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Removing the Yard Face: The Impact of the Carceral Habitus on Reentry and Reintegration

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by

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Removing the Yard Face: The Impact of the Carceral Habitus

on Reentry and Reintegration

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The dissertation is a study of the ways in which people come to embody the prison and the impact that this embodiment has on reentry and reintegration outcomes. It is based on three years of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a Career Development class run by an agency that serves formerly incarcerated individuals. The participants in the class were observed as they attempted to consciously alter the *carceral habitus.*

The research methodology is grounded in phenomenology, reflexive sociology and the extended case method. Participant observation, phenomenological interviews and content analysis were used as investigative tools.

The study establishes the presence of a *carceral habitus,* the embodiment of the perceptual frameworks necessary to negotiate the prison. Inmate interpersonal violence is found to contribute to the *carceral habitus* and significantly impact reintegration. The impact of the prison on formerly incarcerated individuals' understandings of time, agency and control is investigated as are the strategies that they use to manage time and threats to identity. Understandings of time and agency vary depending upon facility type, sentence length, and the availability of lifers to assist in socialization in the prison routine.

The study also investigates that the ways in which conceptions of race and ethnicity interact with symbolic violence in the Career Development to produce a responsibilized subject who is "willing to participate in the racialized forms of deference necessary for participation in the secondary labor market. The concept of the "hustle" and its meaning in prison, the neighborhood and reentry are also investigated. Hustling informs and shapes the *carceral habitus* by shaping the outlines of the field in which the formerly incarcerated person participates. Individuals who are better at hustling in the context of the neighborhood and the prison are found to have better outcomes outside of the prison.

Dedication Page

This work is dedicated to:

Siena for putting up with a crabby Mommy when I was writing.

Peter, for your assistance reading and editing this work and being helping me bat ideas around.

The staff and clients of Second Chance. Especially Bryan and Jenn for their assistance and to Dwayne for forcing me to stick my neck out and participate in the class.

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Lots of love to my daughter, Siena. Thanks for reminding me to take time out to play.

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2011 "Keepin' Up the Yard Face: The Inmate Interpersonal Violence and the Carceral Habitus." *Justice Studies Association Conference*. Philadelphia, PA.

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Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

The following text is a study of the *carceral habitus*, a secondary *habitus*, developed in response to the rigors and constraints of the prison. Larry White, one of the key figures in the prisoners' rights and reentry movements, describes coming home from prison as having to take off many coats. While you are in prison, you put on coat after coat to protect yourself, but when you come home you have to start taking them off, one by one. The coat metaphor is a powerful way of describing the development of the *carceral habitus* and the work that has to be done to remove the *carceral habitus* when one leaves the prison.

In the public imagination, the dominant narrative about the impact of prison on reentry and reintegration focuses on the impact of "institutionalization", in which one becomes dependent upon the routines of the institution. When I talk to people who haven't been incarcerated, or who do not know anyone who has been incarcerated, they tend to reference the scene in *Shawshank Redemption* (Darabont 1994) in which Brooks, an elderly man, hangs himself after his release. In this conception, the formerly incarcerated individual is unable to function outside of the prison. However, for most individuals, the issue is not that they are unable to function. They do function, but they do so according to different set of rules relating to social interactions.

For a person who is leaving the prison daily life poses a multitude of challenges that need to be negotiated daily. Some are the result of having been outside of the ebb and flow of social interactions and not being able to keep up with technological changes. This was the kind of change that Goffman was pointing to in *Asylums* (1961a 13).

Alexander and other members of the class have been swapping funny stories about things that happened when they got home. After returning home from 5 years in state prison, Alexander, recalled being disoriented. When he tried to make to make his first post-prison phone call he forgot to say hello. He just stood there waiting for the collect call announcement. He makes a slack face and then starts to laugh. He also tells us about being dropped off in Queens and trying to cross the street (It was one of those crazy streets like Queens Boulevard that has two-way traffic.) and being overwhelmed by all of the noise and motion. Alexander pantomimes stopping dead in the middle of the street. He says that he stayed there until he could pull himself together enough to finish crossing.

During an interview, Joseph recalled a story from his first days in a residential program. "…how we went to Fairway and were shocked – all these different food choices. Cause, in commissary there were only 80 items. When we got to Fairway, I couldn't believe it. I knew what supermarkets looked like – Have you ever been to Fairway? Oh! We went to the first aisle, there's nothing but potato chips – and we looked. I couldn't speak – there had to be at least 80 to 100 different types of potato chips from all over the world. We stood there looking and looking… The manager came and said "What's the problem? You've been here for over half hour. " So we said we're sorry, we start walking around. We're so shot we can't buy anything. We said let's get out of here man."

There are also a number of stories about being stuck on the bus or in a turnstile while trying to use a MetroCard for the first time. Bryan, one of the soft skills trainers, often tells a story about trying to negotiate the MetroCard vending machine to the Career Development classes. He stood there for a long time looking at the machine trying to figure out what to do. He tells us that he was too proud to ask for assistance. He tried sticking money in and the machine spit the money back out. Finally, after watching him for a while, an older woman stepped up and asked him if he would like some help. She guided him through the process and asked if he had just come home from prison. Although these stories were likely painful when they occurred, they were shared and laughed over, albeit ruefully.

Behind the funny stories of coming home and still showering in your underwear are more serious issues that can cause significant disabilities and problems in carrying out the activities of daily living. As Joseph put it to me in an interview:

> *"And then you know, all the things I was fearful of began to happen. Little by little. The adjustment a person had to make outside is awesome. My psychiatrist told me "Listen man post-prison adjustment is very difficult the longer you've been in there. When you've been to prison – I remember doing the research – when you go to prison you have to make a resocialization – you have to resocialize yourself to the prison culture – how things are done. You have to accommodate yourself to the fact that even the most intimate details of your life those decisions are made for you. When to sleep, when to eat… you know that kind of stuff. (Laughs) Over the years, you adjust yourself to it and you begin to internalize the prison responses to situations and they're so hard…"*

Everyday activities such as going to a restaurant, taking the subway, or walking in a crowded area could be very difficult and made potentially dangerous by the embodied responses that develop within the context of the prison. A number of people I met during the classes had issues with public transportation that went above the typical commuter complaints about poor service and crowded trains or buses.

> *I have been busting on Malcolm for constantly taking taxis to Second Chance. He can't really afford the cost of the taxis because he is unemployed and the cost has to be pretty steep. I have been thinking that this is about image. He's known as "Pretty". He's quite handsome and always well dressed. He offers to take the train with me, because my stop is close to where he lives. I end up looking like a jerk. During the ride he seems nervous – standing (even though there are seats) and speaking quickly to me while scanning the car. It is obvious that the ride isn't pleasant for him. However, he did manage to flirt a little bit with the woman next to us.*

This aversion to public transportation actually turned out to be serious problem for Malcolm. The cabs did cost a lot of money and didn't allow him the mobility he desired. He insisted on driving even though his license was suspended, even when he came out to Long Island to visit me. About six months after I met him, Malcolm had his parole revoked for continuing to drive and had to serve out the rest of his sentence. For Malcolm, his tendency to flare up when he perceived disrespect made many interactions difficult. In retrospect, I am not sure how he put up with my lack of understanding. I did not completely understanding the issues that Malcolm faced in using public transportation until speaking to Tina, a woman in her thirties who had served

more than ten years in a state facility. Tina explained the complexities of physical space to me, telling me how having someone behind her, or even to the side where she couldn't see them was particularly difficult. I took the subway with Tina as well. She rode the subway stoically, her body tense and earbuds in, creating a shell around herself and keeping away from others.

One of the most difficult aspects of the *carceral habitus* appeared to be the unconscious reactions to environmental stimuli. To illustrate the problems posed by this, I will first point to a personal example that is relatively minor and then discuss the ways in which this played out in the context of the *habitus*.

> *It is February 15, 2003. I am participating in the anti-war protest near the United Nations. The police have started to push at the crowd. I work my way up to the front line and find myself directly across from a line of police officers. The situation is bad – no orders being given and kids and elderly in the crowd. When the officers push – the people in front give way, but slowly. I end up directly across from an officer who has been throwing elbows. He has a side-handle baton in his hand and he pushes into me. About thirty seconds later, we are face-to-face and my arm is locked around his baton arm, locking it firmly in place so that he cannot strike me and I have his other arm blocked.*

I had gone to the protest with thoughts of maybe committing peaceful civil disobedience, but wound up hand-to-hand fighting with a police officer. Conscious intent was not involved, in fact I am still not sure how I got from being in front of the officer to having him in an arm lock. I had trained seriously in Tae Kwon Do for a period of five years, achieving a black belt, but I had not trained for years before I attended the protest. However, during my training, I had incorporated the bodily practices necessary for fighting and my bodily responded automatically, without conscious thought. Luckily, I was not arrested and the story remains an amusing anecdote. I am also not likely to be confronted with situations that involve other people trying to hit me on any regular basis.

The second chapter is a review of the literature surrounding the habitus, incarceration and reentry. The dominant models for understanding the impact of the prisons, the indigenous/deprivation model and the importation model, are discussed. A case is made for understanding the prison as a cultural institution which, like any other, seeks to inculcate a particular framework of reference and incidentally inculcates other frameworks. The *habitus* is suggested as an alternative model for understanding the ways in which people change upon entering and leaving the prison. The institutional changes that have occurred over the years are investigated as is the position of the prison in the United States, as these can explain differences in the *carceral habitus* from period to period. Other institutions, such as the ghetto, gangs and schools, with which the men and women in my studies have interacted are also addressed, as are parole and reentry programs.

The third chapter is an investigation of the philosophical and empirical methods used in conducting the study. A case is made for the use of reflexive methodologies and for utilizing the tools that are part of the Extended Case Method along with the insights that can arise from Ground Theory. Procedures for accessing the field site, obtaining consent and gathering data are covered. In addition, there is a discussion of the potential sources of bias which includes questions of race and ethnicity and the role of the researcher's *habitus*.

Chapter four introduces Second Chance, the field site, describing the agency and the Career Development class. Key people and procedures are discussed. The dynamics of typical classes are covered as are the challenges that the participants face. Chapter five investigates the experiences that class attendees have with symbolic violence within the Career Development class. The ways in which program staff use symbolic violence to alter the *carceral habitus* and inculcate the dispositions necessary for work within the secondary labor market are described.

Chapter six is an investigation of the ways in which the *carceral habitus* is influenced by inmate interpersonal violence that occurs within the prison. Elements of the *carceral habitus* that are related to interpersonal violence are detailed along with the ways that the *carceral habitus* impacts the process of reintegration. Chapter seven is a study of meanings of the hustle and the way that hustling acts as a context for the development of the *carceral habitus*. Criminal justice institutions and the Career Development class are also interrogated using the framework of the hustle. The impact of the hustle and hustling on reentry are studied as is the way in which hustling can be understood as a form of resistance.

Chapter 2 - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I argue that the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; 1980; 1984; 1997) provides us with a coherent means of understanding the ways in which the prison impacts reentry and reintegration. The concept of the *carceral habitus* allows for a bridging of the indigenous/deprivation model (Clemmer 1958; Sykes 1958; Goffman 1961a; Haney, 2006) and the importation model (Irwin and Cressey 1962). Using the framework of the habitus also enables us to allow for changes in the prison that occur through time and across place. In addition, using the concept of the *habitus* to investigate the prison renders the prison less exotic by proposing a mechanism for the replication of the dispositions necessary for the prison that is generalizable to other institutions.

Theorizing the Impact of the Carceral Institution

There are a number of theories that have attempted to account for the social structures of the prison and the ways that incarcerated individuals come to adapt to the demands of the prison. These theories seek to account for behavior in the context of the prison. To my knowledge, no one has attempted to account for the ways in which individuals come to embody the prison and bring the prison back into the community with them upon their release. I will examine these theories and then describe how the use of the concept of the *habitus* can help to account for the difficulties that formerly incarcerated individuals have in reintegrating into their families and communities after release from prison. These various theories have been developed in very different institutional contexts as the prison has changed. The earliest theories were developed in the context of the Big House prisons and the prisons of the Reform era (Clemmer 1958; Sykes 2007). Later theories were developed in the context of the warehouse prison and the neo-liberal

era in the United States and Great Britain (Crewe 2009). Given that the secondary *habitus* is specific to the institution in which it develops, we would expect the *carceral habitus* to vary depending on the era and there will be some change as we move from the Big House era, to the Rehabilitation era and then to the era of mass incarceration.

Prisonization

Clemmer developed the concept of prisonization in the context of the "Big House" era of the 1930's. Clemmer found that the prison had a distinct culture that was shaped by a number of outside authorities (Cressey 1958: viii). Those who run the prison are faced with the problem of keeping order and have developed two primary means of maintaining authority within the prison: keeping inmate society disorganized; and, using the inmate code to solicit the assistance of the prisoners (ix). He argues that the behavior of individuals inside the prison "falls into channels which are established and have a history" (Clemmer 1958: 85). The different factors that contribute to the culture of the prison are understood as being so powerful that they are the primary determinants of adjustment to the prison institution. However, there is also room for some outside influence, particularly in the area of "impersonalization". Clemmer argues that prisoners are more likely to have experienced bureaucracy and impersonal treatment and that prisoners are in a sense pre-adapted to bureaucratic organization (89). Prisonization is closely related to Goffman's concept of the "total institution".

Clemmer argues that the prison is a community that has developed a culture. This culture includes specialized techniques of communication such as slang and the prison grapevine, a system of fast moving, word of mouth communication that exists within and between prisons (1958: 90-100). Much of the prison culture in Clemmer's study is structured around the "prisoner's code" (1958: 152). The core precepts of the code is that prisoners should not assist

the prison officials in maintaining discipline and should not provide information. Prisoners are expected to be loyal in their dealings with other prisoners and should mind their own business. For Clemmer, the "prisoner's code" is central to the structure of the prison, with the social class structure of the prison being constructed around the code. The prisoner code in many ways divides the prisoners acting as a form of "psychological solitary confinement" (Cressey 1958; ix). The "prisoner's code" also contributes to the process of prisonization with prisoners coming to incorporate the code as a framework of reference.

Cloward has a similar understanding of the "prisoner's code". The "prisoner's code" structures interactions within the prison. The "prisoner's code" is also a means used by the prison administration to ensure a form of voluntary isolation. The idea of "doing your own time" that forms a key part of the "prisoner's code" (Sabo et al. 2001: 10-1) combined with incentives to increase decrease interaction among prisoners has increased as other mechanisms of control were eliminated (Cloward 1960: 24-5).

The process of prisonization begins when the individual enters the prison and comes to learn of his status as an "anonymous figure in a subordinate group" (Clemmer 1958: 299). The prisoner then comes to assign new meanings to his conditions and then comes to incorporate new habits of life – sleeping, eating and language (300). Clemmer argues that prisonization also impacts everyone, but not to the same extent depending on one's experiences prior to prison, the relationships that one has to the outside and one's affiliations within the prison (301). Prisonization is an important factor in former prisoners' success in completing parole (Wheeler 1961: 698).

Wheeler tested prisonization, understood as agreement with the "dominant normative order" among the prisoners (704), and found that prisonization tends to be at the highest levels

during the middle of the sentence and tapers off as prisoners reach the end of the sentences (706). When institutions, such as the prison, develop sub-cultures that are a response to the unique problems posed by the institution, this provides the inmates with protection from lasting consequences (711). In this respect, Wheeler's understanding of prisonization is similar to Goffman's understanding of the changes that occur within the context of the "total institution".

The Total Institution

The concept of the "total institution" was developed by Goffman in his 1961 text *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (1961a) and in other essays, and was particularly influential in the study of the prison (1961b; 1961c). The prison is one among five forms of the total institution that Goffman identified (1961b: 16). The total institution has four primary features. These include the fact that all activities are carried out in the same place, in the company of others and under the same authority. All activities were closely scheduled and are part of a rational plan that has been developed to meet the goals of the institution (1961b: 17).

The structure of the total institution leads to change while the inmate is in the institution. When the inmate is brought into the total institution he or she enters with an established and comfortable identity. Imposing the routines of the total institutions requires that the inmate make a break with his or her conception of the self. This is accomplished by the use of "admission procedures" that shape the new inmate into a material that could be worked on by the institution (1961b: 25). As part of the "admission procedures", new inmates are stripped of their property, exposed to indignities that they would not allow outside of the institution, and made to take part in activities that are not compatible with their sense of self (1961b: 25-30). Inmates are also

unable to establish and maintain boundaries between themselves and a variety of forms of contamination. A common technique used to control inmates is “looping” (1961b: 39). This occurs when the staff of the institution work to create a defensive response from an inmate with the goal of using that response as a target for attack. This allows the staff to shape the behavior of the inmate.

Goffman argues that the privilege system that operates within the total institution provides the framework that the inmates of the institution use to construct their identities (1961b: 48). Total institutions operate with a set of rules that lay out the consequences of rule breaking and the rewards for obedience. Minor privileges are given for obedience and these privileges can be taken away for disobedience. In the context of the deprivations experienced by inmates, the privileges assume an extreme degree of importance, and the inmates become worried about '”messing up”. However, there is also a need to assert the self and this can lead to participation in “secondary adjustments”. “Secondary adjustments” are practices that allow the inmate to achieve satisfaction and maintain a sense of self by taking part in forbidden activities (1961b). These secondary adjustments can be very small – even taking an extra cookie from the dining hall – but in the context of deprivation, they are meaningful. The need to protect the “secondary adjustments” can lead to the development of an inmate code as a means of protecting “secondary adjustments”, as one person informing on another can lead to all inmates losing access to their “secondary adjustments”.

For Goffman, like Wheeler, the total institution was not capable of producing lasting changes, and any changes that occurred were due to disculturation, a process in which the inmate loses the ability to participate in certain behaviors and keep track of changes in the outside world (1961a: 13). Inmates adapted to the institution while inside it, but were able to readapt following

release. Goffman's work has similarities to Syke's study of the pains of imprisonment. Both argue that there is something intrinsic to the prison that structures the behavior of prisoners.

The Pains of Imprisonment - Sykes

Sykes's work has been labeled as a structural-functionalist analysis of the prison (Akers et al 1974: 312). Sykes focuses on the importance of the deprivation in structuring the prison and the actions of the men living within the prison. These deprivations make up the "pains of imprisonment" (2007: 63). The "pains of imprisonment" can be viewed as a form of punishment and as the unplanned results of confining a large number of individuals in a single space for a long period of time (64). Deprivation of liberty occurs as the incarcerated individual has been separated from the outside community, including from friends and family. The continual deprivation of liberty functions as a constant reminder of the prisoner's stigmatized status (67). The deprivation of good and services is another important aspect of the structure of the prison. In daily life, individuals draw a significant amount of identity from the material goods and activities that they consume. Sykes argues that not being able to consume and participate in the normal round of activities impacts the incarcerated person at the deepest levels of his or her personality (69). There are two other forms of deprivation that become particularly significant in shaping life in the carceral institution. Incarcerated persons experience a deprivation of autonomy as they are subject to a significant level of control. Prison staff can exert control over the most mundane and trivial aspects of life and this can lead to immense frustration (73). Incarcerated persons are placed in continual, close contact with a number of others, some of whom may be particularly violent. In the Big House and reform era prisons, prisoners were likely to have to provide their own security. This means that each prisoner has to be able to face being tested and be able to respond to the testing with the necessary level of violence (77).

The deprivations of imprisonment combine to form the structures of the prison. One of the primary structures is the “inmate code”. The inmate code was an “ideal” pattern of conduct that guided the conduct of the incarcerated individuals (Sykes 2007: 143). The code was often couched in the form of argot roles occupied by individuals who have a particular relation to the inmate code (84-6). There are categories of men who violate the inmate code: the rat or snitch who informs; the center man who violates the code by identifying with the guards; the merchant who trades on the deprivations that others experience; and the gorilla who breaks with solidarity by using force to prey on others (91-5). There are also individuals who are characterized by their adherence to the inmate code: the real man is the individual who endure the prison with dignity and receives admiration; and the tough is the man who is active, able to exhibit violence and feared by other prisoners (101-3).

Sykes argues that the prison is an institution that is fraught with struggles over power. The prison administration appears to be in a position to exercise almost total power. It would appear that this power would only be limited by the systems of laws and norms that apply to the running of prisons. However, the power of the guards and the administration is more restricted. Incarcerated individuals, in prison on an involuntary basis, are less likely to recognize the power of the prison as being based on authority (Sykes 2007: 46). This means that the control exercised by prison officials is not viewed as legitimate and prisoners do not feel any duty for obeisance. Coercion is inefficient when dealing with large numbers of people and may actually lead to an escalation in violence (48-50). This limits the utility of coercion. The prison administration can also attempt to use a system of rewards and punishments. However, the usefulness of these rewards and punishments is limited by the fact that the prison structure is based on deprivation. There is little that the prison administration can offer in the way of inducements and the

punishments are significantly greater than the general prison conditions (51). The administration, and particularly, the guards have to develop other tactics. These tactics are often based on relationships, particularly relationships of reciprocity with the prisoners (56-7). The guards, to ensure order may overlook rule violations – at least among some inmates. This erodes the ability of the guards as they need to maintain the good will of the prisoners in order to keep the prison running.[1]

The Importation Model

Individuals arrive at the prison with a number of institutional experiences, including: school, juvenile institutions, life in the American hyperghetto, as well interactions with the police and courts. The importation theories give primacy to aspects of an individual's earlier institutional experiences and to participation in deviant and criminal sub-cultures (Irwin and Cressey 1962; Thomas and Foster, 1973; Cheeseman 2003; DeLisi et al. 2011). Irwin and Cressey argue that "much of inmate behavior classified as part of the prison culture is not peculiar to the prison" (1962: 142). These early experiences include factors such as an individual's participation in street culture and their criminal history (Adams 1992: 279). The importation model is rooted in Cloward and Ohlin's work on the development of delinquent subculture and Sutherland's theory of differential association (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Sutherland, 1947).

Irwin and Cressey argue that the "prison code" is not a response to deprivations or secondary adjustments within the prison. Instead the "prison code" is part of a criminal culture that exists outside of the prison (1962: 145). The "prison code" is seen as an extension of the

[1] The importance of the impact of relationships between prisoners and guards on the power of the guards was brought up in a conversation I had with a former federal corrections officer. He was concerned that I understand how the prisoners attempt to win the corrections officer over and that he knew of corrections officers who had lost their jobs after providing favors to prisoners.

"thief subculture" and the "thieves code" (Irwin and Cressey 1962: 146; Irwin 1980: 11). The "thief subculture" involves values that "extend[s] to criminals across the nation" including professional thieves and career criminals and "good crooks" (146). The "thief subculture" is also the dominant subculture and the individuals who appear to most closely adhere to the code are held in the most esteem. However, it is only one among a number of subcultures that exist in the prison. Irwin and Cressey argue that there is also a "convict culture" that is common to all spaces of confinement and that this "convict culture" is focused on self-interest (Irwin and Cressey 1962: 147). They also point to a number of inmates who have extensive institutional records that began when they were children (Irwin and Cressey 1962: 145). Irwin refers to these individuals as "state-raised youth" and argues that they have a tendency to form cliques and to engage in high levels of violence and other behaviors that violate the traditional "prison code" (1980: 51, 53). Irwin and Cressey argue that the "state-raised youth" and other members from the "hard core lower class" participate in the "convict culture" (1962: 147).

Psychological Models of Adaptation to the Prison

A variety of authors, including Haney (1997; 2003; 2006), Adams (1992), Toch (1977), Zamble and Porporino (1988), and Bonta and Gendreau (1990) have focused on the pains of imprisonment and the ways in which individuals adapt psychologically. The psychological models of adaptation are primarily concerned with the ways in which individuals adapt to the stresses of the prison and on the pathways through which the stresses of prison can interact with and/or lead to persistent mental illness.

The behavior of individual prisoners has been found to vary depending on the prison setting and prisoner behavior is understood as a product of interactions between the individual and his or her environment (Adams 1992: 315). Prisons, particularly the maximum-security

facilities, are constructed in a way that deprives prisoners of personal autonomy and this can lead to emotional distress (315). O'Donnell and Edgar have found that the presence of routine victimization shapes the social structure of prisons and that dealing with the potential for violence eventually "shifts attitudes about the boundaries of acceptable behavior" (1998: 277). DiLulio has found that the management of the prison matters. Individuals who reside in prisons that have higher levels of order, security, and safety experience fewer of the pains of imprisonment that have related to violence (1987).

There is some disagreement about the impact of the prison on the prisoner and upon reentry and reintegration. Zamble and Porporino followed Canadian federal prisoners before and after prison and found the prison was not "uniformly damaging" (1988: 8). Elsewhere, Zamble characterizes what occurs in the prison as a "behavioral freeze", rather than as a change in behavior (1992: 420). Walker et al., in a review of longitudinal studies on international prisons have found that symptoms such as anxiety and depression may increase on incarceration but then decline after as incarcerated persons become acclimated to the prison environment (2013). However, Walker et al. focused on aspects of severe persistent mental illness, and not on the impacts of becoming acclimated to the prison environment. They also found that larger prisons, overcrowding and the use of solitary were all associated with poor mental health outcomes (2013: 8). This is particularly of interest in the context of prisons within the United States where overcrowding is frequent and solitary confinement is a commonly used punishment for administrative violations.

Bonta and Gendreau draw attention to the importance of overcrowding in producing aggression, as well as physical and psychological stress (1990: 355). Haney argues that the infliction of the pains of imprisonment has come to be understood as a "legitimate goal" (2006:

170). Haney argues that the majority of prisoners do manage to adapt to life in the prison, without assistance from prison authorities (2006: 170). However, it is important to remember that there are a number of individuals, the young and those with pre-existing mental illnesses and or developmental disabilities whom are overrepresented in disciplinary settings for whom dealing with the stresses of the prison may be problematic (Metzner and Fellner, 2010; Haney, 2003). But even adaptation can be problematic and the mechanisms that are used to adapt to the high levels of stress that exist in the prison can exact a significant toll that increases the longer the time the individual is incarcerated (Haney, 2006: 171). Haney points to the development of the "prison mask" that is characterized by emotional flatness and self-isolation (171). Haney points to the role of the prison conditions in reminding incarcerated individuals of their stigmatized status leading to feelings of decreased self-worth (2003).

We can also look at the impact of imprisonment on thought processes and schemes of perception. Although these are not considered as mental illnesses, these changes can lead to difficulties participating in day-to-day activities. Hockey, a formerly incarcerated individual, writes of the impact of the prison as it changes thought processes and goal oriented behavior (2011). He argues that these changes remained after release and that he "experienced increasing difficulty functioning generally after each new period of custody" (2011: 73). Other formerly incarcerated individuals have also noted the presence of these changes (Terrell 2010; Bowen 2010). Haney notes that prison imposes "unique and severe contingencies on prisoners" and that many prisoners find that their adaptations lead to "new behavior patterns [that] are not easily 'unfrozen'" (175).

Foucault

Although Foucault did not directly study prison conditions in the United States, his work on the prison and the nature of power has been influential in the study of the prisons and must be dealt with in any study of the prison. Foucault argues that the prison in the modern era is focused on instilling discipline, developing a docile body and changing the prisoner at the level of the soul (1977). The prison is a disciplinary space in which the body is reshaped and rendered obedient and useful (Foucault 1977: 143; Garland 1990). For Foucault, Bentham's Panopticon is the prototypical disciplinary space. In the Panopticon, the prisoner is potentially under observation every moment of the day. He or she can never predict when guards are observing and, to avoid punishment, adjusts his or her behavior. The prison is also a space in which detailed knowledge about prisoners is gathered and used to extend power and control (Garland 1990).

In the United States, purpose of the prison has shifted. The prison still has many of the attributes of a disciplinary space, but the primary role of prison has shifted to that of a warehouse (Irwin 2004; Simon 2000). Irwin identifies the period between the 1950's and 1960's as the era of reform – when to "cure ourselves, we involved ourselves in the programs that grew out of the rehabilitative ideal" (1980: 60). In the present punitive moment, the prison in many ways functions as the expression of retributive sentiments and as a means for the management of risk (Bosworth 2007: 68).

In some ways the prison still seeks to change the mind or soul of the offender. For example, Bosworth has documented an increase in themes of responsibilization in the handbooks given to federal prisoners (2007). Prisoners are exhorted to become willing actors who will work toward the goals of the prison and wider society and they are instructed that reform will lead to a

"new and better sense of the self" (73). However, during the 1980's and 1990's the warehouse prison became the primary model as incapacitation theory became the dominant model and the idea that prisoners' behavior was changeable Prisoners came to be understood as "unchangeable and dangerous" and the focus of the prison came to be incapacitation and risk management (Simon 2000: 287). Even in the operation of the super-max or ad-max facilities which would appear to be the embodiment of the Panopticon, are concerned solely with the control of bodies, not with the molding of them.[2] Garland points to the importance of the practices of isolation, observation and individual assessment in guiding the study of individuals (199: loc 3225 out of 8541). However, the new actuarial risk assessment techniques used to determine risk levels can inform us about the risk levels associated with groups, not with individuals. It appears that the concern is now with the management of groups rather than individuals.

In addition, the bulk of the responsibility for instilling discipline and reforming the soul of the delinquent has shifted to non-state actors such as chemical dependency treatment programs and prisoner re-entry programs that contract with the state and municipalities to provide services for the formerly incarcerated. The conditions of the prison – overcrowding, poor food, and the threat of sexual assault – were to some extent refashioned as a part of the punishment of the prison and correctional programs began to focus on control and management (Feeley and Simon 1992: 449).The prison may still "fabricate delinquents" (Foucault 1977: 255), however, in the context of the neo-liberal state, the correction of the delinquent has become the domain of the private non-for profit sector.

[2] Super-max or ad-max (Administrative Maximum Security) facilities are prison in which incarcerated persons are kept in their cells for twenty-three hours and allowed out for one hour for exercise, showers and other necessary activities. All activities are carried out under intense surveillance and prisoners are allowed little contact with others. These facilities exist on the state and federal levels. ADX Florence is an example of a federal ad-max facility and Pelican Bay State Prison is a super-max facility.

The Habitus

The concept of the habitus was developed by Pierre Bourdieu as a critique of structuralism and pure phenomenology. Methodologically the concept of the *habitus* is an attempt to move beyond the structuralist viewpoint and the objectivist, "objectivity of the second order" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 7-10; Bourdieu 1977). The methodology is a "social praxeology" that investigates the dialectic between social and mental structures and reintroduce the practical (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 11). The *habitus* is the system of durable and transposable dispositions that is incorporated through the largely unconscious internalization of the individual's objective conditions of life (Bourdieu 1977; 77; Schwartz 1997; 100). The habitus is a "structuring structure" which produces dispositions and strategies that then lead to the reproduction of conditions (Bourdieu 1977: 72). It is a product of the internalization of history – the history of the individual's social group and the individual's experiences. The *habitus* is structured by its objective environment and leaves certain pathways of action open and closes others. It includes the various schemes of perception and action that allow actors to perform "acts of practical knowledge" without making rational calculations (Bourdieu 1997: 138). The *habitus* also predisposes actors to act particular ways as they attempt to innovate and respond to new situations. This predisposition forms the basis for the reproduction of practices (Jenkins 2001: 69). It can be understood as one mode of "regulating practice" (Brubaker: 214).

The *habitus* informs the development of the bodily hexis – "a pattern of postures… linked to a system of techniques … and charged with a host of social meanings and values" (Bourdieu 1977: 87). This hexis – the ways of walking, speech, laughing, feeling and thinking – is the direct embodiment of the social world (Bourdieu 1977: 89).

The *habitus* was first developed in order to explain the way in which regularities on the national, and social class levels (Bourdieu 1984). This level of the *habitus* is what we can designate as the primary habitus. The primary *habitus* is homogenizing – the members of a social group share the same conditions of existence. These shared conditions are the objective structures that shape the dispositions that give rise to practice (Bourdieu 1977: 80-3). Priority is given to the earliest experiences. An individual's further experiences are filtered through the primary habitus. The habitus is the instrument through which the necessities imposed by social positions become understood as "virtues" and these lead to the alignment of the self with the conditions of one's existence (Schwartz 1997: 104-6).

The secondary *habitus* is developed through participation in fields generated with institutions that the individual encounters later in life. The secondary *habitus* can be described as being experienced through the primary *habitus* – the dispositions become layered and the primary and secondary *habitus* contribute "to determine the prereflexive adherence to the presuppositions of the field" (Bourdieu 1991: 9). Bourdieu refers to the "scholastic disposition" or scholastic *habitus* that is developed within the context of the field of academia. The scholarly *habitus* or *skholé,* is characterized by a particular relationship to time, the presence of leisure and a round of activities that are removed from "immediate necessity" (Bourdieu 2000: 13). In Distinction, Bourdieu also points to the case of the parvenu, the member of a lower social class who is working to understand the appropriate tastes and modes of appreciation associated with the upper class to which he or she desires to enter (1984). Wacquant's text, *Body and Soul: The Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer,* is a study of the means by which boxers inculcate the *pugilistic habitus* in the context of the boxing gym (Wacquant 2004). The individuals entering the gym come from a variety of backgrounds – including academia – but the gym produces the

boxer, an individual with a particular understanding of pain, time and the value of the body. Other formulations of the secondary *habitus* include Lande's study of the development of the "military habitus" (2007), Crossley's study of the "circuit trainer's *habitus*" (2004), and Schultz's study of the "news habitus" (2007).

The *habitus* develops within the context of the field. Societies can be visualized as sets of interlocking fields, or sets of "objective configurations of objective relations" that exist with a network of social positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96-7; Crossley 2001 86). Fields are locations of struggles in which actors struggle to accumulate and utilize various forms of capital, or usable resources (Bourdieu 1984: 114). The possession of capital determines the positions – dominant or subordinate – of the different actors within the field. Capital assumes a variety of forms and each field has specific forms of capital that are associated with it. To be meaningful, capital has to be understood in the context of the field. Generally, capital has been divided into four forms, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Cultural capital, sometimes referred to as information capital, is the store specialized knowledge that is needed to successfully negotiate a given field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Social capital is based on the resources to which an individual has access to due to membership in a social network. Economic capital is made up of monetary resources and other material that is fungible. Symbolic capital is the markers of respect and reputation that accrues to an individual. Some fields demand more specialized forms of capital such as bodily capital. An individual's trajectory through a field is influenced by their endowment of capital, as the individual move to either accrue more capital or to alter the distribution of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 106).

Every field has an illusio, or sense of the game, that is produced by the functioning of the field. Each game has a specific set of stakes and the illusio can be understood as the belief in the

stakes of the game. The illusio includes the ethical values and beliefs that are necessary for meaningful participation in the field and it becomes incorporated into the *habitus* (Colley 2012: 17).

There are a number of problems that can arise when the *habitus* becomes out of sync with the social context. An individual may be shifted into conditions that are very different from the conditions in which the habitus was produced. This leads to an experience of hysteresis in which the individual experiences severe disorientation as they adjust to the new conditions. The stakes of the game can change creating a disjuncture between the established habitus and the illusio (Colley 2012: 30). This can also be disorienting and painful. Colley has found that when her subjects, who were employed in the provision of social services for youth were impacted by budget cutting during austerity, experienced the disjuncture between the economic stakes and the illusio, they experienced emotional suffering and their habitus was shaken (30-1).

The *Carceral Habitus*

Crewe asks us how much the qualities that the incarcerated individuals bring with them in the prison structure the prison experience (Crewe 2009: 3). I argue that the concept of the carceral habitus can provide us with a means of bridging the divide between the importation and indigenous/deprivation frameworks. The incarcerated individual enters with a *primary habitus* that is shaped by early experiences. The prison, as a total institution, is a site in which the incarcerated person is exposed to significant stressors and socializing forces that lead to the inculcation of a secondary *habitus* that enables the incarcerated person to respond to the demands of the environment of the prison. Bourdieu argues that given certain conditions, such as the total institution, a field can function as what Althusser refers to as a "State Apparatus" (Althusser

2001; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101-2). For Bourdieu, the total institution represents a limiting or pathological state of a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101-2). The prison is one of the class of totalitarian institutions that endeavors to produce a new individual through "deculturation and reculturation" and the "principles embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness" (Bourdieu 1977: 94). Gowan begins to develop the concept of the habitus as altered by the prison in her study of homeless, formerly-incarcerated men in San Francisco and St. Louis. She found that her informants had developed new strategies of survival and dispositions that combined "repressed fury" with "existential passivity" and that these dispositions propelled some of her informants into homelessness (2002: 511).

The framework of the habitus allows us to investigate the impact of the prison on the incarcerated individual during and after incarceration. As a field, the prison, presents a structure of probabilities which in turn create a framework of objective conditions that are embodied as the *carceral habitus*, or the systems of durable and transposable dispositions, "manner[s] of standing speaking and thereby of feeling and thinking" that assist incarcerated persons in navigating the prison (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). This habitus enables the individual to perform acts of "practical knowledge" without conscious planning, allowing appropriate reaction to stimuli. The *carceral habitus* also influences the development of the hexis – the "bodily dimensions" of the *habitus* (Roodenburg 2004: 217).

The "joint mentality" or *carceral habitus*, brings the past of the prison into the present of the post-release reality. Williams brings ups up questions of how the *habitus*, or physical embodiment of the prison impacts the readjustment process: "A year following my parole I remain absolutely wrapped up in and trapped in prison pathologies… It is painful and difficult to let go of these things that have served my health and sanity so well in what had proved thus far to

be the darkest and most enlightening time in my life" (2003: 11). The formerly incarcerated individual lives outside of the public time that characterizes a habitus adapted functioning in the world outside of the prison. This leads to difficulty in structuring time. In Cordilia's study, one inmate detailed how he was able to tell how long an individual has spent in prison: "After release, the lifer will set up a situation so that he is doing his bit on the street. He will get a room at the Y and set it up like his cell… He will get up in the morning and go to sleep the same time that he did in prison and he'll eat meals at the regular time in the cafeteria" (1983: 96-7).

Many of the forms of bodily, social and cultural capital that are very functional in the environment of the carceral institution may become dysfunctional outside the institution. Tattoos, which may function as markers of gang or group affiliation, and thus act as social capital in carceral institutions, are often seen as marks of stigma outside the facility. The following quote describes the reactions of a formerly incarcerated individual to others' reactions to his tattoos. "I came out looking like this, you know (indicates tattoos). And people they look at you, and that's the only thing that crosses their minds. You scare the shit out of them, you know. And that's upset me… And I'm saying, Why are you fucking treating me like this for when all I did was say, excuse me I'm going to pay for my pack of cigarettes" (Phillips 2001: 375-6).

An aggressive posture or way of moving and the "yard face"[3] (a blank, dangerous looking expression), forms of bodily capital in the facility, rather than acting as a form of protection can function as a marker of stigma and in some cases may evoke a fear response in people who are meeting the former inmate for the first time. This may lead to isolation. It also may mark the individual in the eyes of law-enforcement officials, increasing the likelihood of

[3] The "yard face" is also referred to as the "screw face". It is similar to the blank expression adopted by boxers and other fighters in an attempt to disguise one's feelings and intentions.

being picked up in sweeps. The expectation that knowledge of the use violence will carry over as an effective form of cultural capital, can lead to directly to recidivism.

Incarcerated individuals often report anger when their actions are questioned. Even Elaine Bartlett who was able to maintain family visits and take classes as well as gain employment as a prison paralegal, accomplishments that made her more prepared for re-entry than most, experienced problems with adjusting to her family. While in Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, she found that: "In the cell blocks and corridors, she had to watch her back constantly, always ready to raise her fists if anyone tried to pick a fight. But when she entered the visiting room, she had to play the role of mother. She had to be patient and affectionate, warm and loving" (Gonnerman 2004: 85).

Upon release, Elaine reported that she had periods during which she had difficulty controlling her temper and had hit her daughters (196). She also described quarrels with her supervisor at the drug-treatment center at which she worked (217-8). Western reports increased levels of domestic violence among individuals who had been incarcerated (2006: 158-162). However, he finds that formerly incarcerated individuals who are able to form "high-quality relationships" are less likely to commit acts of domestic violence (163). The inability to maintain family relationships poses another formidable barrier to readjustment, as the former inmate is unable to access the pooled resources and "networks of mutual aid" offered by the family (164).

From a methodological standpoint, using the concept of the *habitus* to investigate the continuing impact of incarceration enables us to demystify the impact of the prison. It treats the prison as extreme but still understands it as an institution in which attempts are made to manage individuals. More importantly, using the lens of the habitus de-exoticizes incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals. Many of the theories surrounding the prison including Irwin

and Cressey's importation theory, treat incarcerated individuals as unique by virtue of their having committed a crime. One of the things that has been most striking about my field work is the normalcy of the individuals who attended the Career Development classes. This was certainly not the realm of the over the top individuals who populated *OZ*. Most of the individuals did not prioritize offending behaviors or view crime as desirable.[4] The majority had been victims as well as offenders. I was unable to separate out behaviors or stated beliefs that were particular to a certain type of offender.[5] The one commonality that can be seen as relating to offending is the prohibition on "snitching", but this may be more related to community norms, the need to protect various hustles and the experience of policing in the urban hyperghetto that inform the primary habitus of many individuals who are incarcerated (Venkatesh 2006: 8-20).

The Context for the Development of the *Carceral Habitus*

The *carceral habitus* has been developed in the context of the prison and a number of other key social institutions that have become intertwined with the prison. In order to discuss the content of the *carceral habitus* and the way in which it develops, we must review these institutions.

The Prison

The prison in the United States is a dynamic institution. The prison as an institution has radically changed since its inception. In different periods, the prison has had a different meaning

[4] There were only ten individuals out of approximately 200 who I tracked through the class who were invested in offending behaviors as part of their identities. These individuals were very clear about the importance of offending.
[5] This may be an artifact of the times. In the period of mass incarceration, prisons draw from a pool of individuals who are that is at once larger and more restricted. It is more restricted in that the prison draws disproportionately from the African-American and Latino urban communities. However, the prison has become applied as a punishment for a broader range of offenses. This means that the offender pool is more diverse in forms of offense types. It may imply that there is thus a greater diversity in terms of common beliefs than during the period when Irwin and Cressey were conducting research (1962).

within society and has held a variety of types of individuals in conditions that are specific to their respective time periods. We would expect that the *carceral habitus* would vary based on these conditions. Much of the work on the American prison was conducted during the "Big House" and "Reform" eras. This means that the understandings of prisoners and prison life that are faced different environments than prisoners in the late modern period of mass incarceration.

The Prison during the Reform Era (1920 -1955)

The reform era of the prison was highly influenced by the Progressive Movement. The classics of prison ethnography were written during the reform era, a period during which academics had significantly more access to the prison. The reform era prison is often referred to as the "Big House". It was a large walled facility with large cell blocks that held an average of 2,500 individuals (Irwin 1980: 3). The "Big House" was characterized by a combination of "industrial corrections" and "reform ideology" (Bright 1996: 3). Rehabilitation was seen as contingent on adapting to the rhythms of the factory and work in prison industries was seen as indicative of adjustment and required for parole. Many of elements of the earlier periods, such as isolation and silence, had to give way to the demands of the industrial regimes (Bright 2006: 363). Prisons based on the "Big House" model were largely confined to the Northern, Western and Midwestern states as the Southern states still maintained the earlier model of the plantation prison. During the Reform era, the prison was studied, not only as a prison, but as a way to investigate power relations within institutions. Much of literature surrounding the prison during this period was concerned with the functions of the inmate code and argued that the code functioned as a means for maintaining prisoner solidarity and enduring social order within the prison. Public perception of prisoners was not as uniformly negative as it became later. During

the 1950's, prisoners were understood to be altruistic and redeemable and were understood in public discourse to be a white man. (Sloop 1996: 32-3).

