside prison by attempting to fit in with a faster-paced atmosphere, new social norms, and financial responsibilities or obligations that they did not have during incarceration. To achieve this, participants determined what behaviors are acceptable and which are unacceptable. Formerly valuable prison-based traits like hostility and social isolation were rejected and punished by social groups that do not support illegal activity. Participants retained self-protective attitudes, such as a healthy suspicion of criminal justice officials. Below, I describe inhibitive prison exports, which are those that threaten freedom and adaptable prison exports, which are those that help secure freedom.

Inhibitive prison exports. Participants reported that they reformed their identities by eschewing prison-based beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Inhibitive prison exports are behaviors that EXPs developed in prison, which persisted after release, and which disrupt normative social interactions. Inhibitive prison exports disrupted normative social interactions when participants misinterpreted common social interactions like extended eye contact, conflict, or accidental contact with strangers.

Participants who acted aggressively or unusually reported replicating prisonized beliefs about themselves. Aggressive behavior is not something he did, it is someone that he was. Thus, unwanted prisonized behaviors were a part of his identity. EXPs maintained their own language for prisonized behaviors, calling them their “animal” or “criminal” side. Abrupt and aggressive responses to conflict, misperception of social cues, and social isolation are examples

of inhibitive prison exports. EXPs reported that they responded to conflict situations aggressively, which they believed stems from internalized attitudes from prison:

I felt...they talk in that facility (confined drug treatment facility) where I went...they talk about, uh, dope fiend...they call it dope fiend moves, or addictive, addict behaviors. Like when you do something like that, when you manipulate your way into something or things like that. And um, I felt, I think they're right. You know, that criminal thinking. And uh, now looking back at that, its like man, I had that, I still have that criminal thinking. I might not be engaged in criminal activity now, but its really hard to...its really hard to – it still goes through my mind. (Raul)

Inhibitive prison exports are external expressions of an internalized identity. But what can an EXP do to reform, renew, or reshape their identities? EXPs reported that in order to establish their identities outside prison, they had to abandon old behaviors that contributed to their prisonized identities because life outside prison had different social and communicative patterns. EXPs learned to accept 'no' as a valid response, rather than a threat, for example, or abandoned prisonized language that identified them as former prisoners:

Survival instincts kick in so hard, that you do – your animal instincts come back. So as a matter of self-preservation, you know, when a guy is sitting right there and he puts something over here that means he's trying to take over my space. You know? So you, you, those instincts come in. Its like a dog. If he's got his bowl over here, and you get too close, he's gonna start growling. He's letting you know, 'this is mine; don't mess with it.' Those instincts come back. I'm out in public and I see somebody I know from there (prison). Automatically, I – even my speech goes to back to, 'Whats up homes?' It's the

way we talk in there. Since I've been out here, I've had to learn that those aren't words.

Those aren't – that's not a proper way to talk to anybody. (Joel)

Participants reported that inhibitive prison exports not only suppressed their freedom, but also promoted their prisonized identities. During confinement, for example, participants learned new skills and techniques for improving their criminal behavior that they employed after release and before their next incarceration. In this way, prison exports work actively against probation and parole units, who's stated purposes are to promote rehabilitation. Rather, inhibitive prison exports act as agents of prisonization that persist outside prison. So, when participants met probation and parole officers, they enacted prisonized behaviors like lying or deception to project a positive image or hide a behavior:

Instead of going to prison to rehabilitate myself for whatever it was that caused me to get there, I just learned more things. I just learned more things. More ways how to get over on the law. More ways how to just do things a little bit slicker, just an easier way.

(Phillip)

One thing about being incarcerated, when you get out here its just like every day I'm with a parole officer. I can say and tell you everything you want to hear, to get what I want from you. We become convicts. We become cons [as in, con artists]. Because, part of being on parole, you have to master that art of telling your parole officer, veering him from the questions he wants to ask you. You know, it's a mind game. When you go before parole, you wanna get on a subject that's gonna throw him off. You know? Its a psychological warfare you got going on. (Joel)

In some cases, participants reported that they “become criminals again” under post-carceral supervision by discovering how to manipulate their probation and parole officers.

Inhibitive prison exports provoked participants' unwanted emotions. Participants learned to regulate their emotions in an effort to eschew prisonized identities. Participants reported that emotional outbursts increase fear and anxiety because participants associated anger with aggression, aggression with violence, and violence with prison. Participants who discussed anger gave no context for healthy expressions of anger, instead describing it as the foundation for aggressive confrontation, which was a survival behavior developed in prison:

The longer you're incarcerated, the longer you are in prison, the longer certain things like 'no,' or people giving you orders tend to, you know, and I'm the kind of person, depending on how you tell me, if you ask me to do something and I'll probably do it for you with no - but if you like tell me something I could be like 'what the fuck' - you know in my mind, you know I'm not gonna tell you that in H-E-B, you know like 'what the fuck's wrong with you?' But I'm sure thinking that where I know that, you know, 10 years ago that wouldn't come to my mind. That is a product of being in prison. You know. You just walk in there and people are looking at you, then next thing - what the fuck are you looking at? You know mean mugging - you're saying - I'll do that here (outside prison)! You know what the fuck?! But I mean, the person's not even looking at you, he's looking through you. But because that's what you do over there (in prison), you think that it happens here. Somebody bumps into you, I mean they're just not looking where they're going, you know, sometimes, I've pushed 'em back. (Max)

Inhibitive prison exports socially isolated participants by promoting behaviors that that don't make sense outside prison. They encouraged suspicion and animosity between participants and the criminal justice community, placing participants at risk for violation. Participants' attempted

to shed these behaviors in an effort to reform prisonized identities and to strengthen their social standing.

Adaptable prison exports. Participants reported that they retained prison exports that they adapted to help them interact with others and self-soothe in anxiety-provoking situations. Participants supported their efforts to gain freedom by adapting behaviors such as suspicion into caution, to avoid risky social situations like parties where illicit drugs were available. Some participants socially isolated to avoid groups that contributed to their criminal behaviors and identities. Selective social isolation promoted freedom when participants simultaneously reformed ties to communities around religious or reentry organizations. Participants selectively avoided some groups as they engaged new social communities like churches or recovery groups. Thus, adaptable prison exports promoted reformed identities by providing social acceptance. EXPs who retained adaptable prison exports reported that the adapted behavior helped them while they were incarcerated:

I cut off the whole outside. It was – it made it easy to do my time. ‘Cuz I could just, you know, just do my time. I know what I did wrong. You know, I focused on – all my focus went on school, classes, um, getting my GED, I got my GED in there. So, I got more done, you know, uh, I feel like I got more done leaving – not, having the outside as a distraction... I think the way I do things now – just stay to myself is just – I’m happy and I’m actually peaceful, if that makes sense a little bit. (Jeremiah)

Family and social cutoff helped participants avoid people who might otherwise drink or do drugs. Rather than suffer social rejection for not doing drugs, participants isolated themselves until they felt comfortable engaging different groups. Other adaptable prison exports provided social protection in situations that provoke anxiety and stress. When participants who spent at

least a year incarcerated were released, they reported a period of time during which they adjusted to a faster paced social environment. Some participants no longer used behaviors they developed in prison to regulate their emotions and anxiety. These participants reported that they needed only a short time to readjust to stress. Others reported adapting prison behaviors to support long-term adjustment:

I still have a tendency to put my back to the wall. [laughs] 'Cuz you, I mean, you have to watch your back. You know, and, sometimes I do that. I'll be in certain places and I'll just put my back to the wall. You know? Just so I won't have nobody behind me or if somebody passes too close by me, I'll look and they'll (family) tell me, 'hey, why you looking all crazy at that person?' (Isaiah)

Adaptable prison exports supported freedom by providing tools for dealing with unfamiliar social interactions. They manifested as both novel experiences such as when participants expressed healthy caution when working with parole and probation officers, and exported beliefs and behaviors such as positive social isolation, which helped participants stay away from former social relationships that contribute to criminogenic behaviors. Participants most commonly reported selective social isolation and some form of reserved social behavior such as putting their backs to the wall or remaining silent when interacting with new people.

4.2 Theme Two: Identity

When participants left prison or jail, they sought to reform prisonized identities, the essence of which involved gaining freedom, eschewing criminal lifestyles, and integrating as civic members of society. A reformed prisonized identity refers to the experience of shedding a prisonized identity and establishing a new identity based on spiritual or religious language, community, and beliefs. Reformed identities were potentiated by gaining assets and limited by

losing assets. Identity reformation began when participants shed prisonized identities by exchanging old friends that contributed to criminal lifestyles for new friends who encouraged positive and prosocial behaviors, by living within the boundaries of new spiritual and religious beliefs, and by striving to integrate into society. Participants joined new social groups with novel social norms, within which group members punished criminogenic behaviors. Thus, participants identified with a new way of living and behaving. Finally, participants crafted identities around new narratives, usually catalyzed by spiritual or religious change. EXPs described previously lacking personal qualities like nonviolence, communication skills, or compassion and empathy, which would equip them to live civic lives. Thus, finding religion or spirituality behind bars provided a foundation for an identity transformation founded on a new narrative. Participants endeavored to exchange their prisonized identities for reformed ones. I illustrate how I saturated this theme in Table four, and in the following, I describe how this process occurs.

Table 4

Code Mapping: Theme Two

RQ#1: Definition of PCP?	RQ#2: When and where does PCP occur?	RQ#3: EXP identity?	RQ#4: family relationships?	
<i>(Third iteration: Emergent Theme)</i>				
Theme Two: Identity				
<i>(Second Iteration: Categories)</i>				
A. Agency	B. Shedding prison identity	C. Positive change	D. Survival	E. New social groups
<i>(First Iteration: Concepts/Content Analysis)</i>				

1A. Resisting probation and parole	1B. Moving forward behaviors	1C. Wanting change	1D. Providing and surviving	1E. Finding new friends
2A. Confronting challenges	2B. Losing old behaviors	2C. Changing for the better	2D. Doing what it takes to survive	2E. Joining different communities
3A. Establishing new community	3B. Discovering new life	3C. Learning positive behaviors	3D. Accessing and using resources	3E. Staying around positive people
	4B. Leaving prison behind	4C. Spirituality causing change	4D. Changing my behavior for the better	4E. Creating new family

Family outcome: Family support, Family resources

DATA	DATA	DATA	DATA
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Shedding a prison identity. Participants abandoned the parts of their identity that they associated with prison life. This meant abandoning prison-based language, learning to be nonreactive in conflict situations, gaining new life skills like discipline, and ceasing former behaviors that fostered criminogenic lifestyles like drug abuse. Participants described this process as shedding prison, taking prison off, putting prison behind them, or learning what it means to be free. Thus, this process emerges as the beginning of an identity exchange in which EXPs initiated changes in self-perception:

When you come out, man, you have to learn to ‘take it off.’ You got to learn how to ‘take it off.’ You have to – I learned you have to discipline. You have to learn how to discipline yourself. The Lord God begin to show me man I had to rediscipline myself. I didn’t want to make up my bed. I would get up and leave it just like it – just like sleeping

outside, you just jump up. However you left it, you know, you just left it. You stay drugged up all the time. You start losing some of the marbles that you was taught. You can't say, 'well, it didn't affect me.' You a liar. (Desmond)

Shedding a prison identity reflected how EXPs eschewed arbitrary behaviors like making a bed, not banging your fist on the table before you get up to leave (previously doing so indicated a respectful request to leave the chow table in prison), and even caring for clothing:

As stupid as it sounds, back then (during incarceration) we had an extra uniform. We paid the laundry guy to give us an extra uniform. We call them the tight whites back then. We would put them under our bunk to iron out and leave it there. There was a whole week to get our visit, the weekend or the whole month, whenever we'd get a visit, they'd be there pressed down. You press them down real nice under your bunk and then you put your mattress over it and you sleep on it. With time, they're starched, ironed. I'm talking about creased down. Looking really nice. When I got out I did that to some of my clothes. I put them up under my bed. That's just to show you the mentality that you bring out with you, you know? Not realizing what I was doing. It's so easy to just go and grab an iron, some starch and iron it. I put my mattress over it. I put a couple of pair of jeans down there and a shirt. When I wasn't using them I'd take one out and just use it. It's crazy, it's stupid. (Phillip)

Participants described prison as something old, illustrating a former self that was exchanged for a new self, structured around positive behavior and upward mobility. It was this new identity that was most directly threatened by the challenges of life outside prison. Participants believed that they had a chance outside prison, and they needed to immerse themselves in the changes that would lead them farther away from prison and toward new identities. Participants felt that by

shedding prison, they regained their humanity. Participants accomplished this by assimilating to societal norms like having a job, maintaining positive relationships, and shedding the fear of criminal justice representatives such as police, probation, and parole officers. Participants described this process as regaining humanity and ridding themselves of an animal identity. Thus, shedding prison was both a psychological and behavioral process in which participants leave behind prisonized attitudes and behaviors:

I don't know when I got out I was just completely different. Even if I wanted to go do it, I couldn't. I didn't – It wasn't in me no more. So I think being locked up, whatever was in me that kept me going back doing them things? The last time I was in prison it kinda all left. So, I don't know. More and more each day I kinda start seeing myself changing. I'm not doing this no more. I don't even like doing this. Uh, drinking... [blows through mouth] I hate drinking. (Jeremiah)

Participants who eschewed prisonized identities reported that crafting new identities around spiritual or religious narratives was just as valuable as leaving prison behind. The process rebuilt prisoners by socializing them with desirable beliefs and behaviors that were the antithesis of prisonization.

Crafting a spiritual identity. Participants reported that spirituality and religion were important building blocks of a reformed identity. Participants described that spiritual and religious transformations catalyzed their resilience and buoyed their freedom by offering them self-defining language (i.e. religious language, language of being forgiven or renewed), helping them internalize new personal traits like compassion and discipline. All participants except Joe and Jeremiah reported that prior to their release from prison or jail or soon after, they experienced a spiritual or religious transformation that changed them to the core and stoked their

desire to make choices that promoted prosocial behavior. Participants' ability to shed prison seemed to depend on whether they made an internal transformation that idealized spiritual and religious beliefs. Only one participant reported that he was religiously agnostic. Even though Jeremiah reported no spiritual or religious transformation, he reported engaging in religious activities following release that he described as central to his identity.

Prior to their religious and spiritual transformations, participants described themselves as ill equipped for life outside prison. Prisoners reported that their spiritual transformations provided them with personal qualities they did not possess on their own. Personal qualities emerged from an external source such as a book, recovery group, religious group, or mentoring relationship. Spirituality provided novel emotional skills and tools participants adopted that stood in contrast to a criminal identity, characterized by unwanted personal traits and qualities:

In a physical sense, I really want to be angry. Be bitter. Um, and uh, anger, bitter, and wrathful. I wanna let out some anger through some wrath and bitterness towards the way the, some, some courtrooms work. I really do especially, just the thoughts also, if I really wanna stay and base myself on those feelings. Just the thought of my lawyer – the court appointed attorney that represented me, just being in those thoughts. Physically, that's how it feels. I want to be bitter, wrathful, and angry. All towards everything and everyone. Yet in a spiritual sense, I'm really grateful and I've come to understand its for the better of me. Its not to worsen me. Its not. Its my choice if I wanted to be worse. In a spiritual sense, I understand that governments and authorities are placed there by God and I am to obey them. And I'm gonna do it. So, I'm really at peace. (David)

David dichotomized himself by creating language that separated his spiritual self versus his physical self. His dichotomy illustrates a common antagonistic theme. Participants described

two forces at work against each other: the crook vs. the Christian, or the animal vs. the civilian. David created a dichotomy that allowed him to perceive government authorities as agents of divine providence, making them something to which he could submit. David was not alone in this idea. Participants reported that by adopting spiritual beliefs, they were equipped to perceive authorities respectfully and with divine purpose. By doing so, participants reported that they were able to act and speak to probation and parole officers with respect, a past barrier to staying free.

Participants never fully abandoned criminal identities. Rather, they suppressed prisonized identities in the language of spirituality and religion. Spiritual experiences offered explanations for situations and circumstances that were beyond participants' control. Formerly, experiences that persecuted participants now exist to teach perseverance and patience. Participants' past mistakes transformed into character building lessons. God orchestrated circumstances there to strengthen and build character. In essence, spiritual transformations catalyzed identity exchanges by changing the way participants viewed themselves and their relationship with their environments.