The first sociological studies of the prison were conducted during the Reform Era. Clemmer conducted the first prison ethnography of the "Big House" period in the Menard Prison in Illinois during the Great Depression. This text informed the study of the prison for the next forty years and is still regarded as a foundational text. Clemmer's work introduced the concept of the prison having a particular culture that is shaped by outside demands and policies as well as the life experiences of those who work there and are confined there (1958: 85). He argued that the prisoners have a culture that is constrained by the "prisoners' code" (152-164). The concept of the "total institution" was developed based on Goffman's work in mental health institutions and with an understanding of the prison that was informed by the "Big House" (1961a).

The Prison during the Rehabilitation Period: 1950's to the Mid-1960's

The Rehabilitation Period refers to the development of a rehabilitative philosophy and policies that occurred in the period between the 1950's and the mid-1960's. The prisons that replaced the "Big House" were referred to as "correctional institutions" (Irwin 1980: 37). It was premised on the scientific classification of prisoners in order to properly diagnose, treat, and more importantly manage the prisoner. The correctional institution utilized an indeterminate method of sentencing, in which release, within certain bounds, was predicated upon progress and behavior within the prison system.

Irwin notes that during this period, the majority of the prisoners did not necessarily identify as criminal and were seen as "fuck-up's" or "straight johns" (Irwin 1980: 54). Unlike the "Big House" prison of the earlier period, the prison during the rehabilitation period had a more diverse population and was not held together by a single "convict code" (55). Irwin found that

the prisoners became invested in the ideals of illness, treatment and rehabilitation and became involved in the rehabilitative programming (61). Silberman also finds the roots for the breakdown of prison order experienced in the 1970's and the development of the mass incarceration or "warehouse" prison (Irwin 2004) in the shift to rehabilitation. He argues that the older systems of control found by Sykes (1955), became destabilized and the prison became more dangerous.

The prisoners during the Rehabilitation Period, as seen in the works of Sykes (2007), Cloward (1960) and Galtung (1961), have more agency and actively negotiate the structures of the prison system. Sykes conducted an ethnographic study of the New Jersey State Maximum Security Prison during the 1950's (2007). Whereas the power in Goffman's "total institution" and Clemmer's "Big House" prison is held primarily by the facility staff, for Sykes, the power of the custodial staff was necessarily limited. The prisoners were not invested in the authority of the custodians and the prison officials were also limited in the extent to which they could utilize different strategies of governance such as punishment and reward (2007). This means that the custodial staff of the prison are more reliant upon the prisoners for the maintenance of order (57). The prison in Sykes' work is a "*special kind of bureaucracy … whose single greatest preoccupation in its self-reproduction through the performance of routine tasks*" (Sparks et al. 1996: 43).

Irwin, a formerly incarcerated scholar, is highly critical of the interpretations that Clemmer (1958) and Sykes (1955) drew about the prison subculture during the Reform Era. He argues that while there was a prison culture – it was not one coherent culture – it was a number of subculture that were tied together by the convict code (1980: 9). These subcultures were divided by race, ethnicity and offender type. However, there was a system of "tips" and "cliques"

that allowed members of different social groups to establish ties and maintain a sense of cooperation and cohesion (58-60). For Irwin, the convict code, was not simply an adaptation to the prison world. Instead, it was an adaptation of the "thieves' code", which was imported by the most common type of inmate (Irwin 1980: 11). The earlier studies (Clemmer 1958; Sykes 1955; Goffman 1961a) were focused on prisoners' lack and pathology when identifying the strategies for navigating the prison. Irwin argues for a different understanding of these strategies. He argues that incarcerated people pursue three general strategies: "just doing time"; orienting the self to prison; and "gleaning" (14). Gleaning, in particular, attributes much more agency and goal oriented action to the prisoners than was allowed for in Sykes, Clemmer and Goffman. The prisoners who were "gleaning" were those who attempted to turn the prison to their advantage and use the prison to develop a skill set or for self-improvement (14).

Transitional Period: The Prison between Mid-1960's and Early 1970's

The prison began to radically transform in the mid-1960's. This transformation was driven by events within and outside of the prison. During the 1960's and 1970's significant changes within the prison system led to a fracturing of social networks within the prison (Irwin 1980: 74; Jacobs 1983; Silberman 1995). No longer is the prison population a coherent group of individuals bound together by the inmate code as in Sykes' study (Sykes 2007). Scholars tend to point to the Black Muslim movement's push for parity and use of the courts as the beginning of the change (Irwin 1980: 68; Jacob, 1983: 65; Silberman 1995: 110) However, race had always had particular significance in the hierarchy of the prison with segregation, with white prisoners at the top of the hierarchy, being a standard practice in the majority of prisons including those in the Northern states (Jacobs 1983: 63). In the early 1970's this began to change and by 1973 a number of states, including New York State, had prison populations that were majority African-

American (68). Carroll documented a prison divided along racial lines with different argot and access to resources (1971).

Prisoners had more access to the courts during this period. Silberman and Jacobs point to the number of Supreme Court decisions and other legal actions that took place during the 1960's and argues that these decisions represented an intrusion into the governance system of the prison – curtailing the actions of prison administrators (Jacobs 1977: 105; Silberman 1995: 109). This then led to a power vacuum that was then filled by prisoners in an attempt to secure limited resources (Silberman 1995: 109).

The place of the prison in the public understanding had also shifted. This can be traced to changes and conflicts taking place outside of the prison. This period saw the assassination Civil Rights leaders, movements of urban poor, the crackdown on radical movements such as the Black Panthers and urban uprisings in a number of cities including Washington DC, Los Angeles, Newark, and New York City. During the 1960's crime became closely identified with the ghetto (Oliver, 2008). A 1969 report by the Urban America and Urban Coalition that found that approximately fifty percent (48.5 percent) of Whites surveyed believed that the urban uprisings of the period were planned and that the primary causes were "looters and other undesirables" as well as political radicals (Oliver 2008: 6-7). The long-term response to the urban uprisings was increase in the funding for police departments and riot control functioned as a force for increasing social control. This strategy, combined with covert repression used against social movements such as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, formed the template for the later War on Drugs and rise of the carceral state (Oliver 2008: 7-10).

No longer were prisoners perceived as an altruistic, largely white and redeemable population. Instead, public discourse began to divide prisoners into three groups. White inmates were

understood as being able to experience rehabilitation and rejoin society (Sloop 1996: 102). African American inmates were portrayed in two potential categories – as "proud but oppressed" or as "incorrigible and irrational". The proud but oppressed Black man was understood as a human being who was violent, but as a result of experiencing violence from a repressive system. However, this individual was likely to be so radically changed by the experience of prison that he would have a difficult time reentering society (116). The other understanding of the Black inmate was that of a man who was naturally violent and irrational. This individual was understood as being responsible for his actions and willing to violate social norms. This individual was understood as being completely irrational, was unable to be rehabilitated and could only be managed through incapacitation (116-7).

Changes within the academy were also key in the shift of the stated goals of the prison. During the early to mid-1970's, prison existed in a context of change in the academy (Cullen and Gendreau 2001; Garland 2001a: 53-73). There was a shift in the understanding of possibilities for rehabilitation (Martinson 1974). This shift took two pathways – the more conservative and the other more progressive. The conservative scholars argued for use of deterrence (Broken Windows policing) and incapacitation through incarceration (Wilson 2013; Kelling and Wilson 1982). The progressive scholars argued that the causes of crime were primarily structural and could only be dealt with by further structural change and social justice (Cullen and Gendreau 2001). A resurgence of interest in biological and genetic theories supported a decline in the use of psychological therapy and rehabilitation and dovetailed with selective incapacitation theory (Haney 1997: 526-68). Selective incapacitation theorists argued that crime control could be made more effective and efficient if authorities concentrated on incapacitating the worst or most prolific offenders. The ideology of "just deserts" sentencing became prominent in the academy,

activist and policy circles (Haney 1997: 504; von Hirsch 1976). At this time many states began a shift toward the use of determinate sentencing – removing discretion in sentencing from the hands of judges and prison administrators.

Prisoners also began to develop a different understanding of the rehabilitative programming (Irwin 1980: 62). For Irwin, the roots of changes that led to the more dangerous prison of the 1970's through the present day period of mass incarceration, began with the prisoners' understandings of the failures of the rehabilitative ideal (63). In a moment pulled straight from Foucault (1977), prisoners began to understand that the information gathered about them, ostensibly for treatment purposes, was being used for purposes of control. Some also cycled back into the prison finding that while they had met the rehabilitation requirements of the institution, corresponding opportunities were not available in the outside community. In fact, the rehabilitative prison pioneered the use of "adjustment centers" – in which prisoners were held in solitary confinement without privileges for unspecified lengths of time (61). Much like the later Super Max and Special Housing Units, the adjustment centers became dumping zones for individuals perceived as troublesome. These changes set the stage for the institutional context in which mass incarceration occurred.

"The Correctional Institution": The Prison in the Period of Mass Incarceration

Mass incarceration or mass imprisonment has two aspects. The first, is a rate of incarceration that is significantly higher than the historical and comparative norm for developed nations. In 1999, the incarceration rate in the United States was six to twelve times higher than the rates in other Western democracies (Tonry 1999: 419). The second aspect of mass incarceration is that it involves a "systematic imprisonment" of young African-American men from urban areas (Garland 2001b: loc 62 of 3254; Gottschalk 2011: 488; Haney 1997: 512).

Punishment in the United States diverged from that of comparable nations in that punishment became more severe, with constitutional safeguards being reduced (Tonry 1999: 419).

Mass incarceration was not a forgone conclusion. In their 1973 paper, Blumstein and Cohen argued that punishment rates within the United States tended to remain stable and the behavior that is punished shifts based on the amount of people entering the system (207). Mass incarceration can be seen as the outcome of the convergence of factors that led to a policy that was not the result of a set of a coherent social debate (Garland 2001b). Scholars have identified a number of factors that contributed including income inequality (Western 2006), a support for harsh policies based in a Durkheimian need for expressive justice on the part of the public (Tonry 1999), changes in sentencing policies (Spelman 2009), a crisis of legitimacy in government as the (Garland 2001a; Mathiesen 2006) racial disparities in drug laws and in sentencing policies (Tonry and Melewski 2008). Mass incarceration in the United States can be viewed as a new stage of development within the carceral institutions (Mathiesen 2006).

Garland looks to increasing insecurity accompanying social changes in the period of late modernity. These changes include a shift in social ecology and demography created by the spread of the car and the creation of the suburbs, increased autonomy for teenagers, the advent of television and other electronic media and the shift in the economy from Keynesian supply-side economics to neo-liberal economic policies (2001a). He argues that the social and spatial changes led to high reported crime rates during the 1960's and this led to a transformation in the middle class experience of crime and that this fear added to insecurity due to other social changes to provide a receptive audience for the conservative rhetoric that marked the period after the late 1970's (152-3). The crime complex thus sets the scene for mass incarceration and the development of the "waste management prison" (Simon 2007: 152). Simon argues that the

growth of the prison population became "a positive project of state legitimacy in its own right, quite apart from any positive effect on crime rates" (158). The prison came to be seen as a tangible symbol of authority and order at a point in time when the legitimacy of state was being questioned.

The prison during the era of mass incarceration is a much different institution than that studied by the prison ethnographers of the "Big House" era. The prison during mass incarceration is the culmination of processes noted by Carroll (1971) and Irwin (1980). During the period of mass incarceration, the prison came to be understood as a "warehouse" in which the bodies of the incarcerated men and women are stored (Simon 2000: 287; Robertson 1997: 1004-5). Simon compares the logic behind the development and maintenance of the prison to that of "waste management" as practiced by sanitation departments (287). There have been changes in the physical plant of the prison. The prison during the period of mass incarceration has become the focus of repressive control. There is widespread use of surveillance, the use of security hardware, and increased utilization of techniques of repressive control (Haney 1997). The era of mass incarceration has seen the introduction of the Super Max facility on the federal and state levels and the spread of the use of solitary confinement as the techniques used in Super Max began to filter through the prison system. In New York State, Southport Correctional Facility was converted to an "extreme isolation facility" and by 2000, 10 more special housing unit facilities were constructed (Kim et. al 2012). SHU confinement in New York is used to punish infractions for a range of rule violations, ranging from minor to serious.

It can be argued that the both the state and federal prison systems have become more punitive, and have shifted away from the preoccupation with the soul that Foucault noted in the prisons of the modern era (1977), toward a model focused on total control. The prisoners are

more likely to be idle and act as members of a sharply divided subculture that has little access to rehabilitation programming or additional activities (Robertson 1997: 1022). In some ways, the prison had improved as court decisions made the system more accountable to judicial system and prisoners have been able to receive more visits and phone calls (286). But at the same time, many prison systems became overcrowded and there was a shift to "pure custody" and away from rehabilitation (Simon 2000; Haney 1997). Haney notes that in the early 1990's the federal system was overcrowded and that at least forty states were subject to court orders to improve conditions in their prisons (1997: 508).

Studying the prison during the era of mass incarceration is made difficult by the diversity within the prison systems. In the United States the prison system is divided in the federal prison system and fifty state prison systems. The federal prison system is, at least among my research subjects known for better conditions, but, even in the federal system there is substantial variation. One of my informants had been incarcerated in a federal prison camp where he had access to yoga and a number of other activities and many of the people in my study who had done minimum security federal time had similar experiences. Another served time in a maximum security facility and had a number of the symptoms of PTSD. There is significant variation between state prison systems (DiIulio1987) and Haney also notes variations within prison systems and even inside prisons in terms of the way that prison administrations deal with issues such as overcrowding (1997: 545). For example – one of my respondents who had been sent to a prison in Washington State had access to computer and engine repair training as well as other educational programs. However, the majority of the class participants who were incarcerated in New York State only received training in janitorial or porter work. Respondents also reported having drastically different experiences within different prisons in the New York State system.

For example, Clinton Correctional Facility was known for being violent, but the violence was predictable. However Sing Sing Correctional Facility was known for being both violent and unpredictable. These differences complicate the study of the prison and its effects.

In the era of mass incarceration, the prison has become tightly interwoven with other social institutions such as the school, the neighborhood, the labor market and even with the "softer" institutions such as welfare and reentry programs that form or assist the "left hand" of the State, including the various departments and agencies that provide education, public assistance and public housing (Wacquant 2001b: 402).

The Institutional Links between the Community and the Prison

The prison has become a specter looming over the inner cities of the United States. As of 2011, over 2.2 million individuals, more than one in every one hundred individuals, were incarcerated in federal, state or local facilities (Glaze and Parks 2012: 3). However, the prison does not impact all communities equally. The rates of incarceration are much higher for men and women of color, particularly for African American men. Black men over eighteen years of age have an incarceration rate of one in fifty four individuals and the rate for Black men between the ages of eighteen and thirty four is one in fifteen (Warren et. al 2008: 6). Hispanic men and Hispanic and Black women also have much higher rates of incarceration than their White counterparts (6). The level of incarceration is higher for individuals who come from urban areas, especially the "inner city". For example, in census year 2000, New York State incarcerated 71,466 individuals, 44,326 of whom were from New York City (Wagner 2002). The concept of the million dollar block (a block where the state spends more than one million dollars a year to incarcerate residents) refers to the fact the criminal justice system and the prison have become the dominant government institution in many hyperghetto communities (Cadora et al. 2006: 1).

This text is written using the terminology of the “hyperghetto”, rather than the rather euphemistic term “inner city” due to its connotations of deep racial and social class divisions. The hyperghetto as a conceptual tool also most clearly delineates the relationship between African-American urban communities and the prison. Wacquant defines the hyperghetto as a new 'territorial and organizational configuration' marked by segregation on the basis of race and class. The hyperghetto formed in the context of retrenchment of both the labor market and the welfare state that led to a “collapse of public institutions (Wacquant 2008: 3). It differs from the earlier communal African-American and other ethnic ghettos in the United States, such as the community of Bronzeville documented by Drake and Clayton (1962) in that poverty is highly concentrated due to the absence of upper and middle classes. Wacquant points to the importance of physical decay, the abandonment of infrastructure by the state as well as the decline in important social institutions as factors in the creation of “physical danger and the acute sense of insecurity that pervade its [hyperghetto] streets” (2008: 51-7). Hyperghetto neighborhoods have experienced segregation based on race and social class as a result of changes in the labor market and the retrenchment of the welfare state. The residents of these neighborhoods have been caught in the move from the inclusive to exclusive society (Young 1999). These neighborhoods have become a locus of action for the State, and these men have had experience with the regulatory activities of both the “left hand” and “right hand” of the State.

Wacquant situates both the hyperghetto and the prison as a continuation of racially based systems of social control, part of the “historical sequence of 'peculiar institutions'” (2001a: 95) that includes: slavery, Jim Crow and the urban ghetto. Each of these institutions has been tasked with “defining, confining, and controlling African-Americans” (98). As children, the men and women who attend the classes at my field site are more likely to be placed in foster care,

remedial classes, special education programs and juvenile detention facilities (Garfield 2010: 5; Ferguson 2000: 59). Even when very young, they are more likely to be marked as potential criminals and singled out for punishment (Ferguson 2000). If their families were on public assistance they witnessed their parents being subject to stigma and humiliation and having to live life in the view of case managers, social workers, legislators and an increasingly hostile public. Haig-Friedman points to "demeaning, paternalistic attitudes … codified in federal and state legislation and in government contracts with the nonprofit organization who carry out the state's work with families" (2000: 11).

It is also important to look beyond the usual suspects in searching for reasons that the prison is so enmeshed with the hyperghetto. Western calls attention to a focus in urban ethnography on incarceration as an "occupational hazard of street crime" that places street crime as a key activity within the hyperghetto (2006: 38). This focus on the usual suspects creates an impression that crime rates within the hyperghetto drive incarceration rates. However, Western's investigation of youth crime rates over a twenty year period calls this assumption into question. Western found that self-reported crime rates among poor Black male youth had decreased over between 1980 and 2000 while rates for poor Hispanic youth fell in the categories of property crime and theft and rose slightly for assault and drug sales (41). In three categories, property crime, drug sales, and drug sales, Black youth reported lower rates of crime than white youth (41). These findings illustrate the decoupling of the incarceration rate from the crime rate. Western points to stepped up levels of law enforcement, particularly in the area of drug usage and sales, accompanied by increasingly punitive sentences (44-5).

Unemployment

The rate of unemployment in the urban hyperghetto is very high. A study by the Community Service Society, based on federal unemployment data found that only 51.8 percent of Black men in New York city had worked during the year 2003 (Levitan 2004: 1). The overall unemployment rate for Blacks is 12.9 percent and Latinos had an overall unemployment rate of 9.6 percent. Both were higher than the citywide unemployment of 8.5 percent (2). The study also found that Black men had not participated in the prior expansion, only experiencing "meager job growth" (2). A 2006 New York Times article cites statistics for 2000, in which 65 percent of all African-American men in their twenties without a high school diploma were unemployed (Eckholm, 2006). High unemployment is also accompanied by chronic underemployment (Wacquant 2008). Various authors point to the role of unemployment in leading to increased levels of contact with the criminal justice system. Wilson, points to joblessness as a cause of a "racial gap in violent behavior after adolescence" (1996: 22). He cites research by Delbert Elliot, which found a differential of four to one in violent crimes committed by African-American men in their late twenties versus White men in the same age range. However when Elliot compared employed African-American and White men in that age range, he found no significant behavior difference (Wilson 1996: 22). The vast majority of the men and women who attended the program at Second Chance (excluding some of the white collar offenders) are members of "the precariat" (Standing 2011). The precariat is defined by standing as consisting of individuals "who have minimal trust relationships with capital or the state" (2011). Members of the precariat only have access to "precarious income" and are much more vulnerable to the fluctuations in the marketplace.

Unemployment in the hyperghetto is due to a combination of factors, including racial discrimination, structural shifts in the national and international economies, a lack of social networks featuring bountiful weak ties, a devaluation of the social and cultural capital available to ghetto residents and the disintegration of educational institutions. Wacquant's study of Chicago points to a "decentralization of industrial plants" and the "flight of manufacturing jobs" to other nations, or to Southern 'right to work' states and suburban areas. The ghetto lost its "traditional role as a reservoir of unskilled labor" as these has been a move in the labor market toward dependence upon service sectors and the financial sector (2008: 97-8). Bourgeois, in his study of crack dealers in the New York City neighborhood of El Barrio notes the cultural dislocation due to the expansion of financial, real estate and insurance sectors (1996). Men who had dropped out of high school to begin working in the manufacturing sectors were left unprepared for the move to entry level positions in service industries. His informants found that they lacked access to the White middle class cultural capital required to obtain and retain service sector employment (Bourgeois 1996).

Race has often been key in the closing of unionized construction labor positions for African Americans and Latinos (Bourgeois 1996). Bourgeois, for example, found that the men in his study were often involved in high-risk activities such as building demolition and high-rise window replacement, as these were the only sectors of the construction industry open to residents of New York City ghettos (164). Employers in Chicago have been found to routinely utilize selective recruitment strategies to avoid having to interview individuals from local hyperghetto areas and to access what they considered to be "high quality" applicants (Wilson 1996: 133). Employers advertise in newspapers that target the suburbs or specific neighborhoods, as well as by using informal job recruitment networks. Race has also been found to influence the

ways in which youth are introduced to the working world (Royster 2003). Having family members who had access to job recruitment networks is a key component in the process through which individuals find jobs (144-78).

> *"In the mono-racial homes and neighborhoods of the Glendale men… white men were surrounded by and included within networks of gainfully employed older white men, who gave them additional material assistance… phone calls and spaces were made for them, they were included in neighborhood carpools, sponsored by those with connections to bosses and foremen…"* (Royster 2003: 144-5).

The high rate of unemployment and underemployment can lead to participation in the "hustle", a set of underground economic activities of quasi-legal or illegal status (Anderson 1999; Bourgeois 1996; Venkatesh 2006; Wilson 1996) that carry a significant risk of contact with the criminal justice system. Venkatesh finds that participation in the underground economy is widespread. "Some may just dip and dabble in the shady world, while for a few others it becomes the sole means of survival" (2006: 7). This participation cuts across the boundaries between what Anderson terms as "decent" and "street" families (Anderson 1999). Hustling can involve a variety of behaviors ranging from cutting and braiding hair without a license, to selling loose cigarettes, back alley car repairs, selling knock-offs and bootleg DVD's, and dealing illegal drugs. The parallel gray economy that arises as community members attempt to keep things together can lead to residents losing their social networks and internalizing the precarious socioeconomic structures that have come to characterize their neighborhoods.

The "hustle" or participation in a variety connected with the underground economy is not a phenomenon that is unique to the largely African-American and Latino communities which make up the American hyperghetto. The exact configuration of the hustle varies based upon the local context as is the impact of the underground economy. The density of underground economic activities in poor rural or suburban areas would appear to be lower than the urban

hyperghetto. The activities are also less heavily surveilled by both the state and area residents, due to the increased availability of public space. Dealing drugs from a private house in a rural area is strategically different activity from dealing on the streets of the South Side of Chicago. Other activities such as 'off the books' hair-cutting and beautician services become more open to observation when conducted in public locations such as restaurants. It is the publicness of the "hustle" in the urban hyperghetto that renders even such innocuous understandings as selling box lunches and hairdressing open to extortion from gangs (Venkatesh 2006: 68), the police or other hustlers. Underground economic activities, even "licit" activities carry a level of risk. The woman preparing soul food or boxed lunches may be cited by the Board of Health and fined, street vendors can be fined for vending without a license or other violations. Illicit activities such as drug sales or sex work not only carry the possibility of jail or prison sentences, but also expose the participants to violence from customers, other hustlers and the police.

Hustles that bring participants into contact with the criminal justice system can have lifelong ramifications, particularly for people of color. Many employment applications ask applicants to list even misdemeanor offenses, and misdemeanor as well as felony convictions show up on background checks. Even having had an arrest can be problematic, as arrests, without convictions, can turn up on some backgrounds checks. This decreases the pool of available positions, especially in terms of working for governmental agencies such as the MTA or Sanitation Departments, which are viable sources of blue collar jobs for African American working class men. Thus, participating in the "hustle" may lead to a cycle in which participating in the "hustle" becomes the only viable means of employment available to individuals with criminal records.

Schools

Western (2006: 26) notes that the lifetime risk of incarceration for young men who have dropped out of high school are significantly higher than those of young men who have obtained their diploma. The gap is particularly striking when one examines the experiences of Black youth. The majority of the young men who attend the class did not have a high school diploma and only received GED programming in the required courses in prison. Other authors (Simon 2007; Wald and Losen 2003; Duncan 2000), have noted the presence of a "school-to-prison pipeline" which serves to increase dropout rates, thus exposing them to a heightened risk of imprisonment. Wacquant points to overcrowded public schools in Chicago, lacking in libraries and other basic necessities, that serve a custodial, rather than a pedagogical function (2008: 85-6). Wald and Losen argue that students in "high-poverty, high-minority schools", such as those located in the hyperghetto, receive less of the resources necessary for day-to-day functioning, have fewer qualified teachers and have lower levels of academic achievement and graduation (2003: 9). African American students have been found to be more likely than others to receive harsh sanctions including suspension and placement in "alternative outplacements" (Wald and Losen 2003: 10-1; Ferguson, 2001). Interruptions in school due to suspension, placement in alternative programs, expulsion and dropping out, place students at higher risk for contact with the criminal justice system.

The school has a central place in shaping the individual's expectations for life chances. The school can be understood to function as a "gateway to citizenship", a location where children learn the skills and values that are necessary for citizenship (Simon 2007: 209; Duncan 2000: 29). To view school in this light is to see the experience of children in the schools of the hyperghetto as a denial of citizenship. Punishment has assumed a central role in schools located

in the hyperghetto, and suspension functions as a space for individual punishment which competes "with the classroom and playground as spaces of education and self-fashioning" (212). Ferguson describes such a space in her ethnographic study of the construction of Black masculinity in a public school located in an inner city school:

> *In the Punishing Room, school identities and reputations are constituted, negotiated, challenged, confirmed for African American youth in a process of categorization, reward and punishment, humiliation, and banishment. Children passing through the system are marked and categorized as they encounter state laws, school rules, tests and exams, psychological remedies, screening committees, penalties and punishments, rewards and praise. Identities as worthy, hardworking, devious or dangerous are proffered, assumed or rejected. (Ferguson 2001: 40-1)*

The reliance on separate spaces of punishment produces a condition analogous to Clemmer's prisonization in which the children produce a culture of defiance that functions counter to the stated objectives of the school (1958).

Duncan argues that the citizenship function is integral to preparing youth for entrance into the labor marked (2000). Duncan posits that schools in the hyperghetto utilize a curriculum that is similar to a factory assembly line; focusing on passive knowledge transmission, drilling, control and conformity (38). The curriculum has become associated with an increasingly punitive mode of discipline and posits that this mode of education is deemed necessary to prepare the students for low-wage positions route-task performance, labor that Duncan refers to as "Negro work" (38). As many of these positions have been outsourced or exist in the within the prison-industrial complex , the students are left without the necessary skills to participate in the high-tech service based economy and are left at risk for contact with the criminal justice system.

Schools and school authorities are important contributors along with criminal justice authorities, business owners, parents and other adults in the neighborhoods where youth reside, to the "youth control complex" a system of criminalization shaped by the punishment that young

people receive within institutions of social control and institutions of socialization (Rios 2011: 20). In New York City, school safety is the responsibility of the New York Police Department. The department's school safety division employs unarmed School Safety Agents and NYPD officers also patrol schools (Mukherhee 2007).The New York Civil Liberties Union has reported that School Safety Agents and NYPD officers have frisked students, threatened and made arrests (Mukherhee 2007: 12-7). In some ways, the school may be approaching the prison as the technologies of control used in the prison have moved out into educational institutions.

Youth Street Gangs

The rise of the street gang as a prime mover in the hyperghetto appears to be due to two primary factors. The "tough-on-crime" policies of the 1970's combined with racially based law enforcement led to large numbers of young African-Americans, most frequently men, entering the carceral system. Venkatesh, points out that "Prison officials using gangs to help maintain social control, effectively enabled gangs and their leaders to help maintain social control (2000: 133). This mirrors James Carr's observations of San Quentin prison officials' use of race-based gangs such as the Mexican Mafia, the Nazis and George Jackson's Wolfpack. "The prison officials were experts at keeping the races at each other's throats. Any time the prisoners started to get together for a food strike or a work strike, Captain Hocker would call in the most notorious big-mouths and have them start rumors" (Carr 2002: 124).

Gangs first functioned as a means of youth socialization in areas that lacked other community venues of socialization such as community centers, functioning schools, youth events and youth job programs. Although these groups did participate in criminal activity, it was generally non-violent (Venkatesh 2006: 281). The early gangs also did not have a strong economic function and generally gang members aged out and were able to secure employment

(282). Drake and Clayton remarked that an "underworld" operated in Depression Era Bronzeville, but argued that "It has never had a highly organized gang world, however, dealing in alcohol, dope, robbery, murder and women" (1962: 611). However, in an essay added to the text in 1961, Drake and Clayton refer to members of the lower class who make the upper class residents of Bronzeville uneasy, "the teenage gangsters; the dope users and the pushers; and the small hard core of habitual criminals (1962: xx). Hannerz's 1969 text *Soul Side*, a study of life in the ghetto in Washington D.C. does not mention gangs or the gang lifestyle, the item gang does not occur in the index (Hannerz 2004). Hannerz also does not reference a drug trade akin to the modern trade, although he does refers to "dope pushers" in a passing manner (58). He referenced public drinking and drunkenness as being among the most common offenses for which men and youth are arrested (163) and bootlegging as a primary source of illicit income (139-140).

By the late 1970's, as manufacturing facilities and other employment opportunities began to abandon the cities, fewer jobs were available, particularly for young men of color without high school diplomas. This combined with the release of the individuals incarcerated in the early 1970's at the beginning of the 'tough on crime' era, individuals whose employment prospects were made even lower by having a criminal record, would seem to have led to the advent of the street gang as an economic force. Venkatesh points to how gangs in Southside Chicago began to have fully developed economic interests, primarily in the sale of Narcotics and to a lesser degree, commercial extortion (2006: 183). However, rather than forming a stable economic alternative, the corporate street gang, becomes part of the revolving door between the hyperghetto and the carceral system.

Hayden points to two additional reasons for the growth of street gangs. He argues that the corporate street gangs such as the Bloods and the Cripps appeared in a vacuum created by "the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve progress against northern poverty and discrimination, and the decision by the US government to shelve the war on poverty for the war in Vietnam" (2004: 18). He points to large numbers of discarded youth of color who became disillusioned.

> *"Raging with humiliation, they discovered the power of their color to strike fear. Their character was formed and tested in resistance to the police and troops. Previously portrayed as 'delinquent', they now drew power from their 'badness'. Instead of seeking to integrate into America, they accepted their exclusion and transformed it into a separate identity, even a country, they could belong to the neighborhood ('hood), with its own names, tattoos, slang, sign language, colors, dress, art forms (graffiti) and economy (underground)." (28)*

The presence of the street gangs appears to be functioning as a justification for state violence with "crime and the fear of crime function[ing] as forms of social control "help[ing] to liquidate or at least neutralize a whole class of political rebels" (Parenti 2000). Parenti argues that crime disrupts "neighborhood social ties, siphons off community members who may have joined community activist organizations at the same time as it diverts activist attention away from 'social justice issues'" (2000). Thus, crime drives communities "into the arms of the state" as the community seeks protection within a state that has for all other purposes abandoned them.

Sullivan's 1972-1980 study of youth crime in urban ghetto neighborhoods located in Brooklyn, NY, illustrates the influence of the newly developed corporate gangs on the life course. During this time period, only one of the neighborhoods, the Puerto Rican "La Barrida", had a gang. The study found that the majority of the youth were able to decrease their participation in crime as they were able to find more steady employment (Sullivan 1989: 207). However, the White working class subjects in the "Hamilton Park clique" were able to move

more rapidly into the labor market than their Puerto Rican and African-American counterparts. Sullivan finds that the type of crime committed in each area is different, with the White working class youth in "Hamilton Park" committing more expressive crimes of violence and the minority residents of "Projectville" and La Barrida committing more economic crime (207-8). He attributes this partially to the ability to the White youth to obtain considerable part time and off-the-books employment in their middle teens and to the presence of higher levels of general unemployment and underemployment as well as high levels of poverty (208). The young men in Sullivan's study have much different experiences of the life course than the young men and women in Decker and Winkle's 1996 study (1996). These youth are more likely to be involved in youth street gangs that identify as the local variants of the Crips and Bloods. Gang membership exposes the youth to more frequent arrests and periods of incarceration in juvenile and adult facilities (1996: 204-21). The authors add that many of their subjects expect to end up serving time in the state prison system and that the youth have "more frequent contact with the criminal justice system than with any other social institution" (219).

The street gangs set up a positive feedback loop of need for protection, violence and arrest within the hyperghetto communities. The actions of the gangs, combined with tense and conflicting relations with law enforcement and community members leads to a state of chronic insecurity, in which youth identify the need for protection as a "positive feature of gang membership" (Decker and Winkle 1996: 73). This feeling of insecurity in hyperghetto communities is largely due to the stripping of the necessary institutions, proper urban planning and infrastructure to keep children, youth and other residents safe. Klienberg points to the physical conditions of the North Lawndale community – abandoned buildings, empty lots and poor lighting – as creating a space that provides cover for drug dealing and associated criminal

activity (2002: 100). Decker and Van Winkle address the routinization of violence among gang members in both instrumental and expressive factors (1996: 185). They also argue that the violence escalates out of control and becomes part of a cycle of retaliation (186).

Policing and Criminal Justice in the Hyperghetto

The members of the Career Development classes are aware that they are in a problematic position in regards to police in the neighborhoods. This has also been something I have found among the young African American and Latino men who attend classes at the college where I have taught for three years. The perception that my students had of differential policing are backed up by studies of the impact of race on policing decisions (Chambliss 2001: 91-7). While Smith et al. didn't find arrests were made on a differential basis, they did find that police demonstrated differential responsiveness toward black crime victims; making fewer arrests in cases brought by black complainants (1984: 248). In a 1993 study, Kramer and Steffensmeir found that African American defendants in the Pennsylvania state court system were approximately eight percent more likely to be incarcerated than white defendants (370). This difference was accounted for by the "departure mechanism" that was available for judges to use in cases that they didn't find met the requirements for the mandatory minimum sentences (372). Sampson and Lauritsen found that research on the impact of race on criminal justice processes is equivocal in many cases (1997). However, when it comes to the decision to sentencing in both the adult and juvenile systems, the local context is important with African American defendants in certain jurisdictions being more likely to receive a prison sentence than white defendants (Sampson and Lauritsen 1997).

My fieldwork was also carried out during the period in which the New York Police Department was making use of "Stop, Question and Frisk", a policy that utilized Terry stops on a

large scale[6]. In 2012, there were 532,911 stops of individuals; fifty-three percent of the individuals stopped were Black and thirty-four percent Latino (NYCLU 2013). NYCLU argues that Black and Latino individuals are overrepresented in the stops. The Vera Institute has conducted a study of youth living in heavily patrolled areas. Out of 500 individuals surveyed, forty-four percent reported repeated stops (nine or more times), forty-five percent reported being threatened and forty-six percent had experienced violence (Fratello et al. 2013: 2). Only forty percent of the respondents reported feeling comfortable with seeking assistance from the police (2). These stops can be understood as "material criminalization" part of what Rios terms the "youth control complex" (2011; 40). Rios finds that early, negative interactions with police were common among the young men in his sample (2011). He argues that all of the youth in his study had come, through their interactions with police and other members of the criminal justice system, to regard themselves as "inherently criminal" (2011).

I was at my field site during the 2008 trial of the NYPD officers for the shooting death of Sean Bell. The trial was rarely spoken about except by some of the older men. The younger men avoided discussing the trial. The following is a section from my field notes on the day that the verdict for the trial of the officers in the shooting was announced.

> *When I get back into the classroom, Richard, one of the job developers, is telling the instructor, Bryan, and the class about the verdict. Bryan is sitting at the front with his head down in his hands and his arms resting on his knees. Bryan is a big guy, built like a football player, but now he looks tired and a bit defeated. Richard is tense, his lean body coiled like a spring. The students, all but three of who are African-American, are silent and look a bit stunned. Some are shaking their heads. Bryan lifts his head and shakes it. "I knew it when they charged them with manslaughter that that shit wouldn't stick." Richard adds with emphasis and in anger, "You know that there's never been a cop convicted of murdering a Black man in New York City!" Richard is openly angry. Everyone else seems to be*

[6] The Stop, Question and Frisk program is rooted in *Terry v. Ohio*, the 1968 Supreme Court decision that found that when an officer has 'reasonable cause' to believe that an individual is armed or that criminal activity is ongoing (*Terry v. Ohio,* 1968).

> *angry too, but it is a resigned, sad anger. Anger over something that they knew was coming. The students remain quiet.*
>
> *Later, Frasier, one of the job developers is running the class. He also responds to the verdict. He tells the participants what he does during any traffic stop – saying that he is so careful because if the police shoot him they will just say "He was a big Black man (Frasier is easily six feet, three inches, maybe more) and look at his record, we had to kill him…".*

The African American men in the class were resigned to the verdict. None of the younger men said anything although a few shook their heads. It was not until teaching at a college that serves students from New York City, that I understood the regular nature of problematic interactions with the police that young African American and Latino men in New York City have on a regular basis. Websdale points to the importance fear of the police among young African American men in Memphis, Tennessee (2001: 94-7). Websdale found that Memphis officers admitted beatings while "take[ing] a ride in the elevator" (94-5) and a number of informants reported "feel[ing] that they're walking around with a bull's-eye drawn on their head" (96).

There were a number of anecdotes regarding police misconduct, particularly beatings. During a conversation with myself and Bryan, one of the instructors, Andres, a rather slight Latino teenager, reported having been worked over in an elevator at the police station after an arrest. He also detailed how one of his friends had "been taken to a room upstairs" in the station and beaten prior to interrogation. Edgar, a Latino man who was a former police officer, reported being called a "Spic" and other ethnic slurs during an arrest in Long Island and then being beaten in his cell and then charged with assaulting a police officer. To my surprise, these incidents, with the exception of the incident reported by Edgar, were treated as expected and were not spoken about in an angry manner.

I was also surprised by the fatalistic manner with which many of the students approached their interactions with the court systems. The majority of the class participants were not

necessarily clear on the exact nature of their charges. Part of the first or second day of the Career Development was devoted to making the students aware of the penal law code and the terminology associated with their charges. During the presentation of the material on the penal law code, Bryan, would tell the students about his experiences with the court system. “You know how when you go to court, they just read off numbers. ‘Bryan Willis – you are charged with violating PL 160.10. How do you plead?’ I would always just plead guilty. Didn’t know what they meant, but I would plead.” Bryan has been involved in the criminal justice system since the age of thirteen and was adept at maneuvering within the system in a variety of ways and seemed to have a great deal of knowledge about the operation of the courts, prison system and parole. Thus, this was particularly surprising but appeared to be fairly common among the participants in the class.

The participants in the class were also very skeptical of the ability and quality of the defense attorneys to whom they had access. Many relied on public defenders and others had used private defense attorneys – often from among the attorneys who were “circling the bullpen”. The private defense attorneys were often accused of promising to provide a better defense than the public defenders while charging the individual and his or her family large amounts of money. Most often, these cases were resolved in plea agreements that were viewed as disadvantageous. Raj, a slight and extremely withdrawn young man whom appeared to be rather shell-shocked and surprised to find himself with a conviction, reported having been jumped by undercover police officers who mistook him for someone else. The officers hadn’t identified themselves and Raj, thinking he was being mugged tried to resist. He was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer. However, he was advised by the attorney to plead out, leaving him with a felony charge and probation.

The formerly incarcerated men and women in the Career Development Classes at my field site were also subject to other institutions that combine both the "right" and "left" hands of the state. Parole, reentry organizations and other organizations focusing on control of the poor feature prominently in the lives of many formerly incarcerated individuals. The section will investigate the reentry process and the roles played by parole and by the various not-for-profit organizations that provide services for people who are rejoining the community.

Parole and Not-for-Profit Reentry Organizations

Parole has changed significantly in the last forty years. A number of states have abolished parole boards or reduced the number of prisoners who are released through parole boards (Travis and Lawrence 2002: 1). Many states abolished parole or moved to a mixed sentencing system that combines determinate and indeterminate sentencing. This means that discretionary release, in which the release date is decided by a parole board, is becoming less common. It is being replaced by mandatory release in which the length of time to be served is determined by statute. The origins of parole were rooted in an ideology of rehabilitation (Petersilia 2003). Parole has shifted from a theoretically rehabilitative institution to an institution of discipline, normalization and most recently in the era of mass incarceration, risk management and control (Simon 1993; Jacobson 2005).

The job of the parole officer has changed; a position formerly dominated by social work graduates is now dominated by criminal justice majors and parole officers are expected to serve both social work and enforcement roles (Abadinsky 2012; Petersilia 508: 1999). In addition, because there have been significant cutbacks to parole agencies, parole agencies are required to do more with less. This means that parole agencies are more likely to rely on to comparatively cheap "violation detection" programs rather than more expensive programs (Jacobson 2005:

152). The caseload has also increased with caseloads of over eighty to 100 individuals not being usual for parole officers with regular caseloads. This means that parole officers can be held civilly liable for failure to warn and negligence (Abadinsky 2012: 205). As a former colleague who was a parole officer told me "you don't want to be the guy who wakes up to find one of his parolees on the cover of the *New York Post*". There is a structural incentive to incarcerate individuals who have technical parole violations, as keeping the individual on parole has a cost for the parole agency, while incarcerating the individual does not (Jacobson, 2005; 153). Parole in New York State does have more individuals who are successful in completing parole than the national average (fifty-five percent), however technical violators are a higher percentage of total prison admissions (thirty-four percent) than the national average (twenty-eight percent) (Jacobson 2005: 138-9, 141, 145).

In New York State, most individuals are now released on conditional release after serving determinate sentences. Determinate, or flat sentences, are set by statute and they include a set period of supervision by the New York State Division of Parole (NYS Division of Parole 2007). These individuals can earn "good-time credits" for "good behavior and efficient and willing performance" of assigned duties (Columbia Human Rights Law Review 2009: 5). Incarcerated individuals are eligible for release after serving at least 6/7 of their sentences. This form of release is referred to as "conditional release". The majority of my research subjects had been released on conditional release. I only met one individual, who served time in the New York State prison system, who "maxed out" on his sentence or served the whole sentence. Individuals who have received sentences with life on the backend, i.e. twenty-five to life, have to appear before to parole board to petition for release.

People who are being released from federal prison are not eligible for early release. However, when they have seventeen to nineteen months left in their sentence, they are eligible to serve the final ten percent of their sentence in a privately operated halfway house or residential reentry center followed by a period of home incarceration. The residential reentry center in the Bronx, New York is run by The Geo Group, Inc. These residential reentry centers theoretically function as a means of assisting federal prisoners in the reentry and reintegration process. The residents are allowed to leave the facility for drug treatment and other programming, but they have to notify staff of their location and staff at the residential reentry center can call to check on their location. Some, those who spent longer periods of time in prison, found the regimen to be rather easy but others found the center to be stifling and problematic. The residents were required to have jobs in order to move out of the residential reentry centers, however, the staff didn't necessarily facilitate the process. Members of the class who were living in the residential reentry center reported that staff didn't take messages from prospective employers. If the residents of the residential reentry center are successful in completing their time in the center, they then become eligible to serve the rest of their time on home incarceration. Federal home incarceration is similar to state parole but more stringent.

There is very little in the way of pre-release programming available in the New York State prison system. Individuals who are in minimum-security facilities prior to their release, and are being released to addresses in New York City, Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester counties, may be eligible to go to the Queensboro Correctional Facility in Long Island City (NYS Division of Parole 2007). At Queensboro Correctional Facility, prisoners may be able to access pre-release programming and receive assessment and referral to outside services upon release. The majority of those attending the Career Development class had received little in the way of pre-

release assistance. Some reported attending classes on reentry that were been taught by lifers or receiving Xeroxed sheets of outdated lists of social service agencies.

People on parole are required to meet a number of conditions. Violation of these conditions can lead to increased restrictions or to the parolee being returned to prison to serve the rest of his or her sentence. Parolees are required to meet a number of conditions in order to remain on parole. Standard conditions of parole include: obeying all laws, reporting any changes in address, obtaining and maintaining employment, not traveling more than fifty miles from the home address without permission from the parole officer, participation in job preparation and similar programs, drug testing, payment of restitution, not having to submission to searches of one's person and property, not associating with known felons, not having police contact, and obeying all directives from the parole officer (Petersilia 1999: 503). Some individuals also have to meet special conditions relating to their offense. These can include prohibitions on computer use, not associating with specific individuals, and prohibitions on alcohol use.

It can be very difficult for parolees to maintain all of the conditions of parole. One of the primary issues involves obtaining and maintaining employment. Another condition that can be problematic for individuals with chemical dependency is maintaining sobriety. For individuals who are young, the restrictions on mobility can chafe. One of my younger respondents would regularly go Philadelphia with to visit friends and go clubbing without informing his parole officer. One of these trips, combined with unlicensed driving got him a parole violation and he had to serve the rest of his term.

Avoiding contact with law enforcement is also problematic. One of my respondents, Jonathan, was in a relationship with a woman who had an abusive ex-partner. When the ex-boyfriend came to her apartment and began to scream abuse and threats through the door,

Jonathan called the police. When the police came they arrested the boyfriend. After the incident was reported to his parole officer, the parole officer claimed that the police contact had violated his conditions of parole and Jonathan was sent to Rikers to await a parole revocation hearing. Although the hearing did not find that Jonathan had violated the conditions of parole, Jonathan still spent several days in Rikers Island.

Prohibitions on association with known felons also present a problem. Many of the individuals in the class had friends and family who also had convictions. Sometimes this led to issues with housing and with securing jobs. This could create problems for job development staff when there were employers who would take a number of clients. Even being in the class was problematic as many of the students and staff members had felony convictions. One of the students, John, who was on federal probation reported to Bryan that he was not allowed to attend a graduation dinner with the other students in the class, because he was not able to associate with felons. The situation was taken care of when Bryan, the trainer, called John's probation officer and explained that the dinner was an approved class activity.

Reentry

There are a number of issues that are associated with problems in the reentry process. Parolees generally require a significant amount of services (Jacobson 2005; Petersilia 2003). These include housing, securing employment, chemical dependency treatment, health care, and access to education. Safe housing can pose an issue for some individuals who are homeless and have to be released to shelters. Individuals who no longer have family, or don't have family members who are willing or able to take them in are at a particular disadvantage if they cannot find a reentry services agency, such as the Fortune Society or the DOE Fund to provide housing. This is particularly a problem for individuals with drug convictions who have family members

living in public housing. These people are prohibited from living in public housing and family members can be evicted for housing them. There were a number of individuals in the Career Development class who had been released to the shelter system and came into class with their all of their belongings in plastic bags or suitcases. A number of older men said that they would prefer to remain in prison than be released rather than face the dangers of the shelter system. In some cases, individuals choose to live on the streets rather than in the shelter system. Lack of housing has a number of implications from the point of view of parole. A parolee who is living in the shelter system is more difficult to supervise, and the likelihood of arrest and absconding from parole is higher for these individuals (Schlager 2013: 55).

Health care is a common issue faced by individuals who are going through the process of reentry. People who are being released from prison tend to be less healthy than the general population (Petersilia 2003: 34). Slightly more than forty-three percent of all state inmates have a current medical problem (Marauschak 2008).[7] More than twenty-three percent of state prisoners have a learning disability and roughly six percent have a mental illness (Marauschak 2004). The estimation for the number of mentally ill may be low as other studies indicate that sixteen percent of state prison inmates had reported an "emotional illness" or a stay in a mental health facility (Petersilia 2003: 37). There are few programs for individuals with mental illness in the community and people with mental illness are more likely to have had negative disciplinary records and to have spent time in solitary confinement (2003: 38-9). Individuals in New York City do receive more assistance as New York City is one of the jurisdictions that has parole officers with specialized mental health caseloads which are managed with more of a social work

[7] A current medical problem is defined by the BJS as having one of 14 medical conditions: arthritis, cancer, diabetes, asthma, cardiac problems, high blood pressure, problems with the kidney or liver, paralysis, conditions related to a stroke, hepatitis, HIV, another sexually transmitted disease or tuberculosis (Marauschak, 2008).

approach. In addition, in New York State, individuals who are designated as having serious or moderate mental illness can receive assistance in applying for benefits such as Medicaid and are enrolled in the Medication Grant Program (Smith and Parish 2010: 10). Individuals who have been diagnosed with severe, persistent mental illness have access to at least some services. However, individuals with mental illness that has been diagnosed as "situational", the more common diagnosis, receive more limited assistance with reentry. In the course of class a number of individuals presented with mental health issues, some of which were profoundly disabling and kept them from completing the program. Others were able to complete the program, but their disability was such that it presented a serious barrier to finding and maintaining work. Second Chance often tried to find these individuals some form of internship, often one that involved janitorial skills, with the agency as a way of preparing them for work. There were also three individuals who had developmental disabilities, one with a significant intellectual disability. These individuals often had difficulties completing the class.

Chemical dependency is an issue, particularly for individuals who have committed drug offenses. Individuals with drug offenses have higher rates of failure on parole and are overrepresented in parole revocations (Blumstein and Beck 2005: 65). The success of individuals with chemical dependency in completing their parole is highly dependent on presence and quality of support services (Blumstein and Beck 2005: 77). For individuals with chemical dependencies reentry is a very stressful time. It is a time when they reencounter some of the "people, places and things" that were associated with their dependency. For some, who were able to get clean in prison, the reentry process may be the first time that the individual has to deal with the substance being readily available since their incarceration. In addition, relapse has come

to be understood as a part of the recovery process. This means that it should be expected that individuals will relapse.

Levels of education and literacy pose another problem for individuals who are reentering. Prisoners are disproportionately individuals who have poor literacy skills and low levels of education (Petersilia 2003: 32). In New York State, people who do not have a high school diploma or a GED are required to get a GED. However, the prison system does not pay for education beyond the GED. Congress has prohibited incarcerated individuals from receiving Pell grants to pay for college and they are also not eligible for TAP. In 2004, thirty-four percent of people incarcerated in state and federal prisons had not attained a high school diploma or GED (Crayton and Neusteter 2008).

Chapter 3 - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Originally, the study was intended to be a study of social suffering experienced by formerly incarcerated individuals as they experienced a disjuncture between the *carceral habitus* and the *primary habitus* during the process of reentry and reintegration. However, as I spent more time in the field site, the study was expanded to look at a number of questions. First, it was necessary to determine whether or not there was a set of common experiences and a shared framework of reference that could be said to constitute a *carceral habitus*. The second question was determined by the context of my field site. I had an opportunity to observe as the participants in the Career Development classes sought to consciously alter the *carceral habitus* and to adopt aspects of middle-class habitus that are associated with the modern service workplace. This was an extension of the theory of the habitus, as the inculcation of the habitus is assumed to be a largely unconscious process. Wacquant's boxers may train and Crossley's circuit trainers may work out and by doing so come to incorporate the frameworks necessary for the development of the dispositions necessary for participation but they are not deliberately attempting to alter the habitus (Crossley 2004; Wacquant 2004). The third question involves the content and the practices that were used by the staff in the context of the Career Development classes to encourage participants to alter the *carceral habitus*. The final question involved the degree to which and the conditions in which the *carceral habitus* was "sticky" or difficult to modify.

The Research Approach

Madden argues that "a methodology is a justification of the use of a particular set of methods" while methods "are what tools you use" (2010). This study required a hybrid methodology, making use of both abductive and inductive approaches to research. Using a single research methodology was found to be too limiting. I used an abductive approach to assess the *carceral habitus*, but later events in the field site led me to questions that lay outside of the theoretical framework through which I was analyzing the field site. As a result, I began to utilize inductive techniques more common to use in Grounded Theory approaches.

In order to study the *carceral habitus*, I had to enter the field site with my counterfactual that the *carceral habitus* did not exist, as would be indicated by Irwin's Importation Hypothesis (1980) and Zamble's conceptions of coping (Zamble and Porporino 1988), firmly in mind. The number of individuals in the Career Development and the range of their experiences within the criminal justice system enabled me to pursue a strategy of *analytic induction* to develop the concept of the *carceral habitus* (Becker 1953). I was able to compare individuals who had been incarcerated in state and federal prisons with those who had spent time in jail or, were taking part in Alternatives to Incarceration programming as part of probation. This allowed me to develop a list of behaviors that were most commonly found among those who had been incarcerated, and to investigate the differences imposed by sentence length, facility type, age and gender. After verifying the presence of a number of embodied features of the *carceral habitus*, I shifted to using a number of reflexive methodologies to frame my investigations.

Reflexive methodologies make use of the intersubjectivity that develops between the researcher and those whom she is studying (Burawoy 1998a: 14). The researcher approaches the field site with baggage. In the case of my study, this included race and ethnicity, social class,

gender and preconceptions about the identities and behaviors of formerly incarcerated individuals. Reflexive methods require that the researcher be cognizant of the relationship with the field site and the way in which theory and power impact the researcher and her interpretations of the data set (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009: 268).

Reflexive methodologies are rooted in the use of abduction. Abduction is an "inferential creative process" that uses unexpected empirical results to guide the construction of theory (Timmerman and Tavory 2012: 170). New theory is developed and existing theory is expanded as a result of the interplay between theory and anomalous findings (169). Using abduction allows us to utilize the strengths of induction and deduction. Like induction, abduction starts from our empirical findings. However, the constant interplay with theory means that abduction is closer to the process of deduction (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009: 4).

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is rooted in the arguments of Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer and Merleau-Ponty. As a methodology, phenomenology investigates the structures of conscious experience as they are experienced by the individual, as well as the social world which structures that experience. Phenomenology is rooted in the concept of intentionality. Mental experiences are understood to be directed at particular objects (Moran 2012). As a methodology, phenomenology is concerned with the "use of subjective and first person experience as a source of knowledge" (Smith 1998: 214). Phenomenology is rooted within Weber's concept of *Verstehen*, or interpretative understanding (Ajjawi and Higgs 2007: 614). *Verstehen* can be used as a methodology to investigate the 'nature of the situation', or the social structures that limit the choices of social actors (Tucker 1965: 164) and as a means of accessing the meanings attached to lived experience (Ajjawi and Higgs 2007).

Phenomenology is a broad term that encompasses a number of schools. Husserl's conception of phenomenology is transcendental phenomenology. Husserl argued that the methodologist should approach the field without "pre-existing theoretical frameworks" and work without deduction (Howell 2013: loc 1332). This has been a key influence on grounded theory and would appear to run counter to the more adductive nature of the extended case method, which is my primary research methodology. However, Husserl developed a number of tools that are useful for a researcher.

Bracketing, or *epoché*, is used to get beyond the taken-for-granted aspects of the life world as they relate to a phenomenon (Howell 2012). It can be utilized as a means of maintaining objectivity and removing one's preconceptions from the phenomenon that is being studied (Dowling 2004: 32). Bracketing is a process, which involves a series of investigative moments or "reductions". These techniques are utilized in an attempt to understand the properties that for the basis of the subjective perceptions of individuals (Husserl 2012; Smith et al. 2009). The first of these is the *eidetic reduction*, a series of techniques used to develop an understanding of the set of properties that underlie the individuals' subjective perceptions (Husserl 2012; Smith et al. 2009). The eidetic reduction involves that location of key phrases that speak directly to a phenomenon. The phrases are then interrogated, interpreted and inspected for clues as to the "essential recurring features" of the phenomenon (Denzin 2002: loc. 4393-4397). For example, I found repeated references to hustling in the discourse of the Soft Skills Trainers and Job Developers leading the Career Development Classes and in the discourse of the students. People "hustled" in a variety of ways and were "hustled" by other individuals and by institutions. The various meanings of hustling were interrogated to situation the concept of the "hustle" within a set of day-to-day events and social interactions.

The next moment is the transcendental reduction (Smith et al., 2009). The goal is to focus on an experience, paring it down to its essential features and situating it within a broader context (Denzin 2002; Smith et al. 2009). In trying to understand the concepts of the hustle, it was necessary to take the role of the "disinterested spectator" and pull back from my preconceptions about the field site and the Career Development class (Schmitt 1959: 239). In the example of the hustle, I worked to situate the concept of "hustling" within the position of the formerly incarcerated person in the context of the urban hyperghetto, the prison, reentry programs and the workplace.

The final moment or reduction involves the integration of the variations in the experience of the subjects (Howell 2013). It is necessary to "construct the phenomena" by ordering the elements and relating the elements to each other (Denzin 2002: loc 4420). I investigated the different applications of the term "hustling" to determine the "essential, recurring features" of the situations in which it was applied (loc 4397). Following construction, it is necessary to place the phenomenon within the lives and environments of the individuals and within their language (loc 4439).

The study also draws from the methodologies influenced by hermeneutics, specifically hermeneutical phenomenology. Hermeneutics, or the interpretation of texts, is rooted in early Biblical scholarship. Hermeneutics came to be applied to the study of "human sciences" by a number of philosophers and theorists including Schleiermacher and Dilthey. The concept of the hermeneutic circle was developed by Schleiermacher and expanded by Dilthey as part of methodological hermeneutics (Seebohm 2004: 67).For Schleiermacher, the hermeneutic circle was a process through which interpretive understanding is developed (Gardner 2010: 43). Dilthey was concerned with the development of hermeneutic methodology as an epistemology

(Gardner 2010: 43). The hermeneutic circle is a process of moving from the part to the whole and cycling back to investigate the interaction between "the implicit and explicit, and between the particular and the whole" (Howell 2013: loc 3424). It has been described as less a circle, than a spiral moving toward a more refined knowledge (Rickman 1976: 10-1; de Mul 2004:; 119).

Hermeneutical phenomenology is rooted in the work of Heidegger and Gadamer. Heidegger[8] argued that was necessary to investigate a phenomena within its historical context – the *Dasein*, or "being-in-the-world" is rooted in time (Howell 2013: loc 1545). Hermeneutical phenomenology can be viewed as a break with Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. Husserl used intuition as a means by which to investigate the basic structures of a phenomenon. However, Heidegger argued that investigating a phenomenon must be done in relation to its historical context (Howell 2013: loc 1545). Heidegger argues that one does not achieve understanding by following a set of procedures as one does in the practice of hermeneutic methodology. Interpretation involves a hermeneutical circle, referred to by Seebohm as the "Heideggerian circle" (2004: 166). When investigating a phenomena, it is necessary to keep in mind that there is already some form of understanding of the phenomenon. Questions do not arise from ignorance, rather they exist within both the phenomenon being studied and within the individual conducting the study (Howell 2013). The interpretation of the phenomenon that is being studied is grounded in a "fore-conception" or in an initial set of assumptions (Howell 2013: loc 3604). The "Heideggerian circle" is a spiral that moves from the "fore-conception" to locate the phenomenon within the historical context of the phenomenon. The "fore-conception"

[8] I approach the use of Heidegger's intellectual methodologies with some concern, given the recent publication of his personal notebooks (Schuessler, 2014). Heidegger's anti-Semitism appears to be interwoven with his philosophical works (Bourdieu, 1991; Webb et. al, 2002; 10). However, the framework of hermeneutic phenomenology has been adapted as a tool that is utilized by a wide number of social researchers and has influenced so much of the practice of reflexive research methodologies (including Bourdieu and the Extended Case Method). However, while it may be possible to use the tool, one has to keep the origins and potential uses of hermeneutic phenomenology clearly in mind.

is to be approached with caution – the "fore-conception" itself must be interrogated (Heidegger 2013: loc 5369). It is interrogated and revised and each revision leads to the "new projection of meaning" (Gadamer 2004: 269) Meaning is seen as a "continual state of becoming" and "understanding is participatory" – meaning is tied up with language and produced within the field (Howell 2013: loc 3604).

Bourdieu and Reflexive Methodology

Bourdieu called for a reflexive sociology in which the researcher becomes a part of the social field that characterizes the field site and investigates the power relations within the field that generate the habitus specific to that field (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009).

The Field

The concept of the field hold a special place within Bourdieu's sociology. The field the necessary "focus of the research operation" (Wacquant 1989: 7). To understand a research site, it is necessary to determine the properties that it has as a field and the forms of "specific capital" that are needed to function within the field. This necessitates the development of a hermeneutic circle in which the researcher moves from identification of the field to an understanding of capital and returns to the field (Wacquant 1989: 7). This cycle requires constant interaction between the literature, theory and the field and, is in many ways similar to the cycle used in the Extended Case Method. In addition, the researcher must be able to situate the members of the field in relation to their endowment of the forms of capital. Becoming more aware of the dynamics of the field is necessary to prepare the researcher for conducting the interview process.

<u>The Reflexive Interview</u>

Bourdieu draws our attention to the importance of the interviewing relationship. This relationship, although bounded with the scientific rules, is still a social relationship which must

be maintained and nurturing the interview relationship rests on a "reflex reflexivity" that is based in craft (1999: 608). The relationship between the interviewer and the respondent is, in many ways marked by symbolic violence and it is necessary to reduce symbolic violence by building the interview relationship on "active and methodological listening" (609). Doing so requires that the interviewer develop a knowledge of the position that the respondent occupies within the social space of the field site.

The Researcher's Habitus

The researcher enters a field carrying the baggage associated with both the academic habitus and her "social past" (Bourdieu 2003). For Bourdieu, "the researcher can and must mobilize his experience", but only if "he submits all these returns of the past to rigorous scientific examination" (Bourdieu 2003: 291). Bourdieu draws our attention to the importance of the "scholastic illusion", the belief that the scientist and scientific practices exist outside of the realm of subjectivity. "A scientist is a scientific field made flesh, an agent whose cognitive structures are… constantly adjusted to the expectations inscribed in the field" (2004: 41). The ethnographer's scholarly habitus involves detachment from the field site. This concept of detachment contains the idea of not "going native" and the goals of removing emotions and the researcher's reactions from the portrayal of the field site. As a discipline, ethnography often privileges "abstracted theory and analysis" (Conquergood 1991: 181).

In the field site, I drew upon the comparison of the academic habitus and my social class habitus to the habitus shared by members of the Career Development classes and the program staff. In this, I am following Bourdieu's practice in drawing on his experiences growing up "in the Béarn society of my childhood" (Bourdieu 2003: 288). I approached myself as a researcher, not simply as a data collector, but as "the primary instrument through which data are collected"

(Smith 1998: 216). For this reason, the researcher's interactions with the field site and research subjects are incorporated into the ethnographic field notes. Although my work was not "carnal sociology" in the same sense of Wacquant's work, *Body & Soul*, the body and embodiment played important roles in the way that I conducted my field work (Wacquant 2004). The researcher's habitus was also problematized. In doing so, I paid particular attention to my position in terms of the labor market and my ability to act as a consumer of social services. Doing so helped to explain some of at first appeared to be inconsistencies in the field site. I also found that I unconsciously became pulled into the frameworks of reference of the field site. I began to write my reactions into my field notes – noting events that I didn't understand, things that led to emotional responses, people I was drawn to and those I had a difficult time interacting with and, noting the changes in myself that came as I became more involved with the field site.

The Extended Case Method

The key methodology used in my study is the Extended Case Method as developed by Burawoy (1998b).The Extended Case Method is rooted in methods developed by members of the Manchester School (Burawoy 1998a; Kempny, 2005). Although Burawoy does not make explicit reference to Heidegger and the concept of the hermeneutical circle, there are some similarities between the Extended Case Method and the hermeneutical circle (Howell 2013). It is recursive and involves the refinement of theory through interaction with data – the process of reconstruction in which "we begin with our favorite theory and seek refutations to help deepen that theory" (Burawoy 2009: 50). This is accomplished through a process that Burawoy terms "dwelling in theory" (28). Dwelling in theory involves a series of dialogues, the first of which occurs between the observer and the participants in the field site. The observer attempts to

become a participant within the field site, making observations over time and space that allow discrete experiences to be viewed as processes (Burawoy 1998b: 15). The next dialogue expands the observer's range and involves a historicized interpretation of local processes to enable to researcher to determine how the local processes are shaped by larger social forces (15). The empirical data gathered in the first steps of the process are used to generate a dialogue within theory, leading to reconstruction.

Burawoy has identified some potential limitations to the use of Extended Case Method. This limitations are the result of multidimensional nature of power. One is unable to escape implications of power. In the act of observing and participating in the lives of others, the researcher becomes part of the "networks of domination" that are part of the field site. This phenomenon is similar to the Uncertainty Principle in physics – communication becomes distorted and this limits what we can discover (Burawoy 1998a: 15). There are also problems associated with reducing observations that have been made over time to a social process. While we have to objectify social forces, it is important understand that social forces are the contingent result of a historical processes (16).

In the context of my field work the return to theory was important, even in the cases where I utilized more inductive methods. I also worked to situate the prison, the reentry process and the reentry services agency within the context of mass incarceration and the neo-liberal state.

Magic Realism in Ethnography

At times, the stories that my respondents told me seemed to have been written by Gabriel Garcia Marquez or Jorge Luis Borges. The prison was at turns cold and gray, but also warm - a site for solidarity and meaning. Meg came out solitary with a plan to invade Canada. Joseph was haunted by the two ghosts of the men who died during an armed robbery. A teenage Larry

watched, horrified, as other prisoners scavenged the belongings of another teenager who had committed suicide by hanging and then years later Larry scavenged the belongings another suicide. Martin, the former cop, is a powerless "Spic" and beaten by police in a Long Island holding cell. Emanuel wrapped a towel around his head so he could not see the other people in the room when he used the common toilet. Roy sought out possible death in order to feel something. In this selection from my field notes, Roy, an older African-American man, who served twenty years in prison, told me a story about his return from prison. He is in his early forties now, so was in his early twenties when he entered the prison. When he was younger, Roy hadn't spent much time outside of his neighborhood and he had never visited Central Park. After he had been home for a few months, he decided to go to Central Park and walk around by himself.

> *It is May or June. Roy has decided to visit Central Park. The prison was very bare, artificial light, concrete and steel. Even in the yard there was no grass. Roy could only see the sky and feel the weather when he was in the yard. Now that he is home he wants to experience and feel something. This drive becomes particularly intense in the warm sun in Central Park. Roy sits on the lawn in the sun. There is a bee buzzing close to Roy and it flies closer and closer. Roy is allergic to bees and he does not have an Epi-Pen with him. Instead of moving, Roy lets the bee sting him. He then begins to go into anaphylactic shock. Someone must have alerted the police because an ambulance was called. Later, when a police officer asks what had happened, Roy says that he purposely let the bee sting him. The officer says that he was either crazy or very brave. Roy tells me that he was neither crazy, nor brave. He wanted to have an experience that he had never had before.*

I could not verify these narratives. To attempt to do so would have violated confidentiality. What is important, is not necessarily the truth of the story, but the meaning of the story to the individual who is narrating. Each of these narratives had deep meaning to the individuals who shared them. In this I am following Ewick and Silbey (1998: 28-9) in their study of how people give meaning to the law. They argue that "people report, account for and relive their activities

through narratives: sequences of statements connected in such a way as to have both a temporal and a moral ordering" (Ewick and Silbey 1998: 29).

Each of the narratives has something to tell us about the framework of reference within each individual was working. This framework of reference constitutes the *carceral habitus* that is formed within the confines of the prison. Every person who told me a story was doing so in a context of trying to explain something about the prison, their incarceration and reentry. For example, Larry's narrative was an expression of the moral economy of the prison and the experiences that another young man in the class would go through if he violated his conditions of probation.[9] Many narratives, such as Meg's, were told through the lenses of the prison and the twelve-step programs that informed the teller's "recovery".

Approaching the Field Site

The choice of a field site was limited by a number of factors. First, I needed to have access to individuals who had a variety of experiences within the criminal justice system. To this end, I began to look for agencies that served individuals with diverse backgrounds. There are a number of agencies in the New York Metropolitan area that serve individuals who are in the process of reentry. Second Chance[10] was selected as a field site because, as an established social service agency[11] that has operated for more than twenty years, it had the most diverse pool of clients who participated in programming. Second Chance provides a wide range of services for

[9] See the chapter on the carceral habitus for the complete field note.
[10] The name of the field site has been changed. The name Second Chance was derived from the Second Chance Act (PL 110-199). The Second Chance Act was passed in April 2009 and provided federal grants to government agencies and not-for-profit organizations for reentry programming and services.
[11] Second Chance is one of a number of agencies in the New York metropolitan area that includes the Fortune Society, the DOE Fund, Citizens Against Recidivism, Exodus Transitional Community, Osborne Association, and the Women's Prison Association.

people who have had police contact, people involved in Alternatives to Incarceration Programs (probation) and formerly incarcerated persons. Approximately 3,000 people are served each year in all of the programs and the agency is known for designing innovative programs and services.

The client population ranged from individuals who had been arrested, but not charged, to those who had served over twenty years in state or federal prison. The Career Development unit was chosen because it was a site in which people who had been incarcerated, along with others who had criminal justice contact, worked to alter earlier behaviors and learn to adopt behavioral skill sets needed for employment in the service sector. In addition, the diversity of the agency clientele was reflected in the Career Development classes. This was important, as it allowed me to compare and contrast individuals who had different experiences in the preliminary portion of my field work. Being in the Career Development unit also allowed me to participate in a number of activities with the students and move out of the position of the observer. This allowed me to move out of the etic perspective and to move toward an emic perspective (Madden 2010: 19).

I gained access to the field site by speaking with one of the founders of Second Chance. He introduced me to the Volunteer-Coordinator and the Research Director. I volunteered for the agency in a number of different capacities before and during field work - helping in the computer lab, interviewing staff members interested in participating in a Speakers Bureau, stuffing envelopes and eventually assisting Career Development staff by making copies, helping students set up emails and access employment websites.

The field can be viewed as a "synthesis of concrete and investigative space" (Madden 2010: 39). At first glance, my field site may appear to be of the exotic variety – very different from the day-to-day activity of academia – or similar to what Madden refers to as the "enclave" with a "discrete, isolatable social group[s]" (2010: 43). However, perhaps because of the choice

of location, a classroom in which the research subjects were interacting with instructors and fellow students, the field site was rather "normal" from my perspective. It was a setting to which I was habituated as a graduate student and an instructor. Often, the classes were similar to a college classroom or in-service training.

Reentry service organizations often started as self-help and advocacy groups that were organized by formerly incarcerated persons and their advocates after the 1971 Attica Rebellion. Over time, they grew to become social services agencies, with a range of funding sources. Second Chance started as a small program staffed by several formerly incarcerated individuals, their family members and community advocates. The goal was to provide advocacy for people who were incarcerated and to provide transitional services and support in a period during which such programs were unavailable. The program has retained a focus on advocacy and community education and has attempted to retain a social movement orientation. Second Chance has an advocacy unit and the goal of the unit is to recreate formerly incarcerated people as a Subject - a group of individuals with a shared history who have a voice and a narrative to share. Many of the programs that Second Chance offers include elements of consciousness raising and the discourse actively works to reduce stigma.

The Career Development Program

In my fieldwork, I spent the majority of my time in the Career Development unit. The Career Development unit was chosen as a site for research due to the fact that it is a location in which the participants are attempting to reshape their embodiment to more closely resemble the habitus required in the service workplace. It is a setting in which the disciplinary discourse of the reentry industry intersect with the empowerment and self-help discourses of the agency. The Career Development unit at Second Chance is a small unit composed of Soft Skills Trainers, Job

Developers, retention staff and management. The Soft Skills Trainers have all been incarcerated as have the majority of the Job Developers and some of the management staff in the unit. The unit offers a Career Development class that all clients must pass before accessing the Job Development services. The Job Developers cultivate relationships with potential employers, but the clients have to interview with the potential employers and compete for the jobs with people who do not have criminal convictions.

The Career Development classes run for ten days. Students enter the Career Development program after attending an orientation that is held on the Friday of the prior week. People who want to participate have to come on Friday and sit through several hours of presentations of the services offered by the facility. They meet a number of staff members and are given a pep talk. Technically, the class is open to everyone who wishes to attend, providing they have at least had documented police contact. However, there may be an unofficial screening process, as one prisoner-rights activist informed me that Second Chance tends to provide services to individuals who have more connections and are more prepared for the reentry process.

Class size ranges from a low of five people to a high of forty. Originally the agency had three Soft Skills Trainers and ran a new class every week. As the agency cut back to one Soft Skills Trainer, the classes began to run less frequently and became larger in size. Over the course of three years, the content of the classes changed with staff member turnover and changes in management. All of the students in the classes have at least had police contact (an arrest). The majority of students have felony convictions but each class has people who have misdemeanor convictions. The class was originally intended for people who had recently returned from prison, but as the economy moved into a recession, there has been an increase in the number of students

who had been out of prison for some time, have been laid off and are trying to find new jobs. About a third of each class on average is on probation and has not been incarcerated.

The composition of the classes tends to echo the demographics of the prison system. The majority of the students are African-American and Latino men who generally range from twenty-five to forty-five years of age. Class size has ranged from a low of four to a maximum of forty. As class size has increased, there have been one to three African-American or Latino women per class, and one or two white men. There has been one Caucasian woman who attended the class during the time I was observing. Most of the students have convictions that are related in some way to the market for illegal drugs. The severity of convictions ranges from misdemeanors such as "riding in a subway car unsafely" and "turnstile jumping" to violent crimes such as assault, armed robbery, sexual assault, manslaughter and murder. The majority of convictions are drug possession and possession with intent to sell. Many of those who served time in federal prison have drug trafficking convictions. Individuals with convictions for white collar crime such as credit card fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion and securities fraud also attend the class, but make up a much smaller portion of the students.

For the majority of my observations, the Career Development program was run using a curriculum based on STRIVE, a community services agency. STRIVE's CORE curriculum is a three to five week program that is designed to help attendees develop the "attitudes and workplace behaviors they need to overcome employment obstacles and transform their lives" (STRIVE International 2015). Kelly describes Strive, a re-entry and reintegration agency in New York City (2010: 493). STRIVE requires the participants in their classes to submit to being "broken down" over the course of 3 to 4 weeks. As with other reentry programs in the New York Metro Area, at Second Chance, a significant number of the staff members had worked for Strive,

other reentry agencies or had experience in the techniques used in therapeutic communities. Kelly describes STRIVE, a re-entry and reintegration agency in New York City (2010: 493). STRIVE requires the participants in their classes to submit to being "broken down" over the course of three to four weeks. As with other reentry programs in the New York Metro Area, at Second Chance, a significant number of the staff members had worked for STRIVE, other reentry agencies or had experience with similar techniques that are used in therapeutic communities for chemical dependency treatment.

The original curriculum adapted from STRIVE was relatively strict. During the two week period, students were required to be in class every day at nine in the morning (barring court appearances and other mandated appointments). Class participants were required to wear interview-appropriate attire on mock interview days and business casual on the other days. Hats, headphones and do-rags were forbidden, even when walking in the halls and the Career Development unit staff strictly enforces this rule. All participants were also required behave in a manner appropriate to a workplace environment and are given warnings for being loud, cursing, wearing hats or headphones. Lateness, falling asleep, having a cell phone ring, or other behaviors that broke class rules were subject to a 500 word essay, handwritten without scratch-outs or white-outs. Participants who failed to complete the essay by the next day receive another 500 words and those who continued to break the rules, didn't hand in the essay or missed too many days of the class are required to leave and begin the class all over again in the next session. Students were constantly monitored to ensure what was understood to be appropriate behavior from the time they entered the building. One student, Kumar, was called on the carpet by the Soft Skills trainer, Bryan, and other staff members for not responding to a staff member's greeting

while he was using the computer. Other students were upbraided for appearing arrogant or being potential trouble makers.

By the end of my field work, the Career Development program began to change. I came back to the field site after a three month long break and I was surprised to find that much of the supervisory staff had been let go and a consultant put in place to revamp the program. The curriculum had been altered and many of the more strict elements of the modified STRIVE program were removed. Students were no longer required to write essays and were rarely called out in front of the class for infractions. The move had been made in response to attrition from the class and issues that arose with the job placement and retention numbers.

During the classes, the staff members utilize a combination of what Cain, in his study of stigma management and gay identity development, terms as "therapeutic" and "relationship-building" disclosures (1991: 69). Establishing that the staff member has had a conviction and has spent time "on the inside" helps to help to reduce stigma and unease that potential students may feel while at the same time reaffirming that they, too, can find meaningful employment. In addition, it signals that the staff member has an understanding of where the students are coming from and the challenges that the students face on a daily basis. The soft skills trainers and job developers also "come out" by utilizing the *carceral habitus*. Although they are dressed in business attire and often present in role of employees working for a not for profit agency, the trainers will walk in specific ways when speaking to the class, move in and out of prison and street slang or put on the "screw face" both as a way of demonstrating to the students that he or she has been there, and to demonstrate that he or she has managed to control the *carceral habitus*. In general, the front line staff were quite respectful of the students and worked

extensively with them outside of the classroom. Bryan, Jen and Madisio spent a lot of time providing assistance to the students and putting out small fires.

The Career Development Program and Second Chance in the Reentry System

It is necessary to look at Second Chance as operating within a broader social context that includes a number of State entities, for-profit entities, day labor halls, foundations and other funding sources, as well as the academy and research institutes (Nixon et al. 2008; Clear 2010; McTague and Wright 2010). In January 2004, President George W. Bush proposed a $300 million initiative, titled the Prisoner Re-entry Initiative (PRI) that targeted recidivism and sought to assist formerly incarcerated people in the process of reentry. The focus of the Prison Re-entry Initiative was on job training and placement services and voluntary mentoring. This program is administered by the Department of Labor and provided grants of up to $1,212,000 for a twenty-seven month period (James 2015). In April of 2008, the President signed the Second Chance Act. The Second Chance Act provided grants to a number of government and non-profit agencies for a range of services that included employment assistance and mentoring (James 2015). At the same time, the large number of people who were incarcerated at the peak of the mass incarceration period began to hit the streets, with 708,677 individuals being released in 2010 (Guerino et. al 2011: 1). The US Department of Justice has created reentry programs under the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

Second Chance receives funding from a variety of state and private resources in the form of grants and donations. In order to access grants, Second Chance is in competition with other reentry and community action programs. Second Chance also has contracts with the local government to provide programming such as Alternatives to Incarceration. To receive funding,

Second Chance has to adopt the language, discourse and in some cases, the practices currently being used by the State.

Second Chance also faces other economic constraints. To maintain funding, the programs must meet with performance quotas required by funders. In the Career Development unit, this means that funding is tied to the number of people who are placed in jobs. Staff members' jobs are partially linked to performance quotas. During my observations, the unit had a seventy-six percent job placement rate. However, one of the key issues that contributed to the change of leadership and style within the department was the problem of retention. It became difficult for the Job Developers to maintain employer contacts after a significant number of placements went south and there was frequent turnover among the Job Developers.

Thompkins uses the term "prisoner reentry industry" to describe the range of for-profit and non-profit entities that work with agencies of the State to operate reentry programming (2010: 589). For Thompkins, the "prisoner reentry industry" includes a number of State agencies, non-profit agencies and for-profit agencies, as well as members of the academy (592). He argues that the "prisoner reentry industry" has gone beyond reentry agencies to become a "state of mind" (590). A discourse has grown up around the process of reentry and there is a focus on the formerly incarcerated individual as someone in need of management and control (Nixon et al. 2008). In the discourse surrounding reentry, formerly incarcerated persons are presented as being reformable and reentry becomes about "managing victimization" (30). Thompkins argues that the "prison reentry industry" does have a produce a "raw material" and produces "a source of cheap labor". Wacquant is also critical of reentry programs, but he argues against the concept of a "prison reentry industry". He argues that the reentry programs are "an extension of punitive containment" and a component of the "institutional machinery of hyperincarceration" (2010:

616). Reentry programs, with their focus on poor individuals with criminal records, function as the counterpart of the "punitive workfare" that targets women and children in poor communities.

Clear points to the recent growth of reentry programs as the result of prison growth. Reentry programs become incorporated with parole in the web of surveillance that contributes to high rates of recidivism (2010: 586). Clear argues that these programs employ people who have been incarcerated or "who bear close association" with the populations from which prisons are drawn to monitor people who have recently been released. Kelly, an individual who had attended four of the largest reentry programs in the New York area, was also critical of the positions that are available to the graduates of the employment sections of the reentry programs. These include porter, low level janitorial positions and sales associate positions (2010: 495).

Nixon et al. point to the phenomenon of "reentry mania", an increased focus on reentry after as an increased number of people began leaving prisons and the federal government began providing support for prison reentry programs (2008: 22). They argue that there has been the development of a new form of racism, "population racism", that has developed as reentry has become institutionalized and the population being devalued through practices of surveillance and control outside of the boundaries of the prison (22). Reentry programs are seen as an element of a neoliberal program of "therapeutic control" that is founded in the promise of "marketability" (30). The reentry programs focus on the individual and attempt to remake the formerly incarcerated person as a safe and good employee. It is possible to conceptualize a "prisoner reentry industry" with a stated end product – a formerly incarcerated person who is rendered safe and capable of holding a position in service industries.

Second Chance is caught in these contradictions of reentry. On one hand, the agency has a history as a self-help organization and many of the employees are formerly incarcerated

persons. On the other, it relies on funding from a number of sources including government grants, private donors, and foundations. The agency also relies on relationships with parole, probation and the federal residential reentry centers. Like other social services agencies, Second Chance, is caught in a web of relationships with social services providers and the State.

Like other organizations that had their roots in social movements, specifically the rape crisis and domestic violence shelters that were developed during the 1970's and 1980's, Second Chance is becoming involved with the control needs of the State. Bumiller argues that the goals of rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters began to change as neo-liberal policies began to enter the social welfare systems (2008: 108). Rape crisis and domestic violence shelters were the result of the efforts of the grassroots, self-help groups. As these groups grew and began serving more women, they began to face internal and external pressures to increase bureaucratization. As the issue of violence against women began to get increased attention from the State, the institutions and agencies that had historically been involved in management of women and children.

Second Chance is also becoming implicated in the controls exercised by criminal justice institutions. Students are referred by parole and probation officers, with attendance as a requirement for parole and probation. Federal prisoners who reside in the local halfway houses pending release to parole, are also required to attend the Career Development classes. This means that the autonomy of the institution is difficult to maintain. For the students within the classes the agency is seen to be part of the other institutions of social control within their lives. Bryan, the Soft Skills Trainers, does attempt to run interference between class participants and their parole or probation officers. He will make phone calls to officers to try to rearrange a class participant's parole or probation meetings so they can attend class. He tells each class that "I'm

not McGruff (the Crime Dog)" in order to deal with student fears about their information being shared.

One of my respondents, Joe, described his experience the way in which Second Chance had become intertwined with State agents of social control.

> *Joe is waiting for his Parole Officer. There are about 40 other men in the room. The men are African American and Hispanic. They are hanging out – killing time. The Parole Officers are located behind a partition and they go in and out the door. Joe hears the door and then sees someone he recognizes. Doug, an outreach employee from Second Chance comes out from the office. Doug begins to yell at the room. I'm so happy that you people [Joe emphasizes this.] are here. If you people want to change your lives, come down to Second Chance. After some further remarks, Doug turns and goes back into the office, slamming the door.*

Joe feels that Doug has become identified with the Parole Officers – the same social control agents that he experiences on his visits and who can violate his parole and return him to prison. Joe stated that he was most upset by the sound the door made as it slammed. The sound of the door reminded him of the prison and he momentarily made the connection between Doug, the Second Chance and the prison. Joe also understood the outreach employee's behavior as indicating that he sympathized with the parole officers and not with the agency's client population.

Second Chance is experienced by the students in the Career Development class in the context of other reentry and social service programs. A number of students had attended other programs – some had attended numerous programs. The primary issue that the class participants raised about other programs was difficulty obtaining suitable positions. Students reported having been sent for temporary positions. This contributed to student's understandings of the quality of the program. Although Second Chance is one of the most reputable programs in the region, there were students who approached the program as another merry-go-round.

The Career Development program is very much a disciplinary space. Foucault had envisioned the prison as a key disciplinary space within modern society (1977). However, in the era of mass incarceration the prison is focused on incapacitation. The responsibility for rehabilitation and discipline has been shifted to reentry services agencies such as Second Chance and other social service agencies such as Goodwill Industries.

Research Procedures

Participant Observation

The majority of the participant observation was conducted in the context of the Career Development class. This class ran for 10 days and the class size ranged from 5 to 40 people. I attended the Career Development classes, three days a week (six days out of a ten day course of classes) as a participant observer. I sat in on the Career Development classes, took part in class activities, helped the staff with paperwork and copying and had lunch in the common areas of the building. I had the ability to observe interactions between students and between students and staff. On occasion, I was able to sit in on the staff meetings at which the staff members discussed which students were going to pass the class and which students would have to repeat all or part of the class. I was also able to engage in informal conversations and formal interviews with students and staff members. I attempted to match my dress to that that was expected of the students, business casual attire, with interview attire expected on mock interview days. I also attempted to conscientiously abide by the class rules in an attempt to minimize the distance between myself and the students. I also worked to align my behavior with that of the class. With only three exceptions, I did not divulge classroom material to the agency staff. In one case, there was the potential for physical violence occurring between class participants. In the second case, a

female participant reported being made to feel uncomfortable by another participant. In the third, the staff was lacking some important information about one participant's history of victimization. In all cases, other participants were present and taking in the discussion and there was no expectation of confidentiality.

I was generally not able to take field notes during the classes as it distracts the students. However, there were times that I had the notebook with me so that I could copy down the scripts and assignments given by the instructors and discretely make jottings. At times, I also used the notebook as a reminder to the students, so that no one would say anything that could potentially be problematic (admitting to a crime for which they have not been tried, or planning a crime) in my presence. I wrote my field notes during lunch and class breaks when time permitted or during evening after the classes.

Field notes were coded by hand and with Weft QDA (a freeware qualitative analysis software application), utilizing the techniques set forth by Emerson et al. (1995). This approach was used because of the situated nature of technique and the recognition by its creators that analysis is "at once inductive and deductive" (144). In addition, given the use of phenomenology as one of the key methodologies guiding the research process, the researcher is approached, not only as a data collector, but as "the primary instrument through which data are collected" (Smith 1998: 216). Following Smith, reflexive notes were maintained by the researcher for both interviews and daily interactions in the field site. The first run at analysis involved the use of open coding to identify key themes and then followed by focused coding (Emerson et al. 1995: 150-5; 160-2).