Spiritual language fostered a new identity once participants were released. Participants reported feeling better equipped to control their emotions and socially interact than they had previously, suggesting that these changes resulted from being a different person than they were before. Jesse, for example, despite being incarcerated for more than ten years in federal prison, felt confident when he was released because he had crafted a seven-year recovery plan that was grounded in a spiritual transformation. Jesse was one of many who depended on the narrative of their spiritual change to maintain a new identity. Participants maintained spiritual transformations after release by attending church and surrounding themselves with communities

of shared belief. In doing so, participants felt equipped with personal tools, purpose, and vision they previously lacked:

So, I had to ask god, 'why am I doing this?' And then, my answer was, you know, I mean, even though this is recorded, 'I'm doing this for god.' That's why I'm doing it. The whole point to it was for god. The circle that came around to was, all the pain and all the stuff that I went through was for god because now, I don't want anybody to go through that. And, I've never had that emotion. I never cared about you or anybody else, 'specially if I didn't know you, but even more so, if I knew you? I could care less. You deserve what I got. I don't feel that way no more, and that's a god thing. (Joel)

Despite making spiritual transformations, EXPs remain exposed to recidivism risks. Ronnie, for example, was arrested and violated his probation because his probation officer directed him not to attend the church he had been attending. Ronnie reported that he never received a plausible explanation for why, only that he was told not to return to his church. Faced with the decision to give up his freedom over whether he would attend his church home despite his parole officer's directive not to, he chose his church and was incarcerated again for a year. Ronnie reported that after he arrived to his detention unit, he received a notice that listed cannabis use as his violation explanation despite having not used marijuana in years. In a strong example of the power of spiritual language to reshape a narrative of suffering, Ronnie suggested that it was God's will that he return to prison because when he was released a year later, he was released "without paper," meaning no parole or probation. Thus, spiritual language provided participants with the ability to re-story their criminal identities.

In sum, participants eschewed prisonized identities, which were characterized by violent attitudes or beliefs, unwanted criminogenic behaviors, and risky social ties. Participants

supplanted prisonized selves with new, spiritual identities that catalyzed behavioral and psychological changes. Although new identities were one step toward remaining free, participants remained at risk for recidivism, having lost credibility with the criminal justice system. Thus, to secure their freedom, participants gained assets that both potentiate their ability to sustain a reformed identity and gain back social and criminal justice credibility. Here, I explain post-carceral assets.

4.3 Theme Three: Post-Carceral Assets

Post-carceral assets refer to the social, economic, and material resources that participants gained or lost outside of prison. The more assets that participants possessed, the more likely they were to regain credibility with probation and parole officers, judges, and other criminal justice officials. I discovered three types of valuable assets: social, economic, and material. Social assets were friends, community and employment connections, family members, and social support personnel like reentry workers.

Economic assets refer to the means by which participants earned money, such as employment. Finally, material assets referred to independence that stems from access to quality housing and transportation, and time gained or lost under supervision. Participants reported a substantial loss of assets by forfeiting limited resources to parole or probation. Table five maps this theme’s development, and in the following, I describe assets in depth and provide textual narratives to support my findings.

Table 5

Code Mapping: Theme Three

RQ#1: Definition of PCP?	RQ#2: When and where does PCP occur?	RQ#3: EXP identity?
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(Third iteration: Emergent Theme)

Theme Three: Assets

(Second Iteration: Categories)

A. Forfeiting resources to supervision	B. Gaining Resources	C. Losing Assets
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(First Iteration: Concepts/Content Analysis)

1A. Paying for supervision	1B. Finding money for probation and parole	1C. Lacking adequate housing
2A. Supervision demands eliminate resources	2B. Securing employment through friends	2C. Struggling for employment
3A. Paying restitution	3B. Gaining and losing time	3C. Supervision not enough support
4A. Losing mobility		
5A. Fines being too much		

DATA

DATA

DATA

Social assets. Social assets are positive relationships with friends and families, support received from helping professionals, and social connections that lead to resources like employment. Not all social relationships are social assets. Participants, for example, who built relationships with social groups who formerly contributed to their criminogenic behavior, were at risk to engage in more illegal activities that supported prisonized identities. For this reason, participants strove to build relationships within supportive religious groups, reentry programs, recovery groups, and housing programs:

The only way you gonna try and change is you gotta try and make, you know, whatever crowd of people you used to run with before, you know, you need to break away from that crowd and start hanging with some people that are more positive. Like the time I was

hanging around people in the church, you know, the people that have got some good morals, that when they trying to start seeing you, you know, messing up a little bit they gonna try and call you to the side and say, 'look man, you screwing up.' They trying to work on this area or this area. (Byron)

Participants eschewed family relationships if they seemed to endorse risky behavior. Participants reported that helpful agencies, supervision officers, and recovery program leaders supported their ability to reform their identities. However, participants expressed that the support was rare. EXPs reported that recovery program leaders were just as likely to condemn them as support them, that finding a supportive probation or parole officer was hit or miss, and that the criminal justice community was apathetic toward their legal struggles. Participants reported that they gained social assets by surrounding themselves with positive relationships and by observing people they regarded as successful:

So, actually me being locked up – it did change me to a person where I want to help people. Um, my family I felt, it's a distraction because – family problems and I like to, I think I just came up – came with the decision to be like, 'you know what? I love my family, let me walk away from 'em while I'm in love with 'em.' So, I kinda just, to me it was just a distraction. I would be unhappy. I would probably fall back into the old me. So, I [sigh], so I had to let them go – friends I had, they was kinda bad influence. Uh, I cut them loose; and just been around more positive people. So, right now its – people here (reentry program) was the most positive so, I kept coming, kept helping, kept volunteering. (Jeremiah)

EXPs internalized value from social contexts when they acquired support from social resources. But what happened when social resources and social assets were scarce? Below, I

describe the implications of losing social assets, which seemed to typify participants' experience just as much as gaining or possessing assets did.

Losing social assets. Participants described not knowing where to look for support after release, not knowing how to access available resources, feeling rebuffed by social services, experiencing apathy from supervision officials and appointed attorneys, and receiving inconsistent help from family members.

Probation exists to rehabilitate and promote participants' social integration. This is the mission statement of Bexar County adult probation, one block from where I conducted the interviews. Probation's goal was to facilitate positive change, but participants overwhelmingly reported that their supervision officers were apathetic toward their employment schedules or inability to pay fees or fines. Some participants reported more sinister perceptions of their officers, such as Joel, who, after having his parole violated twice for address changes and being told that he would never make it out of prison, expects a difficult relationship with his parole officer:

When you go to parole to go do the visits? Your intentions are to get there, and half of us are riding the bus in the first place. So we got time to think. Okay? On that journey, you're thinking, 'I'm just gonna get in there, get out; hopefully he don't give me no crap.' Then you get out...And sometimes, the parole officer will keep you in there for eight hours. You'll sit in that lobby. And, whether you got a job or not, they'll tell you, 'I don't care. This is part of your parole plan.' And, they'll avoid you or they'll – I don't know what the point is in that or if they do it on purpose or what, but that's happened to me several times. (Joel)

Participants reported that they lacked necessary social support, but yet their success often depended on outside help, such as that which came from reentry programs. If prisoners did not access resources, their lack of access was a defining feature between reforming or retaining prisonized identities. Participants rarely reported feeling as though supervision contributed to their success. Some felt that their supervision officers worked against their success by threatening them, insulting them, refusing to be flexible with their schedules, or not providing them with useful resources. Participants reported that even counselors or mentors who were there to help them would discourage them, suggesting they would remain the same criminal they always were:

The, what's it called, the counselor, the drug program counselor – 'cuz the way it goes in the prison program, you get out at the halfway house and take a program, and federal probation is the end of your program. So its three steps. So, I had already – so that's why when I was at the halfway house I felt like I know I'm not going back. But he used to always tell me, 'no plan is 100% guaranteed.' And I used to always tell him, I'd say, 'look man, when I get out this halfway house, you watch my work. You know, you watch what I do.' I said, 'I guarantee I climb this ladder.' And I said, 'It ain't goin' take me long. I guarantee you.' 'Oh, you think you got an answer. You think you got everything answered.' He used to always tell me. 'I see you comin back!' I said, 'okay.' The counselor used to tell me that. (Jesse)

Participants reported that criminal justice officials were apathetic about their challenges. Some participants left prison assuming that probation officers, judges, police officers, and public defenders would work toward their defense and positive reentry. Few participants described having a good relationship with their probation or parole officers, almost all hold negative

opinions about police officers, and all participants who had pending cases resented their court-appointed attorneys or maintained the perception that court-appointed attorneys did not care about their interests:

I had asked him about what my brother had told me about, its called shock probation, and I had asked him, and he was like, ‘no no no...’ I asked him, I tried to find a way, a shape, or a form to ask him what I was trying to get my point across, but he was just stubborn, or he was wanting to go lunch or this and that. He was like, ‘man, let me do my job.’ And this and that. He started...he walked off and started and sat at some chairs away. I was like, man, this isn’t right. Why is he getting mad at me? I’m asking questions to him, I’m not telling him what to do his job.’ (David)

Participants gained credibility with the criminal justice system, social acceptance, and personal value by acquiring social assets. Having social assets increased participants’ credibility, and helped them find employment. When participants had friends or community members who vouched for their character or provided employment referrals, participants eschewed prisonized identities, feeling socially included and more grown up. Below, I discuss the value of employment and other economic assets.

Economic assets. Economic assets are legal and financial resources. They provided participants with independence that stemmed from being able to provide for themselves, a feeling of potential progress, and upward mobility. Employment emerged as an asset that supported participants’ ability to reform their prisonized identities by preventing illegal behaviors that would provide supplemental income. Economic assets supplied purpose and value, providing participants something positive around which to build their identities. When participants secured consistent employment, they reported feeling confident in their ability to

share in social functions, rather than feel embarrassed by unemployment. Economic assets like employment provided a sense of upward mobility. Employed participants reported feeling positive about their ability to progress as members of society. By contrast, unemployed participants reported feeling stuck and less hopeful about their circumstances.

Participants emerged from prison with virtually no economic assets or prospects. Every participant reported living poor after release from prison or jail. Even participants with strong family support felt economically displaced without employment. Thus, employment emerged as a foundational economic asset.

Employment. Employment delivered financial and social security by creating opportunities for upward mobility and by providing worth and value in social contexts. By contrast, participants without employment felt socially displaced and reported feelings of shame and embarrassment. Most importantly, participants reported feelings of lost identity without employment:

So...and as far as friends, that has affected me a lot 'cuz – and its, 'cuz I have no friends. I don't hang around with the people I used to hang around with. But see that's part of my fault too. 'Cuz its just like, I don't want to – I mean before when I knew them, they also knew me as "Elias" the truck driver, or "Elias" the - not "Elias" the one that makes a lot of money, but he had a good job. He had a real good job. Everything he had showed that he had a real good job. Good paying job. And now, when I say I feel its my fault too its because with me it's a little like its embarrassing. I'm still embarrassed to show up.

(Elias)

Employment signifies social value and status. This fits with Arditti and Parkman's (2011) finding that employment also provides adult status in society. Elias' previous job as a

long-haul truck driver provided him with both financial security and an avenue for social assets with friends who valued him at least partly because of his employment. He could afford to buy his friends meals, his own home, and his own belongings. However, by losing his employment, Elias' social relationships and financial security were restricted. Not only did Elias lose his retirement, his savings, and his home, he reported no prospect for new employment.

Employment loss highlighted how participants lacked social and economic assets after release. Criminal records and prison histories overshadowed social and economic status. For example, whether an individual was trained or educated as a business manager meant little when compared to a criminal history of substance abuse:

Well, I went, I didn't know better, I went and looked for a job [laughs], I thought I could go back into management, I thought I could go back into - I couldn't. I couldn't do anything. Nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing. You know, and of course you don't want to get out and have a degree and have 20 years in management experience and go wash dishes. They won't even give you a job. I tried to apply for a job washing dishes and the woman said, 'Do you have experience?' and I said, 'Well yeah, I remember washing dishes,' and she says, 'When?' And I say, 'well I don't know about 35 years ago,' and she said, 'No I mean current.' I said 'Lady its washing dishes, how complicated can that be?' Well we need to have someone with experience. 'Its washing dishes lady.' I could, I - Maybe she had a point. I couldn't get past the fact that it was washing dishes. You know what I'm saying? (Max)

Participants without employment lost other kinds of assets, whereas participants with employment reported feelings of hopefulness and security in other areas of their lives.

Employment provided participants with the ability to invest in long-term economic growth.

Participants reported feeling more responsible, confident, and received with greater credibility in the eyes of their parole and probation officers. Participants demonstrated that other economic assets like savings accounts and investments burgeoned their ownership of material assets.

Material assets. Participants who possessed material assets internalized value that stems from being able to buy a house or from freedom that comes with unrestricted mobility, like owning a car. Material assets added personal value because participants reported feeling like members of society when they rented or owned their own homes or when they didn't have to rely on public transportation or family members for mobility. For example, participants who had housing reported spending more time with families:

Now that I'm here (out of prison), I don't think it could be any better. Matter of fact, just yesterday, I got off work, went home, cooked a meal, and they all came over. We sat down and ate. So I don't have no gripes or complaints about our relationships. (Dante)

Assets grew exponentially. Economic growth, for example, supported participants' social health and vitality. Participants with material assets reported a greater ability to retain social assets by seeing and interacting with friends and family members more often. Participants with their own cars or method of transportation reported spending more time with family and feeling more independent. Participants' ability to secure housing was limited by their parole and probation restrictions, a lack of family support, or because landlords or homeowners would not rent homes to former prisoners. Here, I describe the value of housing as a material asset.

Housing. Family disruptions like divorce, supervision restrictions, or a receiving family's inability to provide for an additional member are some reasons that participants could not return to their family homes. Every participant except two reported living in a halfway house, recovery home, or homeless housing at some point following release, and 6 of the 19 participants were

housed in a transitional living facility at the time of the interview. Federal parolees were required to live in a federal halfway house for six months following release. Participants reported that securing housing is the most challenging resource-related issue of life outside prison.

Participants did not have access to some housing establishments if their record had a violent or in some cases a drug-related offense. Therefore, participants' housing choices put them closer to criminal activity, or in some cases, homelessness:

Yeah. Being on parole. You can't find a job. These days, you can't find a place to live.

They won't – they will not – That's why I'm in that transitional housing. (Joel)

Unless I find a landlord that doesn't ask [about criminal record]? I can't find housing.

You know. I've tried. She's [case worker] given me a list of people to call. I've called and they're like, 'well what were you convicted of?' '...well this.' 'Oh, uh, well, uh, you

know, we don't have any openings right now.' Or, 'no, we can't help you.' But, if I take that a step further, they'll just deny it, 'Oh, we never said that.' And then I've had

encounters where I've gone to apartments and I've told them, 'this is what I was convicted of. This is how much time I did. I'm off paperwork now. I've been working

steady jobs since I got out, and I need a place to live.' 'Oh, not a problem, fill out the application, get me the application fee. Fifty bucks. Sure.' I put the fifty bucks on the

counter. 'I can guarantee you, this is gonna go through. I'll give you a call next week.'

Well they don't call next week, so I call. 'Oh, well, uh, sorry, it didn't come back

approved.' Yeah, they knew it wasn't gonna come back approved, but that fifty dollars is in their pocket now and I can't prove otherwise. (Richard)

Max reported that when it was time to be released from his prison sentence, prison officials told him that they were going to release him into the custody of a transitional living facility, but that

the living facility was full. Prison officials transferred Max to a low-security jail where he was charged for room and board. However, Max's probation restrictions disallow him from living in the home he owns. Max chose to put himself at risk for violation by going home:

Right, and then they said after being there two weeks, 'Well, you know you're paying for this,' and I said, 'What do you mean, I'm paying for this?!' I, you know, I'm not gonna pay to go to jail. That doesn't even make any sense. Well, not to me anyway. And I said, 'No, then I'm leaving. I'm gonna pack my stuff, and I'm gonna go home,' because you [criminal justice personnel] said you had this. So I'm not paying to go to jail. That doesn't make any sense, so I'm going home. (Max)

Even though he owned a valuable asset, Max could not use it because of his probation restrictions, so Max spent most of his time in a transitional living facility, notorious for being a substance abuse hub. Participants lack of housing represented a loss of a material asset. Participants struggled to sustain adequate housing on top of other financial demands once they were released. Most commonly, they rely on family members to provide housing, but many did not have family members to whom they could turn. Only four participants reported living with family members at the time of the interview, and three more reported living with a family member after release. Without access to secure and consistent housing, other avenues to freedom become increasingly more challenging. Employment, for example, became more difficult to secure because transitional living facilities have curfews that conflict with job schedules. Therefore, time emerged as a material asset because participants felt that they possessed so little time to complete their probation or parole requirements, and having more time would support employment and housing retention. Below, I describe time as a material asset.