Techniques from the practice of autoethnography were incorporated to better investigate the researcher's "multiple layers of consciousness" (Ellis 1999: 673). In an attempt to improve

the representation within the field notes, the field notes are revisited and new versions are written as the researcher gains new insights. The versions are then compared to the earlier versions. The goal is to "have as many sources and levels of the story recorded at different times as possible" (Ellis 1999: 673).

Interviews

Formal interview subjects were recruited from the student body. Obtaining formal interviews was difficult and required building up a significant amount of rapport with the interviewee. The field site did not want me to offer payment for interviews, and this made recruiting subjects quite difficult, as the interview process was time intensive for the subjects. For this reason, the majority of my interviews were conducted in the context of informal discussions over lunch or on breaks. The formal interviews were semi-structured and focused on the subjects' experiences within the prison and outside of the prison. Subjects were given a copy of the waiver of consent form and the content of the form was discussed prior to the interview. Subjects were also asked for permission to record the interviews. Eight formal interviews were conducted and all but one of the interviews was recorded. Consent for the interviews was waived, due to considerations of confidentiality. This was done because of worries that interview subjects might bring up past criminal acts for which they had not been charged. All information that could be used to easily identify individuals was removed.

Informal interviews were also carried out with class participants and with some staff members. Informal interviews often occurred over lunch or after classes. Subjects were also given waiver of consent forms. The informal interviews were unstructured. Generally, they were started with me asking for an explanation of events that had occurred in classes and these developed into long conversations. On occasion, the informal interview would be initiated by

class participants who wanted to raise particular concerns about the class. In the case of the informal interviews, I was not able to make recordings. Field notes were written out as soon as possible after these sessions.

The interview questionnaire (available in Appendix A) for the semi-structured interviews was guided by the techniques of phenomenology and critical ethnography. The questionnaire focused on what Katz describes as "how questions" (Katz 2001: 445) and Madison terms "descriptive questions" (Madison 2012: 31). The goal was to elicit "personally historicized, temporally formatted responses (Katz 2001: 445). Structural questions were used to elicit deep explanations of experiences (Madison 2012: 32). Interview subjects were asked to describe a typical day in the prison and about their responses to commonplace events such as shopping or commuting.

Interviews were transcribed and were coded by hand and with Weft QDA. In addition, notes were taken during the interview to ensure that the interview subjects' reactions to questions and other nonverbal responses could be recorded. In the first run through the data core themes were identified. On later readings, subthemes were identified. Interviews were analyzed with Burawoy's provisos for conducting analysis of interviews were employed. Burawoy notes that it is important to understand the external field or the "conditions of existence within the locale in which the interview occurs" (Burawoy 2009: 49).

Consent Procedures

The staff and students are aware of my presence and verbal consent is obtained from all of the students. Unanimous consent was required for me to attend a class. Before the beginning of the first class in the two week-long series, I would introduce myself to the class, describing the purpose of the study and the methods used. I also made waiver of consent forms available for

the students. When new students entered the class, as would sometimes happen on the second or third day, I introduced myself in order to ensure informed consent. Class participants were also told that if they felt uncomfortable at any point, or if they wanted me to step out in the case of something personal being discussed, they could ask me to leave. If a student expressed discomfort with my presence, I do not attend that session and wait for the next to resume fieldwork. This is out of respect for the fact that it was necessary for the class to function as a safe space. The population of incarcerated individuals as a whole has, in the past, had a strained relationship with researchers. In general, I have found that the students were willing to share the class. Some participants treated me as a non-entity, while others wanted to be actively involved in my research and engaged me in conversation.

Interview subjects were given a copy of the waiver of consent form and the content of the form was discussed prior to the interview (see Appendix B). Subjects were also asked for permission to record the interviews. All but one of the interviews was recorded. Consent for the interviews was waived, due to considerations of confidentiality. As a researcher, I was concerned that subjects might bring up offenses for which they had not been charged, or that they may bring up current illegal activity such as drug use. All material from the interviews was confidential.

Potential Research Bias and Limitations

One potential source of bias in the study is the fact that I am using an institutional setting to carry out my field work. This was done for a number of reasons. For the purposes of testing the theory of the habitus I required a site in which individuals who were leaving the prison were attempting to addresses and rework aspects of the *carceral habitus*. I also required a site in which I could make comparisons to individuals who had not been in a carceral institution, those who had done time in jail and those who had been out of prison for varying periods of time. I

also required a site in which I could be assured of being safe. However, this introduced some issues. First, I became involved in some of the power dynamics present in the field site. I was most often seen as aligned with the staff members – by both the staff and the members of the class. In some cases participants were worried that I would carry back stories to the staff.

Another source of bias is the fact that many of the class participants, at least at first, were self-referred. This means that my research subject may have been at least partially the product of self-selection and that I might be seeing those individuals who were more self-motivated and had more of the social capital necessary for successful reentry. This was brought to my awareness in the context of a conversation with prisoner rights activist. She argued that at Second Chance I would tend to see the individuals who were better prepared for reentry. However, from the beginning, there had been a number of individuals who were required to attend classes – young adults participating in Alternatives to Incarceration programs and individuals located in a federal residential reentry program. The number of individuals who were required to attend by parole, probation and even substance abuse treatment programs increased as my field work progressed as the agency developed stronger relationships with other agencies and parole and probation departments. The program also began to undertake a broader outreach program, moving beyond using word of mouth by advertising its services. However for the purposes of my study, even if I only was able to observe those individuals who were the most well-prepared for reentry that would not necessarily have impacted the study. We would expect that individuals who had more access to the capital necessary for reentry to have an easier time with the reentry process and display less of the *carceral habitus*.

Race and ethnicity also played a significant role in introducing bias into the study. I am white and the majority of the participants and staff within the Career Development program were

African American and Latino. In some ways, this limited my access. African American women, in particular, were more likely to regard me with suspicion. In some ways, my race and ethnicity facilitated access. Class members often saw me as an employee – something I worked to dispel – or as a social worker who could solve problems or act as a broker. Not only did the interviews and questioning involve the symbolic violence inherent in eliciting information, but the fact that my respondents' identified me as a person who may have had power over resources made the situation problematic (Hastrup1992: 122). This may have increased the element of "inauthenticity" that is exists in interviews and the participant observation of the class due to the intrusive nature of the encounters (122). Race and social class issues also impacted my interpretation of aspects of life in my field site. When it came to issues of necessity and daily living, these were sometimes difficult for me to understand on the deeper level of the structuring of daily life. I attempted to do this through the use of phenomenological interviewing, making detailed observations and using an intersectional or standpoint analysis (Smith 1992; Hill Collins 1998).

Race and ethnicity posed another significant issue for my research. To some extent it limited the information I was able to access. For example, I was not able to find anyone who was willing to speak with me about their interactions with CO's (Corrections Officers). The subject only came up once in the context of the class and during interviews and informal conversations respondents repeatedly steered the conversation away from the topic or became angry. They would speak about interactions with other incarcerated persons, even interactions with police, parole officers or staff at the federal half way houses or in programming. Generally their narratives were focused on moments when they were agentic, not on moments of victimization. I had interpreted this as relating to issues of a need to demonstrate autonomy, even within the

context of the total institution. However, when I discussed this finding with an African-American colleague who interviewed formerly incarcerated African-American men about their experiences in prison, she reported that her respondents would speak about their interactions with CO's, even in the cases where they had experienced victimization. Some of this may be due to the differences in the settings of the interviews, my interviews were conducted in a setting in which the respondents were pushed to focus on agentic behaviors. However, I would also argue that for an African-American or Latino man being asked to recount traumatic incidents involving CO's, who are most often white men, to a white woman, is painful. For the one white man with whom I was able to conduct a formal interview (He had served time in a county jail and a federal facility), his concern was less with the CO's and more with his fellow prisoners. I have heard of white prisoners working to develop relations with CO's as a way of ensuring safety.

An additional methodological concern was potentially contributing to the fetishization of the African American and Latino male inhabitants of the inner city noted by Rios (2011) and Young (2007). In my field site, the students were involved in what were often prosaic activities. There were very few who appeared to be seeking to return to "the life". Most, particularly the older men and women with families, were focused on finding employment and achieving independence – extremely normative pursuits. We chatted about our kids. Younger men were trying to have fun, given the constraints of the class, and flirting when young women were present in the class. Following Bourgeois' work in *Righteous Dopefiend*, I have attempted to convey this normalcy and place their actions within an institutional context (2009).

Stupid White Girl Stuff: The Scholarly Habitus

"You have a child? I can't believe it, you're too carefree." (Marie, a participant in the career development program)

An additional source of potential bias is the researcher's own primary and secondary *habitus*. At times, the Career Development class participants did not seem to know what to make of me. They were aware that I had been sitting in on the classes and studying reentry for some time. I was repeatedly asked how much I was earning to conduct the study and many people were surprised to find that I was not being paid by the agency or state. This sometimes led to questions about my motivations.

Many of the participants in the class were quite aware of my access to academic leisure. It was very apparent in the fact that I could sit back and observe the participants, who were sometimes going through intense stress, as they worked to improve their interview techniques and modify the elements of the *carceral habitus*. I did not have to pass the mock interviews to access the job development services. I was not under constant observation and monitoring to ensure that I was acting "work ready". I didn't have the pressure of a parole officer threatening with violation of parole or mounting bills as I approached my field work.

I also experienced clashes between my scholarly habitus and that of my research subjects. These clashes were often a result of differences in our experiences with institutions. The labor market is a key institution in which the differences between my experience and that of my research subjects functioned as both a barrier to conduct of field work and a way to illuminate the necessities that constrain the participants in the classes.

> *Today, we are having a discussion about jobs and school – with a particular focus on higher education. The discussion is aimed at Maurice – a young African American man who is in the Alternatives to Incarceration program. Maurice is in his early twenties. He is talented and charismatic, but maybe a little immature. He writes poetry and rap lyrics in his notebook during breaks. The older guys have taken Maurice under their wing. They are talking to him about trying to go to college. Maurice is asking why he should bother – what would the point of the effort be – after all they haven't gone to college. It seems that the older guys feel that they now have too many responsibilities, are too old… but that Maurice can get go to school and get a good job – something they keep telling him he will need. Jen, the soft skills trainer who is running the class, has asked each of the older men to say something to Maurice. When Jen asks my opinion, I tell Maurice that he doesn't want to spend the rest of life doing hard work for minimum wage – it's not going to be fun when he gets older. The room goes silent and I'm on the receiving end of some dark looks. Darren, an African American man in his mid-thirties turns to me. "I had a scholarship to go to college – but I had to take care of my Moms and Pops (grandparents) – they took care of me…" He is clearly angry with me. The atmosphere in the room is chilly. During the lunch break I seek out Darren to see if I can patch things up. He's sitting on the couch in the break area. I explain that I had worked as a nurse's aide and injured my back, and that this was the source of my comment. We spend the next half hour talking about the differences in the situations.*

This field note is an illustration of a clash of the habitus of the ethnographer and her research subjects. Prior to graduate school, I had spent a significant amount of time working in jobs that were part of the feminized sectors of the secondary labor market – including fast food, work as a nurses' aide, and as in-home health care provider. However, my habitus is informed by an upwardly mobile working class background of my family. Manual labor is not looked down on, but neither is it something to which one should aspire. Middle class occupational pursuits are highly valued and there is an expectation that even if you start working in manual labor or retail, you will attend college and work to move up to more appropriate middle class labor. For me, this is largely a possibility due to privilege due to a number of factors, including: my race and ethnicity; the development of middle class socioeconomic background; and access to cultural capital afforded to me by various educational institutions.

For the men in the class, manual labor is a necessity imposed by the interactions between race, social class and for many, their status as formerly incarcerated persons. Their positions are also highly unstable and located within the secondary labor market (Western 2006 89). In this class, as in the majority of the other classes, the men in the class were looking for positions involving janitorial work, construction and warehouse work. I have some familiarity with the feminine side of this secondary labor, but for me these labor markets are not a certainty.

It is not likely that I will receive further injuries while taking care of the elderly, whereas for the men who participating in this session of the career development class future injuries due to physical labor are a virtual certainty. For Darren and the other older men in the class, my comments revealed the depth of my detachment from the field site and the lives of the men and women taking the class. At that moment in time, it established my position as that of a watching Subject and their positions as the objects of my research. After I made mistakes such as this, my approach was to try to speak with members of the class, highlight factors that I didn't understand and use these as a means of developing conversation and rapport.

Chapter 4 - THE DYNAMICS OF THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT CLASS

This chapter will describe the experience of attending the Career Development class. The Career Development class has a standard curriculum and set of pedagogical practices which are modified by the Soft Skills trainers and Job Developers. Some aspects of the curriculum changed over time as new staff members entered and I will note when these changes occurred, as well as the programmatic reasons for the changes. I will also introduce you to the key institutional players in the day-to-day running of the Career Development program.

Getting Oriented – "What direction do you want to go in?"

> *I arrive at site about 10 minutes early. This is my first session and I don't want to be late. It's a bit intimidating. I have no idea how this is going to work. I will be sitting in on the orientation today and classes on Monday.*
>
> *When I arrive, a few people are already there. The room is in the back of the 1st floor, down a hall. The room is rather small and a bit stuffy, with dark yellow walls, a large folding table, armless chairs and two pieces of paper with "rules" and "goals" written on them. I think that these must have been left over from one of the HIV or drug treatment support groups though they could probably apply to the CD classes too. As 9 am approaches, more people file in until about 22 men are there. Outside of the staff, I am the only female in the room. There is man in is 30's who appears to be Caucasian sitting in the front row. Everyone else is Latino or African American. The potential students are a mix of ages, some are teenagers from the ATI programs who are going to attend other programs such as CDL or computer training classes. Others will be attending the CD training, but at this point it is not clear which people will be taking the classes.*
>
> *Cynthia opens the orientation by welcoming us. She then proceeds to tell us a bit about her conviction and prison time before asking us about our experiences.*

The Career Development class at Second Chance starts on a Monday morning and lasts for two weeks. The participants are all required to attend an orientation that introduces them to the services offered by the agency. The first part of the orientation is spent with two staff

members, Cynthia and Ramon, who talk about their prison and reentry experiences. This is the way that most of the front line staff will introduce themselves as we go through the day. The majority of the front-line staff in the unit are formerly incarcerated individuals and this is one way of establishing one's bona fides. It is also a means of reducing the distance between the staff and program participants.

Cynthia and Ramon ask us for our names and then about our experiences. Here they are just looking to see what type of prison time that people have served, and they do not ask about the type of conviction. There are some pedagogical reasons for this. The staff are trying to figure out the composition of the class. The facilitator asks how many people are "long-timers" (people who have spent a significant amount of time in a state or federal prison) and how many people who are "short-timers" (people who have spent less than a year in jail). This is important because these individuals have very different needs. There are also differences between people who have served time in federal and state prison facilities. These differences have important implications for the cohesiveness of the Career Development class. The staff is also trying to build a feeling of acceptance and camaraderie among the participants. They are trying to send the message that the participants are among people who understand their experiences and examples of what they can achieve if they try hard enough. However, the staff studiously avoid asking about the type of conviction in this large, mixed group. This more sensitive subject will be broached later in the Career Development classes.

After the initial introductions, several staff people come in to discuss the different services that the agency provides. Each individual leads off by discussing their conviction and prison time. The services that are being offered run the gamut from assistance with child support cases to HIV testing, assistance accessing benefits and job development services. Some of the

class, the younger guys who are in the Alternatives to Incarceration programming will be taking part in job training classes offered by the agency and organizations with which the agency is partnered. After the conversations and presentations, we are given a break during which the people who choose to stay can get the ID's that they need to swipe to access the building.

After the break the orientation focuses on the Career Development class. The younger guys are gone. The staff of the Career Development unit all make an appearance during the orientation. They are all dressed down. T-shirts, hoodies and jeans seem to be the outfit of choice. During this time, the staff talk about their personal experiences and narratives of change. There is a focus on the redemptive value of education and work. The following narrative is typical of the first day.

> *Dave begins to talk about his personal experience (he has had 3 violent felony convictions) and the changes that he has had to make. He describes being part of "the life". He had cars and money. "I had the bread but I couldn't walk to the store with my kid to get milk without a bullet proof vest. Now I work two fulltime jobs and don't have as much money." He focuses on his change being about respect and being able to provide for his kids. Dave then tells the guys that they may have to leave some friends behind. He describes an interaction in which a friend, who was still on the same corner he was on when Dave went into prison, related to Dave as he would have in the past. "'Man, now you're back. We can really get things done.' I'd just spent 10 years in prison and you want me to help you get things done?" At this, the young Puerto Rican man in the back row talks about how he has changed his activities and he now hangs out downtown and goes to museums and participates in cultural activities.*
>
> *Dave emphasizes the importance of skills and education. "If you have the skills, the felony will matter less." "**You** have to do the work, we will assist."*

After the introductions, the staff lay out the rules for attending the Career Development program. Classes are supposed to start at nine in the morning. There is a dress code. Button down shirts and dress pants are preferred. We are told that if we do not have any dress clothes, other clothing is acceptable as long as it is presentable. Baggy pants, hats and do-rags are forbidden.

We will receive warnings, especially for the baggy pants. If we ignore the warnings, we will be asked to leave for the day and will have to make up the time during the next week. Lateness, wearing hats in the classroom and other infractions will lead to the participant having write a 500 word essay due the following day. Absences will result in having to make up days in order to graduate and access the Job Developers.

The Career Development program represents a significant investment in terms of time and resources. We are advised that they need to set aside a two week stretch without appointments between nine am and four am. The only allowable absences are appointments with a Parole Officer or a court date. There are no allowances for having to miss class for child care reasons. We are then hustled out of the room by counselors who will start the screening and intake process.

> *"You!" One of the staff members looks at me. He's an older guy – wiry and has a drill sergeant's voice. I look around a bit confused and turn to see if there is anyone behind me. "Yes, you!" He looks angry, like I'm wasting his time. I respond "Yes, sir!" "Come with me!" A little confused, I start to follow him down the hall. The program director is in the hall and she starts to laugh. "Sam, that's the researcher." Sam and I give each other embarrassed smiles.*

The intake process basically consists of a needs assessment and the staff make recommendations for services. My official understanding is that no one is turned away from the program. However, in discussions with a prisoner rights activist, she implied that there is an unofficial way of weeding people out and I was often seeing people who were in better circumstances. The time and resource demands did function as a way of filtering out potential clients. The need to devote two weeks to the program and the need to pay for at least some transportation costs (this increased when there were funding cuts) precluded individuals who were in precarious situations from being able successfully access the program.

The Career Development Unit Staff

The Career Development unit is staffed by the Soft Skills trainers, Job Developers, Retention Specialists and a number of supervisory staff. Members of the class have the most contact on a daily basis with the Soft Skills trainers. The trainers are responsible for the management of the class. The Job Developers come in to take over when the trainers need a break and run the mock interview days. When I started the fieldwork in 2008, the agency had enough funding to allow for hiring three Soft Skills trainers: Bryan, Jen and Madesio. Each of the trainers had their own personal style which made their classes very different.

The number of Soft Skills trainers fluctuated with the amount of funding the agency could access for the Career Development unit. When I started, there were three trainers. This allowed the agency to start a new class every week and have a staff member who could float between the classrooms and assist students. A couple of months into my fieldwork, Madesio resigned unexpectedly after a fight when the staff in the program made the decision to withhold graduation from one of his students. He was not replaced. The agency kept up the same schedule, but made the Job Developers take up some of Madesio's work. This stretched the Soft Skills trainers. There were many times that the trainers either ate lunch at their desks or, some days, didn't eat at all. It often struck me that a large part of their job was providing support for students during their transitions from prison and/or unemployment to the job search, and hopefully, employment. This involved a lot of handholding. Bryan and Jen were often managing student disputes and talking to students about their worries. They also called parole officers and other service providers, and generally were responsible for putting out whatever fires flared up during the day. The trainers were also responsible for working with class participants to develop their resumes.

Bryan and Jen kept up the grueling pace with a new class each week. This continued for about a year until Jen was laid off due to lack of funding. This left Bryan as the only trainer and he was responsible for two classes a month. During this period, Bryan ate in his office, when he ate lunch at all, and he kept the door open for students. The class sizes ballooned and it wasn't unusual to start with a class of more than forty participants. Jen was rehired after about 6 months. The agency kept offering two classes a month. This made things a bit easier for the trainers as one trainer could cover for the other as needed. This state of affairs only lasted for nine months. One day I came in, Jen's stuff was there, but she was gone. This meant that Bryan was back to being responsible for all of the classes. The classes were scaled back and the class schedule was changed to once a month. The class size increased again. The cutback in the number of trainers corresponded to an increase in the number of people who needed the services of the program. When the financial crisis hit, formerly incarcerated individuals who had been working experienced layoffs. When this was combined with the number of people who were had recently been released from prison and increased referrals from parole and probation officers it led to an increased demand for the classes.

During my fieldwork, Bryan was the keystone of the Career Development unit. Although he was a Soft Skills trainer and did not have supervisory status, his daily work kept the program running and for much of the time he was the only Soft Skills trainer. Bryan's biography is more similar to that of the majority of the participants in the Career Development class than many of the other staff members. Bryan was involved in drug dealing and was first arrested at age thirteen, "I was a good kid when I went in." After that first arrest, he was trapped in a cycle of being released, arrested and re-incarcerated for twenty years. Second Chance was his second

counseling position. He had transitioned over from another similar, but stricter program with some of the members of the supervisory staff.

A number of the men who came through the Career Development classes had run into Bryan in various prison programs. He was known as a "stand-up guy" and was well respected. Unlike many staff members, Bryan had not taken any college classes outside of what was available when he was incarcerated. He learned how to facilitate groups in prison and became a very skilled counselor. In classes, I watched him manage to reach people who were incredibly resistant and fought with him.

It is hard to square my image of Bryan as the talented counselor, family guy and source of support for many of the individuals who come through the program with the armed robber. At times, especially when he is trying to teach the class about smiling and making a positive impression during interviews, Bryan will shift – his face would shut down, his body would shift. Although he was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, when he would show the class the difference between his presentation on the street versus his presentation in the workplace, it seemed that he loomed. But, even when pushed in the context of the class he rarely became angry or raised his voice.

Jen was very different from Bryan. Tall, blonde and refined, she doesn't fit the "ex-con" image and I have watched many people do a double take when they enter the class when she is teaching. She has an upper-middle class background, and went to a relatively prestigious college. She also worked in the financial sector and had access to resources that were beyond many of the class participants. She has a history of heroin use and has served about eleven years in various jails and prisons. Her approach draws on her experience in therapeutic communities and in Narcotics Anonymous and she would draw on her own experience in recovery to start

discussions with the class. Students appreciated her ability to be able to switch between the middle class presentation of self that is expected in many service workplaces and the presentation of self she utilized in the hustle - “don’t let the Barbie Doll look fool you”. Much of her discourse focused on the impact of pride on her life course and the way that it can impact others’ lives.

Madesio was a quiet, soft-spoken Dominican man in his late forties. His gentle style and sense of humor helped to diffuse classroom situations. He left without warning following a conflict with supervisors over their decision to deny graduation and job development services to Kyle, a participant who had completed the program requirements.

The position of Job Developer is a particularly tenuous one. There was a particularly high rate of turnover that occurred within the department. Within six months, the majority of the Job Developers who were there when I started, had quit for new jobs or been laid off. Only one Job Developer, Daniel, held on and moved up the ranks to a supervisory position and was still employed by the agency when I finished my work. The Job Developers were responsible for developing and maintaining a book of employers. They had to develop relationships with prospective employers. They also made cold calls to businesses that had employment listings. The Job Developers spent part of the week out pounding the pavement trying to add new employers to their list. They provided support for people who had graduated the class, revamped resumes, and checked in with employers to monitor how placements were going. There were a number of Job Developers who were responsible for working with the Career Development class. I will introduce the Job Developers and the supervisory staff in the course of the text.

Entering the Career Development Class

The Career Development classes start on the following Monday morning. These mornings are usually tense. The participants don't know what to expect and want to start out on the right foot. Most get there early, but there are usually a couple of stragglers who used as examples for the other students.

> *I jumped on the train early this morning so that I would be sure to be in class by nine. Gina is behind the front desk. She smiles and says "Hi". I smile and wave back. I drop my backpack off in Bryan's office and hustle to get into the classroom on time. The room is small. There are about thirty or thirty-five people in a room that really sits only twenty people comfortably. A couple are talking quietly and others are listening to music, reading the paper or just zoning. The room doesn't have any windows so it is stuffy and hot and we are sitting on folding chairs pushed close together. Someone has body odor. There are only a couple of seats in front, so I am stuck in the front of the room. Its 9:05 now and we are waiting for someone to come in and start the class.*
>
> *I take advantage of the fact that Bryan is late to introduce myself to the class and run through my speech, letting everyone know who I am, about my study and about the consent process.*
>
> *About five minutes later, Bryan walks in. He's the Soft Skills instructor. He's tall, muscular, and a bit intimidating looking. Bryan moves in a way that makes him appear big – quiet but able to take care of business. (He's actually a bit of a teddy bear, but he presents for the class.)*
>
> *He looks around the room and notes the couple of empty chairs. He starts by asking people to state their names and what they hope to get out of the class. He has this great technique for remembering people's names. He goes down a row – at the end of each row he repeats the names. By the end – he can repeat the names of everyone in the class and he remembers them for the rest of the class. A couple of people walk in late. Bryan asks them for their names and writes them on the board. He then asks whether or not they attended the orientation on Friday. Bryan then tells them that they have to write a 500 word essay. This brings forth some protest.*
>
> *"Why were you late?"*
>
> *John replies, "I got lost."*
>
> *"When did you get up?"*

John mumbles that he got up at seven. "Where you come from?"

"The Bronx."

"What did you do last night?"

John mumbles something about watching tv.

"What time did you go to bed?"

Bryan proceeds to dissect John's choices, from the time he went to bed to his decision to get up at seven in order to get to Second Chance from the Bronx.

The first day of class is used to establish the routine for the next nine days. We fill out paper work, sign the contract and go through some confidence and team building exercises. During this first day, we are assigned a partner with whom we are supposed to make small talk. The Soft Skills Trainers hand out papers with suggestions for things that we should talk about and we are told that we should be able to answer some questions about our partner by tomorrow morning. There is no time set aside in the class for doing this, and we are told that we should do this during the break or after class has ended. The trainer also tells us to prepare for the "handshake and a smile" drill. When Bryan is running the class, he suggests that we practice smiling in the mirror tonight.

Lunch on the first day is when everyone sets up their lunch routine. Lunch is very important time. For people who leave the building, lunch time is the one chance to relax and not have to worry about being monitored by program staff. It is a chance to go out and have a conversation and blow of a bit of steam. You can talk about the program – complain or talk about plans without having to worry about someone pulling you aside and giving you feedback. Participants are being monitored by program staff continuously, even when on cigarette breaks because there is usually at least one staff member enjoying a smoke. Most people choose to dodge the cars on the major thoroughfare in order to go to the cheaper fast food places that offer

seating. The cheap deli down the block is often packed with people who are taking a break from waiting in line at the social services offices. The other restaurants that are nearby are a bit more expensive and the only affordable thing there is the pizza and there isn't really any seating so that people who go there often return to Second Chance to eat lunch.

> *I am walking over with everyone to see what food is available on the Boulevard. Getting there is a pain in the butt. The traffic pattern is crazy, the subway runs overhead and I feel like we're playing a game of Frogger (an old video game in which frogs had to make it across a busy road without getting hit). There is a heated political conversation about the presidential election. James is debating the presidential election with someone whose name I don't know yet. He turns around to me – "What do you think? I bet you're supporting Hillary?" I look back a little shocked and I reply "Just because someone is a woman doesn't mean that her policies will be woman-friendly." I add that I'm interested in some of Obama's policies and I'm probably going to support him as the candidate. James seems a bit surprised and that combined with the fact that we are trying to make it across the street without getting hit stops the political conversation. Most of us stick together and head for a little mall where there is a no name chicken place, a Subway and a Dunkin Donuts. When there we separate into groups depending on the conversations that we are having. I end up at a table talking with Jesse about life in the half-way house.*

For people who bring lunch or rely on the "bullpen sandwiches" and fruit that the program provides it is a bit harder to escape notice. The lunch area downstairs is just a little way from the Job Developers' offices. The lunch area upstairs is in an open space that is often occupied by teenagers who are taking part in youth programming and is often traversed by a variety of program staff. Staff may sit down and have lunch – especially downstairs. When I sat and ate with agency staff, I noticed that program participants were pretty careful to avoid sitting at the table even though there were seats and would instead sit in the little cubbies/enclosed desk areas that went along the inner wall of the large room. When I sat by myself, I was approached by men and women who were participating in the Career Development classes and in other educational programs offered by the agency.

The end of the first day is a presentation by Dave, one of the supervisors, about the meaning of the term "sodomy". He asks the participants what "sodomy" means. Usually there are a bunch of answers that tend to focus on "gay sex". Participants are generally surprised to learn that it also applies to any sort of oral or anal sex, including between consenting heterosexual partners. They are also surprised to learn that oral and anal sex, between consenting adults was once illegal. I was confused about the point of this and asked Jen, one of the trainers, to explain why it was part of the class. Jen told me that this exercise was used because of the fact that there are some individuals who have been convicted of sexual offenses who take part in the classes[12]. The exercise is an attempt to remove some of the stigma from the sex offense by demonstrating to the class participants that they would have been considered sex offenders in the not so and this continues in the class as well. The goal is to prepare the students for the disclosure of their convictions on the next day, when some of the students will have to disclose their sex offenses.

Disclosing the Offense and Managing Stigma

The second day of class is the day when students first have to disclose their convictions. Not everyone discloses on this day. Many of the women participants tend to be reticent and people with sex offenses are sometimes allowed to use another offense first and work up to the real offense in the mock interviews. The Soft Skills trainer who is in charge of the class usually starts by disclosing his or her own conviction.

[12] Most classes do not have individuals who have been convicted of sexual offenses. Generally, people with serious sexual offenses are referred to programs that specialize in sex offender treatments. The participants who have sex offenses in their backgrounds generally have lower level sexual offenses – conspiracy or possession of child pornography, but there have been some exceptions.

The Soft Skills Trainers utilize a combination of what Cain, in his study of stigma management and gay identity development, terms as "therapeutic" and "relationship-building" disclosures (1991: 69). Establishing that the staff member has had a conviction and has spent time "on the inside" helps to help to reduce stigma and unease that potential students may feel while at the same time reaffirming that they, too, can find meaningful employment. In addition, it signals that the staff member has an understanding of where the students are coming from and the challenges that the students face on a daily basis.

The soft skills trainers and job developers also "come out" by utilizing the *carceral habitus*. Although they are dressed in business attire and often present in role of employees working for a not for profit agency, the trainers will walk in specific ways when speaking to the class, move in and out of prison and street slang or put on the "screw face" both as a way of demonstrating to the students that he or she has been there, and to demonstrate that he or she has managed to control the *carceral habitus*. This is an important signifier of one's veracity.

> *Today, Jen is running the class. Jen is tall, blond and dresses expensively. She does not look like someone you would expect to find working in a non-profit agency, at least outside of management. After class starts we begin talking about the conviction question. She begins to talk about her convictions and the prison time that she has served. While she is doing this her speech patterns change. Her voice gets lower and her body position shifts. She steps back a little – one shoulder drops – and the corner of her mouth drops. It is kind of like watching someone unzip and step out of a costume.*

Generally, it is expected that all of the instructors and students will disclose their convictions at some point. Failure to do so is seen as holding back and acting as if you are better than others.

This became apparent to me in regards to my presence during a session of practice interviews.

> *Duane, one of the students, is pushing me to take part in the practice interviews. I guess that he feels that turn-about is fair play, after all, I have been observing them for over a week. As I go up to the front of the room to do my practice interview with Madesio (one of the trainers), I slip into my Tae Kwon Do*

instructor mode. I walk in a way that makes me look bigger and I become aggressive, putting my hand out instead of waiting for the interview to present his hand, and taking control of the interview. Madesio, who is acting as the interviewer looks a little taken aback… At the end of the interview, the students critique my interview, focusing on how I was tapping my foot and put my hand out to be shaken before Madesio offered his. Jeffery chimes in incredulously, "She did the perp walk. I've never seen a female do the perp walk." Some of the others nod and the class turns to look at me. Duane adds in a half-joking manner "Do you have something you forgot to tell us, Dee?" (At lunch a couple of days before, Duane had tried to convince Darryl, as a joke, that I had been in an armored car robbery. Duane is very good at telling stories and had Darryl convinced. At the end of the joke, I had to deny that I had served time or had a conviction.)

Although the atmosphere was jovial, there was a sense of questioning about my veracity. The men in the class did not want me to have been observing and participating in the class while hiding the very thing that they had worked so hard to disclose. This had also come up in a prior class, when the one of the students came up to me at the end of a class and mentioned that he had spent the time before I was introduced wondering what I could have done to be incarcerated and that he thought must whatever it was must have been something bad.

The act of coming out is accomplished by the Soft Skills trainers choosing a student to start off. This doesn't seem to be completely random. Sometimes, Bryan or Jen will ask for a person who feels comfortable starting off. At other times, Bryan may start off with a person who he knows from prison or with whom he has built up a rapport on the first day. Then Bryan or Jen will ask for volunteers. After the first couple of volunteers it often becomes necessary for Bryan or Jen to pick people out. Most often the conviction is for possession of a controlled substance or possession with intent to sell. Often the women are the most nervous about their convictions. Sometimes, when of the younger women has a conviction for something like assault, the younger guys will say "whoa". This is generally the extent of the responses to offenses. Sometimes, people with more minor offenses such as turnstile jumping or shoplifting may get some gentle ribbing – "I wish that was mine". Even when individuals with sex offenses disclose their

convictions, there is little response. The only time that I saw what might be construed as a negative reaction was the time when Doug, a participant who had a charge for possession of child pornography was discussing his charge. One of the guys behind him turned and gave me a quick, startled look like he was trying to gauge my reaction. I tried to keep my face carefully neutral because I was worried that any reaction from me might lead to Doug being hassled.

After the discussion of the convictions, the participants learn to answer the dreaded "conviction question". The "conviction question" is on the majority of job applications. The question is usually at the bottom of the application. "Have you been convicted of a criminal offense (felony or misdemeanor)?" In the past, it was possible to not fill out the box and fly under the radar, but since 9-11 increasing numbers of employers conduct background checks. These checks are run by a paid service or by searching the publicly available New York State Department of Corrections prisoner database and county jail databases. It is still possible to find jobs for which disclosure of the conviction isn't necessary, but this involves limiting yourself to short-term or off-the-books employment (Harding 2003: 581).

Discussing the conviction question is a pretty tense situation. Many people in the class have disclosed their convictions in job interview settings and not had good responses so there is a lot of trepidation. Michael, whose experience is detailed in the footnote below had a particularly difficult and unsettling experience with an interviewer who seemed to be getting off on asking inappropriate questions about Michael's conviction. This isn't the most common type of experience but it is a common fear. The most common response is that the interviewer terminates the interview after the conviction comes up.

> *While Jen is going over the script for answering the conviction question and having other class members practice their version of the conviction question, Michael, an African-American man in the front row, begins to express discontent about the script. Michael has a murder conviction for which he was given a life*

sentence [I find out next week that he had a murder rap at 14. It looks like he has spent at least 20 years inside.]

Michael states that he took a CD class at another agency, used a similar script and hadn't had a job offer after a frustrating job search. He adds that he knows some other guys with similar convictions who also had trouble in with their job search. While saying this, Michael becomes visibly more agitated. "There's no way you can make murder sound good."… He's almost in tears – in that part angry, part sad stage. Michael begins to speak about an experience he had with an interviewer who kept asking morbid questions about his offense, how it happened, etc.

Jen tells him that every now and then you will get an asshole. You just have to continue. Michael becomes increasingly agitated. The room goes dead quiet. Bryan has stepped into the room to observe and he joins Jen in the front of the room. Bryan begins to talk to Michael. "You think people don't want you. I've done just about everything a person can do – my rap sheet rolls out to 9th Ave. Look at me – here I am." (Bryan had been incarcerated in one form or another from the age of thirteen until he was released several years ago and came to Second Chance.) When the supervisor, Dave comes into the room and walks into the ongoing discussion, he too begins to speak about his convictions and record. "I've done just about everything you can think of… I have three violent felonies…" By this point Michael is too far gone. He is angry, ashamed and can't collect himself. Finally Dave and Michael bring him out into the other room for a talk. The room is still quiet and Jen tries to restart the class. It falls flat, and even Duane (the funny guy who is the class leader) can't break the tension. Jen gives us a break.

Michael's experiences and his outburst in class were more extreme than what usually happens, but there is a significant amount of fear that surrounds the disclosure of one's conviction. The women in particular seem to have trouble with their conviction. One young woman, Janelle, was so upset about having to discuss her conviction that I was sure it was a conviction for child abuse. It turned out that her conviction was for shoplifting. The amount of clothing she had taken bounced the charge up to grand larceny but this was nothing serious in comparison to the convictions of other participants. However, she was very ashamed and would become angry and resistant when Bryan attempted to do practice interviews with her.

All of the practice at disclosing the conviction is very important. Failure to disclose the conviction is grounds for dismissal, and as falsifying a legal document leaves one open to criminal charges. Thus, individuals with convictions must disclose their convictions and are not allowed to attempt to "pass" in Goffman's sense of the term (1963). In addition, their parole or probation officer may call their workplace, thus outing an individual who has managed to pass. This was the experience of Morton, a well-dressed and well-spoken middle class man who had utilized his extensive retail experience to secure a retail position, but was terminated immediately after his conviction was disclosed. Don, who had found a job as a baggage handler at one of the New York airports, without disclosing his conviction, described being marched out of the airport in handcuffs along with others who had not disclosed. Basically the airline had finally run the background check and turned them in to the police. Luckily, the airline declined to press charges. In addition, individuals who have had felony convictions are not eligible to hold many licenses or certifications and are generally unable to apply for civil service positions.

In New York State, employment discrimination against an individual on the basis of a criminal conviction is prohibited except in particular cases by New York Correction Law Article 23-A. The two exceptions to Article 23-A are: 1) the presence of a direct relationship between the previous criminal offense and the license or employment that the individual is seeking; and 2) the granting of employment involving an unreasonable threat to the safety or welfare of individuals or the public (Doe Fund; 2009). This law is relatively new, and it is particularly difficult to prove discrimination. Based on reports from participants in the Career Development class, there are a number of employers who discriminate based on an individual's conviction. For example, when Malcolm tried to apply to Fed-Ex, he was informed that the company did not hire individuals with felony convictions. Other companies use the answers to the conviction question

as a preliminary screening device – sorting out the call-backs from the applications that go into the trash.

Before we practice the conviction question, Bryan, Jen and Madesio pass out Xeroxed copies of the New York State Penal Law Code to the class. I was always surprised by the number of participants in each class who did not know the Penal Law Code number for the offense with which they were charged. Often, the majority were not clear on technical name for their offense. At first I was confused by this. How was it possible to go through the court proceedings and not know what the charges were? Didn't lawyers explain these things? After classroom discussions, the reasons for this became apparent. The most common experience for those who had a conviction was a plea agreement and many did not have a significant amount of interaction with their attorney. In general, they were not empowered to be active participants in the criminal justice process. Even though they were aware of the right to an attorney, they felt powerless. Bryan, one of the Soft Skills trainers reported going in front of the court and just pleading to the charges that were read without understanding what they were. Although some of the participants had more understanding of the legal experience, there was only one person, outside of the occasional middle-class and upper middle-class individuals with federal charges, who had the cultural capital to be able to navigate the criminal justice system. This was Jamal, a former jailhouse lawyer, who learned to draft appeals while in prison. The experience of Santosh, a young man who is attending the class as a requirement of his probation, was more normative.

> *Today we are discussing convictions in preparation for learning how to answer the conviction question. Santosh is a smallish young man of South Asian descent. He sticks out in this class and is very shy and withdrawn. He seems to be in a state of shock. He tells us that he was walking home one evening when he was jumped by two men. Terrified for his life he began to try to fight back. He didn't realize that the men were undercover police who were after someone else. Santosh was beaten, taken down to the station and charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer. He didn't know what to do. He didn't know how to*

access a lawyer and eventually went along with a plea deal for a charge of assaulting a police officer. A couple of the younger guys ask why he went along with the deal.

Individuals who have convictions must disclose their conviction on their employment applications. They are legally required to "out" themselves and expose their situation, beginning with filling out the application. Students are advised on how to answer the stigma a prospective employer may attach to their convictions. The students are advised to take control of the question "Have you ever been convicted of a misdemeanor or a felony?" by writing down the Penal Law Code for their most recent and or most serious conviction. Convictions are handed out under sections of the New York State Penal Law Code or the Federal Penal Law Code. For example, offenses involving marihuana are prosecuted under sections 221.00-221.55 of the New York State Penal Law Code. So if a conviction was for criminal possession of marijuana in the third degree (possession of more than 8 ounces and less than 16 ounces), the applicant should write the following: *NYS PL 221.20. Will explain further if granted interview.* The rationale behind this action is that it increases the formerly incarcerated person's control of information and employers will be less likely to simply judge someone on the basis of numbers that they probably won't understand. It also positions the applicant in a better position to resist the stigma of a conviction through the use of a specific disclosure script.

The conviction question script functions as what Goffman terms a "corrective process". The students, unable to avoid the conviction which diminishes their worth in the eyes of the employer must recognize their conviction and then "re-establish the expressive order" of the interview by repositioning themselves as non-threatening, productive and friendly individuals (1967: 12-23). The script, seeks to turn the experience of "outing" to an experience of 'coming out' in which the formerly incarcerated individual uses language to craft an identity for the

interviewer (Chirrey 2003: 27). It is an interactional speech act seeking to alter the view that the interviewer has of the formerly incarcerated individual, and to "have the force of causing the listener to change his or her perspective on the world to accommodate this new information" (Chirrey 2003: 30). This meshes not only with the desire of the job seeker to obtain employment, but also with the stated political goals of Second Chance. Below is a sample script that James, a participant in the Career Development class prepared for use in his job search.

> *In 1998 I was convicted of manslaughter. I was sentenced to fourteen years. After serving ten years, I was released on **good behavior** [emphasis added]. While I was incarcerated I decided to turn my life around and help others. I began to work with individuals who had HIV/AIDS and I obtained certification to work with this population. I also worked in the law library and I have become a paralegal. During the evenings, after work, I sought to further my education. Since my release, I have attended a career development class at Second Chance, I have been seeking employment in the field of HIV/AIDS counseling, and I am striving to become a contributing member of society.*

The script attempts to desensationalize the offense that led to incarceration. It focuses on the fact that James was released early for meritorious conduct and on the fact that he has worked to become a person who is capable of helping others. Robert, an individual with a serious sexual offense modified the script slightly. He went on longer, detailing his work in the facility as an HIV/AIDS counselor and his absolute dedication to the field. By doing so, he was seeking to establish himself as a caring person rather than a potentially dangerous individual.

Usually, the remainder of the second day of classes is devoted to practicing the answer to the conviction question and to learning the answer for the "tell me about yourself" question. We are taught something called the "thirty second sound bite" – it includes work experience, education, hard skills and soft skills. To teach us how to do this, Bryan would pick a job – usually he would start with a janitorial or maintenance position. He would ask for the different tasks that you had to be able to perform. The class would start answering back. "How to operate

the buffing machine." "Safety procedures". "Sweeping, mopping, and stocking the bathrooms…" We also identified the qualities that employers wanted in new hires: self-starter; works well alone or with others; very concerned with providing customers with a great experience… Practicing the conviction question and the "thirty second sound bite" took up most of the second day.