Time. Participants sacrificed time because they lacked access to other material assets like their own car. Participants relied on public transportation or friends to drive them to their appointments. They sacrificed time spent at probation and parole appointments, urine analyses, and court dates. Participants' supervision requirements often conflicted with restrictions, forcing them to prioritize events that all demand first priority:

They tell you to get a job and then you gotta be at this place, this place, this place, this place, this place, and then you come out then and they want you start having – every time you come you gotta bring money to pay your fees and then – you got me doing this, this, this, this, this, this, this – then all at the same time you supposed to be looking for a job. And they, its like they, got it geared to, I don't – its not geared for you to make it. (Desmond).

Participants discovered that not only do they have scheduled meetings that take priority over other demands, but probation could require unexpected appointments, arriving at EXPs homes or residential facilities unannounced, or call for a surprise drug test at any moment of the day without an explanation:

My probation officer actually made a home visit last week. Last week she made a surprising home visit. I thought she was going to tell me when she was going so I could be there but she ended up showing up and my brother was the one who ended up answering the door for her. She asked many questions and the whole thing, when he called me – he's very – this is how he put it: At that time when she had gotten there I was at an AA meeting and he calls and is like, 'hey, your probation officer just came over.' 'I'm like, why? Checking on the GPS?' 'Yeah, it was her and her partner. They had guns and everything, and they were asking me a lot of questions man.' 'To me, that's

considered a raid, a raid on the house.’ To me, when I heard that, I was like, ‘they raided the house? Why would they do that? What did I do wrong? Right away.’ (David)

Unexpected supervision appointments often precede a threat if parolees or probationers are not available. Thus, participants believed that their time was not their own. Participants may have been required to answer to parole or probation at any moment, which created psychological barriers to freedom. Participants sacrificed time for two reasons: 1) participants gave up time otherwise spent working or with family in order to fulfill their supervision requirements; and 2) participants retained ambiguous ownership of their own time because any moment could produce an unexpected demand for a supervision report or drug test.

Participants reported that losing material assets created psychological and emotional discomfort. In some cases, Participants reported that losing assets created a longing for the ease of the prison life:

In there (prison), I stay to myself. Um, that kinda made me feel like prison. ‘Cuz I be at home, just, don’t wanna deal with the outside. So, I just, stay inside, just, really don’t wanna go nowhere. I think I kinda – that kinda reminds me of prison. ‘Cuz inside it feel like...I don’t know it feel like...safe and at peace. Compared to having to walk out that front door and deal with, you know, the outside. (Jeremiah)

In sum, participants retained and lost social, economic, and material assets. Social assets were both the relationships that participants established with supportive friends, family members, and reentry personnel as well as prison exports that supported social reintegration. Economic assets supported financial vitality. Material assets like mobility and time give participants ownership over the own lives. Participants who lost assets struggled to stay free. Next, I will discuss what kind of freedom participants achieved.

4.4 Theme Four: Ambiguous Freedom

Ambiguous freedom refers to both the real and perceived threat of incarceration, regardless of desistance from criminal activity. For participants, freedom was the most important post-carceral goal, yet it seemed tenuous at best, even if participants gained assets, reformed prisonized identities, and lived as civic members of society. How did participants describe ambiguous freedom even after reforming prisonized identities?

Participants reported being suddenly arrested even after completing the terms of their probation and parole for unexplainable, or circumstantial reasons. Those who did not experience arrest reported feeling that their freedom was limited by the extent to which they could participate in social activities like voting. Participants reported that even though they sometimes felt free, unexpected circumstances like accidentally walking out of a store without paying for an item, being pulled over because of a suspicion of illegal activity, or being in the wrong place at the wrong time (i.e. at a bar when a fight breaks out) could easily threaten that freedom. Participants reported that this ambiguity, that is, the sense that freedom was never theirs, was due to a loss of legal credit with the criminal justice system, their failure to retain assets, and because of their criminal identities that they exported from prison. Thus, leaving prisonized, losing assets, and criminal histories coalesce to make freedom ambiguous.

Phillip faced six years in prison for walking out of an auto parts store without paying, something everyone has probably done. However, not everyone carries a criminal history of burglary and assault on a police officer. What Phillip's story illustrates is that criminal histories create real and perceived barriers to freedom. Despite Phillip's recently clean record, cache of social, economic, and material assets, and reformed identity, the courts brought charges against him, which thrust him back into the ritualized process of becoming criminal again.

All but one participant reported they were not eligible to benefit from civic activities or social resources like voting, social security, food stamps, federal student aid, or other government assistance programs. Some participants were permanently restricted from civic activities and federal resources that promote social engagement and secure social welfare. As a result, participants felt powerless to secure a future that enabled social inclusion. Thus, they internalized a feeling of “otherness,” believing they did not belong outside prison.

Finally, participants still on probation and parole reported feeling bound by restrictions, and described their demands as a "Catch 22" where two or more requirements were mutually exclusive. The result was a feeling of powerlessness and constant threat. Threat inhibited identity reformation by encouraging participants to result to illegal activity like theft or selling drugs to make ends meet. Thus, participants demonstrated the relationship between identity reformation and ambiguous freedom. Participants whose attempts to reform their identities were impeded reported that freedom was ambiguous. Features of post-carceral prisonization were responsible for impeding participants' attempts to reform their identities. PCP features were social exclusion, probation and parole restrictions, criminal social ties, and the constant threat of incarceration.

Social exclusion was prompted by participants' lack of access to social and civic activities, which socialized participants to feel left out, “other,” or that they did not belong in society. Competing probation and parole restrictions socialized participants to feel powerless over their circumstances, like they were unable to actually finish their requirements, promoting hyper-vigilance and paranoia. Participants who retained criminal social ties participated in criminal activities. Finally, the constant threat of incarceration fostered fear and social isolation.

When these features are heightened by losing assets, participants reported feeling like they were not really free.

Max, for example, reported he was required to keep a job and pay his fees, each of which, if unmet, results in a violation. Max was unable to retain a driver's license because he owed thousands of dollars to the Texas Department of Motor Vehicles. However, Max could not pay the fees until he had a living wage, but he could not make a living wage until he was mobile. Thus, Max reported feeling powerless to regain legal credibility. Because of this, Max worried that he would either violate his parole or probation or result to illegal activity to pay his bills.

Because participants lost credit with criminal justice systems, were socially excluded from civic activities and resources, and experienced competing or mutually exclusive supervision demands, they experienced a freedom that was tenuous and fragile— made so by the constant threat of sudden and unexplainable incarceration. Ambiguous freedom promoted feelings of hyper-vigilance, paranoia, fear, and anxiety. It impacted family relationships when participants isolated themselves out of fear of engaging social contexts, prepared their limited social networks for their eventual sudden incarceration, potentially inducing fear or anxiety in family members as well. In the following, I describe ambiguous freedom, and table six illustrates how ambiguous freedom thematically developed.

Table 6

Code Mapping: Theme Four

RQ#1: Definition of PCP?	RQ#2: When and where does PCP occur?	RQ#3: EXP identity?
<i>(Third iteration: Emergent Theme)</i>		
Theme Four: Ambiguous Freedom		

(Second Iteration: Categories)

A. Powerlessness B. Isolation and Exclusion C. Threat

(First Iteration: Concepts/Content Analysis)

1A. Feeling helpless and powerless	1B. Feeling alone	1C. Living under constant threat
2A. Feeling trapped	2B. Feeling stigmatized	2C. Feeling afraid of new experiences
3A. Feeling anxiety and panic	2B. Needing forgiveness from society	3C. Pending cases causing distress
4A. Pressure is suffering	3B. Cutting off family resource	
4B. Losing access to federal resource		

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Constant threat. Participants reported that they lacked credibility with criminal justice officials. They report that their probation officers assumed the worst, and often made their beliefs about how participants would eventually return to prison overt. With few exceptions (n=4), participants described that they felt like probation officers intentionally oppressed or manipulated, them, an argument strengthened by EXPs' interactions with criminal justice officials whom participants appraised as apathetic or overtly hostile:

Its (parole) really geared for a lot of oppression on you. Because you're not going to successfully do everything. How can I look for a job and you got me here at 10 o'clock? You got me at this meeting. You got me at this meeting. You got me at this meeting and then you turn me loose, most of the day gone. But then every time I come in to see you, you gotta put in a fee, or, 'where your money for the fee?' 'Why you not working?' How can I work when if I don't attend this class, you going to send me back? If I don't do this,

you know what I'm saying? Then, where's the time for me going to get a job? Its oppression. (Desmond)

Participants reported that their freedom felt temporary, as if it were something that could slip away at any moment, but not always because of illegal activity. Rather, participants believed that their backgrounds would follow them forever. All but two participants, one of whom spent only a month in county jail, reported that losing credit with the criminal justice system was a defining feature of life outside prison. When EXPs believed they could lose their freedom because they lacked credibility, they treated romantic and family relationships as temporary resources that could potentially disappear for unexplainable reasons:

Before going (to a parole report), the state of paranoia heightens because already I don't know what this person may do once I report, uh, so I would kinda, at that time I was dating a chick, so I would tell her, 'If I don't come back, you know, here's the key to the car, here's where my extra money is...' You know I had to make all of these pre-game preparations in the event – its tough, I'm telling you its tough. And, so I would do this pre-game thing before I went and then when I would go, and when I'm in the lobby waiting, I mean its just a constant, 'man what's gonna happen? What is he gonna do? What is he gonna say? How are they gonna respond? I still haven't got a job.' You know, all of this scenario is playing over and over and over in my head, and finally they [call my name], and you go in the little room, and it's the same questions. 'Have you found a job yet? What are you doing to look for a job?' On and on and on and on. (Joe)

Participants felt threatened at routine parole or probation checks because they perceived that their freedom was outside their control. Rather, it lied in the power of their parole or probation officers, who could have violated them because participants failed to secure a job quickly enough

or because they lived in the wrong part of town. In Texas, probation and parole violations are subjective and discretionary. Supervision officers could choose to violate their supervisees for a cause another officer would overlook. For this reason, even police officers commonly escort former prisoners on probation or parole to their supervision officers if they are picked up for other reasons (i.e. drug use or some other criminal activity). Thus, when participants reported to parole or probation, many experienced emotional or psychological distress, either because they knew they had not met expectations or because they were uncertain about what could happen. Participants felt freedom ambiguously because freedom was so uncertain: participants reported striving for a new identity, making good choices, and staying away from illegal activity, yet despite this, their employment, financial, or reporting statuses could render their accumulated assets irrelevant.

Joe's experience of threat was so visceral that he prepared his partner for his eventual probation violation. Joe reported that he had no tangible reason to prepare his girlfriend, other than his expectation that he would inextricably violate parole. Eventually, Joe's fears were confirmed when he was later violated and incarcerated for lack of employment. At the time, however, he did not know why he was incarcerated, and when I asked him, he reported that probation and parole officers have no obligation to report why former prisoners were arrested. Thus, Joe and others modified even casual behavior like small talk out of fear or anxiety. Participants were consistent in this experience:

Its like, you're afraid to spit on the sidewalk. You're afraid to make eye contact. Not just the public – but anybody. You know? You see guys walking around with their heads down? That tells it all. They're afraid of their own shadow. And they have every right to be. 'Cuz at any time, anything can be said or done. I can be driving down the street and

somebody can have it in for me, and not like the way I look or something – call the cops..

(Richard)

Participants socially isolated to protect themselves against potential freedom hazards. Most participants reported that their supervision increased their feelings of losing freedom, and especially those who had previously experienced an unexplainable parole or probation violation.

Participants encountered threats in the course of parole, probation, or arrest that they reported were unexplainable. Therefore, participants developed their own explanations to understand why they were violated:

By their choosing parole will send you back – its what we call, and I'll term it nicely – well, they'll 'pencil fuck' you. Which is, where they'll put in – that happened to me twice. My parole officer and I didn't get along. So she said I violated, and I didn't. And, uh, she said that she caught me twice, uh, testing positive for THC. And, I didn't. (Joel)

Threat also developed as a chronic sense of paranoia or fear about losing freedom. Threat began to develop on its own, without a parole or probation officer's presence. Threat caused conflict between family members when participants' spouses, partners, or children desired to engage in prosocial activities like family vacations or eating out, but participants felt too threatened to leave home:

I get angry, you know, because uh, there's so much I can't do. Like, I can't vote, for one, I can't go to a different country if I wanted to. I have to report where I go, not everywhere I go, but if I decide to move I have to report, uh, I can't go out of the country, you know. I mean, I can, but it can't be more than seven days. It just sucks, you know, because I know my fiancée would like to go to Hawaii or something, or, go to somewhere, but just the fact of not being able to go, and do it, you know, spontaneous,

you know, be like, 'hey let's go over here.' And not be able to do it, but the fear of uh, is the uh [grips head with hands], uh, just so many reasons why. Its just like when I wake up in the morning sometimes or after I've taken a nap sometimes, I wake up and I feel like, 'I'm safe, everything's okay,' you know? But in the back of my mind, an action or anything stupid could get me back to where I was for more time. (Zachary)

Threat was a developmental process that began when participants encountered hostile probation or parole officers, however it continued indirectly as an internalized feeling that persisted beyond reporting to probation and parole. At any moment, participants understood that their freedom could be threatened because of their criminal record, even if they are engaging in no illegal activity:

The first thing that happened was when I first got out of prison, my PO allowed me to go to the recovery home because I requested to go there because I wanted to be in a Christian environment. So when I got to the recovery home, things wasn't going the way I expected, so I almost wanted to leave. Well my PO told me if I left he would send me back to prison so I stayed and by the time I got really involved with the program and started to be effective in the program, he comes and takes me out of it and puts me in the halfway house. So, he tells me, "if you go back to that church – I hear you going back to that home, I'm gonna send you back to prison." So now I'm kinda like in a mental, you know – I'm confused. 'First you tell me if I left...now you take me out...now you tell me I can't go back.' I said, 'wow, what is that all about?' So, now I came face to face with reality. I said if that is really the case, I'm going back to prison because I'm not going to stop going to my church...[this] made me realize that everybody that say that

they're here to help you grow back into society and do well can turn on you immediately and you back in trouble for no reason. (Ronnie)

Threat, which emerged because participants lacked assets and social credibility, made freedom ambiguous both during and after supervision. Even participants who met all their requirements remain excluded from certain social benefits and must live with the lifelong threat of incarceration. Therefore, threat potentiated ambiguous freedom by making participants feel as if their freedom could be taken away for any reason. When participants lost assets, their feeling of threat was heightened because they knew they either had no social credibility or had not completed their expected requirements. Finally, long-term threat potentiated ambiguous freedom by staining participants with criminal records that never go away. This process impacted participants' social relationships, and namely, their relationships with their families. Below, I describe how ambiguous freedom impacted EXPs' families.

Family impact. Family emerged as a resource, which is consistent with Comfort's (2006) analyses about secondary prisonization. Participants appraised family by what families could accomplish for them. Criminal justice programs were complicit in this behavior (Codd, 2007), often contacting family members and pressuring them to participate in participants' recovery. Participants reported that families provided financial support, housing, food, emotional support, and necessary living resources like clothing. Eight participants reported little to no contact with their immediate family members, while 12 others reported little to no contact with family members outside their immediate family. When family failed to provide resources some reported eschewing families as a distraction or because they were a burden:

Um, my family I felt, it's a distraction because – family problems and I like to, I think I just came up – came with the decision to be like, 'you know what? I love my family, let

me walk away from ‘em while I’m in love with ‘em.’ So, I kinda just, to me it was just a distraction. I would be unhappy. I would probably fall back into the old me. So, I [sigh], so I had to let them go...I don’t talk to none of my family. Just my daughters. I really don’t have no friends. I stay to myself. I just focus on work and its just more peaceful than dealing with the drama or – the love and hate in relationships and stuff like that.

‘Cuz that is a distraction. (Jeremiah)

Participants analyzed families based on their costs and benefits. When families became a cost that outweighed benefits and potentially threatened freedom, or when resources ran out and prisoners were asked to contribute to household finances, participants had a more difficult time maintaining relationships. In addition to describing themselves by the role they play in their families (i.e. husband, brother, father, provider, caretaker), participants described family as commodities, which are valued resources crucial to their recovery. Therefore, probation and parole who restricted participants’ access to their families limited a resource. Thus, participants experience family life paradoxically. For some, social cutoff that began in prison was exported to the community, and when families failed to provide resources, participants eschewed resources, citing extreme emotional and financial costs. Other participants celebrated family relationships outside prison, reclaiming commodities lost during incarceration, and worked to sustain those relationships.

Participants without employment struggled to support their families. Family strain emerged as an indirect restriction that results from participants’ lack of employment.

So, when I came out, I’m in this mentality where, ‘well, I gotta get a job, and I gotta get myself together...’ Even the other day, we were arguing, like when I get paid – I was working for that carpenter – when I get paid and being very selfish, there’s bills I have to

get paid... The other day, me and her (spouse) were arguing. And, uh, I know the bills are past due. I know that like, we're struggling, and I have \$300 that I had just gotten paid. And, instead of like, just shutting my mouth and letting the situation cool down, or whatever, I decided that I'm fed up with it, and I didn't think about my daughter. I didn't think about her. I didn't think about my stepkids, like, how are they gonna make it? 'Cuz like she doesn't have any money, and I was selfish to the point where I got up, I picked up a little bag with like three changes of clothes and I went and stayed at a hotel for four days, spent the whole \$300 in hotel fare, and then came back to the house broke, just because I was pissed off, like, and 'you know what? I don't need this. I got money to leave.' (Raul)

I discovered some evidence to suggest that participants who integrate back into their families after release experience role strain. Role strain is defined by the degree to which participants have difficulty balancing the relationship between their independence and their need for support. Participants incarcerated for more than five years reported that their parents or family members who provided their housing or fees also made additional demands of their time or demanded knowledge of their whereabouts. Participants reported feeling patronized by the constant attention, but that it was necessary to keep financial support:

My mom sometimes she can be over protective, and I have to tell her 'hey, I'm not a little boy no more. I'm a grown man.' You know? She's tells me, 'you're always gonna be my baby boy,' you know what I mean? I guess that's just mothers, you know. But, that gets me uncomfortable. You know? 'Cuz, she wants to be over me like [hand gesture] a hen over her chicks. And...I don't want that. You know? I had people – I had guards telling

me when to eat, when to shower, when to work, when to get up. You know, I don't want that. (Jeremiah)

Because participants continually requested financial resources to meet supervision demands, housing and material assets to sustain their quality of life, and assistance with transportation, family strain emerged as a component of life outside prison. My study provides some preliminary evidence to suggest that families suffer indirect or secondary costs by paying for EXPs financial requirements or by providing limited resources to support and increase freedom.

In the following discussion, I describe how the preceding four themes are related. Namely, I describe a theory in which EXPs strive to reform prisonized identities by gaining assets. However, EXPs are limited by the barriers of post-carceral prisonization, which are employment discrimination, parole and probation violations, sudden incarceration, and social exclusion. The result is an ambiguous freedom that prevents EXPs' attempts to reform their identities, and thus, emerges as a chronic experience of "prison on the outside" (Ronnie).

5 Discussion

I sought to unearth how formerly incarcerated prisoners experience post-carceral prisonization (PCP), and to identify how PCP influences reentry. I wanted to know what prisonization agents differ from life inside prison, and which are those that EXPs bring to the community from prison.

In the following, I describe how assets potentiate identity reformation, discuss how identity is related to freedom, and define and illustrate the relationship between PCP and ambiguous freedom. I describe how my study confirms or disagrees with extant literature, what

findings I replicated, and which are novel. I elaborate on my study's value for future research and how my study was limited. Finally, I make suggestions for practitioners and social reform.

5.1 Assets and Identity Reformation

Social, economic, and material assets potentiate EXPs' attempts to reform prisonized identities. The more equipped EXPs are with assets, the greater credibility they have with criminal justice systems, society, friends, and families. EXPs with jobs are better received by peers and less likely to violate parole and probation. EXPs see identity reformation as the way out of problems associated with recidivism and prisonization. For example, material assets add value to EXPs' lives by reducing the risk of social exclusion. EXPs are socially excluded when they lack a method of transportation or when they fail to secure housing. Murray (2007) reports that children of incarcerated men inherit risks such as loss of material and social assets, political and social exclusion, and poor future prospects. Thus, long-term social exclusion may contribute to both recidivism risk and incarceration risk for prisoners' children.

Terry (2003) argues that former prisoners believe that in order to overcome addiction and stay out of prison, they need to see themselves differently. EXPs undergo an identity transformation, experiencing self-concept changes that potentiate their ability to live a new life, the first stepping stone to staying free. But why an identity transformation? The answer to this question is the very heart and soul of post-carceral prisonization. EXPs view themselves as internally void, lacking the capacity to live a lifestyle that is not criminal in nature. Thus, an EXP must transform into a different person, one well-received by society, whose behaviors are rewarded rather than punished, and accepted rather than rejected.

Identity transformation supports EXPs' endeavors to change the meanings associated with past actions, suffering, time spent in prison, and future direction. EXPs exchange identities

formerly centered on “addiction, criminality, and imprisonment” (Terry, 2003 p. 82) for the language of forgiveness and providence. Reformed identities promote feelings of personal and social value, economic stability, prospects for upward mobility, and civic engagement. In the light of Tajfel and Turner’s (1986) social identity theory, it makes sense that reformed identities become the avenues to change. Social identity theory maintains that identity is a fluid way that people perceive themselves in relation to valuable social groups. For this reason, EXPs surround themselves with new social communities like recovery groups and religious communities. Religious and social communities are social assets that make change possible by providing social status and connection. Thus, assets potentiate identity reformation by allowing EXPs to become “social selves” locating their individual selves within a social group, which is the avenue by which EXPs gain freedom (Cooley, 1996).

Reformed identities develop outside of prison and usually follow an experiential change, which is often spiritually or religiously grounded. A reformed identity opposes a prisonized identity, which is usually characterized by an expressed association with criminological activities, behavior, and language. My findings confirm extant literature that describe the value of religious and spiritual experiences during confinement, the importance of identity, and the need for change. Maruna, Wilson, and Curran (2006) report that finding God behind bars supports prisoners’ ability to restory their personal narratives, replacing the prisoner label with forgiveness. Reformed identities require experiential change, social acceptance, employment, and secure family relationships.

I extend this argument by describing how EXPs maintain spiritual identities after prison, and how that might contribute to experiencing freedom. First, EXPs establish spiritual community. EXPs find that spiritual community holds them accountable to good behavior,

surrounds them with positive encouragement, and provides economic and material support. Spiritual and religious change provides the language and framework that empowers EXPs' ability to choose a different way of life. EXPs engaged in new spiritual community exchange prison language (see, for example, Joel) for religiously-based language of forgiveness, compassion, and patience. Therefore, spiritual and religious language, community, and beliefs are important components of reformed identities.

Reformed identities empower EXPs with intrapersonal tools like kindness, passiveness, and self-control, which EXPs lacked without an externally constructed force or power. In other words, prior to their experiential change, prisoners felt that they lacked value or qualities necessary to support life outside prison. Thus, experiential or spiritual changes support a reformed identity by providing EXPs with the tools, roadmaps (i.e. bible, Quran, etc.) and social communities that empower individual transformations.

EXPs who reform their prisonized identities flexibly respond to unmet expectations in reentry, regulate emotion, retain strong social ties, access and use available resources, exercise caution in criminal justice settings, and engage in religious or spiritual activities. EXPs reform their identities by enduring supervision and economic and material discrimination, by reforming social ties, securing stable employment, and gaining material assets like transportation. At the time of the interviews, however, only one participant retained a salaried position with benefits, and this position was for a paraprofessional social worker with a criminal background specifically hired to service former prisoners. Thus, EXPs who exchange a prisonized identity for a reformed one need more than spiritual change. Rather, they need assets that during the course of life outside prison, will come and go. EXPs will gain and lose employment, and lose access to housing and financial resources, all of which makes incarceration possible.

My findings help to extend the literature by framing the actions EXPs take to make different choices and avoid illegal behaviors as a path away from prisonized identities. To eschew prisonized identities, EXPs put psychological distance between themselves and the prison by gaining character qualities of which they believed themselves dispossessed. They reform social ties, rejecting social groups that encouraged criminal behavior, and they establish new social ties that reinforce positive behaviors and beliefs. Each step away from criminogenic language and toward language that reinforces a spiritual or religious identity supports this exchange.

5.2 Defining Post-Carceral Prisonization

PCP refers to the beliefs and attitudes EXPs internalize through interactions, perceptions, and barriers they face outside prison or jail. For example, EXPs internalize feelings of “other” as a result of their exclusion from social activities and benefits. Why is this a feature of prisonization outside prison? EXPs’ social exclusion is a direct result of their criminal records. Employers or housing managers have access EXPs’ criminal histories. Therefore, when EXPs cannot vote or receive federal aid or other benefits, they know it is because of their past criminal choices, and EXPs continue to feel rejected and marginalized.

I confirmed extant findings in the literature, which argue that prisonization persists after release. However, I strengthen reentry literature by observing how reentry barriers socialize EXPs, causing them to feel like outcasts, rejected by society, and criminalized. The outcomes can potentially lead EXPs back to criminogenic behaviors. Terry (2003), for example, reported that prisonization and substance abuse are features of life outside prison. I add to this finding by differentiating between prisonization features that persist from prison and those that emerge after. I discovered that there is no end to EXPs’ efforts to reform prisonized identities. Rather,

EXPs are permanently reforming their identities, gaining and losing assets, and navigating post-carceral risks to stay free. This is the heart of ambiguous freedom. Because EXPs encounter prisonized risks like restrictions on federal support such as social security, or employment discrimination due to a criminal record, EXPs are constantly reminded that their prison record limits what they can do with their lives and freedom remains permanently ambiguous, a process that begins in prison, but is not limited to it.

Returning prisonized. Returning prisonized refers to a developmental process in which EXPs transport prisonized beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes to receiving communities. What I mean by developmental process, however, is that it is the first step toward identity reformation. EXPs must first recognize and choose to retain or abandon prisonized behaviors and beliefs. Scholars argue that prisonization occurs when prison deprives individuals who import criminogenic behaviors, histories, and beliefs (Clemmer, 1940; Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Sykes 1958). In the same way, life outside prison yields features of prisonization. EXPs return prisonized with behaviors and beliefs incongruent with life outside prison. EXPs enact prisonized identities by reacting aggressively or violently to conflict, socially isolating to avoid unwanted social ties that promote illegal behavior, or engaging in criminal activities learned during prison.

How might returning prisonized contribute to ambiguous freedom? Recidivism rates hover around 65% within the first three years after release, hinting at what scholars identify as the prison's revolving door, which highlights how frequently prisoners recidivate. For example, Baillargeon, Binswanger, Penn, Williams, and Murray (2009) wanted to discover whether mental illness is a risk factor for multiple incarcerations, given the high rate of recidivism among mentally ill populations. My findings challenge this question, suggesting that a better question

may be whether incarceration is a risk factor in developing mental illness. Which came first, the prison or mental illness? I agree that prisoners' criminal histories and personal characteristics potentiate prisonization. However, I argue that personal characteristics imported to prison and the rate at which those same characteristics are exported to the community make freedom ambiguous by challenging EXPs' attempts to stop acting like criminals and start feeling and living like free members of society.

EXPs who return prisonized are enduring a developmental step that requires them to recognize how and why prisonized behaviors don't make sense outside prison, something that could only be done after release. EXPs become aware that aggressive ideation, helplessness, and social isolation are prisonized behaviors after they leave prisons and jails. Thus, the first taste of freedom demands a personal critique that will color how EXPs interpret post-carceral challenges.

Shadd Maruna (2011), a well-known criminologist, argues that despite cultural depictions of lifelong criminals and persistent offenders, most former prisoners eventually stop participating in crime. So what is that potentiates EXPs' ability to desist from criminal behavior? Over time, EXPs report that by reforming their identities, they no longer see a need to engage in criminal economies. Maruna argues that reentry, or returning prisonized, is a rite of passage that initiates a redemptive script within which prisoners become socially accepted members of society. Part of this script begins when EXPs accept responsibility for their wrongdoings. I agree with this finding, as participants consistently accepted responsibility for their actions, and for their circumstances. However, Maruna argues that prisoners enact a redemptive script that potentiates a way out of prisonization problems. I argue that despite EXPs best efforts to follow a redemptive script, there is no way out. Rather, ambiguous freedom is permanent and pervasive. Thus, EXPs remain chronically more or less free.

5.3 Defining Ambiguous Freedom

What materializes from this study is a process discovery. EXPs emerge from prison or jail transporting prisonization features to receiving communities. EXPs discover that society, probation officers, friends, and family members reject or punish their prisonized self-perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs. Above all, EXPs desire freedom. To gain freedom, EXPs abandon prisonization, striving to reform prisonized identities because they perceive a transformed and reformed identity as the avenue to freedom. However, EXPs encounter novel PCP features like employment or housing discrimination, frequent and sudden contact with probation or parole officers, and the permanent stain of a criminal record. EXPs endeavor to gain assets, yet PCP barriers frequently thwart those attempts, creating a constant state of ambiguous freedom. Ambiguous freedom refers to the knowledge that freedom after prison or jail is tenuous and can be suddenly or unexplainably forfeited. Thus, ambiguous freedom is the result of PCP.

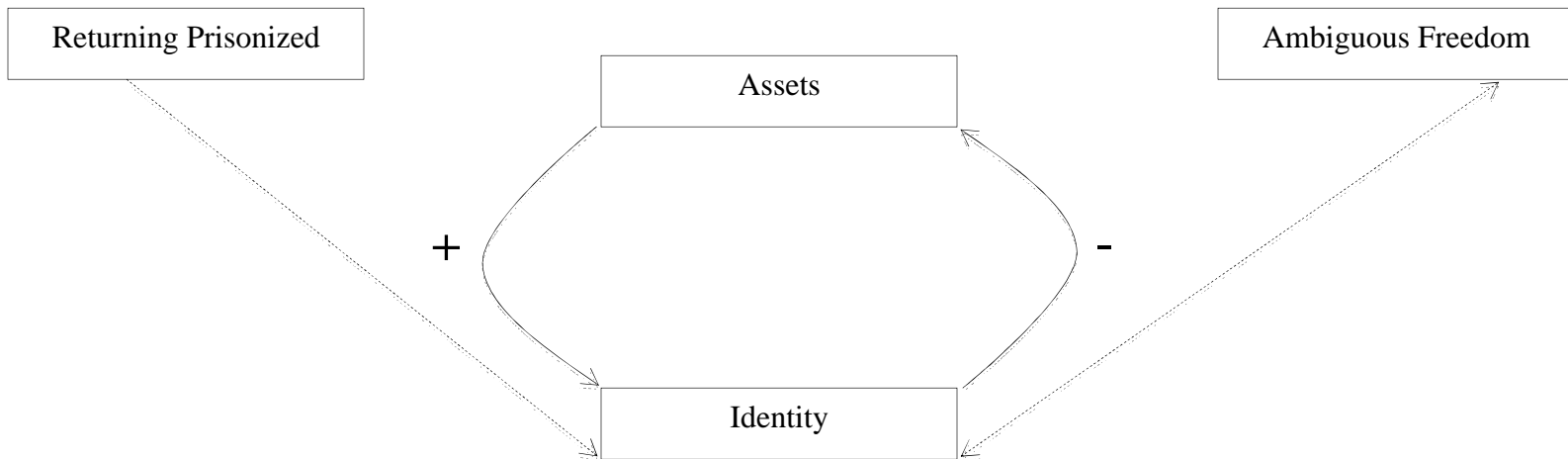
Probation and parole serve as arbiters of ambiguous freedom. They emerge from this study as the primary agents through which former prisoners are socialized to feel paranoid, anxious, and fearful if they cannot meet their demands. Probation and parole emerge as prison satellites, enacting the punitive role outside prison. This occurs as probation and parole officers impose threats during regular visits, conduct random home searches, remove employment options, and obscure their roles by projecting a friendly environment in some circumstances, while stern and authoritarian in others. Thus, EXPs report engaging in psychological warfare by manipulating and being manipulated by supervision officers. Prisoners may mislead their supervision officers and behave in ways they associate with a criminal or prisonized identity, reacting to what EXPs perceive as a threat to their freedom. This does not occur as a function of

the supervisory relationship, but rather, because many EXPs experience probation and parole as an opposing force to their freedom. While not all feel this way, those who lack social assets tended to have less positive relationships with probation and parole.