Learning to Interview

The third day of the class is devoted to preparing for interviews. The class participants are getting ready for the mock interviews, the first of which will be held the next day. This is very stressful. Everyone has to interview and get feedback in front of a room full of other people. Taking part in an interview with the knowledge that you will have to respond to the conviction question is difficult. Especially since there is a fear that even if you knock the rest of the interview out of the park and establish good rapport with the interviewer, answering the conviction question may shut you down. The students are particularly stressed out about the mock interviews because they are required to do well on both interviews in order to graduate the program and access the services of the Job Developer.

Generally the Soft Skills trainers and Job Developers are very supportive of the participants and the participants are also supportive of each other. The Soft-Skills Trainers and Job Developers try to maintain an atmosphere of genial humor in which missteps are acknowledged through teasing and gentle ribbing. They would work with the students to create a supportive environment. For example, Anthony was a middle-aged Italian man who had recently come home from prison. He was quiet, ashamed of his conviction and his chemical dependency and often seemed to be sad. He was convinced that his conviction would prevent him from

working as a long-haul truck driver. Jen led the class in being very encouraging of Anthony and tried to help him by bolstering his self-esteem. We would talk about things that we had accomplished and Jen would work to get Anthony to say at least one good thing about himself.

Preparing for the mock interviews is a particularly stressful time. Both Bryan and Jen work very hard to maintain a safe atmosphere within the classroom. This is brought into relief in my field notes from a class in which one member, Jorge, did not participate in the emotion work required to maintain the "safe" atmosphere within the class room. Bryan, the soft-skills trainer, uses interactions with Jorge to demonstrate to the students appropriate responses to interpersonal challenges. When Jorge continues to violate the unwritten rules of class participation, Bryan takes corrective action to remind him of the rules.

> *When Bryan comes in, he announces that we will be watching all of the mock interviews today. Olumbé and Evelyn groan about having to see their interviews again. Bryan states that he "has a different style of critiquing than they [the Job Developers] do". He puts in the second DVD, which starts in the middle of Trent's interview. This causes the students to laugh. Once the DVD problem is sorted out, we start watching the interviews.*
>
> *Olumbé's interview is the first. He starts off nervous and forgets to complete the "30 second sound byte" answer to the "tell me about yourself" question. English is a second language and sometimes he stammers a bit. Bryan tells him to work on the stammering and assures him that it is just a matter of practice. Olumbé also needs a better answer to "What is a good reason for being late to work?"*
>
> *Jorge is back today. He apologized for missing the mock interview day. He has not been getting along well with the group. Jorge has a tendency to toss in his opinion without being asked and he makes long, rambling statements that no one can understand. This is exacerbated by his thick Dominican accent. After Olumbé's interview is finished Jorge makes a direct comment about how Olumbé doesn't look like he knows what he is talking about. At this, Evelyn rolls her eyes and Trent looks at me, grimaces and rolls his eyes. Olumbé appears to take this comment for what it is worth and explains that he is working on his presentation. Bryan explains to Jorge that Olumbé isn't a native English speaker and this is similar to speaking English after speaking Spanish your whole life. "You know how Spanish people get the order of words backwards. This is like that." This is a gentle dig at Jorge's English and a reminder not to get above himself. This seems to go right over Jorge's head.*

After Evelyn's interview, Bryan comments that Evelyn needs to relax and smile. She accepts the correction and agrees. Jorge, however, hasn't picked up on Bryan's earlier hints. He loudly tells her that she looks like she is lying. Evelyn snorts loudly and dismissively. He looks at her and says loudly, "You may not have been, but that's how it looked to me." Bryan senses a fight brewing. He gives a little speech about being able to accept criticism, even when it is given very bluntly. He looks at Jorge while saying it. Evelyn nods and appears to agree with the point. Jorge still doesn't seem to get it. He starts in again with "That's how I see it. You guys will get to laugh at mine."

Jorge continues to comment on other's interviews. After he comments on the next interview Bryan makes a face. He appears to be on the edge of losing his temper. He tells Jorge that he will set up his interview today and walks out of the room. When he comes back, he gives Jorge an application to fill out and tells him he has fifteen minutes. In twenty minutes Jorge asks for another application. Bryan tells him he only gets one. He also tells Jorge there is a problem with the camera, so he will be doing the interview in front of the class. Bryan starts to rearrange the table and chairs in the front to set up for the mock interview. Evelyn leaves to use the bathroom. Jorge also excuses himself. Bernard, an elderly gentleman who provides a quiet stream of jokes and support, says "I don't think we should do this. He just wants attention. We're just giving him what he wants." I'm also a bit squeamish about this. The comments about Jorge that were made when we were on break were pretty negative. Basically the other students feel that he just wants to hear himself talk and takes away from the class. They seem to be willing to have him overhear the negative conversation. I'm afraid this will become a nasty public shaming.

Bryan comes back in with Jim, a new Job Developer. Jim is a tall, rather imposing White man. He has a very working class manner. He reminds me of the members of the NYFD I've met. Actually, he reminds me very much of a police officer. I wonder what he is doing here. Bryan looks around for Jorge. "Where's he go?" Bernard answers "He's in the bathroom. He got nervous." This elicits a laugh from the group.

Jim sits down behind the table to wait. After a couple of minutes, Evelyn comes in. She looks around for Jorge and laughs when she sees that he isn't there. Finally, Jorge comes back. Bryan tells him his interview is about to start. Jorge still wearing his trench coat and his Bluetooth in his ear and carrying his large briefcase, goes over to the door and knocks. Jim tells him to come in. Jorge walks right up to Jim, introduces himself and sticks out his hand. Jim just stares at him. "First thing – don't offer your hand to the interviewer. It's rude." Jorge sits down. Things go downhill right away. Jorge doesn't know how to answer the questions and he offers longwinded, rambling answers. Jim fixes him with a "What the hell are you doing here?" look and his tone of voice becomes more

curt as the interview continues. I'm squirming in my seat. However, the other students are watching intently.

After the interview is over Bryan asks the students to critique Jorge's performance. I sink in my chair convinced that he's going to be ripped up. However, the students are quite restrained and offer their critiques in the gentle way that they have for everyone else. Jorge still doesn't seem to get it. He answers back defensively. "I told you I would do bad and you all would see." Bryan tells him to stop answering back. "Listen to the others. They are trying to give you good information." Evelyn seems to be feeling annoyed and she adds "You didn't know your answers. You seemed like you were lying." Bernard says "Turn around" and laughs. The comments are generally helpful and on point. The students tell Jorge not to offer too much information and to answer the questions directly. Bernard finishes his criticism with "We're trying to help you."

A great deal of work goes into preparing a safe space. Even with someone who is as difficult to deal with as Jorge is treated with a great deal of care and respect. However, it is not always possible to work with everyone.

Some of the participants in the class do not have work experience. This increases the amount of stigma and also makes it more difficult to attempt to find employment. Most of these students are young men, who are either coming home from their first incarceration, or are participating in the Alternatives to Incarceration programming. The Soft Skills trainers work to make these participants more confident.

After lunch, we begin to go over the conviction question. This section becomes problematic. I think that some of the men are testing her. Dillon and Andre in particular. Before lunch, she was covering the skills people could put on their resumes. Dillon asks what to do if you've never had a job.

Jen: *"How old are you?"*

Dillon: *"22"*

Jen: *"Did you deal drugs?"*

Dillon: *"Yes."*

Jen: *"You had to manage money right? You had to manage product. Did you have runners? You had to organize them. You had to know when the police were*

coming by & move your product before them. That's time management. " Addressing the rest of the class. "You have skills, you couldn't have survived the street or jail without skills. You were just using them the wrong way." Dillon protests. Jen tells him, "You need to learn to accept compliments. This goes for everyone. We're so used to hearing negative comments it's hard to feel good. Like if someone says something nice and I say thanks, but I I've gained 5 pounds all on my ass. Accept the compliment. "

Dillon keeps trying to challenge her and she gently swats him down. When she does this, the two older men in front of me laugh.

Sometimes, older individuals who had served long sentences after convictions that occurred when they were younger also had difficulty explaining their employment histories. Their only employment is often within the prison. In the prison, jobs are often referred to as "programming", not as jobs. Bryan made a point of stressing that the work that people did in the prison – running groups, working in the law library, cooking and cleaning floors – was work. 'What you did, was work. They may call it programming, but you worked!' Generally, the jobs are referred to as programming and are poorly paid – around forty cents an hour. No one thinks about putting them on their resumes. They are assumed to be lost, like the rest of the time spent in prison.

The practice interviews start after the break. Madesio does the interviews and Jen watches. Most of the guys are much more at ease. Most ace the conviction question by now. Charles, in particular, manages to make his serious conviction less of a part of him. He starts off – "These years were tragic ones for me… I was convicted of manslaughter and served twelve years…" He has served twelve years of a sixteen year bid. He is a quiet man who carries himself with an air of confidence and self-assurance that makes him stand out. He has 6 years of experience working as an HIV counselor and in the law library. He brings up his concern about the way his resume was written. Resumes are written with the positions that people served in, such as legal researcher, XYZ Law Library. The fact that the library is in a prison is left out with the exception of the city and state. Charles is concerned that this will make him look inconsistent. Jen and Madesio give him the institutional answers that listing the positions helps to establish competence and credentials before getting to the stigmatizing information about the conviction. Charles is concerned that this may appear inconsistent and might put him in a bad light. The discussion goes back and forth for a while with Margret and Madesio sticking to the agency line. Finally there

seems to be an agreement that Charles will take his resume to the job developer who will modify it to fit what job he's going for.

Generally, the classes maintain a very supportive environment in which the staff try to bolster the confidence of the participants. However the supportive environment cannot override some of the strains that class participants introduce into the class room.

The fourth day of class is the first mock interview day. The way in which mock interviews were conducted changed over the course of my observations. One of the things that remained constant was the fact the Job Developers ran the mock interview days. But as the staff in the Job Development department changed, the mock interview days changed and this led to a significant change in the cohesiveness of the classes.

At the beginning of my field work and for about a year after – Richard and Frasier ran the classes. Richard was a combination of stand-up comedian and revival preacher – he told the class that he won the Gong Show at Sing Sing several times. Frasier was a big guy, quiet with a ready smile. Frasier was very political and he was more of an activist. He generally conducted the interviews while Richard kept that class going. Richard approached the class as an opportunity to do some consciousness raising. He was particularly focused on removing the stigma of the conviction. The first part of the class is focused around team building and an exercise that Richard calls "X-ing Out the Ex-Con". This seems to be a powerful tool, and after he leaves the agency, the classes seem to lose some of their cohesiveness.

Richard starts by writing the word Ex-Con up on the board and asking people what the "ex" means to them. He gets a number of answers – no longer, previous, past, former, moved on. He asks about "con" and gets more answers - all of them negative – conviction, felon, game, convicted, trouble maker, criminal, stigma, and failure and loser (the last 2 come from Andy). Richard then tells the class that con can also mean something good – conviction or convicted. "I'm convicted not to go back… I have a conviction… These are things that can help you out."

> *Richard then talks about the change that he made from being a rather dangerous guy to a family man. It strikes me that his narrative owes much to that of Malcolm X in his autobiography. Richard had been involved in some very serious offenses, he mentions that the crime that led to his last conviction was very violent and lead to someone being paralyzed. He tells us about how he found himself in solitary after committing an assault. He says that he began to assess the situation that he was in and the damage that he had done to others. He was also facing a possible life sentence. Richard said that he ripped the back page of a bible and drew up two columns – where he was and what he wanted to be. He plays up how violent an individual he was, and then contrasts it to the church-going family man he had become.*

Richard was more focused on the inner strength of the individual and his or her resolve than on the power of the job as a tool for redemption. He does stress that work was important but for him it is a means to an end, not the goal. Many of the students seem to be more responsive to this message. The class would sometimes take on the feel of a revival, and there was more laughing than usual. I found that these classes tended to have a significantly lower level of anxiety. After Richard and Frasier had left the agency, a number of different Job Developers took over the mock interviews. The classes tended to be more pro forma. Generally, they shared interview techniques and conducted some cognitive behavioral interventions, discussing students' issues and helping them develop alternative ways of addressing issues. We also practiced interview techniques.

At first, the initial mock interviews were videotaped and then shown to the class later in the day or on Friday. The tapes were usually well received. People were nervous, but have the tapes critiqued seemed to be better received than having to do the interview and then receive the critique in front of the class.

Circle Day: What has been your biggest obstacle?

The second Monday of the class is a particularly important day in the context of building camaraderie within the class. This was "Circle Day", a time when the Soft Skills trainers would allow the students to speak about their challenges. We would start out each morning by putting all of the chairs in a circle. The trainers all lead this part of the class differently. Jen ran the class much more like a Narcotics Anonymous meeting with people sharing about their experiences and coming up with solutions together. Bryan would have one person talk, then by asking them questions try to guide them to a resolution of their issue.

> *Today is "Circle Day" and we have moved our chairs into a circle. Bryan is asking people to talk about the challenges that they have experienced during the first week and about what brings them back. For many people there are issues with juggling childcare or transportation. Davis says that he has had trouble with the humility that is needed to stay in the class and at times he would like to go out and do things his own way. But he has recognized that this hasn't worked so far. Bryan stays focused on Rob and the problem that Rob is facing. Rob has just come home from ten years in state prison. He hasn't really contributed much to the class, but that seems to be because he is shy and quiet by nature. He has been overshadowed in the class by some of the more outspoken individuals – Ralph has been rather loud and annoying, Larry is the dominant personality and Harry has required a good bit of attention.*
>
> *Rob tells us that he has been having problems because he is getting pressure from his family. It seems that his brother is still involved in the game and is trying to bring Rob back into his activities. He is feeling a lot of pressure – he has kids and needs to start bringing in some money and he has to do it now. Rob tells us that he getting some pushback from his family for spending time in the class and not immediately getting a job. Bryan asks how much money he thinks that he can earn over the long term working with his brother. "What happens if you get arrested?" Getting a job in the legit economy may take longer but at least he won't get arrested and he can be out for his kids. Bryan then brings in the rest of the class. The other guys seem to be concerned for Rob. Larry tells him that he can't be looking for others' approval and he needs to stand up for himself. The guys are pulling together to help Rob and try to suggest that he needs to focus on himself and his reentry process before he can think about supporting others effectively. (Unfortunately, on Wednesday, Rob comes in to talk to Bryan in the morning. He has had the offer of an off-the-books job washing dishes at a restaurant in his neighborhood. He has decided to take the job. He seems resigned rather than*

happy and there seems to be a feeling among the class that he is making a mistake.)

There was usually a second go round the "Circle" – this was more likely with Jen's class – when we were supposed to talk about what we learned during the prior week. Jen would remind us that "I don't want any BS about how you have learned to answer the conviction question, either." Usually, participants would focus on the need to change the way that they presented to others or on the need to change their routines to better fit a job. The day of support and the interview practice that followed were all precursors to the next day's activities – the stressful "ten and ten" exercise.

Leaving the Nest: Doing the "Ten and Ten"

Usually on Tuesday of the second week, or sometimes Thursday, if the class is running behind, we are sent out to do an exercise called "ten and ten". I was never really clear about the purpose of the exercise. The exercise was supposed to prepare people for the job search, but it often seemed to be a waste of time and counterproductive. Every member of the class is required to go out and stop in businesses and ask if they are hiring. They must bring back ten applications and ten businesses cards. This may have worked in the past, but now that more places are switching over to the online applications, it seems more like a futile exercise. Most of the chain stores such as Home Depot, Ikea, and McDonald's and even the storage facilities require that applications be submitted online. Even many of the smaller business owners are not necessarily thrilled to have people coming in unsolicited and asking for job applications. The class is never exactly prepared for this and the participants tend not to be happy about it. Participants are only required to wear interview clothing on the mock interview days and this is usually sprung on the class. It is rare for participants to get good leads out of this exercise. While I was there, only one

person, Harry, was able to get an interview out of the "ten and ten". Harry was in a much better position than the majority of the people in the class. He was able to speak five languages, had a college degree, and was referred as part of a plea agreement through which his offense would be vacated. Jesse did get a "job" out of the exercise, but it turned out to be a scam and after he worked for a few days, the boss let him go without paying him.

> *Today we have been given our marching orders for the "ten and ten". We have 2 hours to get lunch and round up ten job applications and ten business cards. There's a good bit of grumbling. Some people are coming up with quick strategies. A few are going to get off at Time Square and work their way down to Penn Station stopping at the chain stores along the way. Others are going to go to Jamaica to hit the stores around the Home Depot and the Family Court building. There's also a few who are going to hang out and see if they can pick up some applications and cards while they're getting lunch.*
>
> *Two hours later most of us are back in the room. Most people seem to be tired and bit dispirited. Only a few have come back with anything near "ten and ten".*
>
> *Janelle had a hard time when she went to ask for an application at a Subway. It didn't go that well. They wanted an online application and gave her some hassle. Janelle said that she didn't really want to work at Subway anyway. Bryan latches onto this. He looks at Janelle – "It ain't about what you want. It's about what you need. You need a job!"*
> *Donna wanders in late with Johnson and neither of them have anywhere near ten and ten. Bryan isn't particularly happy about this and he checks Donna. "You're always late!"*
>
> *Donna snaps back at him. She has been doing this since the beginning of class. She's been pretty uptight and angry to be there. Bryan has been pretty understanding about this. "Why are you acting this way? You are always slapping me." I don't know why he's putting up with it – he would have kicked out a man who acted this way. Bryan begins to deconstruct Donna – he's good at this. He's calling her out on her tough act. Donna doesn't seem to want to be here. She's in her early 20's and often appears to be angry.*
> *"You act like you got the worst background that anybody can have." Donna has a shoplifting charge. From the way she's been acting about it you'd think that it was manslaughter.*
>
> *Donna shoot back, "I got the worst background for working retail!" All of her job experience has been involved in retail and she is at a loss. Some of her anger seems to involve shame.*

The discussion begins to shift to why Donna went out with Johnson. Bryan doesn't really approve of this and he wants to know why she went out with Johnson instead of the other women in the class. Romantic relationships between class participants are generally frowned upon and Bryan seems to think that they were wasting time flirting instead of doing what they were out there to do. Donna argues that "We have things in common. We had a plan. We would go to Times Square and give 10 to 15 minutes to each store." Janelle snaps "yah you so smart – you had a plan." I'm not sure if she's pissed because Donna blew her off or because Donna is basically holding up the class. This prima donna attitude that Donna has is a bit wearing.

Bryan shifts the conversation again to get back to the job search. He focuses on Donna's hostility toward the job search. He attributes it to fear. First he talks about her shoplifting – boosting – "You was scared, but you still did it." He looks at Donna. She nods. "Well why can't you be that way about finding a job?" "But I'm not ready to work in a store."

Eventually we wrap up the discussion and talk about what other people have done. Most people are pretty frustrated. It is hard to get any traction out there. Bryan tells us that it is important is that we stick to the search. It doesn't matter how many times you get turned down. You put one foot in front of another. It doesn't seem so easy.

The "ten and ten" exercise and the following debriefing set the stage for the second mock interview which occurred on Wednesday.

The Second Mock Interview and the Staff Meeting

Wednesday of the second week was the second mock interview day. This day doesn't usually have the fun feel of the first mock interview day. Today is serious. The students have to pass this set of interviews in order to access the Job Developers' services. People who don't pass have to come back. They may have to just repeat the mock interviews or in some cases, they may need to retake portions of the class. This day is pretty stressful for the students and the staff. The interviews usually occur in front of the entire class and the Job Developers provide immediate feedback. This means that any mistakes are magnified in importance.

On Thursday afternoon, the students are allowed to leave a little bit early. The Soft Skills trainers, the Job Developers, a couple of people from Retention and the supervisors meet to discuss who among the participants will graduate and move on to access the Job Developers. Every participant is discussed. The decision to allow someone graduate is carefully made. The staff are trying to weed out potential problems.

> *In class, Richard tells us a story about the problems that can develop if someone isn't properly screened. Richard had an arrangement with a business in the Diamond District that was looking for janitorial staff. He sent a couple of guys over and they were hired. Richard says that the owner of the business was a little careless and left some uncut diamonds in the drawer of his desk while in sight of the one of the guys. This guy had apparently fallen off the wagon and was looking for some money so he could score. He pried open the drawer, took the diamonds and ran out to look for someone to buy them. Sold them for enough money to get a couple of fixes. Was arrested and plead out for the theft. The other guy whom Second Chance had sent over was also investigated by the police and was fired. Richard also lost a Job Development contact and the agency got some bad press that made it a harder to place anyone for a while. He emphasizes the problem the people who mess up create for the agency.*

Richard was possibly exaggerating for effect, but for the Job Developers the fear of having a bad placement jeopardize a relationship between a prospective employer and the agency is significant. Marley was very clear about this when he told us that it was important for each person to stay in their job for a year. He told us that he sent several guys over to a business that was looking for janitorial workers. Only one of the guys was able to stay on the job for a month and the others had either quit or been asked to leave for being late. Marley argued that this made it impossible for him to place other guys who might be a good fit for the employer or who may really need the job with this employer. This high rate of attrition is a serious problem for the Job Developers. At one point when the Career Development unit was undergoing significant changes, I was told that the unit was still placing about seventy percent of the participants, but that when they looked at the job retention numbers that only a few people were still in their job

one year later. Most had quit or been fired and a few had left to start attending school. This means that the Job Developers were under a significant amount of strain because they had to keep looking for new employers to replace the ones who had had bad experiences with placements.

The Thursday afternoon meetings could sometimes be very tense. I have been told that on occasion things would become really heated and there were a couple of times that staff members almost came to blows over whether particular students would graduate. One particularly tense staff meeting precipitated Madesio's exit from the Career Development unit. Conflicts would often arise when the Soft Skills trainers and the Job Developers would disagree over whether or not someone was employable. Kyle was an example of a class participant over whom some the Soft Skills trainers, the Job Developers and the supervisors (particularly Garrett) had a disagreement and it was this meeting that led Madesio to quit.

> *Kyle has successfully completed two mock interviews and attended all but one class, from which he was excused. However, he is a bit of a difficult student. He seems to always have something to prove – and it is with everyone. He talks about having funding secured to start a transitional services organization and about plans for working with people respectfully. He is clearly a very intelligent and resourceful person, but there are some serious difficulties. He even cornered me during a break – I was sitting on the sofas in front of the education services offices – and subjected me to an explanation of his plans and described how he was respected in prison.*

The conflict among the staff about graduating Kyle had to do with fears about whether he could function within a workplace. Everyone seemed to think that he would be able to get a job. The worry seemed to be that Kyle's behavior could be so erratic and sometimes hostile that he came across as intimidating and he could easily get into a conflict. I think that he and Madesio knew each other from prison or the neighborhood. Madesio had really invested in trying to get Kyle through the program. There may have been some issues with Bryan because Kyle kept bumping

heads with Bryan every time he was in the room and I am sure, based on the experiences of other similar individuals, Garrett. I also got the feeling that Richard was supportive of Kyle as well.

When I sat in on staff meetings, they were generally pretty low key and the staff members were pretty well in agreement about which participants should graduate and which should be held back to complete more mock interviews or attend extra practice days. The staff discussed each student, his or her needs, ability to interview and function in a workplace. The staff members also tried to strategize about individuals who were experiencing significant challenges.

> *Today. I'm sitting in on the staff meeting. There are a number of things that need to be covered. There are two classes running, one of them is graduating and the one that I have been observing will be entering its second week. First the staff members select those people who are going to graduate and make the recommendations for who has to stay back. In this class, the majority of the students are graduating. There are a few who have to make up missed classes and a couple who have to redo their interviews.*
>
> *When we start to discuss the class that I have been participating in there are more concerns. One of the participants who claims to have been a professor tells us that he was convicted for helping a family member immigrate illegally. He says that he was just trying to help. Daniel calls BS – he says that this explanation is just too pat. Daniel argues that instead this seems to be a case of human trafficking and slavery. "I can just tell a sex offender." Eric, the Job Developer who was running the class during the interviews is a bit shocked. The concern is that if the staff can't trust him to be truthful about his conviction and if he lies on his application and in an interview – he won't keep any job very long.*
>
> *Diane is also a big concern for the staff. She is in her forties and has been out on the street since she was fourteen. She was the victim of sexual abuse in her home and on the street. Diane also has long standing substance abuse disorder – a thirty year crack habit. She is very fragile and has some neurological impairment that seems to be the result of the crack use. She can't follow a thought through a sentence. The staff don't know about her history, this is something that she disclosed to me and the other women in the class during the break. She was really ashamed, afraid of Bryan and afraid of being kicked out of the program. It was very rare for me to share information about class members with the staff (I only did this two other times and those were cases where individuals' safety was involved.) but the staff members did not seem to understand the issues that Diane*

was grappling with[13]*. After I informed the staff at the meeting about Diane's situation, the conversation shifted from trying to find an alternative program for her toward trying to find ways to work with Diane and provide an environment in which she could develop job skills. (Diane made it through the class and the Career Development unit arranged for her to receive an internship at Second Chance in which she was able to learn janitorial skills, and workplace skills in a sheltered and supported environment.)*

The staff attempted to determine which students were most likely to be successful. As in the field note above, the students had to pass the "sniff test" – their comportment had to match their discourse. The "professor" mentioned in the field note was very glib when answering questions about his conviction and his descriptions of the actions always returned to how he was helping a relative out and how he was hurt. The following is an example of two other individuals who were problematic from the point of view of the instructors and Job Developers.

This is an interesting class. There are only five guys in the class. There are a couple of guys who really stick out – Dante and Marshall. Dante routinely breaks the rules for class. Marshall doesn't break the rules, however he appears to be at risk for violating his probation and it seems like he would be a risk.

Yesterday, Dante had his hair in braids. Today the braids are out and his hair is sticking out. This has led to some dirty looks from the staff and he has been taken out, given a brush and told to fix his hair. We are on break and we are hanging out in the class waiting for Jen to come back. I'm making small talk with Don and during a lull in our conversation I overhear Dante and Marshall. Marshall is trying to figure out how much marijuana he can smoke without his probation officer finding out. Dante is telling him some tricks – the usual drink a lot of water and supplements kind of thing – that are probably not going to be that helpful. I'm confused about why he would want to try. With his conviction, any violation of probation could lead to an unpleasant time in jail.

Later in the day, Jen is leading a discussion of what we plan to do in the future. Marshall tells us that he would like to move back to South Africa and use his skills as a musician to work with children. This seems to be a colossally bad idea, at least for the children. (Dante does not come back the next day. Marshall does graduate, but I am not sure how he was placed.[14]*)*

[13] This was not surprising because the program primarily serves men. Women have different pathways to involvement in offending then men and the experience of abuse is common (Pollock, 2013; 133).

[14] There were a few individuals with whom I was unable to deal with. Before learning of his conviction (I figured that he had a drug possession charge.), I had gone out to get lunch with Marshall. After learning of his conviction (a

Dante was very difficult for staff members to work with and he was frequently resistant to any sort of correction from the Jen or the Job Developers. He picked a fight with Richard during the first mock interview day and was made to leave for the day. Marshall, on the other hand had met all of the class criteria but he had to be dealt with very carefully in terms of placement.

During the staff meeting, staff members also make a determination about whether or not a participant requires more time to learn work skills in a supportive environment. Generally this is reserved for individuals who have an issue that makes it very difficult to fit into a workplace.

> *Today, I am late. The trains were running on a messed up schedule. This gives me a chance to talk to Benny. Benny was in class about six months ago. He was a train wreck and it was difficult to deal with him. He presented as if he had Bipolar Disorder and was often manic. He seemed to want to fit in and he became very agitated when he perceived any slight. The problem was exacerbated by an older guy from the federal residential reentry center who kept harassing him. Benny has been an intern at Second Chance for the agency. First, he worked with Bryan and Jen in the Career Development unit. Then he began to work with Allen in the Maintenance department and was learning janitorial skills. Over the past six months, Benny has appeared to be more settled and cheerful. He is smiling and we have had several conversations. Today, he is excited because he had to talk to the CEO of the agency and he will find out if he can keep working for the agency. I tell him that I will be thinking of him and I wish him luck. Benny smiles.*

Sometimes the informal screening processes that the Soft Skills trainers and the Job Developers used failed to pick up someone who was potentially dangerous. Frank had been a part of class which I had missed and he had begun working as an intern in the Career Development unit. I was not sure why he was an intern, usually the internship positions were saved for people who were having difficulty or were in situations such as treatment communities[15] that limited their ability to seek or retain employment. Frank had recently

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sex offense) and listening to him talk in the class I couldn't deal with Marshall and did not follow him after the class. I actually skipped a day of the class because I was so upset.

[15] Some treatment communities require their residents to meet certain requirements before they can secure a job. This was the case for Paulo. Other interns tended to be individuals such as Benny who had a developmental disorder that made it very difficult for him to enter a workplace.

returned home following more than ten years in prison. He had an interesting history – he claimed that his father was a mover and shaker in the drug scene during the Seventies, a sort of *American Gangster* kind of scene. Although his father was in the business, he wanted Frank to stay out of the business. This meant private school and time in the military after which Frank reported that he began a career of robbing drug dealers.

> *Frank is interesting. He talks the talk, but I'm not so sure that he is really interested in any sort of change. Frank is always dressed to the nines – in very expensive suits and ostrich skin shoes. He sometimes comes into the class to give Jen a break – this is not really usual practice. He talks about his history. He explains his expensive clothing by saying that it all that he has available to wear. He also tells us about having a big house on Long Island where his wife and child live, but he doesn't really mention them much outside of that reference. Frank also talks about the fact that he knows where to go to get a gun and get back in the game.*

I was very confused about Frank. In sense he was very charismatic and he worked well with the Soft Skills trainers and the Job Developers. However, he placed a great deal of emphasis on his earlier identity and didn't seem to have left the "life" behind. A couple of weeks later I stopped in to talk to Jen about attending the next Career Development class. She said that she had some news to tell me. Frank had missed a couple of days after the weekend. He told Jen that he had been injured in a motorcycle accident but sounded weird. He didn't come in for the rest of the week and then someone else in the agency showed Jen and Bryan the news. Frank was accused, along with an accomplice, of participating in a rather brutal homicide. It was not clear exactly why the homicide occurred. However, it was worrying that he managed to pass through the class and get into the internship.

After the meeting, the Job Developers schedule appointments for those participants who have met the requirements for the class. The results of the meeting were always announced to the class on Friday morning when the Job Developers are assigned. Job Developers were assigned

based upon the type of job that the participant was trying to obtain. Job Developers often have specialized areas – one may have contacts in the construction industry, while another specializes in janitorial jobs or human services. Those participants who are assigned Job Developers are given appointments for the next week. Sometimes Bryan or Jen would give a heads up on Thursday to those individuals who were unlikely to graduate because they had problems with the interviews. Not all those who are told that they won't graduate take the news well. In the case of Kyle (detailed in the earlier field note), Bryan, Jen, Madesio and Garrett were present when it was announced that he was not going to be assigned a Job Developer. Kyle was angry and he began to yell. He had to be convinced to go out into the hall and talk to the staff members. The students who have met all of the requirements and been assigned a Job Developer are generally excited. Having access to a Job Developer helps to facilitate finding a job. The Job Developer will try to match the participant with an employer who requires their skill set and in a setting that they feel is best suited to the participant. Job Developers will also make cold calls for participants.

It should be noted, that from the participant's point of view, the Job Development process does not always run smoothly. I have heard complaints, particularly from those who are seeking more white-collar jobs, that the job banks are not particularly diverse and tend to be focused in the areas of janitorial jobs and construction. The jobs also tend to be more focused in male dominated industries. The job search can take a while and those participants who are not willing or able to stay on top of the search are less likely to find a job through placement. This means that participants have to drop in to visit the Job Developers and work on the computers that are set aside for job searches. As the old adage goes, the squeaky wheel gets the grease, and that is particularly the case here. This means that I would see some class participants for a longer

period of time. In addition, those who had developed relationships with Bryan and Jen would come back to let them know about how the job search was progressing.

Race and ethnicity became very important in the context of the Career Development classes. It impacted the relationships that students developed, how the classes ran and also was important in determining the final outcome for the students. Race was particularly important in terms of the boundary work that different students would engage in during the course of the class. Race and ethnicity also informed the ways in which participants were instructed. The next chapter will investigate the ways that race and ethnicity structure the Career Development classes.

Chapter 5 - SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT CLASS AS A DISCIPLINARY SPACE

It is necessary to understand the prison and reentry programming in the context of the neoliberal State. Garland, argues that in the context of the neoliberal state and the "new culture of crime control" there has been a shift away from the goal of rehabilitation and toward the prison as a "mechanism of exclusion and control (2001a). In the United States, the State has pursued a strategy of responsibilization on a variety of levels. Crime control has increasingly become the duty of community organizations, including reentry services agencies (Phoenix and Kelly 2013; Garland 2001a). These community organizations, have then become the site of individual responsibilization, one in which individuals learn to incorporate the objectives of the neoliberal State (Phoenix and Kelly 2013). The reentry services agency and the Career Development class are disciplinary institutions – locations in which the bodies and minds of individuals who have been discarded or stored in the "waste management" prison are reshaped (Simon 2007). The program seeks to create a neo-liberal subject – one that is individualized – and understood through his or her status as a "taxpaying citizen". The Career Development unit is interrogated as a "pedagogic authority" that seeks to inculcate the new dispositions and a new *illusio*, or sense of the game among the participants (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The discipline that occurs with in the class appears to be focused on primarily upon the male, African American participants.

The Formerly Incarcerated Individual in the Context of the Neoliberal State

Although Second Chance started as a self-help group and was part of a nascent social movement, it has become, of necessity, embedded in within the context of the neoliberal state.

Neoliberalism is both an "ideological project and governmental practice" (Wacquant, 2009; 1). It is characterized by a focus on free markets, free trade and private property rights. In this framework, the role of the state is to provide the institutional frameworks necessary for maintenance of the free market (Harvey 2005). The state is also understood to be responsible for opening new markets and this has often entailed the privatization of services once provided by the welfare state. The neoliberal project requires a both a "submission to the demands of the market and a focus on individual responsibility" (Wacquant 2009: 1). As the state pulls back from the provision of services, law enforcement has come to assume more importance in the management of marginal populations.

Second Chance exists in the context of mass incarceration and the "new penology" is focused on the management of risk, a shift to more efficient controls within the prison and the deployment of new techniques of management and control (Feeley and Simon 1992: 450). One of the externalities associated with mass incarceration is a large number of releases. In 2012, more than 637,000 individuals were released from state and federal prisons (Carson and Golinelli 2013). These releasees are a byproduct of the operation of the prison, and to continue Simon's "waste management" metaphor, they can be understood as a toxic byproduct whose risk requires management in the context of the community (2007). The men and women who participate in the Career Development classes are part of what Standing terms "the precariat", a global class that does not have access to stability (Standing 2011: loc. 65). He argues that "criminalization condemns people to a precariat existence of insecure and career-less jobs, and a degraded ability to hold to a long-term course of stable living (Standing, 2011: loc 1957).

In the United States, formerly incarcerated individuals are likely to be relegated to positions within the secondary labor market (Western 2006: loc. 1942). This is particularly true

of the African American participants who make up the majority of the participants, especially those without educational credentials beyond a high school diploma or GED. This new toxic byproduct is managed, not by the prison but by parole and a web of not-for-profit organizations. As the state has pulled back from crime control, there has been a shift to the strategy of responsibilization on both the level of the community and the individual. Parole, while originally rehabilitative in nature, has shifted toward a control oriented function (Simon 1993). The rehabilitative function has now been shifted to not-for-profit agencies that specialize in the reentry and reintegration of formerly incarcerated persons. In the New York metropolitan area, there are a number of agencies including the Fortune Society, the Osborne Association, Exodus, Strive and Goodwill Industries that serve the formerly incarcerated population.

The reentry services agencies are rehabilitative in intent, but they strive to achieve rehabilitation in a context in which rehabilitation is understood as a form of targeted intervention that involves "inculcating self-controls, reducing danger, [and] enhancing the security of the public" (Garland 2001a). In this case, rehabilitation is cast as enabling formerly incarcerated people to obtain and maintain jobs. These jobs are understood as a key source of social control, "reducing recidivism and improving public safety" in both agency and academic discourse (Osborne Association 2014; Laub and Sampson 2001; Uggen 2000). There is a focus on employability (Fejes 2010), particularly on soft skills, and work is cast as having a normalizing function (Goodman 2012: 448).

The Career Development Unit and Pedagogic Authority

The Career Development unit at Second Chance is a site in which a frontline staff, composed of primarily formerly incarcerated individuals, attempt to assist other formerly

incarcerated individuals by inculcating the dispositions needed for work in the secondary labor force. The Career Development unit can be understood as a pedagogic agency. The class itself is a form of pedagogic action, a symbolic violence, in which the agency is reproducing the "cultural arbitrary" of the neoliberal state (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Symbolic violence can be broadly understood as the set of "relations and mechanisms of domination and power which do not arise from overt physical force or violence on the body" (Morgan and Björkert 2006). It is a form of coercion that relies on the consent of the dominated, as the understanding that the dominated have of the situation is gained through "the instruments of knowledge" that the dominated have in common with their dominators (Bourdieu 2000).

A pedagogic action involves pedagogic work, a process of inculcating the required dispositions. This process of inculcation must take place over a sufficient amount of time to ensure the "durable training" necessary to inculcate the habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Pedagogic work can be judged to be more or less successful depending upon the level to which the "cultural arbitrary" has been instilled in the intended students (32). In the case of the Career Development class, the pedagogic work entails the inculcation of the docile habitus necessary for long-term participation in the service sector jobs that dominate the secondary labor market. This habitus is characterized by the need for deference and the necessary emotional labor for carrying out the deference (Nixon 2009).

The Career Development class derives much of its pedagogic authority from its history as a self-help program started by formerly incarcerated individuals and their advocates. In addition, as is common in reentry programs, many of the frontline staff members are formerly incarcerated individuals. Most of participants in the class are self-referred. They have chosen to attend the programming as a means of accessing Job Development services which can provide a key source

of social capital during the job search. The jobs are highly sought after as they present an important alternative to participating in the dangers of the street economy. Outside of a small minority that is primarily composed of young adults and the white men who are mandated by the federal residential reentry centers, the participants in the class are invested in obtaining the jobs that are available from the Job Developers. Second Chance provides significant and important services that help to smooth the difficult transition from prison to the community.

Race is an important factor in determining the extent to which the participants in the class subscribe to the discourse in the class. Some participants refuse to incorporate the dispositions that the Soft Skills trainers are attempting to teach. This tends to occur among participants who have been mandated to attend. It also happens more frequently with white participants, who are both more likely to be required to attend and to feel that they do not require the classes.

> *Adam is very dismissive of the other students and he doesn't attempt to hide it. At one point in our interview he refers to his classmates as "animals" and "people who 'just can't get out of their own way". He is particularly upset with the other participants and thinks that this is a waste of time – there's nothing that he can learn in the class and it does not apply to the type of job that he is trying to get. He knows that he will not be able to return to practicing medicine and he is thinking about trying to reenter the not-for-profit sector or somewhere else where his conviction will not represent such a significant barrier.*

Adam is white, a former physician who served time in a local jail and federal prison. In one sense, Adam is right about the class being a waste of his time. He is required to be here as part of his release. He is not looking for the type of position that the job developers have in their job banks. He is looking for white-collar and administrative work and he has expectations for higher pay. For many of the other white students, the class and the job developers may also appear unnecessary. Neil, who was in his early twenties, was planning on working for his father's business and the class was simply something he had to get through as a requirement of probation. Larry and Ken picked up construction work and Larry had owned his own handyman business

before his last incarceration and thought he would probably start doing that again. Marshall, a recording engineer who said that he worked for hip hop artists, did not even bother to finish the class. Even Allen, who had a conviction for possession of child pornography was able to use family connections to secure a cooking position without the assistance of the job developers. The white participants in the class face a radically different labor market than the African American and Latino participants and have less need of the services (Holzer et al. 2006; Pager 2006). For this reason, the white participants are less likely to feel it is necessary to incorporate the dispositions needed to work in the secondary labor market.

African American participants with a more middle class background have similar reactions. Duane and Malcolm (as detailed below) had difficulty with class material. Laurence Kelly, a formerly incarcerated academic and activist, is an African American man who has a more middle-class background, also had similar difficulties in a number of similar programs. He had attended prep school and an elite traditionally Black college. Although Kelly found himself blocked from positions for which he was qualified, even though he had significant amounts of human, cultural and social (in the form of recommendations from professors) capital, he felt that he was distanced from the different employment programs that were available to him at the various not-for-profit reentry services agencies, and he also appears to not be invested in the classes (Kelly 2010). Kelly found that the programs were focused on inculcating basic skills and obtaining jobs in the secondary labor market. “I was still placed in a program where the average grade attainment for participants was the 8th grade. Most of the work place rituals this training program emphasized, I had already mastered while in college or within my previous work place experiences. The training I was asked to participate in was beneath my skill set, affecting my own self-image” (Kelly 2010).

Kelly found himself being pushed in the direction of the lower-level service work – retail and janitorial work – by the reentry program referrals. However, unlike Malcolm and Duane, the men with middle class backgrounds who attended the Career Development program, he had alternatives to the jobs and the Job Development services that the programs he attended offered. These alternative included graduate school, something that is out of the reach of the majority of the participants who attended the Career Development classes. Malcolm, a young man with family members who were middle class was very resistant to the modes of deference that were demanded during the class.

Race, Symbolic Violence and Control – Becoming a "Safe" Ex-con

Race plays an important role in the way in which symbolic violence and discipline are exerted within the Career Development class. During the second week of each class, the soft skills trainers hand out a copy of a *Wall Street Journal* article, "Why Black Men Don't Get Hired". The article is a review of the 1996 Moss and Tilly study (Moss and Tilly 1996), but takes the material out of context. I was not able to obtain a clear answer from the Soft Skills trainers in regards to why the article was used during the class and it isn't really clear who had introduced it into the curriculum. Reading "Why Black Men Don't Get Hired" usually generates dissent from the younger African American men and women who are participating in the class. The older men and women generally do not comment on the article. However, the temperature in the room cools a little and the usual discussion that usually accompanies handouts is muted. The younger participants are frequently angered tend to speak up in response to the article.

The trainers do make a point of stressing that this can apply to any minority group, including women and individuals with disabilities, and try to make it applicable to the class as a

whole, but still the focus in on the failures of the African American men. The article focuses on employers' perceptions that African American men are "defensive, hostile and difficult to control" and closes with the line, "Perception, correct or incorrect, is in the eyes of the employer". Using the article appears to serve as a warning to the African American male students that they need to closely monitor their behavior as it is interpreted as threatening and strange by others in the work place. The students are made aware of their position as the "other" or "stranger" who bears stigma. They are taught that this stigma follows them and has to be very carefully managed.

> *Jen gives out the "Why Black Men Don't Get Hired" piece from the Wall Street Journal. Some of the guys in the back – especially Jeff – vocalize that Black men don't get hired and they know why. While we are waiting to get the handout, Jen also extends this to people with disabilities and people with convictions. This explanation does not seem to be sitting well with the younger members of the class. Jenna (a young African American woman who doesn't smile much – I don't think she has been incarcerated) seems to pick up on this and it irritates her. She relates a story about her experience. She has small children and she was riding the subway and a white family was in the subway car. The white family looked at Jenna and her kids as "low, like nothing". They also kept a distance from her kids although her kids weren't doing anything. Jeff and a couple of the younger African American guys in the back are also upset. Eva and June (two older African American women), especially June, fall more in line with this argument and voice some support. Garrett (one of the supervisors for the unit who has just come in) and Jen acknowledge the existence of racism, but minimize its weight.*

As in this field note, the staff members may recognize the existence of racism, but they regularly downplay the importance of racism in the lives of the students. Racism is often treated as an excuse used by people who are unsuccessful, rather than something to be actively combated.

The male African-American students are routinely urged to perform a peculiar form of deference in a way that the other students are not. The African-American men are guided to perform deference of the type described by Kenneth B. Clark: "If he adopts a stance or role of subtle deference, he will also be successful in protecting himself by assuaging the fears of

whites. He must be constantly careful not to make his white colleagues uncomfortable, either by apparent arrogance or inappropriate obsequiousness" (1965).

This type of deference is very important for the interview process. The African American men frequently participate in a process that I termed *walking the line*. The term refers to the fact that the African American male participants in the class were taught that they had to be very careful about their presentation of self and that any slip would be a sign of their problematic status as dangerous "ex-cons". They learn to approach the job interview as a minefield in which any misstep, a misplaced smile, a slouch or too hard handshake can blow up the chances of employment.

> *Dante is being interviewed by Bryan. We are practicing for the mock interviews. Dante is leaning forward slightly as he is trying to focus on Bryan's questions. He is a bit tall and leaning forward makes him look a bit bigger. It isn't something that he is doing consciously and he's not being intimidating in any way. Bryan stops the interview. "You can't lean forward like that. That looks too aggressive." He leans way forward in an intimidating way. Bryan is a big guy, more solid than Dante, so he looms, especially when he is using his scary face, as he is doing now. To me, it doesn't seem that Dante is doing this, but Bryan appears to be telling Dante that, even though he does not have any intent to intimidate people, his slightly forward posture may still be perceived as being frightening as Bryan's intentionally intimidating posture.*

It took me a while to understand why leaning forward slightly was problematic. I had been taught in the context of a social work interviewing course, that it was important to lean forward slightly in order to convey attention and interest. However, for the African American men in the class, are taught that their position has to be precisely calibrated. Leaning forward can be interpreted as aggression, leaning back as indicative of laziness and the classic, erect military posture can be seen as aloof and unfriendly.

In the context of the workplace, a smile is an important tool. It is so important in fact, that Richard, one of the Job Developers, routinely refers to the smile as "your gun" or "your

weapon". A smile is often taken for granted, but it has a number of social functions. Smiling is more than expressing happiness or satisfaction. The smile acts as a way to express self-confidence and belonging. It is a way of communicating friendliness, a sense of humor and a willingness to work with others. For the men and the women in the Career Development classes, smiles are also a way of signaling their status as someone who is safe to hire. We also learn to shake hands properly and we spend time learning how to smile and say hello. At first, this appears to be a simple task, but the successful smile is a very complicated process. We are instructed in the appropriate way to deliver a "successful smile". A "successful smile" is one that involves the eyes. Both corners of the mouth curl upward, evenly, and some of the teeth are visible between the lips. This can be difficult to do when one is used to not smiling, or to smiling with only one side of the mouth. Smiling is difficult. If one smiles too broadly one is obsequious, but if the smile is not broad enough, one is cold, unfriendly and possibly aggressive. Either of these, fit with common stereotypes associated with African American men.

> *We are getting ready for the "handshake and a smile" drill. Bryan is instructing us on the proper way of smiling. There's more to smiling that I thought and getting the right type of smile can be a delicate process. Bryan tells us that we "can't be cheesing" (smiling too broadly). However, we also need to remember to "show some teeth", otherwise we will be seen as unfriendly and possibly aggressive. As Richard says, "if all you got is one tooth hanging on a rope, let it show." This usually leads to laughter, but getting the right smile takes some concentration and is stressful. With an instructor who is less skilled at putting people at ease, it becomes torturous.*

Shaking hands is another potentially problematic interaction. In the class we spend a significant amount of time dissecting the mechanics of the handshake. When the guys go up to shake Jen's hand, they often offer a very loose, almost limp handshake. When they shake Bryan's hand, or the hands of the Job Developers, the men use a more firm handshake.

> *We also have to learn how to shake hands. This is a bit more straightforward than smiling. It is a bit easier for me because I don't have to worry about shaking*

hands too hard. If I have a strong handshake it is an indicator that I am confident. The guys have to find the sweet spot between the "limp fish" and the "too strong" handshake. The "limp fish" communicates disengagement, but the "too strong" handshake is seen as an indicator of aggression. The dynamics of the handshake are complex. The hand has to be presented with the elbow bent at ninety degrees. The hand moves straight in and the clasp is firm, but not too firm. The handshake should last for three pumps – "one, two, three". Many of the guys have a hard time with this. They are coming in from the side or from the top. Trying to shake hands this way makes me feel like one of Dave Chappelle's "white" characters.

The need to show proper deference to potential employers is a constant theme of the class. The participants were counseled to maintain deference, even in the face of extremely disrespectful behavior. For example, Richard, one of the Job Developers, would frequently push at students, by being disrespectful, during the course of the interview.

Richard is interviewing Paulo. Paulo is interviewing for a position as a Plumber's Assistant, a job that usually pays more than $12 an hour. Richard sits back, and gives Paulo a cold look. "This job only pays minimum wage ($7.25)." Paulo states that he cannot accept the job at that wage. Richard fires back, "Well, I can't hire you then."

Later, when we are watching the recording of the interview, Richard stops the video at the point when he was telling Paulo that he would be paid minimum wage. "You have to be willing to accept whatever the employer is offering." Paulo stops him. "Even when it is much less than what I should be paid?" "Yes!"

This is common. Participants are routinely told to accept less than the going wage as a sort of penalty – being a potentially cheaper employee is understood as being a way for them to get a foot in the door. The participants in the class have the importance of deference and their inability to access workplace protections drummed into their heads in a number of ways. The excerpt from field notes taken on the final day of a Career Development class is an example of the way that staff members would enforce deference.

Duane was an extremely well-dressed African-American man of about forty-five years and his quick wit and outgoing personality made him the social center of the class. The students had planned to go to his house for a celebration at the end of the class. The other students

responded positively to him and he was able to make more headway with Paulo, a student who is retaking the class, than the program staff. After his release from prison, Duane had worked for several years at a not for profit agency as a HIV/AIDS counselor and at a State Senator's office. He was also a deacon of his church, a relatively prominent position within his community. Duane was very proud of the fact that he had these positions and that he had a family. He also talked about his background of addiction and the strides he had made in recovery.

Duane had adopted a very middle-class African-American method of acting. He dressed for the mock interviews in the manner of an African-American politician or minister and was very self-confident and expected quite clearly to be treated as an equal. Duane was the only student who had actively pushed for me to take part in class activities such as practice interviews – to lay it on the line – if I was going to be observing the class. He had a run-in with one of the Job Developers, Josephine, an older African-American woman who frequently took on a maternal role with the students. She could come across as slightly disrespectful in interactions, but, this button-pushing may have been part of her job, as the Soft-Skills Trainers and Job Developers routinely tested the students. The incident did seem relatively minor and was resolved when he went to apologize to her the next day.

> *Today is the last day of class. Two of the students, Andrew and Malik, have gotten jobs. Malik has come back to say hello before going to work. George comes in to collect James and tells him to bring his stuff. James asks 'Am I getting fired?' George smiles and answers, "No, you're getting hired." Darryl also has an interview lined up for Monday. The students are happy about the last day of class and looking forward to the dinner at Duane's house.*
>
> *The day starts normally. We're hanging out. Duane is razzing a couple of the guys. I'm talking to Darryl. When Jen and Madesio come in, things settle down. Jen talks to the class and explains how the day will go. We will hear from Garrett, her supervisor, meet the Job Developers and then get the diplomas. Garrett comes in. He is a tall, thin African-American man in his forties, with a serious expression. He starts asking the guys why they think they should graduate. The students' answers center around attendance, and having mastered the interview*

skills. Before James leaves, he says that he has learned about himself. Several of the students thank Jen for her help. There's a feeling of camaraderie. When Garrett gets to Duane, Duane answers the questions by outlining all of the things he did well on. He sounds a little grandiose, but it's tongue-in-cheek and we know he's fooling a little. Garrett looks at him coolly and asks "Are you arrogant?" Duane looks taken aback and I'm trying to figure out where that came from. Duane answers "No." Garrett continues, "Because the first time I interacted with you, I got this feeling… You know like when you find out the milk you've been drinking is sour, in my stomach…" [He goes on to describe in great detail the experience of drinking sour milk.]

Duane looks sort of stunned. He begins to explain that he isn't arrogant and that he's sorry to have made that impression and then adds, "You don't know me." Garrett tells him that this partially had to do with his interaction with Josephine on Wednesday. Duane has apologized for this and in my perspective, and seemingly Jen's, it seems to have been a bit overblown and was over. However, it seems to have come up in the staff meeting on Thursday. Duane attempts to explain the situation to Garrett several times and is cut short. He seems stung and replies "That's the thing about this place – you've got to treat us with respect. She came in talking to me like a child. I'm forty-five years old."

Garrett counters, "What would you have done at work?" Duane answers that "I would have written a memo to our supervisor. I'm good at writing memos"' "What if she was your supervisor?" Duane says, "I'd have moved up the ladder. There's always someone higher."

The rest of the class is feeling the strain as the exchange continues for about thirty minutes. Eventually, Garrett asks the others how they feel about Duane, if he is arrogant or not. This is uncomfortable for the students. The general consensus is that he can be a little arrogant, but that he is a good guy and has helped out a great deal. Duane motions me to speak up. Garrett passes me over. I raise my hand and say that Duane strikes me as a good person and that he seems to be the go-to guy in the class if anyone needs help, etc. At the end of the event, after listening to his classmates reaffirm that he has been extremely helpful and express positive feelings about him, Duane seems truly moved. I notice he keeps wiping at his eyes. Garrett then advises the class that they will have to be very careful how they act on the job. "Especially you guys in construction. They will call you ***nigger*** *[Garrett emphasized this word.], and you're going to have to take it and be quiet. [My jaw drops. I can't believe he just said this. This is the kind of thing that would have me climbing the walls in the HR office.] You can't fight back – you could lose your job, you could get in a fight and go back to prison." Garrett appears to be trying to use Duane's situation to reinforce his message.*

When the Job Developers come in to set up appointments with the class, no one has Duane's name. It appears that the decision was made not to pass him and to make him take another two-week session. Duane is quite upset. After the Job

> *Developers leave, Jen comes in and tells him that things have been straightened out. He will be graduating after all. When he comes into the break room where we are having cake after class is released, Duane is still angry. He speaks about the event using a rights discourse. He feels a bit hurt and betrayed and states that if he hadn't been someone who had a good degree of self-confidence, this could have done him in.*

Duane was easily the most confident of the students and had been working in majority African-American workplaces since his release. Thus, he had not had to conduct the emotional labor necessary to convince white supervisors and co-workers that he is safe, competent and responsible. Duane was clearly the most blatant example of instruction in the emotional labor and deference expected of an African-American man in the workplace. Generally, as I will show below, the need for deference was expressed in more subtle ways. However, other men were targeted in similar ways. Malcolm, a younger African-American man in a later class who had a similar style and middle class aspirations, was instructed that he needed to lose some of his over-confidence or "swagger"[16]. This form of emotional labor and extreme deference appeared to be taught only to the African-American male members of the class.

Another important aspect of the above field note is the focus on the individual's need to accept disrespect and react in a passive manner. The point of Garrett's attack on Duane was that Duane was becoming too confident and too assured of his ability to exercise control over his participation in the class. Duane was very confident that he can seek redress for on-the-job grievances. However, Duane and the other students were informed in no uncertain terms that they will have to deal with something that would be considered workplace harassment (the use of the term nigger) by being passive. This message of passivity was conveyed more implicitly through the use of examples of prior students who have been successful. For example, Jen, one

[16] It should be noted that "swagger" is not necessarily a plus for an African American man in the middle class workplace or upper-middle class workplace and can be interpreted as a sign that he is not capable of fitting into a "collegial environment" (Anderson, 2011).

of the Soft Skills Trainers, makes frequent references to James. James worked for a nightshift supervisor who resembled Archie Bunker. The supervisor used racial and ethnic slurs repeatedly and made the workplace very difficult for James and the other employees. Jen emphases that James kept his head down, kept working hard and was eventually transferred to a better position on the dayshift.[17] For me, as a white woman, this emphasis on passivity is surprising. I have grown up in a period of increased awareness of the use of sexist language and sexual harassment in the workplace and am very aware of my rights as an employee. But, here, the participants were being told that they should not avail themselves of those workplace protections that apply to racial discrimination. In addition, this type of interaction did not happen between staff and white participants, even when like Adam, they were openly dismissive of the class, or like Don openly incited conflict with other participants.

It appears that the interaction between Garrett and Duane was not simply for Duane's benefit. Rather, it seems to have been directed toward the rest of the class. If Garrett was willing to dress down the most prepared and self-confident individual in the class (a supportive environment) and use him as an example, what would happen in the workplace? Forman argues that this sort of symbolic violence is not uncommon. He argues that interactions such as the above, while they may appear to be punitive are the result of "a sense of linked fate" between relatively "privileged blacks" and blacks of other classes (Forman 2011: 800). In this case, there does seem to be a reason for Garrett to have used this tactic. Malcolm had a significant amount of difficulty finding steady employment and when I last contacted him had only been able to find a part-time job as a motivational speaker for an agency that targeted at-risk youth. Duane also

[17] James told the story in a somewhat different manner. James said that although the supervisor was racist and homophobic, he tended to avoid James because James was big. There were a couple of times that James did come back looking to get another job before he was moved to the dayshift.

had a hard time finding employment in his field. He had used family contacts to secure an internship in the Career Development unit and was hoping to get an internship as an HIV educator/counselor before his death.

Symbolic violence in the context of the Career Development class is most often more subtle than the encounter between Duane and Garrett. It frequently takes the shape of exercises that exhort the participants to "think like the employer".

Learning to "Think Like an Employer"

During the class, the instructors lead the participants in several exercises that are intended to guide the participants in "thinking like an employer". One of the most common exercises, used when the class was all male, required the participants to think about what they wanted in a girlfriend.

> *Today is the second Tuesday of the class. We have finished practicing interviews and we are doing some sort of cognitive behavioral exercise. Bryan has asked the class (all men) to think about what they would want in a girlfriend. "Good looking." "A sense of humor." "Able to cook." The class is getting into this. Bryan writes all of the answers on the right side of the board. He then asks the class to think about what a boss would want in an employer. "Someone who is on time." "Someone who doesn't complain."… Bryan writes these answers up as well.*

Sometimes, when there were women in the class, Bryan would ask the class to list what they would like from a job and then ask them what an employer would want from an employee. Even though the guys kept it clean, I found the exercise to be irritating and didn't understand the goal that Bryan was trying to achieve. It was not until later when I was reviewing the field notes that the real import of the "girlfriend exercise" became apparent. The girlfriend exercise was a situation in which the men in the class could relate to the experience of being in a position that enabled them to exert control over someone else. This was then cast as a similar situation to

being an employer. In retrospect, this was a rather disturbing situation in terms of what it said about the position of women and the projected position of the men in the workplace.

Throughout the class, the participants are continually reminded to picture themselves as the employer and think about what the employer would want. For example, Bryan or Jen would ask the participants to think about what they wanted out of a job, then to think about what employers want. There was no information given out on workplace law and workers' rights as the participants in the class were not expected to be able to avail themselves of workplace protections.

During the classes we spent a great deal of time learning how to package ourselves for employers as bundles of hard skills, knowledge specific to the job (knowing how to run a buffing machine), and soft skills. Much of this is very depersonalizing and in many ways replicates the use of a soft skills discourse in job search information made available to middle class workers (Urciuoli, 2008).

> *Today is Friday. We have had the first mock interview and we are preparing for the second mock interview that will happen next week. Right now we are learning how to present ourselves in the interview context. Jen has passed out a sheet that will help us to think about the best way to present our skills. The sheet includes the story of Gina, an out-of-work public relation person who was thinking about how to best present herself to potential employers. She looks at the cereal aisle, and thinks about how the cereal companies work to differentiate the packaging of the cereals. Gina then goes home and writes down her skills. We are instructed by Jen to write out our skills and try to "package" ourselves for sale. I'm trying to think of which type of cereal I would be.*

The class itself is devoted to teaching soft skills. These soft skills are often referred to as life skills. We learn to be timely, to make small talk, to dress properly (all skills that have often been degraded in the prison context), but most importantly we learn to be deferent and follow directions. This is quite different from the soft skills that are prioritized for middle class job

seekers. For the middle class, the emphasis on soft skills appears to be focused on critical thinking, complex problem solving and leadership (Urciuoli 2008).

A significant amount of individualization and responsibilization takes place through discourses of self-help. The Career Development unit draws heavily on the self-help discourses associated with twelve-step support groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous. Much like AA, Second Chance shares elements of a social movement, but it also focused on the importance of personal change (Room 1993). Like AA, the Career Development program is trying to counteract a very individualistic ideology – that of the prison – but it is doing so in ways that are inherently individualistic (Room 1993). The participants are advised to avoid egoism. The participants in the Career Development class are often instructed to be willing to "take one for the team". Jen frequently tells the students that they will need to "eat some shit" to get through work and she describes her first job in New York City as a personal assistant. She had to clean her boss's cat box every day. But having to clean a cat box is quite different from having a boss who is unwilling to cease making racist comments.

Self-help books are also a common prop used within the Career Development class. Self-help books and materials have been widely used in the context of the middle class during periods of corporate downsizing and economic change (Ehrenreich 2009). The self-help books favored in the Career Development class include *Who Moved My Cheese?* (Johnson 1998) and *The Secret* (Byrne 2006). These focus on the power of attraction.

> *Bryan recommends that the class members read <u>Who Moved My Cheese?</u> It is a popular self-help book that is common in business circles. It is a parable of sorts about two "Littlepeople", Hem and Haw, who live with mice in a maze. They try strategies to deal with change. The promotional material argues that the "unique insights can last a lifetime." The back of the book describes it as "An Instant Classic!" and there is a list of corporations with members who have endorsed the book. Bryan talks a lot about focusing on developing a career and thinking about upward mobility.*

> *Darius came in today – he is a success story from an earlier class. At first he just pokes his head in to say hello. I guess that Bryan asked him to speak to the class. He's a handsome man in his thirties with a big smile. He's dressed up in designer clothes. Darius gives that class a bit of a pep talk. He has been out for two years after a seven year bid upstate. He tells us that he was a "hardhead" when he took the class and it took him a while to get through. He tells us that he read the book* <u>*Rich Dad, Poor Dad: What the Rich Teach Their Kids About Money that the Poor and Middle Class Do Not!*</u> *The book changed the way that he looked at things. "Look at white folks, they don't care what they wear – they can wear anything. But Black folks – we got to be dressed up all the time. Look at the way we dress our kids… a six year old wearing John's (I think he's referring to the Sean John clothing line.) What's a six-year old need that for? Black folk are materialistic and we need to learn how to stop it." This is a little bit rich coming from a guy wearing new designer clothing – especially one who is standing in front of a class of folks, most of whom don't have the money to buy a dress outfit for an interview.*

However, the advice that is often offered in the class and in the self-help books doesn't seem to mesh with the reality of the jobs that are offered. Most of the people get jobs in fields that won't be careers – jobs such as housekeeping or porter work. It may be possible to become a supervisor, but many of the jobs do not even have that kind of ladder. In the course of the classes, references are often made to people who managed to get full-time jobs through a mix of hard work and ingenuity. Men such as Larry, who was sent on an interview for a job that turned out to be a temporary job assignment and only paid minimum wage are presented as role models. The job was only supposed to last one week but Larry and the other two guys finished it in three days. Because of their ingenuity and work, they managed to get the offer of a full-time job. But their example overlooks that reality that most people will face in the labor market.

Conclusion

This chapter outlines the ways in which formerly incarcerated, African American men are shaped, within the context of a reentry services agency, into "safe" and deferent workers. The Career Development class is simultaneously a location in which formerly incarcerated

individuals can seek empowerment and a location in which they become disempowered. The Career Development class and the job development services provide participants to access to jobs from which they may otherwise be blocked. These jobs are important as sources of positive identity, income, skills, and social capital (Laub and Sampson 2001; Solomon et al l2004; Uggan 2000). However, Second Chance is constrained by a number of factors including the realities of the job market and a need to ensure a stream of funding. In order to maintain grants, the Second Chance, like other agencies must meet placement goals. The stress of meeting these goals can be seen in the high rate of turnover among the Job Developers who are tasked with seeking job opportunities for agency clients. The exigencies of the situation lead the agency employees to largely limit their job development activities to positions in the secondary labor market.

Chapter 6 - THE IMPACT OF INMATE INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE ON THE *CARCERAL HABITUS*

> *We are at the diner. Malcolm is ordering some slices of pizza and I'm getting a sandwich. The owner of the diner, who is behind the counter, starts to put the slices in a bag. Malcolm starts to get upset and insists that he wants it in a box. The owner says that it will be better in a bag –it will stay warmer. A switch seems to flip in Malcolm. He starts to raise his voice and gets bigger – he repeats that he wants to pizza in a box. The situation starts to get louder. I'm feeling distinctly uncomfortable. This is embarrassing and doesn't seem necessarily. It also is a little bit frightening. I'm not sure what to do. Eventually, the owner of the diner gives Malcolm a box. I get the feeling that we're not exactly welcome here. When we leave the diner Malcolm seems deflated. This is something that happens repeatedly with him. In class the other day he had an incident with Jen, the soft skill instructor who was running the class. Malcolm's cell went off in class and Jen told him that he would have to write an essay. Malcolm became all puffed up and began to escalate the situation – raising his voice and gesturing. Jen watched him, quietly, for about a minute and then I could see Malcolm catch himself. He took on a hangdog appearance.*

Malcolm's experience is an example of the difficulties that individuals who are leaving the prison experience during the processes of reentry and reintegration. When the events in the field note occurred, Malcolm had been home for more than one year. In many ways, Malcolm is well situated to begin the reintegration process. He has more social and cultural capital necessary for reentering daily life outside the prison than the majority of the other members of my sample. He lives with extended family members who seem to be dedicated to his success. The relative he lives with is an educator and he is clearly integrated into her household. He attends church on a regular basis and the church community is also supportive. Malcolm does not live in a high crime neighborhood. However, Malcolm can't order a slice of pizza without conflict. This is frustrating and embarrassing for him. When I spoke with Malcolm about six months after he

finished the Soft Skills Class, he was still unemployed. When I last spoke to him a year later, he had found part time work as a speaker for a program that did youth outreach.

Malcolm's experience is not unique. In fact, it is indicative of a problem faced by people returning after serving time in state and federal prisons. The embodied responses to the interpersonal violence that occurs inside prisons leads to conflict when applied to everyday situations in the world outside the prison. Bowen describes the experience as the prisoning coming out with him: "I used the set of codes, rules, and respect that I had learned in prison. For example, if I was walking into a store or restaurant and the person in front of me did not hold the door open for me, I felt offended" (Bowen 2010: 118). The experience that Bowen describes is frustrating, isolating and can lead to conflict. For Bowen, that conflict led to a return to the prison. For Malcolm, each job interview and rejection became increasingly frustrating.

Inmate Interpersonal Violence in the Context of the Prison

> *"It is a community inside itself. You know that's what people don't realize – it's a community. Behind the walls, it's a community. You've got all different people… just like inside the free society. And you got to adjust to that community. It's got laws like the community outside's got laws. You got a problem… You learn how to move… you have to live – some people live well, more than others, just like in society. More well off than others. But you got this – you lookin' to get outside of those walls – you got to adjust."*

The quote that began this section is from Martin. He entered prison at age nineteen and he faced a twenty to life sentence. Martin was quite clear about the rules and his adaptations – in his interview he focused on the role of fear and violence in his first years in prison. Inmate interpersonal violence exists with a framework of structural and institutional violence within the

prison.[18] Inmate violence is what first comes to mind when we think about prisons – it is the most commonly referenced in portrayals of the prison such as *Oz* or *Prison Break*. It occurs directly between incarcerated persons. Bottoms divides inmate violence into two categories: collective violence and interpersonal violence (1999: 205). These categories are distinguished by their impact on social order in the prison. Collective violence involves a significant breakdown in the order of the prison (206). Examples of this form of inmate interpersonal violence include the 1980 New Mexico Penitentiary riot and the West Virginia Penitentiary riot in 1986 (Useem and Kimball 1991). This form of violence is less frequent than interpersonal violence. Interpersonal violence is made up of the violent acts that 'take place *within the everyday frameworks of the prison's social order*' [italics in original] (Bottoms 1999: 206). A third category of inmate violence, group conflict, which occurs between gangs and other social groups is added by Thompkins (2005: 1). Wolff and Shi found that social incivility from other inmates and staff along with perceptions of physical and sexual harm were among the most significant variables in determining whether the inmates in their study reported feelings of safety (2009: 418). Inmate interpersonal violence plays an important role in structuring the daily routines of prison life. In this chapter, I focus on inmate interpersonal violence, because it structures the daily routines of prison life.

Interpersonal violence can be broken down into general categories: verbal assaults or threats, sexual assaults and physical assaults. Verbal threats and assaults are the most common. However, these are difficult to quantify because they occur regularly and are part of normal daily routine. Physical assault is fairly common in prison. The Human Rights Watch report *No*

[18] I generally refrain from using the terms inmate and prisoner because of the critiques that formerly incarcerated activists have made of the use of terms inmate, convict and prisoner being degrading. I am using the term inmate here because it is the technical term that is used in the literature.

Escape: Male Rape in U.S. Prisons, cites a figure of 70% of people incarcerated in state and federal prisons have experienced assault at the hands of other inmates each year (Mariner 2001). Many physical assaults are not reported because of the risk of retaliation for informing authorities. This means that available figures for this category of assaults are likely underestimate inmate interpersonal violence.

Sexual assaults do not occur at the rate of physical assaults but are nonetheless visible and highly frightening, so much so, that they are a part of the public imagination surrounding the prison. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson have documented a wide range of estimates for sexual coercion and completed rape in prisons for men (2006: 1591-1615). They cite statistics ranging from 1% rate of completed sexual assaults and a 14% rate of sexual threats to a finding that "21% of 1,788 men in seven Midwestern prisons had experienced pressured or forced sexual contact" (2006: 1592-1593). Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson classified 10% of those cases as rape (2006: 1592). In 2008 and 2009, the US Department of Justice conducted the Second National Inmate Survey. The Department of Justice offers an estimate of 2.1% (30,100 individuals) state and federal prison inmates (includes facilities for men and women) who have been sexually victimized by other inmates (Beck et al. 2010: 6). However, there is likely to be a "dark figure" of prison sexual coercion and rape because of prohibitions on "snitching". [19] Sexual victimization is most likely to occur in the prisoner's cell, the area over which the prisoner has the most control (Beck et al. 2010: 21).

The levels of violence in prisons in the United States have changed since the mid-1960's when many studies of prisonization were conducted (Sykes 2007; Clemmer 1958; Wheeler 1961). Wacquant points to the shift from the "Big House" which was ideally focused on a goal of

[19] The term "dark figure of crime" is commonly used to refer to the difference between the statistics and the actual rate of occurrence of crime (Skogan, 1974; Biderman and Reiss, 1967).

rehabilitation to a prison which is primarily intended to "neutralize" inmates materially and symbolically (2001a: 111-2). Johnson argues that there was a shift from the correctional institution to a new form "marked by the climate of violence and predation on the part of the prisoners" (2002: 53-54). Hunt et al. found that their interview respondents (former prisoners in the California state prison system) argued that guards actively encourage gang activity, the resulting conflicts and violence as a method of maintaining order in the prisons (1993: 401). The respondents also point to changes in the new population entering the prison – they are younger, "boys trying to become men", and they are more likely to be an "inmate" (looking out for themselves) than a convict (looking out for the other convicts). They call the new younger men entering the prison the Pepsi Generation (1993: 405). Butler argues that prisoners exist in an "uneasy truce" and that within a one-month time frame, one third of the adult prisoners in Great Britain were threatened with violence (2008: 856).

We would expect the parts of the *carceral habitus* that relate to inmate violence to differ in prison systems that have either more or less inmate violence. There are differences between the levels of inmate interpersonal violence experienced in state prisons and federal prisons within the United States. The majority of class participants who had served time in federal prisons were more confident and evinced fewer of the behaviors associated with the *carceral habitus* than those who had served time in state prisons. Accordingly, we would expect national variations in the expression of the *carceral habitus*. Early work on the comparison of prisonization within Scandinavian prisons found two general groupings of prisons, treatment-oriented and custodial (Hindman 1971: 383). The treatment oriented prisons had more interactions between incarcerated persons and staff and between incarcerated persons. This translated into more friendships and more involvement in the treatment oriented prisons than were seen in the

custodial prisons. Reisig and Lee studied prisonization among incarcerated people in the Republic of Korea (2000). They found that a degree of prisonization existed among incarcerated people, but that it varied depending upon the conditions of confinement (Reisig and Lee, 2000: 29). Korean prisons are managed by national government – much like the federal prisons in the United States and utilize similar methods of surveillance and control. It would be expected that the men who are coming from these facilities would be more similar to the men in my sample who had been incarcerated in minimum security federal facilities where there is less inmate violence. Birkback compared prisons in the United States and Latin America. He argues that prisons in Latin America have lower levels of control resulting in higher levels of violence between the incarcerated (2011). It would be expected that the men who have been incarcerated in these institutions would have more of the aspects of the *carceral habitus* that are related to the experience of inmate-on-inmate violence. Kaminski, in his ethnography of Communist era prisons in Poland points to a violence, involving 'fag making' and “games”, that is carefully bounded by an arcane set of rules and punishments that had to be carefully observed (2004). In the case of Kaminski’s prison, the new inmate had to fight and undergo testing to achieve a ranking (rookie, fag, sucker or grypsman) and those rankings could be lost, so the inmate had to be ever vigilant. It would be expected that these individuals as well would exhibit the elements of the *carceral habitus* that are related to higher rates of inmate interpersonal violence.

Butler, in her 2008 study, points to individual level differences between incarcerated persons. She argued that there were some differences in the narratives of incarcerated men that influenced the men’s involvement in confrontations within the prison (866). Men who were more secure in their identities were less likely to participate in violent behaviors. Men who were more insecure in their identities were likely to use aggression to bolster their masculine identity (866-

70). However, I would argue that the men with better, more secure self-images are likely to be those who are better at negotiating the prison environment. These are men who are likely to have access to a wider range of financial, social, cultural, bodily, and possibly violence capital and hence need to deal with lower levels of aggression. The men with less secure identities are more likely to need to turn to aggression in an attempt to attain a hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes 2005: 52). Most new inmates are vulnerable – they are unable to fulfill the parts of hegemonic masculinity that are key to the functioning of the prison and will have to attempt to reassert this masculinity throughout their prison terms (Jewkes 2005: 56)**.** These men would need to either decisively prove their masculinity in an accepted manner, or keep their heads down and try to "do easy time". These institutional and individual level differences are expected to induce variations in the expression of the *carceral habitus*.

The Relationship between Prison as a Total Institution and the C*arceral Habitus*

In the preface to *Asylums*, Goffman writes: ′any group of persons develops a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it′ (1961a: ix-x). The question in terms of a total institution becomes how, given the constraints of the system, is that "life" constructed, and what is the impact of that "life" upon the individual after release. For Goffman, the total institution was not capable of producing lasting changes, and that any changes that occurred were due to disculturation, a process in which the inmate loses the ability to participate in certain behaviors and keep track of changes in the outside world (1961: 13). However, Clemmer (1958), Sykes (2007) and Irwin (2004) find that the prison has a unique culture with social categories, language, an authority structure and set of social relations. Incarcerated individuals make alterations, such as the adoption of a specific language and

changes in the relationship to the world and understanding of one's body that would appear to be more substantial than mere absence from the outside culture.

The impacts of incarceration are often understood as a form of situational adjustment (Becker 1964). During the process of situational adjustment, the individual learns the requirements for the situations in which he or she is immersed and comes to take on the characteristics necessary for each situation (44). This produces perspectives that last only long as the individual is involved in the situation. Becker relies on Wheeler's study of socialization in prisons (46). Wheeler, in his study of socialization inside prisons, argues that prisonization is largely a function of the length of time served and the time left to serve (1961). The men who at early stages of their sentences gave more responses that conformed to staff expectations, men in the middle of their sentences were more likely to give non-conforming responses and the men who were nearing the completion of their sentences tended to give more conforming responses (702-8). Wheeler argues that total institutions develop sub-cultures are "specific to the problems posed by their rather unique character", and because of this formerly incarcerated people "may be insulated from lasting socialization effects" (711). This may have been true in the era of the big house prison, but following the advent of mass incarceration, the prison has assumed a different, more violent character (Wacquant 2001a; Johnson 2002; Hunt et al. 1993). Wheeler's study was a survey that set up scenarios and compared the answers that inmates made to answers given by the staff members. It did not address the question of embodiment and did not follow the men after release. There is a difference between whether an individual believes he should cover up an escape attempt and whether he can deal with a job interview or a crowded subway car.

Following Bourdieu, prison can be understood as a field: a set of power relations, or "socially structured space" in which individuals strive to alter or preserve boundaries (Bourdieu

and Wacquant 1992: 17). The field of the prison presents a structure of probabilities and necessities which in turn create a framework of objective conditions that are embodied as the habitus, or systems of durable and transposable dispositions, "manner[s] of standing speaking and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu 1990: 54). In the prison, the primary necessities involve ensuring the safety and integrity of the individual. The body in the carceral institution is easily violated by prison staff and other incarcerated individuals. Bodily integrity must be maintained by constant vigilance. The habitus enables the individual to perform acts of 'practical knowledge' without conscious planning, allowing appropriate reaction to stimuli. The pugilistic habitus of the boxers studied by Loïc Wacquant allows the boxers to respond to the right hooks by blocking and countering without conscious thought (2004). I will argue that the *carceral habitus* similarly functions as a secondary *habitus* that is inculcated through the disciplines of the prison. The *carceral habitus* enables the inmate to respond in the same manner to the high levels of interpersonal violence that are present within the prison.

Fields are navigated by utilizing various forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. The prison is characterized by another form of capital, the ability to use violence. [20] The majority of people, including those who have been incarcerated, are not good at performing physical violence (Collins 2008). Those individuals with the mental and physical capability to perform acts of physical violence can transform that violence into the other forms of capital. It can secure a business or guarantee access to important social networks. Capital operates the same way in the prison that it does in other fields, but it is exercised in a much more limited way and the ability to perform physical violence becomes more important. In other fields, including the street or hyperghetto neighborhood, individuals

[20] Violence, in its many forms, is a usable form of capital that is present in many fields. However, it is not often seen as a legitimate form of capital and the use of violence is often naturalized.

have access to a number of resources and forms of capital. This restriction of the ability to utilize the range of capital is related to the prison as a total institution.

One of the primary characteristics of the total institution that the presence of barriers to contact with the outside (Goffman 1961a). All phases of activity are conducted in full view of the staff and inmates. In addition, all activities run on a tight schedule. In the prison this is known as "the Count". Entrance into the carceral institution is the beginning of what Goffman terms a "process of abasement", in which the inmate is exposed to bodily mortification, stripped of his or her ability to maintain a normal appearance and is changed from a subject that can act upon the world to an object which is acted upon (Goffman 1961a: 14-48). In the prison, the process of abasement involves both prison staff and other inmates. Ross and Richards describe the first twenty-four hours following entry into the prison as "terrifying" and the period of learning the rules of the facility and how the privilege-punishment system is applied to an individual inmate as a process of "trial and error" (2002: 70-2).

There are some arguments about the degree to which carceral institutions are in fact total institutions in the Goffmanian sense, particularly with regard to total separation from the outside (Goffman 1961a: 3-124).[21] Incarcerated persons have varying levels of contact with the community outside and events in that community can impact events within the prison (McCorkle et al. 1995: 320-1). However, the prison is a total institution in three aspects which are important for the purposes of this study. First, there is no way to suppress discrediting information. Even being moved from one prison to another in the same system does not allow an individual to escape from discrediting information. This is because information travels with the individual in

[21] This is especially true following the strike in the Georgia State Prison System. The strike was coordinated using cellphones and strikers contacted outside agencies and the media to raise awareness (Wheaton, 2010). There has also been a set of hunger strikes that spread from Pelican Bay throughout the state prisons in California.

terms of official records and the prison system's informational grapevine. Also, as noted above, the fact that the prison population in New York State is drawn from a small number of neighborhoods in New York City means that discrediting information may also follow an individual upon release (Justice Mapping Center 2010). This interweaving of the prison and the ghetto narrows the range of choices that the men in my study have while in the prison. They have to worry about the implication of their activity while in the prison for their return into the community. Given the small number of neighborhoods that the majority of the prison population is drawn from – it is likely that an individual will run into people with whom he has been incarcerated. This happens at Second Chance. This means that it can be difficult to avoid the release of discrediting information about events in the prison. The second aspect that establishes that prison as a total institution for the purposes of this study is the mortification process that occurs when new prisoners enter the system includes both institutional violence and inmate violence. New prisoners are given numbers thereby stripping them of their identities. Third, there is no possibility of seeking escape outside of the confines of the total institution. To be seen to report to authorities can get you "caught up" or marked as a "snitch" (Carceral 2006: 131-2). In addition, protective custody means twenty-three hours in a cell with one hour of physical recreation which, because it may also be in the same area as administrative segregation, may not necessarily be protective.

As a result of these aspects of the prison as a total institution, prisoners often structure their daily routines around avoiding or controlling violence. McCorkle, in his study of the Tennessee State Prison, finds that 'fear appeared to be shaping the life-styles of many of the men living at TSP (1992: 169). McCorkle identifies a set of precautionary behaviors that his subjects engaged in on a routine basis. These precautionary behaviors include: keeping to one's self,

avoiding certain areas, trying to stay in one's cell, avoiding certain activities, "getting tough", carrying some sort of weapon, lifting weights to build the body and develop an intimidating physique and some (a small number) sought protective custody. Most of his respondents reported using a combination of these strategies. These strategies are also reported in the narratives of incarcerated persons such as Hassine, who reports changes in his habits as he became aware that simple things such as sleeping heavily in his cell, or having a cluttered cell put him at risk of physical violence (2004: 11-3). K.C. Carceral reports the challenges of managing to move through areas that are outside of the view of facility staff (2006: 40) and Hassine notes increased insecurity during periods of general movement (Hassine 2004: 10).

Certain activities are the focus of a great deal of anxiety. The fear of theft, which if left unanswered, can lead to an escalating round of violence, is the subject of much planning. Hassine argues that there is a fear of the "sloppy thief" (2004: 21). A "sloppy thief" is one who gets caught in the act of stealing. Both the thief and the strong-arm robber, the one who takes from you by force, demand an immediate and physically violent response. For example, Hassine reported that he would not use the toilet in his cell unless the cell door was locked and that it was necessary to be alert and prepared to respond when the door was unlocked in the morning (2004: 24). Some thieves may also display things that they have stolen – thus exposing the victim as being unable to secure their possessions. One of the informants in my study, Mario, reported having stabbed a man over the theft of a pair of sneakers – "I took his kidney." While this may appear senseless, when viewed in the context of needing to manage violence, Mario's actions, while brutal, make sense. The thief was making it clear that he had stolen Mario's sneaker and was wearing them. This constituted a challenge. If Mario, who may also have had a side business going on, had not reacted he would likely have been the target of extortion and theft. Assault is

another activity that can have serious ramifications, as Carceral points out. “Fights happen. Assaults are the true terror of prison life” (2006: 86). He argues that part of the fear is the fact that assaults can happen at any time. While it is possible to pick up on the warning signs of fights – they may occur due to disrespect, clashing egos or just built-up tension – assaults can happen without warning. Thus, every interaction, from bumping into someone to a conversation, is suspect. Are you being probed for signs of weakness?

While assaults and thefts are the most apparent and easy to research because researchers at least have access to some officially collected data, the more mundane aspects of interpersonal violence are not. Thompkins reports that the daily barrage of verbal abuse and threats ('I’m gonna kill you, man') or the use of insults is highly important and heightens the perceived danger (personal communication, 2010). The question then becomes, when will these insults and threats morph into action? Collins notes that insults are often the first step in a bullying relationship (2008: 168-171). The anxiety and fear created in these lower-level interactions can also trigger changes in behavior. What may be most important for the development of precautionary behaviors and the structuring of the *carceral habitus* may not be the physical acts of violence as they occur to one’s person, but rather, the threat of impending violence. The threat of violence induces tension and fear. Collins argues that violent interactions are so removed from normal interaction rituals that most people, including prisoners, are “fearful and incompetent in the exercise of violence” (2008: 19-20).

Many of these precautionary behaviors can be seen as structuring the *carceral habitus* and thus carrying over into life outside of the prison. Gowan found that the formerly incarcerated, homeless men in her study had a habitus that was altered by “the restrictions, authoritarian micromanagement, and routinized abuse of prison life” (2002: 511). She argued

that "those who had done extensive time seemed to combine repressed fury with the kind of existential passivity born of extreme regimentation" (2002: 511). The following is a portion from an interview conducted with Joseph, a man who had served more than thirty years in a state prison. Interestingly, Joseph was one of the men who least displayed elements of the *carceral habitus*, but this can be attributed to differences between his prison experience and that of the majority of my subjects.

> *Over the years, you adjust yourself to it and you begin to internalize the prison responses to situations and they're so hard – I mean it's a violent prone... I shouldn't say all prisons are violent, but they're violence prone. There's that whole thing of not showing any softness, any weakness, I mean because then you become preyed upon… and then you begin to adjust yourself when things are done that … and some of the things that you have to adjust are horrible to me… I mean the threat of violence – shocks me to death and that goin' on inside the prison all the time. You know what I mean and I had to get used to that. You know, I didn't like it, but I had to get used to it. So you begin to internalize the responses that you have.*

Another of my respondents focused on the violence in the prison during our conversation and the progressive deadening to violence. Patrick had been incarcerated for over ten years. He spoke about how he had entered the prison as a young man and was overwhelmed by the violence and hardness of the environment. Patrick said that he changed while he was inside and became hard and told me a story about how some years he had entered the prison, one of the young men on the block had committed suicide. After the corrections officers had removed the man, Patrick and others entered the cell and took his belongings including his shoes. Marco, another respondent who had recently returned home after a 16 year bid in federal prison described the way that he would manage a new "cellie". Marco placed his long and rather serious rap sheet on the new guy's bunk, waited for the new guy to read the rap sheet and then asked for the new guy's rap sheet. If the new guy wouldn't show his rap sheet, Marco would tell him to request a transfer immediately. This had two purposes – it screened out "snitches" and sex

offenders (If the new guy was afraid to show his rap sheet, Marco assumed that this was probably the reason.) and it impressed them with the seriousness of his rap sheet and his ability and willingness to perform violence.

Wacquant argues that the prison and the ghetto intermesh in a variety of ways (2001a). Both function as institutions of social control and there has been a fusion of the culture of the prison with the culture of the ghetto. It is true that there are many commonalities between the prison and the ghetto. In some cases, the *carceral habitus* can function as a form of 'street capital' that allows an individual to boost his reputation (Sandberg 2008).[22] However, the street is not the same as the prison. On the street, one has more options and more forms of capital from which one can choose. One of my informants, Marley, argued that while "the hood" was bad, maximum security state prison was like gladiator school.