To gain freedom, EXPs strive to shed prisonized identities by eschewing prison-based language and behaviors. EXPs exchange prisonized identities for reformed ones, characterized by spiritual or religious beliefs, language, and community. Post-carceral prisonization agents like probation and parole threaten EXPs with sudden and unexplainable violations. EXPs internalize the constant threat of incarceration, which, when coupled with persistent asset loss, renders freedom ambiguous. Figure three illustrates this process.

Figure 3

A Grounded Theory of Post-Carceral Prisonization



PCP inhibits life outside prison in two ways. First, just as classic prisonization theory demonstrates that prisoners *import* criminal histories, aggressive attitudes, and illegal behaviors into prison and are *deprived* by the prison context, EXPs *export* behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs into their receiving communities. However, while prisonized behaviors may boon status during confinement (i.e. aggressive behaviors promote prison hierarchy and survival), most exported

behaviors are punished outside prison (i.e. illegal behavior). Second, EXPs encounter novel prisonization agents such as employment discrimination and competing supervision demands, which foster distrust, apprehension, and trepidation.

Ambiguous freedom begins as EXPs discard prison exports that lose value outside prison. It continues as EXPs attempt to reform prisonized identities that fit seamlessly into mainstream culture and society. The more assets EXPs gain, the better equipped they are to reform their identities and stay free. Completing probation and parole requirements are crucial components to staying free, however, probationers and parolees are not the only EXPs to experience ambiguous freedom.

Those who successfully complete supervision requirements warily navigate stigmatized risks such as housing and employment discrimination that can remain with them for the rest of their lives. EXPs who eschew prisonized identities retain feelings of paranoia and fear resulting from the constant threat of incarceration, which persists even after supervision requirements cease. EXPs experience random act of incarceration, a term I developed to describe how EXPs can be suddenly and randomly incarcerated for events unlinked to criminal behaviors, but rather, buoyed by criminal records (see Joe's or Phillip's stories). Therefore, freedom is ambiguous because of the constant threat and the feeling of visibility associated with past criminal ties and criminal records. This challenges Travis' (2002) theory of invisible punishments. EXPs certainly do not feel like their punishments are invisible, rather, they feel put on display for society to see. Heightened visibility, in fact, is a hallmark of ambiguous freedom, and is the reason why EXPs feel like they cannot make a false move even after they finish probation or parole requirements.

Thus, ambiguous freedom is structurally inhibited, psychologically indefinite, and socially tenuous. EXPs are never fully and completely free, rather, they are on loan from the criminal justice system. EXPs are released on diminished legal credit, having lost credibility with local, state, and federal governments. They lack social, economic, and material assets that contracted during incarceration, and must regain assets to potentiate a reformed identity. EXPs forfeit scarce resources to criminal justice officials by paying restitution fees, fines related to regaining driving privileges, and doing time by permanently losing their ability to engage in civic activities like voting. The result is both a cyclical process wherein EXPs progress and regress to varying states of freedom. Probation and parole emerge as prison satellites, reinforcing prisonization features like hierarchy between officers and parolees or probationers, anxiety that results when prisoners are uncertain about whether they will walk out of their supervisor's offices, and prisonized social rituals between probationers and parolees who meet together to report (i.e. "mad dogging").

Finally, EXPs seek to reform prisonized identities by changing their social ties, rebuilding their family relationships, establishing a new spiritual community, and eschewing a prison-based or criminal identity. But what is the relationship between reformed prisonized identities and ambiguous freedom? I discovered that EXPs view reformed identities as the avenue by which they gain freedom. As EXPs abandon prisonized language and adopt spiritual or religious language, as they say goodbye to criminal friends in exchange for new friends, and as they change their own behavior, they anticipate secure and reliable. However, the freedom EXPs earn is surprisingly fragile, made so by random acts of incarceration such as the one Phillip faced as a result of accidentally walking out of a store with an unpaid item. EXPs don't need the threat of incarceration to feel confined. When EXPs are restricted from social and

federal benefits, upward mobility, and when EXPs feel stigmatized by a criminal record in social situations, freedom is ambiguous.

Outside prison, family life is paradoxical. EXPs are as likely to value and celebrate their familial roles as they are to view their families as a resource only. EXPs may measure their families' value based on whether they provide material and economic assets, while others value their family relationships because they want to make up for lost time and experiences (i.e. missing the first day of school). Some EXPs cut off family relationships that are too much of a burden to maintain, or because families encourage criminogenic behaviors. EXPs who cut off their family members after release do so because they feel inadequately prepared to provide for their families, which promotes feelings of shame or embarrassment.

5.4 Recommendations

In the following, I make recommendations to improve clinical practice, future research, reentry programs, and social and legislative policy. First, I suggest that clinicians could support EXPs' efforts to positively reenter by using therapeutic approaches that support identity development, such as narrative therapy (Freedman & Combs, 1996; White & Epston, 1990). Based on four assumptions about narrative therapy, that realities are socially constructed, are constituted through language, are organized and maintained through narrative, and that there are no essential truths, narrative therapy would be a good fit for former prisoners who desire to reshape their identities, but are not certain how.

Second, I recommend reentry programs adopt curricula that encourage former prisoners to freely express their feelings and beliefs about prison and life outside, as opposed to adopting a monolithic religiously-based model. Programs could additionally offer transitional courses that facilitate a smooth transition from prison to life outside prison. Former prisoners could benefit

from mentorship from older ex-offenders who have successfully transitioned to life outside prison. Such mentorship would promote healthy group identification and positive interactions between former prisoners.

Researchers could extend my findings by studying former prisoners not enrolled in reentry programs, by developing efficacious studies that analyze transportable clinical practices with former prisoners, and by analyzing how access to assets like health care in the Affordable Care Act improves desirable outcomes and reduces risks like recidivism. Finally, legislative policy makers should reform laws that restrict former prisoners' access to social benefits like Medicare and Medicaid.

Clinical practice. Clinicians working with former prisoners and their families could greatly benefit from these findings by incorporating knowledge about how former prisoners in Christian religious settings reconstruct their identities. By adopting therapeutic approaches that emphasize the role of language to give new meaning to experiences, therapists can support former prisoners' attempts to apply new meanings to their experiences during incarceration, their struggles outside prison, and internalize their new identities as free members of society. Maybe also mention systemic issues in your intro? Would parallel will your following discussion.

Family therapy. If one result about the clinical implications of life outside prison is clear, it is that it creates systemic problems. Incarceration is traumatic, and that trauma can influence how prisoners interact with their spouses, children, and extended family members. For example, participants reported that they would be afraid to leave the house to go out to dinner or to visit with friends because they were not certain who they would be around, whether their company would put them at risk for arrest, or because former prisoners developed traits like hyper-vigilance. Thus, family members, partners, and spouses who want to create and sustain

relationships with former prisoners may be hindered by these and other prisonized characteristics.

Family therapists could support former prisoners by identifying prisonized behaviors and contextualizing why those behaviors exist for their partners and family members. Family members may not understand why their formerly incarcerated loved ones behave with extreme caution or respond to conflict by withdrawing. Thus, family therapists could make the systemic implications of prisonized behaviors overt. Former prisoners also reported withholding information about their incarcerated experiences from their families because they did not want to expose them to the trauma they faced. Indeed, several times throughout interviews, participants reported that discussing their experiences in the interview were novel experiences. Therefore, family therapists could support a conversation about prison to allow family members access to this part of a former prisoners' identity if it supports healthy family functioning.

Family therapists could also help families renegotiate the roles that newly released prisoners play in the families. Participants reported that they would return to family members' homes experiencing conflict about their balance between autonomy and their need for family support. Family therapists could help support families by promoting former prisoners' individuality while retaining equity by demonstrating the need for prisoners to contribute to household expenses and responsibilities.

Narrative therapy. Arditti (2012) reports that identity work could make the difference in whether former prisoners successfully reenter their communities. This is especially true for former prisoners in this study. Postmodern approaches to clinical intervention, like narrative therapy, could support former prisoners and their families reintegrate into life outside prison by giving former prisoners clinical and language-based tools to reform prisonized identities.

Beyond this, narrative therapy could help former prisoners locate their problems outside of themselves, tap into inner resources that foster problem-solving, and encourage resilience (Arditti). Narrative therapy is a postmodern form of individual and family therapy that is suspicious and critical of dominant discourses like prisonized identities, social narratives such as what it means to be a former prisoner. I argued that at the intersection of former prisoners' structures (e.g. legislation and laws, society, criminal justice system), social identities are produced by dominant discourses about prisoners. Narrative therapy would help deconstruct these dominant discourses, empowering former prisoners and their families to construct their own identities.

Narrative therapy fits well within what EXPs report as their problematized storylines, which are their prisonized identities. Therapists could ask vivid and descriptive questions about prisoners' life events that construct the prisonized identity, evaluate those stories in search of dominant discourses like being the "other" that potentiate a prisonized identity outside prison, and look for hidden storylines that challenge the dominant prisonized narrative . By doing so, therapists and former prisoners would identify interactions and behaviors like "mad dogging" and fear that stems from constant supervision, and externalize these problems as indicators of external struggles rather than representations of an internal identity as a prisoner. Narrative therapists could also explore how the problem of a prisonized identity influences former prisoners, which includes their relationships with their friends and family members. By helping former prisoners focus on the effects of prison on their lives, rather than prison as an internalized identity, narrative therapists help to create distance between former prisoners and incarceration.

Programs. Without more advanced research, I can only make tentative suggestions to helping professionals working in reentry programs. First, social workers and reentry programs

could take a more active role in former prisoners' successful reentry by maintaining constant contact with probation and parole officers. My findings suggest that reentry workers are sometimes former prisoners' sole advocates, with confusion and ambiguity surrounding former prisoners' relationships with probation and parole. In this way, reentry programs serve as a social asset that expresses to probation and parole that parolees and probationers are serious about their lives outside prison.

Programs are frequently supported by external and private sources like religiously-based program, which sometimes results in programming that is exclusively grounded in a Christian religious narrative. Based on my observations, the primary narrative about prison was that it was a necessary punitive institution for which prisoners should remain grateful. This theme emerged within the interviews as well. It is possible that this narrative does more to support the social role that prison plays in society, reinforcing oppressive themes that subvert justice-related problems like false imprisonment, harsh punitive policies, and prison as a form of population control. They could accomplish this by adding additional support programs besides 12-step groups, which emphasize spiritual and sometimes religious language, and by expanding their funding resources to groups that have no interest in religious programming. Based on my findings, these support programs could more closely reflect the tenets of the Prisoner Exchange Program or PEP, which focuses on giving former prisoners tools to open their own small business, empowering them to be entrepreneurs. Another successful program is the Ex-Offender council in South Texas, which fosters communication between former prisoners and acts as an advocacy group within which former prisoners work together to influence social awareness and acceptance.

Arditti (2012) reports that treatment programs don't always support healthy family development. Specifically, Arditti argues that there may be a "lack of fit" (p. 166) between what programs offer and what families need. I argued that ambiguous freedom occurs when EXPs initiate an identity exchange, which is potentiated by social, economic, and material assets. Programs could support EXPs ability to move away from a prisonized identity by adding services that support family growth. Arditti recommends that programs create mentoring programs, mental health and drug treatment programs that include evidence-based family treatment models, and multisystemic parenting treatment programs.

By including families in treatment efforts, reentry programs also help demystify the family role strain EXPs may encounter as they return to their families of origin after release. I argued that EXPs experience a paradox within their family relationships as they try to determine whether families contribute to or inhibit their freedom. It is no secret that families of incarcerated men suffer from patterns of mental health and substance abuse as well (Poehlmann et al., 2010). Including families in treatment creates a systemic, rather than problematized approach to helping former prisoners. It may also strengthen EXPs' freedom by improving their family relationships and social networks. Finally, by including families in treatment, programs help to sustain healthy family relationships, reduce role strain, and clarify family relationships, which may in turn reduce family paradox.

Future research. Researchers could build on these findings in two ways. Researchers should proliferate studies examining how access to assets like health insurance promotes positive outcomes and reduces negative outcomes. In addition, researchers could improve my findings by examining former prisoners not enrolled in Christian religious programming. In addition, most qualitative analyses (mine is one of three I have discovered) examining prisoners either

soon before or after release have been relegated to men. After this study, I am certain some theoretical principles would be foundationally different were I to have interviewed women. Researchers could more closely examine whether there is a causal relationship between social, material, and economic assets, identity, and recidivism. A quantitative study that developed a model examining whether social, material, and economic assets moderated the relationship between identity and incarceration among prisoners with criminal histories would be invaluable. First, it would provide a foundation for clinical interventions. Therapists could develop models of therapy focusing on supporting families who share the burden of rehabilitation and supporting EXPs' efforts to develop identity capital. We could know with greater certainty the extent to which gender impacts identity capital and recidivism risk. Thus, researchers and practitioners could apply more appropriate cultural interventions.

Future research should be dedicated to improving probation and parole practices. Farrall (2004), for example, suggests desistance-focused probation and parole policies that encourage risk management rather than punitive protocols. Desistance risk-management probation and parole policies empower EXPs by limiting the amount of financial remuneration required by state and local governments. Desistance protocols encourage adjudication, which can expunge criminal records for good behavior, and favor community service opportunities that add value to resumes and job options. The reentry community would benefit from knowing which protocols are efficacious, cost-effective, and risk-reducing.

Two next steps in clinical and criminal justice research could improve how practitioners work with this population. First, with the advent of the Affordable Care Act, prisoners have access to health care regardless of their criminal record. This represents an opportunity to examine whether access to health care improves positive outcomes outside prison like reduced

health disparities. Before the Affordable Care Act, there was no comprehensive way to ensure that prisoners had access to health care, or to know what impact access to health care would have. Researchers should both examine outcomes and discover effective ways to deliver health care options to this difficult to reach population. Second, researchers should focus on discovering efficacious and transportable clinical treatment methods available to former prisoners. The clinical community knows little about what treatment methods apply to former prisoners, and for a population that notoriously lacks access to mental health care, we know little about how to deliver clinical resources to former prisoners. Thus, researchers should develop research designs that test the quality of therapeutic approaches like narrative and family therapy in reentry programs, or design comprehensive referral programs for probation and parole to use.

Social and legislative policy. Based on these findings, I argue that social and legislative policy should endeavor to advance social justice initiatives. Social justice can be a fluid term, but is generally understood as social and legislative efforts to eliminate oppression (Arditti, 2012; Young, 1990). I argued that former prisoners experience freedom ambiguously, that this ambiguous freedom occurs as the result of chronic uncertainty about whether they will be able to retain their freedom because oppressive structures like probation, parole, and the criminal justice system enforce a produced discourse about prisoners that removes their “worthiness” of freedom. Thus, in the context of this study, I recommend that social and legislative policy makers advance social justice by reforming state and federal supervision practices. For example, by establishing higher standards of probation and parole care in Texas, the state legislature could reduce the amount of time former prisoners are under supervision. The ultimate goal should be to reform the dominant social discourse about prisoners, which will take years. It will have to begin with reformed sentencing practices, shorter incarceration terms, rehabilitative supervision, and

policies that empower former prisoners rather than disenfranchise them further, such as those that would give former prisoners access to Medicare and Medicaid.

In addition, policy makers should clarify the purpose of restitution, court costs, and fines, and they should also consider reducing these fines as they coalesce to create an overwhelming financial burden for EXPs. Participants reported multiple payments to different criminal justice and civic agencies such as the department of motor vehicles and court costs. EXPs pay the costs without always understanding what they represent or why they should pay these costs.

Government programs exist to reduce these types fees, yet EXPs have little access to these services without support. About one in four participants reported feeling unaware about support programs that reduce fines and fees, and these were EXPs enrolled in a reentry program.

Legislators should continue to reconsider the value of harsh minimum sentencing laws (Halpern, 2005). Recently, state jurisdictions have made strides to change the role of harsh punishment as a force for impeding substance abuse related crime. However, individuals with substance abuse-related mental health concerns continue to be punished under state and federal law, often charged with distribution crimes to increase the punitive impact. My findings suggest that former prisoners suffered frequent and sudden incarceration for unclear reasons or for minor substance abuse charges. Participants reported that frequent arrests and incarceration worsened their criminal behaviors, which is consistent with extant literature (Loewenstein & Ayton, 2006).

Clinicians, social and legislative policy makers, program leaders, and researchers can also benefit from this research by identifying ways to effectively treat former prisoners in real life settings, providing access to health care, reconsidering current sentencing standards, and improving clinical strategies.

5.5 Limitations

There are three primary limitations I will address here: 1) my sample's lack of diversity; 2) time constraints; and 3) my data collection plan. First, my sample is somewhat unique among prison populations, in that the majority of the population was Hispanic men. Although I do not consider this a weakness of the sample, it may limit my findings as most prison populations are heavily populated by African American men. My population was most Mexican American and Latino men, which reflects the demographic area the southern part of the United States where my study was conducted. It is possible, therefore, that some of the trends and themes that emerged from this study may reflect values within the Latino culture. Family, for example, emerged as a paradoxical experience for participants who desired closeness with their families and extended families, yet sometimes felt threatened by some of the risky behaviors in which their family members engaged. Participants also reported conflict with extended family members who did not understand the experience of a formerly incarcerated person. Would this theme have emerged with African American or European American men? Future research should examine a broader population of participants to determine the similar and different thematic differences that may exist with a population more heavily saturated with African American and European American men.

This dissertation analysis is somewhat limited by time and resources. I have chosen to conduct qualitative interviews as the source of my data, along with my own observations in the form of reflexive journaling, field notes, and memos. I exclude other forms of qualitative data gathering primarily for two reasons: 1) the scope of this analysis as a dissertation study does not fit the timeline required to produce my results; and 2) I believe the in-depth intensive interviews I conduct along with my own observations were enough to saturate my categories, and thus,

produce a grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). As a result of this, I may be criticized for not triangulating my interview data with other forms of collected data, however I believe triangulating my data with my observations, along with the other steps I am taking to establish my study's trustworthiness should be sufficient.

Finally, throughout the study, I used the term *excarcerated prisoner* or *EXP* to refer to the general population of former prisoners and also my participants. I recognize that this term can potentially be deficit, rather than risk-oriented. In other words, by using this term, I may be at risk for recycling stigma in the empirical literature. While I don't have a great response to this possibility, I have frustratingly tried to find what appropriate term captures both the essence of striving for freedom and yet meeting freedom ambiguously. The term *excarcerated* highlights persistent and ongoing feelings of captivity, which are hallmarks of prisonization both inside and outside jails or prisons. Thus, although I am critical of the process, I feel true to my participants' realities to use this term.

5.6 Delimitations

I have set the parameters of this study to focus on male inmates' experiences. Studies examining women and men's separation from their families in prison show that women and men have unique experiences. Studies are inconclusive about whether mothers or fathers benefit more from prison visitation, for example. Women are more emotionally traumatized by separation than are men, and men benefit more from visitation than do women, although women benefit overall from more frequent contact in the form of phone calls and letter writing (Poehlmann et al., 2010). The reason for this is because women experience more emotional stress at having their children in the prison environment than do men. Women are also more conflicted about their role as a parent while they are incarcerated. Prison visitation is only one

example of the different experience men and women face in prison. Thus, I limited the scope of this study to avoid over-generalizing participants.

Finally, I have chosen not to interview family members of incarcerated prisoners because I am primarily interested in men's experiences. This decision limits my ability to ground this theory within the context of the family, and does not allow me to transport my findings to describe the perspective of incarcerated men's social relationships. Although I believe Comfort (2002) has undertaken that task already, this study will be a good foundation from which future analyses can build.

This study was conducted in a Christian faith-based organization. Thus, the results may only be transferable to other Christian faith-based organizations within which participants are encouraged to think religiously about both their time during and after incarceration. This may impact the way that participants constructed their lives outside prison. I did not collect data from participants on parole or probation outside the context of a reentry ministry program. Further research would benefit from a study that examined participants who did not affiliate with a faith-based organization. Although my sample was religiously and spiritually diverse, it was clear that tenants of the Christian faith were imprinted on their experiences by interaction with 12-step programs, drug recovery groups, and housing programs. Whether this theme is consistent with prisoners not enrolled in Christian faith-based reentry organization is unclear.

6 Conclusion

I attempted to discover how PCP impacted men's lives after prison. I discovered that PCP potentiates ambiguous freedom, that EXPs seek to eschew their prisonized identities by eliminating language, behaviors, and beliefs that they developed as a result of prisonization. EXPs transport prisonized behaviors and attitudes, which they adapt for use, or abandon those

that inhibit their ability to reform prisonized identities. EXPs lose assets when they reenter as a result of their lost credibility with local, state, and federal criminal justice and legal systems. EXPs endure expensive and asset draining probation fees, restitution fines, and other costs, and in return, they gain the promise of tenuous freedom. Freedom is tenuous as a result of long-term stigma and discrimination due to EXPs criminal record and the short-term risk of recidivism for probation violations or for unexplained reasons. EXPs reform their social relationships, engage in spiritual or religious activities, and desist criminal behavior to remain free. Despite these efforts, EXPs gain only ambiguous freedom, under which long-term freedom is inhibited by random acts of incarceration and prisonized rituals experienced at prison satellites, stigma, and social exclusion. I made recommendations for improving practice and empirical results, from which both researchers and practitioners can support EXPs ability to reform prisonized identities and secure freedom.

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8 Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questionnaire

1. Age, family background, ethnicity, religious affiliation, etc.
2. Who are you living with now or describe your living arrangement now.
3. Are you employed? If so, doing what?
4. Do you have children? How many? (you should find out whether ex offender resides with any children and how many households children may be spread into; you should also consider getting their ages) If so, do you keep in touch with them regularly?
5. Do you have a wife, girlfriend, or partner? If so, do you keep in touch with her/him regularly?
6. Do you currently have access to a driver's license?
7. Do you have any probation/parole restrictions? Could you describe them?
8. What was the date you were most recently admitted to prison or jail?
9. Have you been incarcerated in a jail or prison more than once? If so, how frequently?
How long?

Interview Questions

1. What has life been like since you were released from prison or jail?
2. What have you experienced in life after prison or jail that you did not expect?
3. How is life after prison or jail different than life before prison or jail?
4. How has life after prison or jail impacted your social life? Emotional health? The way you behave or act?
5. What has life after prison taught you about yourself?
6. What do your interactions with potential employers teach you about yourself?

7. What do your interactions with parole or probation teach you about yourself?
8. How has life after prison or jail changed the way you parent?
9. How has life after prison or jail changed who you are as a partner or a spouse?
10. What about life after prison or jail is a challenge for your family relationships?
11. How do your interactions with law enforcement, parole, and probation influence your relationship with your family?
12. Is there anything you learned from prison or jail that you use now in your relationships with other people?
13. In what ways has your time in prison or jail experience influenced your life after prison?
14. Do you feel differently about yourself now than before you were in prison or jail? If so, how?
15. Are there any challenges you might encounter that you wouldn't if you had not gone to jail or prison?
16. What did you learn from prison that stuck with you?
17. Is there anything you wish people knew about what life after prison is like?

Appendix B: Data Sample Characteristics

The following profiles briefly describe each participant's personal and criminal history, my reflections on their interviews, their family situations, and their lives outside prison. I provide my reflections from field notes I wrote after each interview. Here, I intend to bridge the gap between the sound bites I will use to provide evidence for the emergent themes and the participants who generously gave up time to meet with me. I have chosen pseudonyms for privacy, but in some cases, participants chose their own pseudonyms.

Max (M). Max is a Mexican American man in his mid-fifties. He appears eager to speak with me, like he is excited about telling his story. As the interview begins, I learn that Max was more just happy to be somewhere with a purpose, because he recently lost his job. Max is divorced with two children. He has a home that was passed down to him. He owns the home, but cannot be there due to probation restrictions. Max has been released almost a full year and currently resides in a halfway house. Max is hesitant at first. He answers questions abruptly and cautiously, but as I assured him that I held his confidence, he became more comfortable. For example, Max shared with me that he sometimes stays at his home even though he knows he could violate his probation because he simply wants to be somewhere he can call his own. He also reported that his criminal history was drug-related. He is a nonviolent offender, but he cannot return home because his criminal history is connected with his domestic drug use. Max points out, however, that his halfway house doubles as a hub for drug dealers all over downtown San Antonio.

What struck me about Max was his tendency to absolve the State of Texas of his hardships. During his interview, he seemed to teeter between his anger at "they system," and his acknowledgement that he was responsible for his hardships. It was as if Max wanted me to

know that he accepted responsibility for his hardships, that he really did not want to blame the local, regional, and state laws for his hardships, but that sometimes he couldn't resist pointing out how Texas specifically made life outside prison difficult for prisoners. He did so by citing anecdotes of police officers who unnecessarily harass criminal-looking people (tattoos, youth) on the street, seeding anger in young minority boys at an early age.

As my interview with Max progressed, Max become more adamant and emotional about his circumstances, reporting that sometimes his life could get so hard that he was sincerely tempted to return to his criminal lifestyle to support himself, or to supplement his income so that he could stay ahead of his payments. However, Max always returned to the mantra that despite his circumstances, he was responsible for his hardships. After the interview, I felt that Max was dissonant about life outside prison, as if he was angry and resentful of his lack of opportunity, but despite all the people who turned him down because of his record, and despite harsh punitive laws, he was responsible for where he was. I felt as though Max did not feel he had permission to be angry about how his social and political context treated him because he was an EXP. It struck me as a deeply internalized criminal identity. Max's interview stoked my curiosity about criminal identities, and how those identities are managed outside prison.

Isaiah (I). Isaiah is a 38-year-old Hispanic male. He was released from a maximum-security prison state prison for 21 years on a violent criminal offense. Isaiah's calm demeanor belies the stories he tells about his involvement in violent prison gang activities. He is covered in tattoos from neck to feet and reports that he will always wear long sleeved shirts and pants, even in the middle of the South Texas sweltering summers because he's afraid of what people will think when they see his tattoos. Isaiah reports that when he was incarcerated, his appearance served him by giving him status among other prisoners, but now that he is released, Isaiah's

tattoos potentially threaten his access to jobs and resources. Isaiah lives with his girlfriend that he met when he was incarcerated. Although he saw his daughter outside of prison for the first time since he was locked up, he reports that they are not close. Most of their communication comes through text messaging.

Isaiah was only released eight months at the time of the interview. As such, he appeared to experience a mix of emotions. He was feeling relief for no longer being incarcerated, however he also described having panic attacks and extreme anxiety when confronted with social situations and environments. For example, when Isaiah was first released, he went into a grocery store, only to be overwhelmed by the amount of people and food choices available to him. His nephew had to escort him from the store because he was having a panic attack. Similarly, Isaiah reported that any time he is in a social environment, he finds a way to literally put his back to the wall because he is accustomed to protecting himself against other prisoners who were a threat to him. Now, when he goes to the mall or store, he makes certain he can see the people around him. This action soothes him, and he reports that he will likely always put his back to the wall. Isaiah's interview was important to me for a number of reasons. First, Isaiah would only participate in the interview if his girlfriend were present at the time. Although she did not participate, Isaiah reported that her presence helped "keep him sane." He told me that sometimes he needs help interpreting social situations, so he likes to have his girlfriend around to help him remember that simple interactions are not threatening outside prison. This was somewhat intimidating for me, and it made me more careful about what I said and how. What I learned from Isaiah is that EXPs can go through great lengths to create freedom outside prison.

Jeremiah (Je). Jeremiah is a 40-year-old African American man who spent two years in state prison for drug-related offenses. At the time of the interview, he had been released for

more than five years. He has two children and lives in an apartment. Jeremiah stays in touch with his daughters regularly, spends most of his free time at the reentry facility where the interview was conducted, and actively socially isolates to avoid what he describes as the drama of social relationships. Jeremiah reports socially isolating himself in prison in an effort to just “do his time without distractions.” Avoiding social relationships, both inside and outside prison, Jeremiah learned to focus exclusively on a goal he set in front of him. When he was released, he went back into his family system, which at the time, consisted of his eldest daughter and her mother. Jeremiah reports that he quickly determined he did not like the “drama” of this relationship, which he successfully avoided during incarceration. Thus, Jeremiah entered a period of homelessness after leaving his family.

Jeremiah reports that he needed this time of being homeless because it helped to get back to focusing on what was important by isolating himself from all social relationships. Now, Jeremiah lives alone and avoids engaging in social relationships unless they are explicitly related to reentry support. For example, Jeremiah’s social relationships are those he maintains with his social workers at the reentry facility. He has long since finished his social service hours required by his probation officer, however he continues to spend hours each day between his two jobs working because that is where he feels safe. Although Jeremiah reports that he avoids social relationships, a behavioral coping mechanism he learned in prison and replicated in life outside prison, his attempts to maintain safe social relationships seem to suggest that he desires social interaction, but is selective about those relationships. Jeremiah attributes his previous criminal behavior to his social interactions. Thus, his caution is not surprising. Jeremiah’s interview first introduced paradox into this study. The inherent risk in social relationships illustrates another fragile element of life outside prison.

Joel (Jo). Joel is a 55-year-old Native American man who spent approximately 10 years in prison for drug-related offenses. Joel was married with two children, but his family was tragically killed in a car accident prior to his incarceration. Joel reports that he attributes his grief to his drug use and subsequent arrests. Joel has been released for two years, and was released onto state probation. He has since finished the requirements of his probation, but has strong feelings about his requirements and how much probation demanded of him during his time. Joel recently secured employment as a manual day laborer, but has been unemployed for as long as a year. He currently lives in a transitional living facility, and reports that he has no plans on moving out because he is uncertain about whether he'll be able to find housing because of his record. Joel reports that he has been rejected in the past because of his criminal record. Joel told some horrific stories about his time in confinement. Once he was released, however, Joel had a deeply spiritual and religious experience that he referred to consistently throughout the interview. Joel's interview provoked my thoughts about the role spirituality and religion play in EXPs lives.

Reviewing the previous three interviews before Joel, I discovered that all reported a deeply spiritual or religious experience during prison or immediately followed, which participants credited as the reason they sustain freedom outside prison. Joel's spiritual and religious experience also helps him to deprogram. Although he was the first to describe deprogramming, he was not the only participant to describe deinstitutionalizing following his release in these terms. Joel's spiritual experience allows him to describe his time in prison as "his testimony," which is a religious term describing a difficult experience that leads to a profound transformation. In Joel's case, he shares his testimony with young juvenile offenders at a boot

camp program. This activity paradoxically takes him closer to the criminal justice community and also farther from it.

Byron (B). Byron is the first of three participants recruited through the reentry program from a Christian faith-based transitional living community built for former prisoners who are transitioning to life outside prison. Byron is a 53-year-old European American man who spent three years in a state jail for drug related offenses and an additional year for a probation violation related to an incorrect change of address form. The clinical part of me suspects that Byron may be suffering from some latent substance abuse-related developmental delays. Although Byron can effectively communicate, his speech is slow and slurred, and one side of his face is less mobile than the other. Byron was the first person to indicate that he experienced a subsequent arrest and incarceration upon release for reasons he could not initially explained. Later, after confinement, he determined that his arrest was due to the fact that he failed to properly file a change of address form for his residence. Consequently, Byron was forced to serve the remainder of his sentence in state jail. Byron reports that he was glad he served his time because he was able to be released without any supervision.

Byron was also the first person to suggest that life outside prison under criminal justice supervision may be more difficult than being incarcerated. Other participants who served the remainder of their time incarcerated after violating the terms of their parole or probation report a similar experience, they would rather be completely free, or not at all. Thus, Byron extended the paradox of life outside prison. EXPs report that they make major sacrifices, including economic, social, and familial in order to sustain their freedom. However, many participants, including Byron, reported that they would rather complete their time incarcerated than experience freedom ambiguously.