The Impact of Inmate Interpersonal Violence

> *"Ok. My first … I was like 5'7", 5'8" and 120 pounds. So now – now all the things I had known about prison. The first thing I did – I got a shank. Cause I said – nobody's going take my manhood, nobody! If I got this, I be able to defend myself. Like I told you I was saying I wanted to die – I couldn't do 20 years – that was life within itself. After 5 years I said I could do 5. Get behind that."*
>
> *"I was saying – nobody's going take my manhood. I'm a man, no one's going to take it – I'd rather die before that happens. I got my own protection. It's not hard, it's easy to explain… but in a way that… you got dudes who'll say I'll protect you – they want something from you for the protection. The other dudes say 'join this, join that, join this, join that – we'll protect you'. So either way you've got to give up something to get something. I don't need that. So I see someone I know – I say 'What do you need? You need that. This what I need. I don't need nothing else. This what I need.' Like that. I'll have my own protection. I don't need nobody doing nothing for me. Because in your mind you heard all the stories – there's a lot of things going through your mind when you first come in. The first thing that came in my mind is nobody's going to make me their property. Nobody's going to*

[22] "Street capital" can facilitate illegal and some legal employment. For example, several of the men in the classes have worked as security for night clubs or parties. These men are more likely to exhibit more markers of the carceral habitus for a longer period of time.

make me their property. I could hold my own. After a while – you having those things [shank] – it's illegal. I'd rather get caught with it than without it. Because without it, I'm real light. I'm skinny… Ain't nothing I could do about someone who weighs 200 pounds with my hands but with this [shank] I can stop him. After a while – they learned he's not to be messed with. Sooner or later, someone isn't going to believe. They goin' to test you – not at the time as I said, you're going to drown or you're going to swim. And I swam. I needed to protect myself. But that meant business. Either you mean business or you're not going to mean business – so once people with that life, know that you mean business, you ain't no punk."

The *carceral habitus* includes aspects that are related to the levels of interpersonal violence experienced in the prison. One of the most easily noticeable of these is a specific body type. Many of the younger (below 50 years of age) men who have just come home display a cut upper body with very well defined biceps (their "guns"). The legs are not necessarily built up to the same degree.[23] The body is also carried in a specific manner. The arms are held slightly out and move easily. It is a way of holding space and functions in the same manner as protective coloration, allowing the individual to announce to others that he can defend himself if necessary.

Facial expressions also function in a protective manner. The "yard face" or "screw face" is another easily visible aspect of the *carceral habitus*. The "yard face" is a blank expression. The eyes go flat and the face becomes expressionless. It is an expression that is employed by police, military members and trained boxers and martial artists during fights. It is very disconcerting to be on the receiving end of the "yard face". The "yard face" can be an expression of aggression, but more often it is a way for the individual to withdraw, and assess a situation while not telegraphing his or her intentions. The "yard face" is more than just an expression, it is a skill that is rather difficult to learn. In the context of the Career Development class, "the yard face" often occurs during times of stress such as the mock interviews.

[23] This is also an interesting example of necessity. The type of physical fitness equipment that is available varies and many times it is limited to a weight bench and pull-up bars.

A hyper-sensitivity to physical space is also a part of the *carceral habitus*. This too, would seem to be at least partially rooted in the danger of interpersonal violence. Vigilance has to be maintained to ensure physical integrity. This was one area in which the habitus of men and women intersected. Both the men and women who had been incarcerated would survey the room. Often when they entered the room, these individuals would try to sit with their backs to the wall. The instructors would often have to tell the students to "get off the back wall" or to turn their chairs around. Julia, a woman who had recently returned from a long bid in a state facility, spoke to me the first day of class after she had made several moves to shift to a chair with the back to the wall. Julia told me that she "hate[s] sitting without having my back to the wall". She began to come in early every day to be sure that she had a spot, preferably with her back to a corner. Ron, who had just finished a ten year bid in a federal facility, also expressed the same concern in conversation. The young men who were attending the class as part of the Alternatives to Incarceration program were much more at ease. They slouched in their chairs in positions that caused their view of the door and people entering the room to be obscured. This was replicated outside during the cigarette breaks.

Another issue for many of the men and women who have recently returned from prison is smiling. The younger men who are part of the Alternatives to Incarceration program are able to smile easily. The older men and women, particularly the African-American men, have a more difficult time with this exercise. The trainers tell the students on the first day of class to "go home and practice smiling". The next day, the students all line up and practice shaking hands with a trainer. The younger students in the front generally breeze through the exercise while the older students generally need to repeat the exercise at least twice.

> *Jen also does the "smile test". Everyone lines up and then one at a time they come up and shake hands, introduce themselves and smile. Mikael gives an*

> *explanation for why he can't shake hands. (Jen has discussed this with him previously – he is Muslim and is not allowed to have physical contact with a woman outside of his family – and it seems like it isn't such a big deal because he's got a good smile.). This smile test is hard – some folks have to repeat the exercise – there's a lot of cracking up. The first guy has to repeat the exercise a few times because he would start to laugh and the class would start to laugh – sometimes the class starts or the instructor so it takes a bit of time to get started. The smile and physical contact is difficult – especially for Mateo who had spent more than two years in super-max confinement in Pelican Bay.*

This issue also became important in the mock interviews, as students were sent back to try again and again if they did not smile upon entering the room. Paul, a student in a later class who had just come back from serving time in a state facility, began to cry at the end of his mock interview. Paul was sent back repeatedly to try to enter the room with a smile. His face was stiff and unsmiling through much of the interview. He began to cry quietly as Richard began to mention smiling. "I try, I want to smile... I can't." Bryan, one of the Soft Skills Trainers would regularly tell the classes about his experiences working for a local grassroots agency after returning serving over twenty years in juvenile and adult facilities. He describes how the staff at the agency were always after him about smiling. Bryan felt that he was smiling. It wasn't until he was forced to look in a mirror that he saw his "smile" was essentially a yard face. The act of smiling may indicate weakness and in the milieu of the hypermasculine prison, a smile is seen as declaring yourself to be open to attack.

Prison life is far from being the free-for-all depicted on in popular culture. Instead, for the majority of the population who concentrate on keeping their heads down and doing "easy time", an elaborate code of respect and deference is used to navigate the prison milieu (Sabo et al. 2001: 10-2). In general, a significant degree of politeness is observed in the Career Development classes, above that which would be expected outside. It is incumbent upon an incarcerated individual to respond to disrespect, even everyday rudeness that would be

overlooked on the outside. Thus, a return to an environment which features experiences such as being bumped in the subway, having one's feet stepped on or parking space taken is quite difficult. The reactions often tend to be snap, spur of the moment and aggressive. This is one of the most frequent causes for conflicts within the Career Development classes. The following excerpt illustrates the difficulty of accomplishing a mundane task, a ride on the subway, for Oscar, a "lifer" who is trying to adjust to life on the outside after serving more than twenty years. Oscar was an "old head" in prison and as a counselor was looked up to and had a certain amount of authority while he was incarcerated.

> *While we are in the circle, Oscar volunteers that he has had to learn patience and tolerance, especially in the subway. He states that he has trouble with the everyday rudeness such as people bumping into him. He describes an encounter with a woman who stepped on his foot. He becomes animated and acts out the event. When he said "Excuse me" (he is animated, loud and sarcastic) to the woman, she gave him a nasty look and later came over and "on purpose" stepped on his foot again. When he responded by calling her "Asshole", she hit him. Oscar then retaliated by pushing her. Luckily, they were separated and the woman got off at the next stop.*

In this instance the woman's behavior, stepping on his foot without an apology or other form of acknowledgement, was interpreted as being disrespectful and thus as a marker for a potentially dangerous situation. This led Oscar to react in a different way. Instead of ignoring the incident and treating it as an accident, as most people do in crowded subways, he escalated the situation. Oscar may appear simply paranoid and it is possible that the events did not happen in precisely the way that he details. However, the filters through which he is telling his story are important and he is using the framework of the prison to interpret the meaning of the encounter.

Similar types of response to perceived disrespect happened frequently enough with men who had recently returned home from prison that I developed a factious name for it – "hat drama".

Jen is teaching the class – it is the first day and we are going over the introductions. It is about ten minutes into the class. The door opens in a guy swaggers in. He's got a big coat and a knit cap over dreadlocks. Jen stops him. "You are late. Sit down, please." He keeps standing. I think he is surprised to see Jen. He continues to stand.

Jen asks him his name and tries to make a little small talk. He stares at her. "Why do you want to know?"

"I need to know your name, so that you can participate."

He mumbles, "Ron".

"Well, Ron you have to sit."

"No, I want to stand."

Jen tells him that he has to sit and that he needs to write a 500 word essay on lateness. Ways he can avoid being late in the future. Ron looks up at Jen. He is angry and shouts. "I can't take it today." Ron then storms out of the room. Sometimes staff members will try to follow the students who leave, but Jen doesn't try to do so with Ron.

Dave, one of the supervisors, comes in after seeing Ron storm down the hall. Dave comes in to make sure that the class is going ok. "He [Ron] stepped on his own foot today. Don't you do that! Give us a chance to help you."

"Hat drama" would occur during the first one or two days of class. Students were informed on the Friday prior to class, that wearing a baseball hat or doo rag was against the rules. However, there was often at least one person in the class who would wear a baseball hat. Bryan, Madesio or Jen, the soft skills instructors, would remind him (usually it was a man) that he needed to remove his hat. This would often lead to an intense outburst characterized by the individual standing up and raising his voice and gesticulating with raised hands. This behavior was an attempt to establish the individual as a person who is capable of taking care of business. The outburst is threatening and not easily diffused, even in the controlled setting of the classroom. There is a distinct difference between the younger men who are in the Alternatives to Incarceration program and the older men who have been incarcerated. The younger men may

bluster but they don't have the same snap reaction to interactions indicating disrespect. The way in which they carry themselves is not marked by the same implied threat as the men who have just come back from prison.

Generally, the parties to conflicts in the class attempt to ensure that no one loses face in the resolution of conflict.

> *For some reason, Bryan has left me running the class. I know he's really busy, but he's left me doing a worksheet with a class full of guys who are not really going to listen to me. What the hell do I have to tell them? I've got no cred. Ok, I'm trying to do the sheet. Most of the older guys are just sitting passively or helping me to get through the sheet. I notice that Davon, one of the younger guys – in his twenties – is getting up. He's been up and down and out of the room almost all day. I've been a bit surprised that Bryan and others have been letting him do stuff that any other participant would have been punished for with a lecture or a 500 word essay. I stop Davon by standing in front of the door and ask him where he is going. Davon goes cold and looks way down at me answers that he wants to go out. We're now in a standoff and the room has gone really quiet. Now we have to figure out how to get out of this. It won't look good for him to sit down and it won't look good for me if he storms past me. The whole thing takes about a minute or minute and a half. Davon says that he has to go to see his councilor and will be back and I let him go past while telling him that he can't be up and down all day. The guys are still staring at me.*

Davon and I were able to negotiate a successful ending to our confrontation that enabled both parties to maintain face. However, it was touch and go for a little while. Even after Davon left the room, the guys were quiet until I made a joke. This type of thing is not easy to manage – you have to stay incredibly focused because a display of weakness is not really an option, but if the situation escalates there could be physical violence. In this instance, physical violence was likely not in the offing because touching me would have led to Davon losing face in front of the class and potentially getting kicked out of the program.

Another aspect of the *carceral habitus* that is related to the danger of interpersonal violence is difficulty making small talk. Small talk, otherwise known as phatic communication or interactional talk is used to develop a "positive rapport" or the "establishment and maintenance

of friendly relations" (Placencia 2004: 216). Small talk is a social lubricant, especially in the context of the job market or when trying to do the socialization necessary to build social capital. The ability to make small talk is a necessity. The majority of the students who had been incarcerated were not able to participate in conversations with people whom they had just met. The soft skills trainers assigned students partners for this reason. Students were required to ask and answer some background questions with their partner. This assignment always met with great resistance. Inside the prison, speaking with someone whom you don't know can place you in danger. The person may be sizing you up to figure out where you sit in the social hierarchy and determine your level of vulnerability to theft or intimidation. I found the difficulties with small talk tended to be more pronounced among the men who had returned from state prison than among the men who had served time in federal facilities. Women also experienced difficulties with small talk although in this case it wasn't necessarily only limited to those who had been incarcerated. The young women who had gang involvement also had difficulty and in general were more similar to those who had been incarcerated.

Differences in the *Carceral Habitus*

It is important to note that there are differences within the *carceral habitus* and some of these are related to the level of violence to which the individual was exposed and the amount of control over violence that the individual was able to exercise. The formerly incarcerated individual I met who displayed the fewest indicators of the *carceral habitus* was Joseph. Joseph had served more time than my other subjects, more than 30 years on his last bid. There were several key differences between Joseph and the majority of my other respondents. Joseph was older, in his mid-thirties, when he entered the prison for the last time, and he was aware how the

system worked. He was preceded by a reputation that included a manhunt and an escape attempt. Over time, Joseph became an important activist for prisoners' rights – working to resolve tensions between the other prisoners and staff and pushing for improvements to conditions. He was also part of the self-education programs run by former members of the Black Panther Party who were incarcerated in New York State prisons. Joseph had established a significant amount of respect from other prisoners, staff and activists on the outside that helped to insulate him from violence. However, he still acutely felt the violence and referred to internalizing responses to violence.

One of the most striking differences in the strength of the *carceral habitus* occurs between those who have done time in state prisons and those who have done time in the federal system, particularly in minimum security federal facilities. The students who had done time in the federal system's minimum security facilities exhibited some of the aspects of the *carceral habitus*, such as some difficulty making small talk, but not to the same degree. In particular, neither the snap reaction to disrespect nor the difficulty smiling were as common. I was informed by Jay, a staff member, that there was a great deal of difference between federal time and state time. Jay compared the state prisons to gladiator schools. In general, there tends to be a great deal of variation in state facilities that is not present in the more well-funded federal facilities. I have been told by informants that New York State prisons vary greatly in term of violence. For example, Clinton Correctional Facility may be violent, but the violence is predictable while Sing Sing[24] is also violent but very unpredictable, largely due to a large number of younger prisoners. Federal facilities are more consistent and have access to more programming and the staff is more highly trained. Marco, who had recently completed a sixteen year sentence in the federal prison

[24] Sing Sing is also a very old facility and the layout is has more areas that are difficult to monitor and thus more dangerous than prisons that have been more recently constructed.

system, had also served time in state prisons in New York and Pennsylvania. He described the medium security federal prison as relatively safe and ordered, you just had to watch out for "someone playing the fool". The state prison was more dangerous – Marco used to carry two knives on a regular basis to ward off attacks.

The aspects of the *carceral habitus* that are related to inmate interpersonal violence are mutable. The *carceral habitus* is a secondary *habitus*. Jen, one of the Soft Skills Trainers, has an interesting background. She comes from an upper-middle class background, but she has spent approximately eleven years in a number of jails and prisons. Jen would slip back and forth between her secondary *carceral habitus* and primary upper middle class habitus. When she was starting a new class, she would often present as prison – speaking slightly out of a corner of her mouth, using the argot, she would slouch slightly to one side and her tone of voice would harden. Throughout the class she would go back and forth, something that some of the male students would comment on admiringly. Adeyemi, another employee in the Career Development unit makes frequent references to having to deal with her prison and street persona coming back and having to combat during stressful periods.

Some become aware of the *carceral habitus*, and purposely seek to modify it. Marley worked for Second Chance and he was responsible for interviewing, running some classes and advising clients. He had served time in state prison. He often referred to the deep changes that he made to his way of being.

> *Marley is running the mock interviews. He stops occasionally and offers advice to the class. When Marley was released, he found that he had trouble obtaining employment. He said that he began to watch the way that others responded to him. Marley began to make changes. He tells us that he shaved off his dreadlocks, dropped his Jamaican accent and took out his tongue ring. The next steps were harder – he had to concentrate on learning how to move differently. Marley stated that he recognized that others were afraid of him. He began to walk differently and to change his mannerisms. He also describes practicing how to appear to be*

> *non-threatening. One of the first things that he did was to purchase gold rimmed glass without prescription lenses. Marley states that he can see other people relax when he puts on his glasses. Then he takes off the glasses, looks at the class stone faced, and puts on his glasses and smiles.*

Marley has an interesting background that is not typical of the majority of the students in the Career Development classes. He has had some experience with code switching – he tells me that he grew up "in the hood", but his parents saved to send him to a private school. Marley quickly found that he developed a liminal identity. If he spoke and carried himself at school in the same way he did in his neighborhood, he would be subject to taunts and other attacks. Similar events happened if he conducted himself in the way that he was expected to at school in the neighborhood. This means that he had learned to code switch at an early age. However, even Marley had some difficulty with the management of the *carceral habitus* when in positions in which his authority in the classroom was being threatened.

The Implications of Inmate Interpersonal Violence for Reintegration

The baggage that a formerly incarcerated person brings with them from the prison, in the form of the *carceral habitus*, is carried into a wide range of situations. Sometimes, such as in the case of those who must stay in homeless shelters or who live in bad neighborhoods, the parts of the *carceral habitus* that involve interpersonal violence can be helpful to an extent. The walk functions as a mark that one is not to be messed with. The ability to make snap reactions can protect someone in high violence settings. However, this only prolongs the difficulties that the individual will face in attempting to interact in a variety of situations including family life and the workplace. Roy, a man who had served twenty years in a state facility, described two instances that are related to the impact of interpersonal violence on the *carceral habitus*. One of the situations is rather comical and was easily defused by his sister.

> *Roy laughs and tells me about visiting his sister. Everyone had gone out and he decided to take a shower. He showered while wearing his underwear [This can be a strategy used both for modesty and as a sign that one isn't available. It can also be a handy way to wash your underwear because you don't get many pairs.]. When his sister came back, she found him in the shower. What could have been an embarrassing situation was defused by her gentle use of humor. She started to laugh and said "You can relax, little brother. We're not going to jump you."*

The second event Roy described was more serious and could have had negative consequences – violence against an innocent party and a likely return to prison for Roy.

> *A day or so after Roy returned home, he had to meet a friend at Penn Station during rush hour. [Penn Station is packed during rush hour.] He describes almost flattening a woman who accidently bumped into him. Roy turned and almost hit her. He remembers that her arms were full of bags. Then he started to panic. Roy's friend realized what was happening and took him to Battery Park to walk around and calm down.*

Violence and its necessary management for life on the inside are carried over from the prison into daily interactions within Second Chance. The following event is a ballet of sorts that occurred during the second week of the Career Development class. This was the final mock interview. The interview is extremely stressful for the students – not only do they have to perform well on an interview in front of a room of about thirty other classmates, but access to Job Developers is contingent on a good performance. The students have already attended class for seven days and it has been a pretty substantial investment of time and sometimes money on their part. For people who have limited income, the amount spent on subways and buses can be quite expensive and the program has had to step down and then phase out support for transportation. Also, sometimes the students have sacrificed opportunities to pick up odd jobs or have had to pay for childcare while they were attending the class. Not passing the interview means that they will have to invest more time by attending make-up days and conducting practice interviews.

Two of the staff members, Marley and Ron (both formerly incarcerated) were conducting the final interviews with the class. Marley was sitting in the front row, near the right side of the class room and Ron was acting as the interviewer. One of the students, Mark, presented as very aggressive. He walked in with his shoulders slightly hunched forward and immediately became combative, raising his voice and leaning into the desk. As Ron continued asking questions, the situation escalated. Marley, who is well over 6 feet, rose up from his chair. His face was blank. He picked up his chair and placed it down next to Ron's chair. The following is taken from my field notes regarding a conversation that I had with Marley and Ron regarding the incident.

> *When it came to Mark's interview, both Marley and Ron were very clear about the purpose of what had happened. Their response was about classroom control and teaching Mark that he can't do this sort of thing in the workplace. They can't send him out and get him through an interview, let alone have him keep a position. Marley states that his actions – standing up to his full six feet three inches and putting his chair down in front of the desk, next to Ron, were intended to signal Mark that he should back off. This left Mark with two big guys seated in front of him. Mark didn't get it and kept responding aggressively. Marley tells me that he then leaned forward and put his hands on the table to reclaim space and notify Mark that he needed to back off. Both Marley and Ron spoke to Mark on one level, their voices were cool and matter-of-fact, but their bodies were speaking differently, sending a message of potential violence – a warning of what would happen if Mark didn't back down. Mark sputtered and did back down. After the completion of the interview, however, he left the class and didn't return.*

There are several contradictions present in this event. First, the job developers had a stated goal of providing students with an example of the way in which a workplace functions. Marley saw himself as trying to make Mark ready to function in a workplace environment even as he was replicating a prison-style confrontation. The issue of classroom control is also important – because as with any class, the job developers and soft skills trainers need to maintain respect in order to have their students attend to the class and complete assignments. Allowing Mark to take control of the situation would have impacted the ability of Marley and Ron to maintain order in

the classroom. However, their actions served to reaffirm the framework of the *carceral habitus* for the class participants and for themselves.

What makes the above incident especially interesting and meaningful is that Marley is probably one of the most self-aware individuals that I have met during my research. He was raised "in the hood", but went to a private school. He learned to code switch at an early age. Marley is also hyperaware of the implications of the way in which he speaks, dresses, and walks. He even wears gold rimmed wire glasses in an attempt to soften his face and make others less afraid of his imposing appearance. For me as a researcher, it was confounding that Marley, who is so aware of the *carceral habitus* (this is not what he calls it), unconsciously replicated prison interactions and then gave me a blow-by-blow accounting of the events. The episode speaks to the importance of the *carceral habitus* and to how deeply it becomes engrained.

The *carceral habitus* can be a barrier to obtaining, and more importantly, retaining employment, especially in an economy, such as that of the New York Metro Area that is highly dependent on the FIRE[25] sector. Moss and Tilly draw attention to the increasing importance of soft skills in hiring decisions, even for the low-skill positions for which many of the students will be applying (1996: 270). Soft skills were defined as "skills, abilities and traits that pertain to personality, attitude, and behavior" (Moss and Tilly 1996: 256). Moss and Tilly break soft skills down into two categories, interaction and motivation. Interaction skills include the "ability to fit in", friendliness, and appropriate affect. Motivational skills include traits such as a positive work attitude and dependability (Moss and Tilly 1996: 256-7). The majority of the men who come through the program are attempting to secure employment in service industries that support the FIRE sector. The most commonly sought positions involve janitorial work, these being the ones

[25] The FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) sector in the New York Metro Area is a key source of employment.

that people will have had experience in performing within the prison. These positions, porters, janitors and maintenance workers require that an employee be able to work with others, to interface with supervisors and others who work in the building. These relations can be problematic, especially in terms of dealing with disrespect.

Second Chance has a seventy percent job placement rate for graduates of the Career Development Program. However, job retention is more problematic. Although I had difficulty in accessing the retention numbers, the Job Developers and Soft Skills Trainers frequently made complaints about how people would start jobs and leave them within the probationary period. Issues that were most frequently cited included conflicts with others and poor attendance. Some students reported having found work sites to be untenable due to high levels of conflict and disrespect. During the Soft Skills Classes, students are routinely warned to expect disrespect, particularly based around race, but to ”take one for the team” or to brush it off. However, those students who have served prison time, are likely to have spent their sentences learning that you can’t simply ignore or brush off disrespect.

The *carceral habitus* is problematic from the point of view of activities of daily living. After about a year of participating in the Career Development classes, the low level aggression and the ongoing management of that aggression became normalized and invisible to me. However, I began to notice changes in the way that I interacted with people in situations outside of my field site. I began to become irritated in simple situations that involved strangers – people standing too close in the grocery line, those who were rude and didn’t say excuse me or observe similar social conventions. I also started to notice that I became angry much more quickly than before. It became my common practice to try to scope out the space around me and I became intensely aware of vulnerabilities associated with my position. Was my back to the door? Who

was around me? This became very tiring. It also led to a couple of situations in which I acted in an uncharacteristic, rather aggressive manner.

> *Today was a long day. I spent the day at my field site and then went to John Jay to teach a late class. I managed to get to the Penn Station early enough time to get some Starbucks. It is about 9:00 or 9:30 in the evening. As I walk into the Starbucks, there is a guy looking at the board – he just keeps standing there, looking kind of dazed – I assume that he is not in line, he's just trying to figure out what he wants. As I move to get past him, he barks at me that he is next. This isn't such a big thing – the sort of thing that I would mutter "What an idiot" and just go on with my day. But this turns into a bigger issue. I pull out a self-defense weapon that I carry and make eye contact to be sure that he can see that I have it.*

I wasn't in any objective, immediate danger because it was it was around 9:00 in the evening. The Starbucks staff members were there and there were many other people and police officers in the station. This was not about fear. I just wanted to be sure that the man was aware that he could not push me around and that I could take care of myself. However, this situation could have easily have escalated out of control and led to police contact.

It is important to note that I have not "done time" and, that I was not exposed to any direct threats outside of some blustering in my field site. However, after spending three days a week for months at a time in the Career Development class, I had adapted in some degree to forms of interaction that were shaped by the structures of the prison. I found that there were two primary problems associated to these parts of the *carceral habitus* - maintaining the heightened awareness and actively curbing the aggression. Both became exhausting and required planning to cut down on possibilities for situations that could lead to negative interactions. This was something I had noted among members of the class. For example, I used to tease Malcolm about his reliance on taxis (they were an expense that he couldn't really afford) but the one time we did take the subway, before rush hour, he was very on edge. Others told me about trying to avoid

certain places such as Penn Station during rush hour because the pressure associated with trying to navigate them was too great.

The first recommendation coming out of this research is a need for programs designed to increase personal security for incarcerated persons. These should be multi-faceted. An increased awareness of the difference between the social control needs of the institution and "inmate social organization' is important (Thompkins 2005). Security in prisons needs to be understood as not simply preventing prison riots, escapes and ensuring orderly counts. To be able to successfully reintegrate, the incarcerated individual must be able to ensure personal safety on a daily basis. At this point in my research, it appears that it is those individuals with higher levels of social, cultural or violence (the ability and willingness to engage in interpersonal violence) capital who are most able to navigate the field of the carceral institution and most able to reintegrate. I posit that this is at least partially due to their ability to avoid high levels of inmate interpersonal violence and hence maintain at least some security and stability.

The second recommendation involves pedagogy in reentry and reintegration programs, both pre-release and post-release. Many of the students assumed that they would be able to reintegrate into their family and friendship groups and the larger community within a short period of time. They thought that the barriers to reintegration would be primarily structural, such as having to declare convictions on employment applications and restrictions of certain fields of employment. Family members are also not necessarily aware of the changes that happen in the prison. Joseph ran into this on his return. "You get hard in prison, but when you come out, your family want you to be all…"

A curriculum that recognizes the importance of embodiment and the ways in which the prison is carried into life outside would help to prepare individuals who are anticipating release.

The class at Second Chance focused on resume writing, application and interview skills. The issue of embodiment was sometimes implicit in the instruction, especially when the staff "tested" students, but it was generally not made explicit. Students were made to learn the proper way to shake hands and walk but were rarely told about the relationship between the prison and their current ways of understanding relationships and interacting with others. One of the primary goals of the Career Development class is to assist students in modifying parts of the *carceral habitus*, particularly those associated with interpersonal violence. This is often referred to as developing "life skills". Instructors persistently question, or sometimes give orders to, students who are perceived as needing "life skills" assistance. The staff, especially the Job Developers who are responsible for securing interviews for the students, are concerned with the ability of the students to fit into a workplace. Job Developers repeatedly pointed out individuals who were going to repeat the class, and told me that they would be unable to function in the work environment. However, while trying to assist the students in developing "life skills", the staff often reinforce the framework of the *carceral habitus*.

Chapter 7 - TIME, AGENCY, CONTROL AND POWER IN THE PRISON AND THE REINTEGRATION PROCESS

This chapter is a study of time, agency and control in the prison and the impact that the habitus engendered by the prison has on the process of reintegration. It needs to be noted that the data here, especially as it relates to agency and control, is provisional. The indicators of the carceral habitus relating to time, agency and control are more subtle than those involving inmate interpersonal violence and they are more difficult to observe. The issues with control are particularly hard to assess in the context of interviews and the classroom for a number of reasons including individuals' desires to present the self as powerful and agentic and the issues relating to the interviewer's race and ethnicity. Learning more about the long-term impact of the experiences of time and control in the prison will require a more detailed longitudinal study. The material presented here is intended to shape future research.

Time and Agency in the Prison Context

> *"Future time is terrifying. The present is heavy with torpor. Each minute may be marvelously – or horribly – profound… There are swift hours and very long seconds. Past time is void. There is no chronology of events to mark it; external duration no longer exists." (Serge 1969: 56-7)*
>
> *"The future? Time? Is there a future?… I know that time has two subjective dimensions: The bitter minute drags on eternally; the empty months fly, leaving no more than a bit of dust in the soul. Not even an ash!" (Serge 1969: 100-1)*

Time is inherently social, a social fact that "exercises an external compulsion" on individuals (Bergmann 1992: 83).Studies of time have found different orientations toward time

in various societies and subcultures (Bergmann 1992; Zerubavel 1982). Thompson's studies of the role of the development of industrial capitalism investigated the role of the industrial revolution and the factory in the development of the sense of time in Western societies (1967). This can be seen to have led to the concept of the formalized schedule. Schedules, or the tools that individuals move through time, can be understood as having three parts (Bergmann 1992: 103). One part of the schedule is determined by the individual. This varies with environmental demands. There is also a "socially negotiable" space within the schedule (103). We can apply this understanding to the prison as a social institution. We need to look at the prison as a "local time system" endowed with "localized meanings" (Sorokin and Merton 1937: 628).

Understanding time is key for the study of the habitus. Bourdieu argues that the habitus carries the past through into the present (Bourdieu 1997: 210) Incarcerated people come into the prison with a framework for processing time. This framework is impacted by the experience of incarceration. One would expect the changes to the individual's primary habitus to vary by the type of prison, the types of activities available, and the length of sentence. Bourdieu argues that time is experienced with the coincidence between expectations and life chances – when the rules of the game have changed (Bourdieu 1997: 207-10).

Within the prison there seem to be at least two times. The time experienced by the prison administrators and staff, and time as it is experienced by incarcerated people. The staff are able to maintain linear time with a "well ordered past, present, and future moving on a linear continuum divided into equal intervals" (Calkins 1970: 489). At least in the context of the prison staff are able to exercise agency albeit it bounded by prison rules and hierarchy.

From the perspective of the incarcerated person, time in the carceral institution does not ebb and flow in the same manner that it does outside the institution. In the context of the prison,

time can be understood as cyclical and moving from "crisis to crisis" (Calkins: 1970: 490). It is no longer taken-for-granted and time becomes less an object to be manipulated than a bog that the inmate must slog through. Time in the prison is experienced consciously (Cope 2003; Wahidin and Tate 2005). Wahidin and Tate quote one of their respondents as saying that "[Time, in here is] quite different because you're watching the clock inside prison whereas you don't necessarily look at the clock on the outside." Prisoners, particularly those serving long sentences, "have been given someone else's time" (Cohen and Taylor 1972: 89). Time also poses another challenge for the incarcerated person. The incarcerated person who has contact with family and friends has to deal with two times – the time he or she experiences and the time that family and friends experience on the outside.

In the prison time is controlled by the needs of the institution and runs on a system known as "The Count". The carceral institution creates a break between the inmate and his or her actions. An inmate lives in a regimented world in which actions – from the morning count, when all inmates must present themselves at the doors to their cells and wait for all the inmates in their sector to be accounted for, through the controlled movements and lights out - are scripted. There is no opening for individual decision making in the construction of the routine and the events of each day are the same. Goffman notes that outside the facility, individuals are free to construct "personal econom[ies] of action, while in the facility, where even the most minute actions are subject to regulation and regimentation, the inmates are unable to balance their needs and objectives "in a personally efficient way". Thus, in Goffman's terms, the "autonomy of the act is violated" (1961a: 38). A rather egregious example of this phenomenon is a New York State policy of restricting toilet flushes to one four-second flush every five minutes. If the inmate exceeds this number of flushes the inmate is unable to flush the toilet for one hour. The rationale

for the policy is security, as it is claimed that the new policy and toilet system will prevent inmates from backing up toilets and flooding the floors. However as Derrick Corley, an inmate in a New York State facility notes, the system will not provide a security benefit as staff already had the ability to shut off water to given areas and "the new system won't prevent that [flooding] – it will just take more time to do so" (Corley 2004: 17).

In the carceral institution, control extends beyond the manipulation of time. The regulations multiply and cover minute details of daily life. In New York State, male inmates are required to have "basic haircuts" with one straight part (NYS DOCS Directive 4914). Strict regulations also exist that govern how many books, magazines, and newspapers inmates may possess (NYS DOCS Directive 4913). Watterson collected regulations from women's prisons around the United States. Among the regulations were those that prevented the women from altering the length of their skirts and that required them to wear dresses on Sunday until after 3 pm (Watterson 1996: 361-378). In addition to the multiplicity of rules, the rules are not always enforced uniformly and inmates often learn how they are enforced by trial and error (Ross and Richards 2002: 68). Goffman posits that the large number of rules and differential enforcement lead to a chronic anxiety surrounding the constant possibility of rule breaking (1961a: 42).

Looping, the process by which the facility staff draw a defensive response from an inmate and use the response as a target of the next punishment, is referenced by Goffman as the third method of disturbing the relation between the inmate as an actor and his or her acts (1961a: 35-7).[26] This feedback loop, in prisons, is the process through which a simple act such as rolling one's eyes can escalate to a stay in administrative segregation or physical violence from the guards. The disruption of the connection between the inmate actor his or her and action signals

[26] Looping is also frequently used by the Soft Skills Trainers and other staff members in the context of the Career Development classes.

to others that that the inmate no longer is worthy of "adult" status. An additional factor in the loss of agency is the fact that inmates who advocate on behalf of themselves or others, especially "jailhouse lawyers", those with knowledge of the workings of the legal system, may find themselves the object of increased scrutiny leading to punishment and frequent transfers (Ross and Richards 2002: 70).

Data Sources

The material on time and agency is drawn from five in-depth phenomenological interviews, informal discussions with participants, and a diary that Marcos kept during prison and during his time in the half-way house. In this section I investigate the experience of time within the prison and the ways in which incarcerated individuals seek to manage time and exercise agency. The interviews were conducted with Martin, Joseph, Donald, Chris and Marcos. Martin is an African American man in his late forties who was incarcerated in a maximum security state prison facility for more than twenty years. Joseph is a prison activist in his seventies and he was incarcerated for more than thirty years in a maximum security state facility. Chris is an African American man in his thirties who spent several years in a maximum security state facility in Washington State. Donald was a fifty year old white man who had served time in a federal prison camp (a minimum security facility with limited perimeter fencing and dormitory housing). Marcos, a Latino man in his late forties, served more than ten years in a federal medium security facility and had previously served time in a state facility.

The maximum security state prison is the most restrictive of the three prisons and likely the most violent. The prison facility that Martin and Joseph were incarcerated in has a reputation for being violent, but the violence is more predictable than in other New York State maximum security facilities. The facility also has a large population of lifers, older individuals who serving

out long or life sentences and who tend exert a high level of informal social control within the prison (Irwin 2009). The federal facilities tend to have better reputation in terms of violence between incarcerated person and incarcerated persons and the staff. The federal medium security and the state maximum security facilities have lower levels of programming. The federal prison camp had a significant level of programming and Donald had access to programs such as yoga classes. He also had more ability to shape his schedule and take time to relax.

Time Work and Agency

Even in the constricted context of the prison, people engage in time work, trying to control their experience of time (Flaherty 2002: 380). Wahidin finds that the women in her sample learn how to "do time" by "suspend[ing] the self from the free world" and use fantasy, television and their memories to experience the free world while inside. (Wahidin and Tate 2005: 67). Cope finds that the young men in her sample used marijuana in order to make time "flow" (Cope 2003).

Chris

The ability to participate in time work is particularly important to the practice of agency. People try to exert control – even creating schedules to shape blocks of time that are filled with tedium (Roy 1960). The following is an excerpt from an interview conducted with Chris. Chris was convicted in California and sentenced to serve six years in a prison in California. However, due to a significant amount of overcrowding, he was shipped to a prison in Washington State to serve out the majority of his sentence. It is important to keep in mind that he was serving his time in a prison which was dominated by whites, many of whom were white supremacists. In addition, because Washington State has a relatively low incarceration rate, and state sentencing

practices tend to reserve prison sentences for "the most serious crimes", the state prison system tend to have a higher proportion of violent offenders than would be found in other state prison systems (Washington State DOC 2011). As an African American man, Chris was in a position that had to be managed very carefully. He argues that "If you have time, you dwell on what is happening on the outside". Chris was haunted about the strains on his marriage and not being able to see his child. In order to deal with this and the emotional pain caused by loneliness Chris micromanaged his time. He stated that this was important because, "you don't want your problems passed on to the other inmates".

Chris shared his strategy for managing time during the interview. The following refers to time served in Washington State. Chris tried to fill his waking hours with a round of activities.

> *The day starts off on with the Count between 6 to 6:30 am. This was the type of count where they needed to see skin. This means getting up .At this point you would get up and go to chow within an hour. Then you clean up and go to the day room and wait to be called out to programming. [He went to class – carpentry and diesel mechanics and IT.] You go to the programming. At the programming, the staff checks the participants' ID cards and then double check and get into a van to go to programming in another part of the complex. Once you're were in the programming there would be another check of id's and a count.*
>
> *The program would end at 3:00 in the afternoon. There was another check and everyone got on the bus –were recounted and then went back to their cells. I'd would go to the yard and work out for 1 ½ hour. I took a shower and came back out in fifteen minutes for the Count. Then I would watch TV or read during the count. Often I'd play chess. Then it was dinner time –I would eat and then it would be mail line. Mail line is very important and represents a link to the outside world [he mentions this later in the interview]. After this he go to the ITC (information technologies) class.*

The weekends were different. There was no programming. Chris participated in sports programs, baseball, and basketball, whatever was available. Partly, this was to stay in shape and get a cardio workout, but it also served to keep him occupied. Time also became problematic during the breaks in programming. Programming ran on a semester system, much like a college. This

meant that there were large chunks of time when Chris was not able to rely on programming as a strategy for filling time. It was at this point that time became painful. Chris drew on his time in the Navy to help deal with prison. Although his tours in the Navy were much shorter than the six year sentence he had to serve in prison, Chris was used to the intense institutional routines and discipline that characterize the total institution. His way of managing time is closest to the strategy that Calkin refers to as "making time" (1970: 497). The time Chris spent in the navy, working with crews and a power structure dominated by whites also helped him to develop the skills necessary to manage with the members of white supremacist groups that he had to interact with in the prison.

Even though Chris attempted to fill up his empty time, another problem emerged. He found that his life was being lived in different time. The present receded and the past and future became more important.

> *On Fridays, Chris and some of the other guys would play chess until three or four in the morning. And they would tell stories about life on the outside. What it was like and what it would be like. "You don't really have new conversation." You talk about what you were doing and what you will be doing. "**There is no present**."*

The past was known, comfortable and filled with examples of when he was able to be agentic. The future was full of plans and expectations for a different life. When I asked him about what it was like for him to try to engage with the present time outside of the prison Chris connected his experience of time with agency and his ability to set goals. "Me and my wife worked it out. She told me – your ambition is gone – from being told what to do. Before you had goals- you wanted to do things. Six years to out the pride you once had. Now I hope somebody gives me a job. Before I would just go get a job." Chris was able to make use of available educational programs to maintain his sense of time and goal orientation. However, this was not sufficient.

Martin

Initially, Martin was unable to handle his time. He was doing "hard time". "Hard time" is time done while focusing on the outside and on what you are missing. At the age of nineteen, Martin wasn't able to process a sentence that was longer than his life span. He had to be taught how to "do time" by the more experienced lifers. The lifers provided Martin with activities, companionship and a framework of reference for action.

> *After five years I didn't want to kill myself. Then I started getting children (young men who just entered prison) – school them in the elements of jail. The elements of jail – do your time, do the least amount of time possible – this is not a hangout. I got really totally committed after doing ten years in jail. I became committed. Hopefully keeping out of harm's way, stand up for what I believe in no matter what & don't let nobody's principles dictate my own principles.*

> *You know, I also did ILC – that was the Inmate Liaison Committee. They're the buffer between the administration and the convicts. You know – We'd go round and get all the grievances from the inmates and we'd go to the administration and we'd try to meet the demand from my co-workers. Some things we'd ask for, we know we ain't gonna get, but we ask for them anyway because we work for the people, not for ourselves, we work for the people, so we've got to go up there and argue. We know we're not going to get it but we set a stage… we can bring it back later on and reword it. Some things we can't get. Now, the administration don't like us and some of the convicts don't like us – you can't get both, but what that did for me… that kept me wanting to do that because I'm interacting with people who runs the facility. The superintendent, the deputy of security, the other deputies, the captains…. They the boss, the superintendent he runs it. These people, I'm not rubbing elbows with them, but I'm working with them and I start to like that – they the boss, what they say goes – by me interacting with them, I realize that I can do this outside in free society.*

Martin was able to assume a position of some power within the facility by acting as a member of the Inmate Liaison Committee.

> *After 5 years, I decided I didn't want to die – I started doing a lot of things. I took programs that kept me busy. I took a lot of programs. I took building maintenance, custodial maintenance, I took machine shop, I took food service, and I've got a certificate. The food service… It's the second or third highest paying job in here…you know. A lot of things – I didn't want to work on a plantation which is called CorCraft – I'd never work in there even if it is a job.*

At first Martin, like Chris, pursued the strategy of making time. Later, Martin actively sought out positions that would allow him to exercise agency within the prison. Jobs in the prison can be difficult to come by and are prized for the income they provide and the way that they take up time. However, Martin was clear about the type of job that he would be willing to accept. He refused to work in CorCraft, the Department of Correctional Services Division of Industries. CorCraft produces materials that are sold to other state agencies. Martin viewed CorCraft as a "plantation", a way for the prison system to make money off of his labor and tied it to the historical experience of slavery. Thus, he was unwilling to participate even if it meant that he would be left with more time to fill. He also had, through his connections with other activities, more ways to fill his time than many other incarcerated people.

Joseph

Joseph was in his thirties when he entered the prison and he became a prison activist and he filled his days with activities that allowed him to exercise agency and assist other incarcerated individuals. For him, this was a solution that allowed for maintaining his identity as a person of action. This solution also enabled him to manage time. He not only filled his time, but he actively changed his time.

> *You have to learn to live here – with all the trials and tribulations and suffering. Take these things on and living our life whatever comes our way and develop that kind of stance. So my life became focused on the prison system. How to improve our living conditions in here for me and other people. Before I knew it, time was flying you know.*

Over time Martin, like Joseph, became an agent, shifting to become someone who was more capable of potentially changing the prison environment. Both Joseph and Martin pursued what I call an active approach to time. They are not simply "making time" or working themselves into the routines and relationships that are available within the prison (Calkin 1970: 497). They are

working to alter their environment and made themselves accountable to others in the prison environment. Joseph was also able to maintain extensive contacts with people from outside of the prison as part of his activist efforts. Both Joseph and Martin had been given life sentences and were facing the distinct possibility of dying in the prison. In Martin's case he was sentenced to twenty years to life but was "hit" four times by the parole board.[27] In this case, the quality of life in the prison becomes an investment.