Eric (E). Eric is a Mexican American man in his early fifties. Eric was incarcerated for a total of 20 years, on and off, for both drug and violent offenses. Eric is a quiet participant, and it takes me some time to understand his responses to my questions. I have to ask him a few times to repeat himself. When I entered the living facility where the interviews took place, Eric was sitting quietly, away from the other residents reading his bible. Eric reports that he spends most of his time alone. He is unemployed, living without a driver's license. He spends little time outside the transitional home in which he lives. He has lived in the transitional home for about a year. Eric was released to federal parole, having received an additional violation after a previous release while under supervision.

Eric reports that he was heavily involved in prison gangs when he attended a religious retreat in prison. He reported he attended the retreat primarily to get away from his typical schedule, but that the retreat actually changed him. Eric wanted to leave his prison gang, but was rebuffed by the other members. It wasn't until after he was discharged that he was finally able to leave the prison. Unfortunately, Eric reports that when he returned to his community, he was unable to find a positive social community and returned to his old friends, with whom he engaged in criminal behaviors and was subsequently incarcerated. He was confined to a different facility, however, and reports that he isolated himself from the prison's social network. When he served his time, he again returned to his old social networks until he heard about the transitional living facility where he currently lives.

Eric's social isolation is a positive attempt to maintain his freedom. However, the paradox of this situation is that he remains in a kind of social prison, isolating himself even from other former prisoners with whom he lives because he worries about whether their influence will

put him at risk for incarceration. Therefore, Eric relies on his spiritual and religious beliefs to maintain his tenuous freedom.

Desmond (D). Desmond is a 59-year-old African American man, and self-proclaimed assistant pastor at the residential living facility where he lives with Eric and Byron. Desmond has lived at the living facility for more than five years, during which time he has completed the facility's program, but continues to live and serve at the unit, assisting the pastor who runs the facility. During consent, Desmond took the forms from me and began to review them, as the other participants had done. However, I learned in the interview that Desmond cannot read. He reports with some passion the difficulties of life outside prison for someone who is illiterate. He reports that although he has been offered management positions at local fast food locations, he usually quits after the offer comes because he is afraid to disclose that he cannot read. I interpret Desmond's action to take the paper from me, therefore, as an attempt to hide the fact that he could not read. He disclosed that he could not read, and so I conclude that his reaction being handed a piece of paper with text on it was an instinct-driven social response that he has learned to help him cope with life outside prison. Desmond is currently unemployed, save only for the minimal financial support he receives from the living facility for his role as an associate pastor.

Desmond's narrative was deeply embedded in the idea of forgiveness. He believed that he had difficulty in life outside prison for two primary reasons. First, his illiteracy severely limited his upward mobility and restricted his social confidence. Second, Desmond reported that although he had paid for his time and received God's forgiveness, he failed to receive society's forgiveness. He also described this as "needing a break from society." Desmond explained that receiving a break would mean not being judged for his past during job interviews or receiving government aid (Desmond cannot receive disability because of his criminal record). Desmond's

feels that because he is socially excluded in these ways, life outside prison is made much more difficult.

Desmond was not under supervision at the time of the interview. Regardless of this and the fact that he has relatively stable housing, he hinted that he still thinks about doing “what it takes to survive,” referring to criminal behaviors like selling drugs that would bring income. Desmond’s struggle is a portrait of fragile freedom, to be free, yet confined by civic restrictions, to be outside prison, yet forcibly housed in a transitional living facility because his prison record prevents other opportunities, to be free of prison-based social strife, yet to be socially confined because he lacks mobility or financial resources.

Mateo (Ma). Mateo is a 30-year-old Hispanic male. He spent five years in state prison for drug and alcohol-related offenses. Mateo has one daughter, and is currently divorced from his ex-wife, although he reports that he still loves her and they are working on reuniting their relationship. Mateo was released a year ago to state probation.

Mateo is one of a few participants who report that if you simply “do what you need to do,” meaning, if you avoid illegal activity, probation is easy. Yet, at the same time, about a third of Mateo’s interview was spent discussing an incident wherein Mateo lost his job and was almost violated and sent back to prison because of his job. According to Mateo, his probation officer’s supervisor did a random check on all of Mateo’s PO’s files, discovering that Mateo worked at a local gun shop. Despite the fact that Mateo was arrested for drug offenses, and is not a violent offender, and despite that the position was cleared through his probation officer, Mateo was confronted by the supervisor about his job, and was told that if he returned to the position, he would be arrested. Even though the owner of the gun shop called the probation officer on Mateo’s behalf, he still lost his job. Mateo reports that he is uncertain whether this was the result

of a random check like his PO suggested, or if he was “ratted out” by another probationer who knew where he worked. Second, Mateo reports difficult family relationships.

Although extant literature portrays prisoners’ family members as valuable resources for former prisoners, I discovered from participants like Mateo that family can be both a source of agency and risk in life outside prison. Mateo reports that he cuts his family members off because he cites them as the primary reasons that he abuses drugs and alcohol. Conversely, Mateo’s attempts to knit his nuclear family unit back together reflect the tension he feels between wanting to maintain family, but also being cautious about with whom he interacts. He’s protecting himself against potentially dangerous family interactions, in an effort to remain free.

Raul (R). Raul is a 25-year-old Puerto Rican American man who was one of two participants released from a confined drug treatment facility. Raul has two children, one of whom he adopted as his own, but is his wife’s biological daughter. Raul spent approximately one year in confinement, split between county jail and the drug treatment facility. Raul is relatively young compared to the other participants, and his time incarcerated was relatively short, yet the experiences he reports are similar to other participants in the study. Raul, for example, reports that when he was incarcerated, he was “jumped in” to a prison gang by other members of a prison gang who took offense to tattoos he had. When he transitioned to the drug treatment facility, he was inculcated by religious and recovery material that was inherent to the program. At the same time, however, Raul reports that he was taking covert action to see his family when he wasn’t allowed. Raul reports that, paradoxically, at the drug treatment facility, prisoners are completely cut off from family members with exception only to written letters. Prisoners are not allowed to call or see their family members. Raul reports that officials justify this by suggesting that inmates need to focus on their own recovery before they start thinking

about their family. Later in the interview, Raul would reflect that this mentality shaped him into a “selfish” person outside prison, even though he was never this way before he was confined.

During confinement at the drug treatment facility, Raul reports that he was learning how to be a better person because he was learning how to live sober, drug-free, and outside the influence of drugs and alcohol. At the same time, Raul was engaging in what he described as “dope fiend moves,” in order to see his family. For example, Raul reports that when he wrote letters to his family, he would write in cryptic code to his wife to tell her to go to a certain less-restricted area of the facility at a certain time of day so that he could see her. His wife would come to the facility and they would see each other and talk while he was confined. Raul’s experience reinforces the idea of paradox in life outside prison, because he reflects on these interactions as being both a time of recovery and manipulation. Raul has been programmed to think that by taking steps to see his family, he is engaging in criminal activity. Thus, outside prison, he is conflicted about typical family conflict. He reports that at times he wants to flee his family, citing conflict as a motivator for his stress that tempts him to behave in ways that put his freedom at risk (drinking, smoking marijuana).

During his interview, Raul was emotional about the amount of pressure he experiences because he is uncertain how to meet the multiple demands on his time and resources. He is currently on intensive supervision, which means he has to meet with his probation officer once a week, as opposed to once a month. In addition, he attends classes and pays for his own Antabuse medication that prevents him from drinking. This, on top of a pending case that could send him back to state prison (one that existed prior to his first arrest), diminishes Raul’s quality of life and family relationships. Raul reports that he no longer has a romantic interest in his wife because

his financial, psychological, and judicial demands limit the time he can devote to his romantic relationships.

Phillip (P). Phillip is a 44-year-old Hispanic man who was released from state prison over five years ago, although he reports that he spent a night in county jail for a theft allegation within the last year. Phillip spent approximately 9 years in state prison on multiple charges including theft, assault, and drug-related charges. Phillip has five children, two of whom he has custody over. Phillip is currently employed and is one of three participants I would describe as experiencing the greatest range of freedom after release. Unfortunately, Phillip reports having a recent encounter that belied his freedom.

Phillip reports that he is in the midst of deciding whether to fight a pending case that is established on an allegation that he stole from an auto parts store when attempting to purchase a car part that a stranded couple required. When looking for the part, Phillip accidentally walked out of the store without paying because he was distracted by a phone call he received from his children's mother. When he realized he forgot to pay, he walked back into the store, only to be confronted by an irate storeowner who accused him of stealing. Despite Phillip's efforts to both pay for and return the product, the storeowner locked him and called the police. Phillip ran from the store out of fear and drove away only to be hit by a car at an intersection. The storeowner followed him and reported to the responding officer about what happened. Phillip confirmed that he forgot to pay for the product, but despite his attempts to explain, he was arrested and faces a potential 10 year prison sentence if convicted.

Phillip's interview was perhaps the most emotionally moving and difficult interview of them all. Phillip reported making a decision in the interview and after talking about his circumstances that he was not going to fight the case, choosing to accept a lesser charge of house

arrest and two years probation. Phillip came to this decision, which may seem easy, but in actuality, was a difficult one because the distance he had created psychologically from his criminal identity was so great, that he resisted accepting another criminal label of any kind, even one that would save him from prison time. He reported that he wanted to show his kids that they needed to stand up for themselves when they were treated unfairly, but the fear that he would lose his kids is too great. Phillip reported that he decided to accept the charge to avoid the risk.

In Phillip's interview, I decided that the categories that were emerging were incomplete because they were too linear. Even though Phillip had progressed to feeling both mentally and structurally free, a freak accident sent him reeling back to having to make adjustments to his life as if he had just been released. His job, along with his custody of his children, were all at risk. During the interview, we considered the difference between me walking out of a store accidentally (as I admitted I had done mistakenly in the past) and Phillip doing the same. Phillip reported that his record ruined all his credible claims to accidentally walking out of the store, even though his record for the last five to seven years was clean. Phillip's interview is further evidence that freedom is fragile long after probation and parole end.

Elias (El). Elias is a 53-year-old Hispanic man who was incarcerated for a total of two years over a three-year period, during which he received three DWIs. Elias strikes me as an affable personality, which is somewhat different when compared to the other participants. He is light-hearted despite his circumstances, and laughs about many of the mistakes he's made in the past related to his confinement. I'm not sure how else to describe why this is important, except to say that Elias does not match any prison-based stereotype. He has no tattoos, has no violent or substance abuse record (excluding alcohol), and had a successful career as a truck driver prior to his arrest. Yet, Elias' freedom is untenable just as the other participants I've interviewed. Elias

loved his job so much that he reports not even being able to look at the big trucks he used to drive because it makes him too sad.

Elias was released from the same drug treatment facility as Raul, but reports that he is thus far uncertain about the impact it had on him. Ironically, Elias is the only participant who reports no spiritual or religious experience before, during, and after confinement. He reports that he is currently exploring Judaism, but that it has little impact on his life. Elias was released to intensive supervision, where he is required to attend AA classes, purchase Antabuse, purchase and own two different breathalyzers, and attend weekly drug testing, all of which he pays for. Elias is currently unemployed and looking for work, but reports it is difficult to explain why he lost his job or is changing careers after 20 years as a truck driver. His work has been temporary. Elias currently lives with his ill mother, for whom he drives to ensure she reaches all her doctors' appointments despite the risk it runs because his license is revoked.

Elias is unique among this sample because he has no previous criminal economy, and before his arrests was a typical blue-collar worker who had saved up enough to retire by the time he was 60. Now that his savings is depleted, Elias struggles to make ends meet for himself and his mother. Elias' freedom will likely not be threatened once he is off probation and parole, save only for the fact that he drives without a license. Elias reports having no choice, as in Texas, three DWIs is considered a death sentence to your license. It is difficult to regain driving privileges in Texas without considerable resources. Elias' loss of mobility, social and economic capital, and the threat to his loss of family illustrate fragile freedom.

Zachary (Z). Zachary is a 26-year-old Hispanic man who was incarcerated for six years for sexual assault. Zachary is engaged, and his fiancée is expecting their first child. He was released two years ago. Zachary reports that when he was 18, he had sex with his girlfriend, who

was 15. Upon learning of this, Zachary's girlfriend's parents pressed charges. Zachary had no previous criminal record, but was sentenced to six years in prison. He reports that prison fundamentally changed him because he was so young and it was nothing that he expected. He reports that other prisoners encouraged him to look into joining a prison gang, but waited until he was in his early twenties before he joined a gang. During his time of confinement, he was worried about other prisoners finding out his criminal record, because he would be considered an outcast inside the prison, as well as on the outside. Sexual assault charges are some of the only charges that dispossess prisoners of the opportunity to join prison-based social groups for protection. Thus, Zachary found himself alone and isolated. When he was released, however, Zachary was in a unique situation because he was involved in a car accident when he was younger. As a result, he received a settlement when he turned 25 that continues to support life outside prison.

Zachary reports that he is frustrated because he cannot find employment. This is especially true of Zachary because his crime is of public record. Potential employers can access his criminal record as long as they have a computer because Zachary's picture, name, address, and contact information are publicly available. Zachary feels as though the public views him as a predator, and like other participants, feels that he needs society to give him a chance to prove his value. In Zachary's case, he frames this conversation in the context of employment. He feels that unless society, manifested by potential employers or educators, allows him the opportunity to show his work ethic, he'll never be able to be anything more than a general laborer. Right now, Zachary is looking for a way to earn a trade. Zachary reports a strong sense of anger because although he is not on probation or parole, his freedom is limited by restrictions that will always remain on him because of the nature of his offense. Zachary cannot vote, leave the

country, be spontaneous and take a trip without first reporting to a criminal justice officer. Most importantly, Zachary knows that he is constantly under threat for being arrested and incarcerated, even if he does nothing wrong. If he finds himself in the wrong place at the wrong time, or if he is around people who do not actively care about his freedom, he is potentially at risk. Zachary's story epitomizes fragile freedom.

Joe (Je). Joe is a 53-year-old African American man who was incarcerated for 17 years total, but was in and out of state and federal prison for about 30 years. He was primarily indicted on substance abuse-related charges, but reports that he has some burglary charges on his record. Joe was released from federal prison two years ago, and is currently paroled under federal supervision. Joe lives in an apartment, and moved there after his required yearlong confinement to a federal parole halfway house (all federal parolees are required to live in a halfway house for a year). Joe relates his experience in life outside prison to soldiers returning home from combat. Joe reports that when he was released from federal prison, he experienced symptoms related to post traumatic stress disorder. He reports that the pace of life outside prison, in addition to feeling like he was constantly supervised induced him into a state of what he refers to as "constant paranoia." Joe insists that he feels like he is constantly watched, which increases his paranoia and limits his freedom.

Joe's interview solidified what was an emerging belief that what EXPs desire most strongly is to be free outside prison. However, Joe nuanced my understanding by suggesting that EXPs believe that once they are released from prison, their freedom is granted to them because they have paid their time. Joe made plans just as many participants made plans to live a prosocial and productive life once they were released. In other words, they planned to live free. Joe's expectations were high because when he was incarcerated, prison officials and prison support

volunteers encouraged him to think about how prison was a positive influence on his life by giving him literature with anecdotal stories by other former prisoners who proclaimed that life outside prison was easy as long as you “put God first.” Thus, Joe assumed that once he was released, he would have opportunities to life freely as long as he behaved well. However, Joe quickly descended into emotional and psychological crisis when he realized how difficult life outside prison was, illustrated by his constant supervision demands and what he called the constant threat of incarceration that loomed even if he was behaving well. The threat was so strong, that Joe would often prepare his partner with hidden money and resources when he reported to parole because the probability existed that he would not return.

Jesse (Js). Jesse is a 35-year-old Black man who describes himself as a Moor. Jesse reports that a Moor is a person who is native to the United States, and who are a population of individuals that pre-date European settlement of the United States. Jesse has four children, two of whom he adopted as his own. He lives in an apartment with his wife and her two of his four children. Jesse was released to federal parole and finished his supervision requirements one year ago because his parole officer was impressed with how he was handling life outside prison. Part of this stems from Jesse’s report that when he was incarcerated, “billionaire” prisoners who were incarcerated for money laundering mentored him. He learned business skills that he felt motivated him to change. After having a spiritual change experience, Jesse channeled his energy into changing his life. Jesse’s interview confounds many of this study’s findings, but in his interview also confirms many of the struggles that other participants’ experience. For example, Jesse had a seven year plan, which is common for EXPs. However, Jesse reports that at the time of the interview, he is well ahead of his plan. Most EXPs report that they abandon their plans

because they encounter so much resistance. Jesse, on the other hand, is the only participant in this study who has a salaried job.

Jesse was hired by the reentry organization with which I was working to be a prison-based social worker. The position is open exclusively for former prisoners. When Jesse applied to the position, he competed against more than 200 other applicants, most of whom lacked any education. Because Jesse earned the position, he reports that he has little to no financial strain, which is almost unheard of in the EXP community.

Not all of Jesse's success is attributed to his position. Jesse is also a uniquely resilient person. He reports that the reentry community rebuffed his plans, even discouraging him from following his plan because it was so likely to fail. His substance abuse counselor during the time he was confined to federal parole housing told him that he expected to see Jesse incarcerated again soon. Jesse reports that these and other encounters drove him to success. Jesse also reports that he did not experience any anxiety or stress following his release, but admitted he knew that was rare. As an explanation, he suggested that unlike others, he fit seamlessly into society because he "felt like [he] belonged out here." I don't have a substantive explanation for this, except to say that Jesse did not face as many risk factors as the other participants did, and he arguably had better training for life outside prison, however, his success is most likely due to his individual resilience.

Ronnie (Ro). Ronnie is a 52-year-old African American man who was released from federal prison less than one year ago. Ronnie's interview was unique because he found me in an office speaking with one of the facility's social workers and requested a time with me to complete an interview. Ronnie heard about the interviews through another participant and wanted to tell his story. Ronnie reports that he is going through orientation to the reentry

program for the second time in two years. Last year, Ronnie violated his probation. I share his story later in the paper, so I choose not to divulge it here. Ronnie has one child that he rarely sees. He is separated from his wife and reports that he will likely pursue a divorce. Ronnie lives in a residential facility, as all federal parolees must. However, Ronnie does not live at the facility by obligation. After Ronnie was released, he chose to return to the living facility by his own choice. He reports that he is in the second phase of the recovery home, which mandates that he lives in the unit as a mentor. Ronnie is currently unemployed, but is able to get sporadic day labor.

Ronnie reports that he has no driver's license and is struggling to find consistent employment. Ronnie has a quiet demeanor. He reports in the middle of the interview that he feels anxious about answering questions, even though he sought me out to complete the interview. He explains that although he has a desire to share his story, his experience with people "on the outside" is that at any moment, anything he says or does could land him back in prison. Ronnie's own parole violation history is evidence that he has reason to be suspicious. As the interview continues, Ronnie grows increasingly more comfortable. He shares his anger and frustration toward his past and his joy that he no longer has to be out on parole. Ronnie's suspicion is necessarily grounded in his protectiveness over his own freedom. He feels free, partly because he has no supervision and partly because his faith has grown since he violated parole and now lives in a faith based recovery home. Like many participants, faith and spirituality are protective factors for Ronnie's freedom, and serve as buffers against risks outside prison.

Dante. Dante is a 40-year-old African American man who was released from federal prison into federal parole. He has completed his mandatory six-month stay at a residential

treatment facility. Dante has successfully found employment after his release. For a time, he worked two jobs as a dishwasher and server at a local restaurant. Eventually, Dante worked up to an hourly/waged electrician job. Dante reports that he has no religious beliefs, but attends church because he values the social environment. Dante has been in and out of the prison system for 20 years. His background consists primarily of substance abuse related charges, but also reports that he has some violent criminal history. Dante has six children, all of whom he stays in contact with, and he lives in an apartment by himself.

Dante reports that his most challenging aspect of life outside prison is the balance of time that he must manage. He reports that it was not difficult to find work, but that his parole requirements are difficult because they compete with his employment. Dante is unique because he stayed in contact with all his children while he was confined. He reports that his relationships with his family are largely not impacted by his time in prison, only the time he spent away. In other words, it has not been prison that has challenged his relationships, but rather the time away from his children.

When Dante was released from state prison in the past, he reports that his probation requirements were minimal compared to the supervision requirements he has now. He reports that under federal parole, he is in society, but with a leash. Dante experiences the leash as a positive support structure that helped him ease back into society. My understanding of Dante's outlook is based primarily on the length of his time incarcerated. Dante spent little time out of prison between arrests. During those times, he failed to avoid criminal and illegal behavior. He has not been released for a year and is holding a steady job, interacting with his children, and avoiding former negative relationships. His last stint in prison was the longest at 13 years. During this time, Dante had what he described as a spiritual experience that changed his

perspective, caused him to create a plan, and move forward with his plan. This experience combined with his relatively limited length of parole, combined to promote his positive outlook on life outside prison. Despite this, Dante's freedom is tenuous, represented by how socially isolated he is. Dante reports that he has no social relationships apart from his family, and spends most of the limited free time he has at home alone because he is both comfortable alone (a condition he attributes to incarceration) and finds that social relationships are too risky.

Ernie. Ernie is the youngest participant in my sample. At 22, Ernie spent less than a year in county probation and was released into probation. Ernie is a Hispanic man who lives with both his parents. He has no children, is currently single, and is unemployed. I interviewed Ernie late in the interview process during my theoretical sampling process because I was looking for data from someone who had minimal contact with the criminal justice as an adult. I was interested in discovering whether the themes I had developed subsisted within the narrative of a person who had not been to either state or federal prison. My interview with Raul seemed to suggest that even someone who spent a year in a county jail and a drug treatment facility experienced fragile freedom. However, I wanted to determine whether someone who was incarcerated minimally experienced fragile freedom as well. Although I cannot make conclusive arguments based on a single interview, Ernie's interview seems to suggest that less frequent contact with prisons and jails promotes more secure freedom outside prison. This is difficult to conclude because Ernie spent only about a month incarcerated, and part of that month was spent in the medical unit, where he was segregated from other inmates, had control over his leisure time, and had access to media like television and radio. After a brief time incarcerated, Ernie was released to his parents' custody, who pay most of his bills and arrange transportation for him to get to his probation reports.

Ernie's interview had a more casual and comfortable feel to it. Ernie did not relate to many of the other participants who experienced fragile freedom. Rather, Ernie enjoyed consistent social support from family and friends. Ernie reports that he has had trouble finding work, however, and attributes that to the gap in time during his arrest and conviction. He has trouble accounting for the gaps in his experience. Although he had his criminal record expunged, he still must account for about a year of time during which he was either between court appearances or incarcerated.

David. David is a 27 year old Hispanic man who spent two years incarcerated for drug-related offenses. David has no children or partner and lives with his older brother, for whom he also works. He spent the majority of his time in a state prison, but part of his sentence was adjudicated to a drug treatment facility. David is deeply devoted to his faith, which was something he developed when he was incarcerated. David describes that prior to his arrest and incarceration, he was rebellious, living according to what he understands as God's will for his life. Once he entered treatment at the drug treatment facility, David's perspective on his life changed. Now, David funnels every experience he has through the lens of his faith. For example, David has trouble talking about how difficult his experiences with probation are because although he has similar encounters with probation and police officers that other participants do, he reports that speaking poorly about government officials is against God's will. Thus, before David felt comfortable telling me about how he felt confused by his probation officer, who one day shared her faith with David and the next was harshly reprimanding him for not getting a phone line in his brother's home quickly enough.

David represents a unique feature of ambiguous freedom, a theme that emerged during this study. David, for example, is uncertain whether he is supposed to be on intensive or

regularly monitored supervision. David reports that his probation officer told him that he was required to wear an ankle monitor and remain on monitored intensive supervision for a year. However, when David was released, he was mailed the ankle monitor without any explicit instructions for how to report and to whom he needed to report his activity. In Texas, when EXPs are given an ankle monitor, they are assigned an additional probation officer specifically for their ankle monitor. All David knows about his ankle monitor is that he is required to have an active home phone line in his name so that the ankle monitor can upload information at the end of each day to a digitally monitored database. Because no one has contacted him, and because he is uncertain whether he is required to be on monitor, David chooses to wear his ankle monitor even though he does not upload the information. When I asked David about this, he told me that he was praying his ankle monitor was a blessing, and that he would not have to abide by intensive probation requirements after he had established a consistent routine and schedule.

Richard. Richard is a 57-year-old Hispanic man who was released from state prison into state custody on probation. Richard was incarcerated for substance-abuse related charges. Richard has no children, is single, and lives alone in a condominium he rented through a social connection who owns rental properties. Like Ernie, I recruited Richard in the theoretical sampling portion of my data collection because Richard was released from prison more 15 years before the time of the interview. Richard works an hourly/wage position as a general contractor's assistant. He reports that before he worked his current position, he had another construction-related position that paid nearly double what he makes now. Richard reports that he lost that position because the company's owner, he was a mentor to him, passed away. When the owner passed away, his daughter took over the company and let Richard go because his criminal record was a company liability.

I argued that with Ernie, minimal contact with prison and jail seems to protect against fragile freedom, however, time away from prison after spending at least a year incarcerated does not seem to protect against fragile freedom completely, especially if EXPs have a felony record as Richard does. Richard reports that only a few days prior to the interview and on his way to work, he was pulled over by a police officer who told Richard that he was being pulled over because Richard's vehicle matched the description of a "suspicious vehicle." Richard, however, suspects that the police officer ran his license plates and saw that the vehicle belonged to a convicted felon. Whether Richard's explanation is accurate is irrelevant when considered in the context of threat. Richard came to that conclusion plausibly, and he reports that he is usually cautious in social environments even more than a decade after his release. Richard reports that it took him five years to find a consistent wage position, but that even though he has earned a trade, work is sporadic.

Appendix C: List of Annotated Figures

Figure 1: Post-Carceral Prisonization Revolving Door

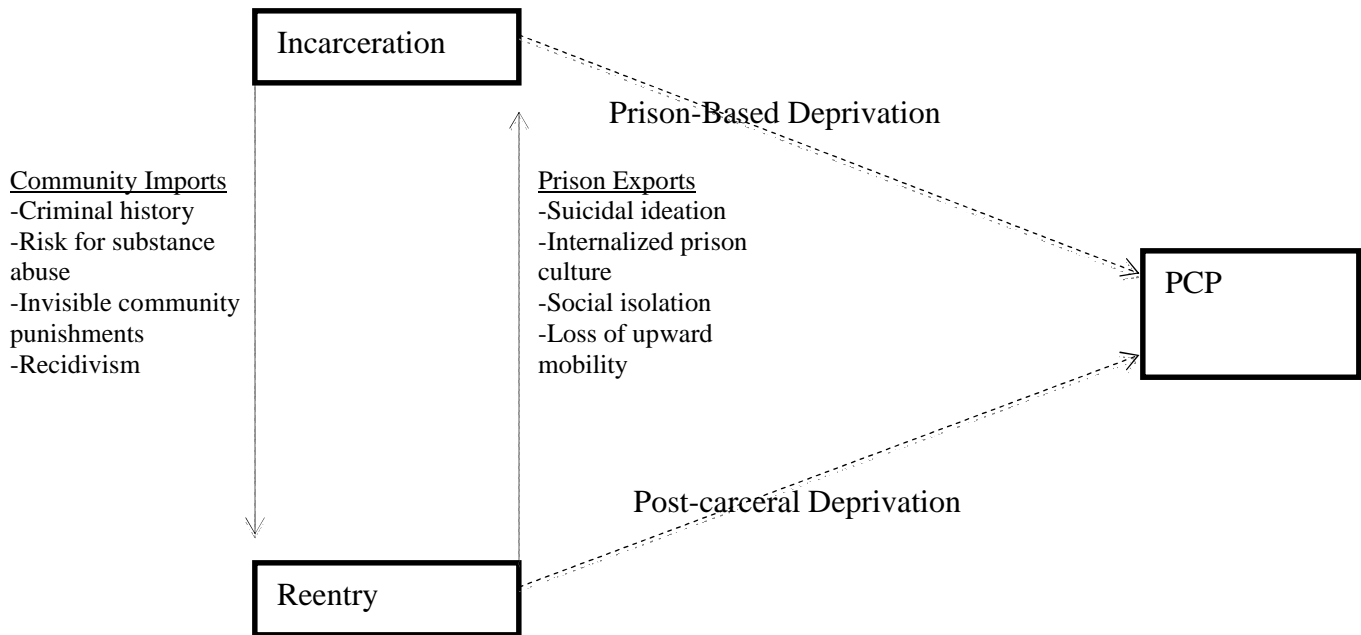
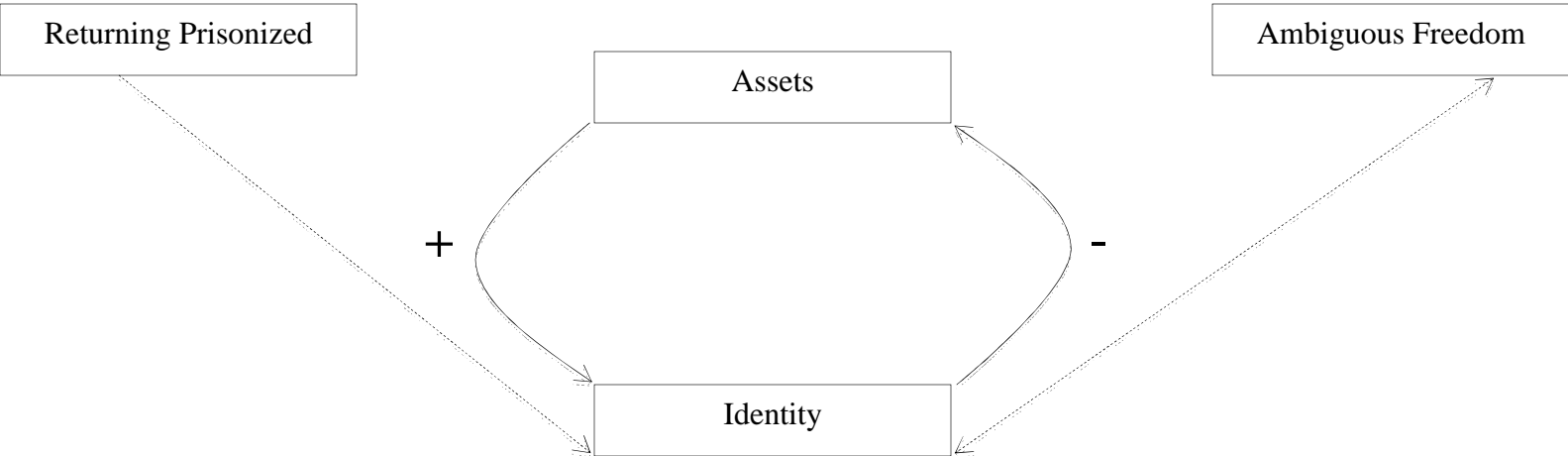


Figure 2

Data Saturation Matrix¹

Major finding	Interview source ²																		
<u>Returning Prisonized</u>	M	I	Je	Jo	B	E	D	Ma	R	P	El	Z	Je	Js	Ro	Da	Er	Dv	Ri
15. Adaptive exports are those that support freedom.		X	X	X					X	X			X	X	X	X			X
16. Inhibitive prison exports threaten freedom and have no supportive function.	X	X		X				X	X	X		X	X		X				X
17. EXPs lose access to social and civic resources.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X			X
18. EXPs sacrifice time to probation and parole.	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
19. EXPs sacrifice financial resources to probation and parole for the promise of freedom.	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Identity</u>																			
20. EXPs create psychological distance between themselves and their former criminal identity.		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
21. EXPs rebuild social ties within supportive communities.		X	X	X	X	X	X			X				X	X	X	X	X	X
22. EXPs exchange criminal identities for spiritual or religious ones.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
<u>Assets</u>																			
23. EXPs lack social assets, illustrated by stigma.	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X			X	X
24. EXPs lack material assets, evidenced by a dearth of available housing.	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X
25. EXPs lack economic assets, represented by employment barriers.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X		X
<u>Ambiguous Freedom</u>																			
26. EXPs experience a loss of credit with local, state, and federal governments.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
27. EXPs endure a constant threat of arrest and incarceration by potentially violating parole or probation, or because of pending cases.	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
28. EXPs endure long-term threats from random acts of incarceration.	X			X	X	X	X			X			X		X	X	X	X	X

Figure 3: A Grounded Theory of Post-Carceral Prisonization



Appendix D: GTM Model Adapted From Charmaz (2006)