Donald

Donald was an upper-middle class professional before going to prison. The time spent in the federal prison camp was seemed to be less stressful for Donald than the time that he had to spend in a county jail in order to serve time for county charges. There seemed to be more people in the prison camp with whom Donald had commonalities. He made references to the people in the county jail as "animals" (He also used this term to refer to class participants as well.). There were more activities available to Donald. He was able to take yoga classes and practice relaxation. Donald also had access to the outdoors. After dinner he was able to sit on benches outside the main building to relax by himself and feed the rather chubby groundhogs who used to beg food off of the guys. The other men whom I interviewed did not have the ability to pursue this type of relaxation time. Donald's description of the time spent in the prison camp was quite different from those of the other men and it seemed similar to college dorm life without the sex or alcohol.

While in the prison camp, Donald seems to follow the strategy of passing time (Calkin 1970: 494). Calkin argues that this strategy is used when the "patient believes that an outcome of

[27] In this context, "hit" means that the Parole Board has denied the request for parole. The individual can have another hearing in two years. Both Martin and Joseph had been sentenced before 1998 so they had indeterminate sentences.

rehabilitation will occur" and her or she uses temporary forms of activity to divert themselves (494). Donald was doing a short bid, one year, and he was looking at a return to his wife and family. Although Donald wasn't return to his former profession, as a white man with a significant amount of education, he did have a variety of other options available to him that were not available for the other men I interviewed.

Marcos

Marcos also had issues with time and he seems to have become accustomed to the routines of the prison. He was the most "institutionalized" of the five. Unlike Joseph and Martin, Marcos did not become an activist or prison leader. He also didn't have access to the programming or relaxation time that was available to Chris or Donald. Out of all my interview subjects, Marcos's experience seems to most closely parallel the experiences of the majority of the people who attended the Career Development classes. Marcos had to keep a diary as part of his treatment program for chemical dependency and he continued the practice when he moved to the halfway house. He very kindly agreed to let me read his diary.

Reading through the diary, one is struck by the sameness of each day. While in the prison, Marcos worked for UniCor, the federal prison industry and this seems to have taken most of the day. He was also required to attend treatment groups for chemical dependency in the evening. On the weekends he was able to play softball with a team from his "community". One factor that does set Marcos apart from many other incarcerated people is the fact that he maintained contact with family members throughout his sentence. His family contact, writing and receiving letters and making phone calls, was very important. The tone of his entries changes and he seems to be very happy. Outside of this contact, the journal focuses on the minutia of his life. He writes about the meals, and touches on events in group therapy sessions. His job is

important and for Marcos this seems to be the primary link that prison offers to success on the outside. He told me that "Work was like a positive feedback. You work you get paid for what you do. I am trying to keep the hobby [sic] to have to work every day so I will be in good shape ones [sic] I get release."

When he was released to the halfway house, Marcos began to experience a profound dislocation in time. He no longer had the routines of his job and prison life. Time began to move too quickly, "flying by like nothing" as he tried to complete the requirements for beginning to begin the job search process. He had to go to the Social Security office to get his card and then get his New York State identification card. Selections from his diary speak to the problems with managing the flow of time.

> *The time pass by real fast. I want to do lots of things but I can [sic] because the clock is clicking. (Diary from 10/20)*
>
> *Like I say, live [sic] is doing tricks to my mind as far as the clock keeps clicking fast is good but bad. (Diary from 11/4)*

At this point Marcos's life was structured by the meeting the requirements for probation and the halfway house. He received drug treatment in the evenings at a program uptown and then came to Second Chance during the day for the Career Development classes. However, many of his activities such as going to get paperwork at various government offices were not scheduled. He had also lost the structure of his weekends. In the prison softball games and practice were an important part of his weekend and it seemed as if these activities were something that he looked forward to throughout the week. These types of activities were not available in the halfway house and there was no way of seeking out a league or pick-up game because the residents were only allowed out of the house to attend programming, work or religious activities on the weekends.

Unfortunately, I was only able to follow Marcos briefly after he left the halfway house. Marcos moved in with his mother and began working for an automobile dealership detailing cars and then helping to do demolition and clean-up work on the new building the dealership had purchased. We had continued to communicate by phone. However, I began to get calls from a distant acquaintance in the New York Police Department who worked in the car theft unit angling for information. After this, so as not to endanger Marcos or the other respondents in my study, I had to cease contact.

Power and Control in the Prison

Discussions of power and control were very difficult to have with my interviewees. Power and control only came up rarely in the context of the Career Development classes. Generally, all of the narratives about control were very general and came from the class instructors. Class participants tended to focus on narratives in which they were able to resist the prison and shape their own environment. People became very anxious, evasive, and, in the case of Marcos, angry when asked about the interactions with Corrections Officers and prison authorities.

Violence Committed by Prison Administration and Staff

Violence from the facility staff an ever-present implied threat. In general, violence from the prison staff is subtle and may take the form of actions that are sanctioned by the facility rules. Ross and Richards describe methods such as denial of privileges, strip searches, cavity searches, cell searches, administrative segregation and four point restraint that are part of normal facility routine, but can be used by prison authorities to target an inmate (2002: 125-126). Prison journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, a resident in a Pennsylvania death row, reported a guard riot, justified by a lockdown, in which the guards pulled the inmates from their cells, handcuffed and

beat them (1996; 37-40). In 1997, guards in California's Corcoran State Prison, were found to have staged inmate fights and to have shot inmates involved in the fights as well as having been implicated in cases of excessive violence and in at least one case of having set up the rape of one inmate by another (CBS II: 1999). The combination of potential violence by guards and inmates may leave the inmate in a state of fear. The relationship with the prison authorities may also be complicated by racism as people of color are over-represented in prison populations and many of the guards are of Caucasian origin. The inmate may need to perform for the guards, to avoid violence or the loss of privileges, as in an incident detailed by Daniel Bergner in God of the Rodeo, his non-fiction text about Angola, the famous Louisiana maximum-security prison farm.

> *"'Give me handle,' he said, and Brooks answered, 'Yassuh,' and 'Yassuh' was much of what I heard him say during the first weeks I knew him, whether in response to me or to prison employees. He kept his shoulders stooped. His head hung slightly. Often his eyes were lowered…He was a caricature, an illustration from another era, humble black servant, Stepin Fetchit." (1998: 2)*

Violence committed by prison guards only came up one time in the context of the class. I was surprised by this because I had thought that the participants would have been angry about interactions with the CO's. The participants spoke about issues with police and complained about parole officers quite frequently. I spoke with a colleague, who had been interviewing formerly incarcerated men. She said that the men would speak with her quite openly about abuse from the CO's and prison staff members. At least some of the difference is likely due to the impact of the researchers' race and ethnicity. I am white and my colleague is Black and comes from Europe. My racial background matches the majority of CO's in the New York State system, and I have an Upstate New York accent and speech mannerisms. I would argue that it is possible that for many of the participants in the Career Development classes speaking about these difficult interactions

might be painful, especially if it involves speaking to someone who shares some of the characteristics of the CO's.

In the context of the classes, only one person, Paul, brought up the issue of violence from prison authorities and this occurred as he was trying to explain why he wasn't smiling during his first mock interview.

> *Richard has been running the mock interviews today. He has been doing the usual comedic performance around his interviews. But, his critiques, even if leavened with humor, are always cutting and interviewing in front of a classroom full of other people can stressful. Paul has been quiet. He generally retreats and sits in the back right corner of the room. He had a hard time with his interview and didn't smile. Richard critiqued the interview. Paul seems very frustrated. When Richard starts talking about the need to smile, Paul first tries to act tough. Then he begins to cry. He says that he lost teeth (two of the ones in front) when he was beaten by guards in prison. He is ashamed of the missing teeth and doesn't feel that he can smile. Richard, shifting to supportive mode, tells him to smile "If you got just one tooth hanging by a rope, let it show. You can take your earnings from this job and you will be able to buy a bridge."*

Paul displayed markers of having been traumatized. He rarely looked up or interacted with others and he had an exaggerated startle reflex. His admission of having been beaten appeared to be shameful to him. His affect appeared to be that of sadness and frustration rather than anger. I was struck by the fact that no one said anything supportive or sympathetic about the beating.

Privacy and Surveillance

Cohen and Taylor, in their study of British inmates in E-Wing, a level of confinement roughly analogous to maximum security in a prison in the United States, address the lack of privacy and its impact on the inmates and their relationships (1972: 78-81). In doing so they follow A. F. Westin's typology of privacy in which privacy is inclusive of four states: solitude, intimacy, anonymity and reserve. The inmate is denied solitude, which is defined as the ability to obtain at least some time alone without observation and which performance for others is not

necessary. Even if an inmate can obtain a work assignment that places him or her out of the sight of the prison authorities, the presence of other inmates as well as an implied threat of observation prevents the inmate from achieving solitude. Intimacy, or the privacy sought by those seeking to achieve contact (In this case, the authors refer to "maximum physical contact", but I would expand this to include friendship in this definition.) requires that the inmate be able to block out the loud noises, bright lights and the intrusive presence of others. Inmates are also unable to obtain anonymity or freedom from observation and identification in public spaces. This is particularly true for those living in facilities such as the Men's Central Jail in Los Angeles, where inmates wear color-coded clothing corresponding to their positions in the facility (Wacquant 2002: 375). Reserve, the ability to withhold shameful or private aspects of the self is also unavailable as even the most private aspects of life are carried out under the gaze of others.

The carceral institution is designed on the model of the Panopticon. The Panopticon, Jeremy Bentham's design for a building constructed so that a single observer in a tower could monitor a large number of inmates in single-person cells arrayed in rings around the central tower. The Panopticon, however, was more than an architectural design. It was the physical embodiment of a philosophy of discipline and control in which, the controlled was to be in a "state of conscious permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault 1977: 201). Although facilities are no longer built as a tower surrounded by rings of cells, many facets of the Panopticon system, including the philosophy have been retained and updated as surveillance technology has improved. The architecture has now become unnecessary as inmates can now be monitored through the use of surveillance cameras and computerized tracking systems, technologies, which have reached their height in the Supermax

facilities, in which inmates can go through the twenty-three hour stretch in the cell without contact (Haney 2003).

Lack of privacy as it relates to other inmates combined with surveillance leaves the inmate in the rather schizophrenic condition of having to simultaneously maintain a show of docility for the benefit of the guards while guarding against showing weakness to the other inmates. In addition, the inmate must be vigilant in monitoring his or her actions to ensure presentation of the appropriate performance. This, in part leads to the reticence and vigilance characterize the carceral habitus.

The people participated in the class and my interviewees wanted to talk about times when they were in charge or could carve out some extra space within which to live. For example, Jen, one of the instructors would tell stories about her "two-for-one store". She also told about pooling funds with women on the unit to bake birthday cakes and the tips that they shared for keeping clothes neat. Students would trade stories of getting by and taking control.

> *A group of us is sitting in the weird little waiting area in the hall while we getting ready to be called in for the taped mock interviews. Pretty much everyone seems nervous. Axel (a Puerto Rican man who had recently finished a short bid in federal prison) is passing the time by telling us stories about his time in prison as a way to pass the time before the mock interviews. Axel used to work in the commissary, a very desirable job because it gives you access to food. He would take the Pop-Tart® like breakfast pastries and smuggle them back to his cell. He had a pan that he took from the kitchen – he would crumble up the breakfast pastries and mix them with other stuff taken from the kitchen to make a sort of coffee cake. He would then put them to "bake" on a hot radiator and sell the coffee cake.*

Both the instructors and the class participants generally preferred to tell stories in which they were the dominant actors and were successfully able to deploy what Goffman identifies as secondary adjustments (1961a).

Time, Power and Control in Reentry

The formerly incarcerated individual lives outside of the public time that characterizes a habitus adapted functioning in the world outside of the prison. This leads to difficulty in structuring time. In Cordilia's study, one inmate detailed how he was able to tell how long an individual has spent in prison: "After release, the lifer will set up a situation so that he is doing his bit on the street. He will get a room at the Y and set it up like his cell… He will get up in the morning and go to sleep the same time that he did in prison and he'll eat meals at the regular time in the cafeteria" (Cordilia 1983: 97).

We can look at the way in which the reintegration process plays out by looking at the cases of Esteban and Marcos. Both had been incarcerated in federal facilities and were required to live in the same federal reentry center after their release. They had different reactions to the halfway house and the level of control to which they were exposed.

The restrictions that participants faced within the context of the federal halfway house, or while on parole, chafed. Esteban, who had served a year in federal prison camp, spoke to me at length about the issues of personal autonomy and control raised by the halfway house. Esteban was excited to be home and looking forward to being reunited with his family members and being able to get back to work. He was very proactive about seeking work and was one of the first people in his class to get a job. He was able to hold this job, a customer service position, for over a year before being laid off[28]. He was able to find another customer service job, using recommendations from customers for whom he had provide services.

Esteban reported that the halfway house was strict. Residents had to report where they were going and he felt that his every move was tracked. Residents of the halfway house were

[28] This deviated from the general pattern, based upon my discussions with the Job Developers. Most jobs were short-term or clients quit or were fired before completing a year on the job.

very limited in where they were allowed to go and had to "earn" the ability to go home from family visits. They weren't allowed to have cellphones and phones could be monitored. For Esteban, the control in the halfway house presented a severe strain and hampered his ability to access the jobs and other aspects of the reintegration process. He described it as being like prison but on the outside – a liminal state that induced pain.

Marcos, who had served time in a medium-security federal facility, had significantly less difficulty with the halfway house. It was easy for him to deal with the power structure and negotiate the challenges presented by the halfway house. For Marcos, the halfway house appeared to be helpful, a place where he could withdraw into the routines that characterized the prison. The liminal state was useful. The halfway house did not have the same level of control that Marcos was used to in the medium-security facility and the assigned chores helped to pass the time.

Differences in Esteban's and Marcos's understandings of the control that the halfway house exerts can be traced to a number of factors. Their prison experiences were quite different. Although both were in the federal system, Esteban served a short sentence and in the prison camp he had access to more services and programs. Marcos was more familiar with the prison routines and he had a history in prison and the means to assert himself and demand at least some respect. Esteban was younger and he was in his twenties and eager to amass experiences while Marcos was in his late forties and a bit more reticent. Esteban had worked several jobs prior to his incarceration and enjoyed working in customer service positions. He also did not have an established criminal history before being convicted on a conspiracy charge connected with a crime committed by a family member.[29] Marcos had a lengthy criminal history and although he

[29] Among the class participants conspiracy charges were generally seen as being easy for the prosecution to establish even if the person charged had no real knowledge of the offense in question.

did have work experience, he hadn't worked in over a decade and his last job was used to facilitate his offense.

Conclusion

Although my findings for this aspect of the research are preliminary, they point toward some interesting questions for further research. I have found that understandings of time and agency vary depending upon facility type, sentence length, and the availability of lifers to assist in socialization in the prison routine. It is possible that the understandings of time and agency inform the carceral habitus and thus impact the reentry and reintegration process. To test this will require longitudinal study, preferably beginning before release and continuing throughout the process. This may reduce some of the difficulty associated with a strategy that relies on post-release interviews and participant observation. One area of particular concern is the impact of a formerly incarcerated person's control needs on family members and friends.

The information from further study may also assist in the development of programming for people who are returning from prison. As evidenced by the widely differing responses of Esteban and Marcos to the federal reentry center, people who have served different sentences under different circumstances have different needs for support for the reentry and reintegration process. The programming that provided structure and potentially safety for Marcos was grating and could potentially have had negative impacts of Esteban's reintegration process. Understanding how these needs vary can assist in the development of programming and in the more efficient allocation of services during and after incarceration.

Chapter 8 - THE MEANINGS OF THE HUSTLE

Stack O' Lee was a bad man
They go down in a coal mine one night
Robbed a coal mine
They's gambling down there

And they placed themselves just like they wanted to be
So they wouldn't hit each other when they was shooting
Money lying all over the floor
There was one bad guy down there he thought he was
That was Billy De Lyon…

Policin' officer, how can it be?
You can 'rest everybody but cruel Stack O' Lee
That bad man, oh, cruel Stack O' Lee

He said, " Stack O' Lee, Stack O' Lee, please don't take my life"
Says, "I got two little babies, and a darlin' lovin' wife"
He's a bad man, oh, cruel Stack O' Lee

Here's the answer Stack O' Lee gave him
What I care about your two little babies, darlin' lovin' wife?
Says, "You done stole my Stetson hat, I'm bound to take your life"
It's a magic hat, oh, cruel Stack O' Lee (as performed by Mississippi John Hurt, 1928)

This chapter is an attempt to investigate the varied meanings that are inherent in the terms "hustling" and the "hustle" and the role that they play in reentry and reintegration. In the literature, hustling is most often understood as an economic strategy (Anderson 1999: Bourgeois 1996; Carmichael 1975; Venkatesh 2006; Wacquant 1998; Wilson 1996). The activities can range from the innocuous "playing the numbers", and performing unlicensed back alley car repairs to illegal and dangerous behaviors such as drug dealing and armed robbery. However, the "hustle" and "hustling" also have a number of other meanings that must be unpacked if we are to understand the role of the "hustle" and the appeal of the hustle beyond that of a simple survival strategy. In the course of my fieldwork, I found that the various concepts that are contained

within the terms are very complex. The hustler was simultaneously a character that one wanted to be and someone that people dreaded encountering. The hustle was a form of labor. It was also a framework for organizing the world and understanding interactions inside social institutions.

The title of the chapter derives from the ballad of Stagolee[30]. Stagolee is the archetypical hustler character – over time he has become a trickster character who features in "toasts". The legend was based on the shooting of William Lyons by Lee Shelton but it later became part of the protests and stories of escapes that were incorporated into the field hollers that were used by the slaves and former slaves (Brown 2003: loc 50). The legend of Stagolee was passed on until the 1970's, when it entered the discourse of African American activists and revolutionaries such as Bobby Seales (Brown 2003: loc 50-55) and is continued in the gangsta rap (Nelson 2005). Brown argues that the performance of Stagolee "grants the participants a 'time-out' from the pressures of life within the racist American society". The narrative of the hustle as resistance became important within my field site. However, the ballad of Stagolee also illustrates the ambivalence that exists in the field site toward the hustle and the character of the hustler. Stagolee is a "bad man" who excites interest and in some cases pride, but he is "cruel". He is also hostage to a need to fight and kill, and will ultimately be executed over a Stetson hat. In the same way, hustling is approached with ambivalence by those who have been involved. Hustling was sometimes an activity that was fun, entertaining and exciting. It was also a time sink, frightening and for most of the participants in the class, not all that profitable.

[30] There are a number of ways of spelling the name that have been used. These include: Stagger Lee, Stagolee, Stack O' Lee, Stack-a-Lee, and Stacker Lee.

Hustling as an Economic Strategy

Historically, hustling[31] has been understood as an economic strategy. The hustle is a set of underground economic activities that are of a quasi-legal or illegal status that are used to make ends meet, often carry a significant risk of contact with the criminal justice system, and impose risks on participants and their communities (Anderson 1999; Bourgeois 1996; Carmichael 1975; Epstein 1994; Venkatesh 2006; Wacquant 1998; Wilson 1996). The hustle and hustling as an economic strategy has primarily been studied in urban areas dominated by African Americans and Latinos, the "hyperghetto" to use Wacquant's terminology (Wacquant 2004; 2008). However, the presence of hustling in "rural ghettos" has been identified by scholars and I have observed the hustles of poor whites in rural upstate New York (Burton et al 2011; Eason 2012). The use of the hustle as an economic strategy appears to be related to social class, economic restructuring, and the pullback of the social welfare state, rather than to race or geographical region. The content of the hustle may vary depending on the availability of various money making opportunities.[32]

In both urban and rural locales, hustling as an economic strategy takes place within the context of the neoliberal state. Wacquant points to a process of "de-civilizing" that has occurred within urban core communities (Wacquant 2004: 2008). "De-civilizing" involves three concurrent processes. The first is a "depacification of life" that leads to an increase in violence and to members of communities abandoning public space (2004: 98). The second process involved the loss of public and local institutions that formed the infrastructure of communities

[31] What I will be referring to as "hustling" may be more appropriately referred to as street-level hustling. This is distinct from the "hustles" of middle class and upper class individuals which carry less risk and are less subject to the scrutiny of the State (Sutherland, 1944; Venkatesh, 2013).

[32] For example, in Upstate New York, there are opportunities to grow marijuana outside or to poach deer out of season and these opportunities generally don't exist in New York City.

(100). The third process, social dedifferentiation, was the result of economic changes that led to the breakdown in the job market and a collapse in the foreign economy (103).

Hustling is not easy and it is an economic strategy that people pursue when they are in extremely tenuous circumstances. Marley, one of the Job Developers at Second Chance, pointed out the importance of the hustle and identity of the hustler in the life of one of his clients. David had been home from prison for several months and was living with his wife and teenage son. David was becoming disengaged from the program, not due to lack of drive, because he had been actively seeking work throughout the period. David's disengagement focused on his inability to gain employment and his questions about his masculinity and a desire to view himself as an agent, worthy of respect. He felt guilty for his inability to buy his son sneakers and contribute to household expenses. Marley stated that by returning to the streets, David was returning to a place where he was able to find "work" and take on the position of the provider.

Street-level hustling tended to be the income generating strategy of last resort for most of the participants in the class. It was something that people began to engage in as teenagers, or when they were unable to secure employment that paid enough to cover necessities. Bryan started selling drugs as a thirteen year old – he contributed to household expenses. "My mother didn't like what I was doing, but she did like the money." Hustling was spoken of by the Career Development unit staff and participants as being dangerous and stressful. It was an income generating strategy that people would sometimes resort to after burning their bridges with jobs, and family members and friends.

> *Jen, one of the Soft Skills Trainers, disappeared one day. Her stuff was at her desk but she wasn't there. When I asked, Bryan grunted something and he seemed angry so I didn't push it. A few weeks earlier, Jeff, one of the men I was interviewing, and I noticed that Jen was unwell. She looked like she had really bad allergies or the flu. After Jen disappeared, Bryan asked me if I didn't recognize the signs of being dope sick. A couple of weeks later, Jen came by to*

collect her stuff. She had a surgery and for one reason or another she had fallen off the wagon. She was caught driving under the influence after an accident and picked up charges. She lost her car and she lost her job because the agency could not have anyone who was involved in illegal activity running the classes. This meant that she lost her legitimate income stream and her apartment. The staff at Second Chance did find her housing at a residential program run by another agency and got her into treatment. Jen said that she was working on getting cleaned up and back on track. Several months later, when I contacted her on a social networking site, she said that she had an interview the next day with an agency that provided services to victims of Hurricane Sandy.

About eight months later, after Hurricane Sandy, I found a video of Jen on a website that was devoted to local New York City news. Someone had taken a video of Jen hustling on the subway. She didn't look well – only a shade of her former self. Jen was always well dressed and her hair was nicely done. On the video, her hair was stringy and she looked disheveled. She was spinning a story about how she, her daughter and her dog lost their home in Hurricane Sandy. She had tried to go to programs and they weren't processing cases quickly enough and she needed more money to take care of her daughter. The story was convincing and many of the people who were commenting on the video were very sympathetic. However, Jen did not have a daughter or a dog. She would regularly mine her personal life for stories to tell the class participants and a child and a dog would have made good fodder for stories. She also did not have any photos of a child or a dog in her office.

Jen had been very focused on her project of reintegration. In many ways she was better positioned than the majority of people who came through the program. She was white and had an upper middle-class background and had a significant amount of cultural and social capital. She also had some economic support from her family. Jen was also heavily invested in her recovery, and she attended Narcotics Anonymous meetings and served as a sponsor. She also mentored students who were part of a college program for formerly incarcerated people while finishing her Bachelor's and preparing to start a Master's Degree program in Human Services. In many ways, Jen had looked to be a reentry success story. But the combination of a heroin habit and losing her job made hustling a necessity.

There were only a few participants who openly voiced a preference for hustling. These men tended to be young and dropped out of class pretty quickly. Frank, an older man who had an

established pattern of robbing drug dealers didn't stop talking about his hustling skills. He wore very expensive clothing and shoes. He worked as an intern in the Career Development unit. When he would speak to the classes, he actively used his hustling to position himself with respect to the participants. He spoke of his house out in Long Island, his skills and his contacts – he could go out and get guns and just get back into the game. Frank did get back into the game and committed a homicide with a co-defendant. Frank was definitely out of the ordinary. He was the only person who I heard of who had become so deeply reinvested in his earlier hustle.

As an economic strategy, hustling of the illegal variety does not seem to have produce much money for most of the participants in the class. Frank was very much an exception to the rule, as was Darren. Darren was a young man who had started dealing as a teenager. He saved and reinvested his money, made some good business decisions. By age sixteen, he was able to afford an apartment. By the time he was arrested, Darren had managed to save enough money that he was able to support himself while trying to find a job after his release from prison. Interestingly, he was not really invested in returning to hustling, and he was looking to the legitimate economy for business opportunities. The income streams associated with hustling tended to be unreliable and required a great deal of labor and ingenuity to cultivate. Hustling also brought "easy" or "quick" money – it isn't so much that earning the money was easy – but spending or losing it was easy. Keeping the money was hard. It is difficult to put large, explained amounts of cash in a bank without questions being asked. Money laundering is also difficult and requires a business of some sort to launder the money through. There are also demands of presentation and keeping up the appearances necessary to project an image of doing well. Generally, money that came in through hustling was quickly gone.

Beyond the Economic: Extending the Understanding of the Hustle

It is important to understand the "hustle" as more than a simple economic strategy. In this, we can be guided by critical ethnographers Conquergood (1994) and Brotherton and Barrios (2004) in their investigations of the social and political meanings attached to the Latin Kings and Queens Nation by their members. In the context of the Career Development class hustling functioned as a framework for organizing perceptions of the self and others and as a means of navigating the criminal justice and reentry bureaucracies. Hustling has a number of meanings. It is an economic strategy, a power position, a form of labor, a way of interacting with institutions, and a form of resistance.

As a researcher, hustling was difficult for me to understand. The terms "hustling" and the "hustle" were frequently used during the classes, primarily by the participants, but also by some of the staff members. I had originally interpreted "hustling" in a straight forward manner, as a set of economic strategies. The hustle and the feeling of being hustled in the context of the Career Development program were rather opaque. It was a matter of distinct frustration for me as I tried to understand why class participants were often angry or resistant in the context of the class, with what seemed to me to be very little reason. I also noticed that the white middle class "white collar" offenders often shared some of my frustrations. It was not until some of the last classes that I participated in that I became aware of the extent of the hustle in daily life and in the variety of meanings that the term conveyed.

In order to get to the deeper meanings of hustling, it is necessary look at the contexts within which hustling occurs. Clark situates the "hustle" in the context of position of the "hustler" in the labor market. He argues that for youth closed out of the labor market, "to cash in" "means that one must establish a mutually exploitative relation with others – one must have a

'hustle'" (1958; 49). Other institutions besides the labor market are important for the development and continuity of the hustle. We can look at the State as a key player in the hustle – through both the "right hand" of the criminal justice institutions and "left hand" of the social welfare institutions. Austin argues that we must look at hustling and drug dealing as structured by a number of factors such as labor laws, demographic changes and economic disinvestment that has occurred in hyperghetto areas (1992: 1783). These changes have led to an increasing number of youth and children being pulled into the informal and illicit economies (1784).

Hustling as a Power Relation

One of the meanings of "hustle" is to manipulate others through charm or coercion (Venkatesh 2002: 94). This usually occurs in interpersonal contexts. The following is an example of the hustler/hustled relationship. This happened outside of my field site. I had taken some notes because I had found the situation interesting and I had put them aside. I did not take them out until after the last class I attended. Investigating the power dynamics that were inherent in the hustler/hustled relationship is necessary to understanding the importance of hustling as a structure that informs the carceral habitus.

> *I'm in the ladies room at Penn Station. There's an older woman – I think she may be in her fifties. She is at the sinks and we make eye contact. This is her hook – she comes up to me and begins to tell me her story. I can see that she has a hole where her front teeth were. She starts to tell me that she is running from her husband and she is trying to get money together for a bus ticket. She is afraid of her husband and wants to go stay with her family. As she is telling me this, she moves toward me – closing the gap between us. I look at her mouth thinking that the space with the missing teeth looks old and she has just taken out her dental bridge. She seems usually aggressive for someone in the situation that she is describing. When I offer her some contact information for local agencies, she returns the conversation to her need for money. Her story is a variation on a common kind of hustle in which the hustler is facing some sort of emergency and needs the money quickly.*

As is demonstrated by the field note, hustling is very much an interpersonal power relation. The hustler is the Subject - an individual who is capable of functioning as an "origin of thought, action, and change". The hustler is capable of molding the interaction and the world. He or she shapes the perceptions and actions of the object of the hustle. To hustle is to claim one's place. The hustle is a way of working to establish positive freedom within a structure that significantly denies access to negative freedom (Mahmood 2005: loc. 247). It is to turn power relations to one's advantage. The hustler is a trickster – a character who is magnanimous, but may have darker intentions involving making out and getting ahead within a structure in which one does not see opportunity (Lamelle 1997: 45). The hustler is the aggressor and he or she is always thinking and looking for ways to make out (Anderson 1976: 156). The hustled is passive, and worked upon and shaped by the hustler. He or she is hoodwinked and relieved of money or other valuables.

Avoiding being on the wrong side of the hustler/hustled is a particular concern. Anderson documented the importance that the "regulars" at Jelly's placed on being able to "read the signs" that indicated a hustler (Anderson 1976: 156). This dynamic existed at Second Chance as well. In my field site, I was warned by staff members and participants that I needed to be on the lookout for people who were hustling or trying to put one over on me.

Hustling as an Addiction

Although hustling is often understood as an economic activity, it can be exciting and fulfilling regardless of the economic outcome. There are a number of things that can go wrong when hustling in the illegal economy. The object of the hustle could catch on and there's a possibility of arrest. It is important to stay ahead of the police, competitors and the people with whom one hustles. There is an excitement that goes along with this type of edgework - with

being smarter than everyone else that is often spoken of as being addicting (Ferrell 1998). In the Career Development class, the "hustle" and the life are often described using the language of addiction commonly found in Alcoholic. Richard often related that he loved money, cocaine and women. And he describes his hustles in the same way.

> *Richard is leading the class again today. He is talking about the issues that make being home difficult. He's in his best stand-up comedian/preacher form. All of a sudden he taps the back of his head. "It's all back here. All of it." It is worse when things are hard and he is under pressure. Hustling is something that he knows and feels comfortable with – a solution to which he can return. He knows where to get a brick, where to get a gun…*

Richard is not the only one to speak about the hustle in this way. Trent, one of the interns, described his situation as having to fight against a drive to return to hustling. Trent was always dressed in very expensive clothing – Italian shoes – slick suits. He would often say that he didn't have any other clothing and that he felt he had to maintain a certain lifestyle. He often spoke of his difficulties – his friends had offered to hook him up with the weapons and assistance necessary to rob drug dealers – staying straight. Trent wasn't successful and is currently serving time in another state. Jen, one of the Soft Skills Trainers also described the hustle and her offending behaviors as an addiction. In many ways, her narrative reflected Katz's understanding of crime as a thrill-seeking behavior (1988). At least part of the appeal to the activity was remaining several steps ahead of everyone else – the people she was embezzling from and the other members of her crew. The staff members and many of the participants in the class have at least some familiarity with the language of the chemical dependency and a significant number are in varying stages of recovery from a number of substances – alcohol, cocaine, crack and heroin. A few were in treatment communities that allowed them to attend the Career Development classes.

The importance of the identity of hustler has been recognized by some drug treatment programs. It is not an addiction in the traditional respect, instead the hustle is understood as an "addiction" to power and control. Hustlers Anonymous – a program that is starting to be used in drug treatment centers in Philadelphia – has recognized the importance of the identity of the hustler (Deeney 2012). The program has started to be used by facilities to deal with former or current drug dealers who have been mandated to drug treatment programs. The dealers do not see themselves as "addicts" – a position of weakness and objects of hustles – rather they seek to maintain their position of power (Deeney 2012). Hustlers Anonymous is similar to the more familiar 12-step programs such as Narcotics or Alcoholics Anonymous, but it goes further by seeking to supplant the identity of the hustler, giving the members access to a subjectivity based on a different definition and position of power and agency.

Hustling as Work

Hustling is also a form of labor. Being a hustler requires a significant amount of work. Time spent perfecting the con, hours on the corner, or planning jobs. Hustling involves customer service – one has to cultivate a customer base. In the case of dealing, if you are independent, you need to seek out and maintain a source for products. It requires ingenuity and a capacity for strategic thought. In many ways, the skills required for the hustle are skills that are valorized in the legitimate economy. Sometimes, this understanding of hustling is part of the pedagogy of the Career Development classes. It is often used to reassure participants that they do have the skills and the abilities necessary for employment in the "legal" economy. Often there would be individuals without work experience in the "legal" economy. Jen and Bryan would reassure them by breaking down their particular hustle and pulling out the skills.

> *Tyrell is in his early twenties. He is very worried about the fact that he hasn't had a job. Jen ask, "What did you do?" Tyrell, answers that he used to deal. Jen begins to break down the things that Tyrell had to do as a part of dealing. "Well you had to manage your product?" He nods. "You had to do some time management - know when the police would be coming around..." Tyrell nods again. "Did you have some guys working under you? You were supervising, right?"*

Hustling was also used to refer to activities in the legal and semi-legal economies. In this context, the term hustler implied someone who worked hard, holding multiple jobs and working toward a goal. This type of hustling was often described as a way to go straight – the term "straight hustle" is sometimes used. Both Bryan and Richard, the two staff members who were most likely to specifically reference the hustle, described their legal hustling.

> *Bryan is leading a discussion about employment. He has gone off on a bit of a tangent and is now discussing other ways that he earns money for his new house. Bryan works as security for local rap artists, and (somewhat counterintuitive unless you know him) sells ladies jewelry and handbags at beauty salons and parties. He says that this is now legit because he just hooked up with a woman who has a retailing license. Bob adds that last summer he was able to sell a number of different types of products that he got wholesale and that he made more than in his job.*

In this context, the hustler is a very positive identity. I recently had a conversation with a man who works for a financial company. He had a history of car theft (but no convictions) and he argued that in his current position, he tries to hire employees with histories of hustling because "they get things done" and the skills are transferrable from the street to his business.

Being Hustled in the Community

For the majority of the participants in my study the experience of objectification and being the object of another person's hustle began early. Based on the demographics of the New York State prison system, where over 50% of prisoners come from a small number of New York City neighborhoods, including Bedford Stuyvesant, Bushwick, parts of the South Bronx,

Hamilton Heights and other areas in Northern Manhattan – areas that meet Wacquant's definition of "hyperghetto" neighborhoods (Wacquant 2008: 3). As Funnye notes, these areas have experienced a new "urban hustle" composed of urban research, community development projects and questionable manpower training projects (1970: 5-6). These neighborhoods have experienced segregation based on race and social class as a result of changes in the labor market and the retrenchment of the welfare state. The residents of these neighborhoods have been caught in the move from the inclusive to exclusive society (Young: 1999). Hyperghetto neighborhoods have become a locus of action for the State, and the men and women participating in the Career Development classes have had experience with the regulatory activities of both the "left hand" and "right hand" of the State.

In addition, the participants in the class have been impacted by the control functions of both the left and right hands of the state. The "left hand" of the State includes the various departments and agencies that provide education, public assistance and public housing (Wacquant 2001b: 402). As children, they are more likely to be placed in foster care, remedial classes, special education programs and juvenile detention facilities (Garfield 2010: 5; Ferguson 2001: 59). Even when very young, the men were more likely to be marked as potential criminals and singled out for punishment (Ferguson 2001). If their families were on public assistance many of the participants witnessed their parents being subject to stigma and humiliation and having to live life in the view of case managers, social workers, legislators and an increasingly hostile public. Haig-Friedman points to "demeaning, paternalistic attitudes … codified in federal and state legislation and in government contracts with the nonprofit organization who carry out the state's work with families" (2000: 11). Participants in the class were very clear in their understandings that the problems in their neighborhoods and their individual difficulties were

being used by others as income sources. This informs their understandings of both the prison and the programming available at Second Chance.

Many of the participants in the class are used to functioning within a framework where the possibility for being hustled exists in even benign situations such as buying food. I encountered this in what was for me a surprising situation.

> *When I went out to pick up lunch, I asked Bryan if he wanted anything. He asked me to pick up a can of cream of mushroom soup. The nearest store was about one and a half or two miles away so I stopped at deli near the diner. I ran in and grabbed a can off of the shelf, then picked up my sandwich at the diner. When I got back, I gave Bryan his soup and started to eat my lunch.*

When I look over, Bryan is dumping the soup out of the can and it is way chunkier than even cream of mushroom should be. Nasty! We look at the date on the can – the soup is at least six months past the expiration date. I'm pissed – Bryan is thinking about eating it. Thea, Bryan's girlfriend and I tell him not to even try. I'm thinking botulism. Bryan isn't that upset. He seems to think it is funny. Both that I came back with this soup and that I'm so shocked. Thea goes back to the bodega with me. The guy behind the counter offers to exchange the soup – I want the money back but Thea tells me to just do the exchange. When we look at the shelves all of the soup is expired. We pick out the newest can – it is still about a month past expiration – but at least it turns out to be edible.

Both Thea and Bryan found my shock and anger amusing. I assumed that store owners would not be selling food that was possibly spoiled, because it is bad for business, so I didn't automatically check the expiration dates. Thea and Bryan took it for granted. The bodega owner likely had a tiny margin of profit and was buying expired food to sell because he knew that he had a captive audience with the grocery store being so far away. The combination of these small, neighborhood-level hustles and the more institutional builds the context in which the formerly

incarcerated individuals in the study understand the concept of the hustle. The hustle is further complicated by the structures of the prison and the daily interactions that occur within the prison.

The Criminal Justice System as a Hustle

The criminal justice system and the prison in particular are viewed as hustles, in which the bodies of people from the city are worked upon to for the benefit of guards, other criminal justice system employees and the largely white areas of upstate where the majority of New York State prisons are located.

> *Abel is maybe in his thirties. He has been home from prison for a month. Abel had been a jail house lawyer. He had also participated in an activist inside and had come out bursting with ideas. He is telling the class about something that happened last night. He was riding his bike in the neighborhood – coming back from running errands. He was stopped by a police officer and issued a summons for riding his bike on the sidewalk. He wasn't actually riding his bike – he walking along side it. Abel started to argue with the officer when someone yelled out to him to stop arguing or it wasn't going to go well. He backed off and took the summons. He was angry because he felt that he had been unjustly ticketed and he did not understand why he should have to back down. Bryan and the other guys in the class stopped him. They are telling him that this was dangerous. At the very least, he would have been arrested and given charges that could lead to the revocation of his parole. He could also have been beaten during the arrest process. They explained about the fact that the police regularly made these stops – whether or not they were justified – you just pay the fine and move on. Abel is floored and angry.*

Abel's situation is not all that uncommon. A number of sources have documented the presence of performance quotas for UF-250's (stop-and-frisks), arrests and summons and the issue of quotas played (Adler 2013; Devereaux 2013; Rayman 2010). Taibbi has found that officers flood certain areas of the city in attempt to make quotas – with undercover officers riding the M35 bus (a line that contains a homeless shelter, mental health clinic and a drug rehab facility) to try to catch fare beaters (2014: 73).

The experience of the criminal justice system as a hustle continues in the court system. When we spoke about the court system, the general attitude was one of distain. The consensus

appeared to be that there was no way to access the protections guaranteed by the legal system. Many people did not know the technical name or penal law code for their offenses. Bryan admitted to the classes that he would just plead to whatever charges were read out in court without speaking to his lawyer or trying to fight the charges. The participants in the class were divided on the worth of public defenders, but there appeared to be more anger directed at the "vultures" who circled the bullpen. Ron and I had a discussion about the vultures: "People think that they're going to get a better deal than with a public defender. That you're paying these guys so they work for you. Moms gets money together. Then you're guilty and $25,000 in debt."

During the class, I only met two people, outside of those who were middle-class and had white collar offenses, who felt that they had any investment in the legal system. Abel had become a jailhouse lawyer, was deeply invested in his legal studies, and wanted to become a paralegal. Stan, was wrongfully convicted, and although he had been released on parole, was working with legal assistance to have his conviction overturned.

Prisons have played an important role in the economy of New York State, it is also important to remember that at least the "peculiar institution" of the prison has been closely related to the welfare of economies in majority white upstate New York counties including St. Lawrence, Franklin, Clinton, Washington and Oneida counties. Here, rather than serving as the "right hand" of the state, the prison has taken on the public welfare aspect of the "left hand" in terms of providing employment in rural upstate counties. Prisons have come to be viewed as a potential form of economic development and counties began to compete to host prisons.[33]

[33] It should be noted that the reality of prisons has not necessarily met the expectations of economic development. This is due to a number of factors including the fact that many prison employees commute from outside of the county to work in the prison (King et al., 2003; p. 3-5). However, the jobs that prisons provide important enough to these areas that local officials in the Adirondack area and Washington County are worried about the closures proposed by Governor Andrew Cuomo (Alexander, 2011).

The participants in the Career Development class are not unaware of the position of the prison in upstate economies. The topic has come up in discussions both inside and outside of class, especially among the older or more politically aware participants. Participants in the class have voiced understandings of themselves as exports from New York City to upstate New York. During an interview, Martin, a man who spent more than twenty years in New York State prisons, expressed that he was a fool for allowing himself to be put in a position in which someone, a 19 year old, could be controlling him and earning money doing so.

> *This is the second day of a new class. We had been talking about standards and goals. Suddenly, Bryan [the soft skills trainer] asks the class how many police were involved in their arrest. The usual answer is two. Then he asks how many were involved in processing and the other aspects – right up to incarceration. He then asks how many hours he thought were spent in the process. Rob pipes up – "Most of those were probably overtime. That's how they make their money". Bryan tells the class that when they are employed, they can make the money for themselves, not for someone else.*

The prison is understood as a hustle - a continuation of the system of racial control that exists within the neighborhood. This is not part the official discourse in the class, it is more frequently a part of the students' narratives, particularly among the older men.

These understandings of the prison as an economic hustle, and the prisoners as the objects of the hustle, are important and may assist us in understanding the differences in the understanding of the prison system in the US that exist between formerly incarcerated academics (Davis 1998; Davis 2003; Thompkins 2010; Chang and Thompkins 2002) and other academics (Wacquant 2010). The term "Prison Industrial Complex" was first used by Schlosser in his 1998 article in *The Atlantic* (Schlosser 1998). Wacquant argues that the concept of the Prison Industrial Complex is a misapplication of the concept of the Military Industrial Complex, given that the institutions of punishment are fragmented and horizontal (Wacquant 2010: 607). However, this concept may need to be interrogated from another perspective. While the prison

may not be "central to American capitalism"[34], it is in many ways central to the hyperghetto neighborhoods where many of the students in the Career Development unit have lived (608). It is a key element in structuring and determining the shape of the lives of individuals in hyperghetto neighborhoods.

The nature of the prison is also important in shaping perceptions of hustling. The prison, as a total institution, is an environment in which hustling skills are particularly important. These hustling skills were always spoken about in the economic sense – how much money could be brought in by the activity. The environment of scarcity that exists within the prison means that there are both more hustling opportunities, such as the cigarette market, and more of a need to hustle (Gleason 1978; Lankenau 2001; Thompkins 2007). Hustling inside – usually by dealing drugs – was seen by some as a means of generating enough income to provide for family members on the outside. Richard was pretty clear that this was his hustle (he claims he paid for his son's school) and it appears that this led to at least one violent confrontation within the context of the prison. Others used hustling to meet needs within the institution. Jen used her relative advantage to run a "store"[35], providing access to both necessities and extras that could not be purchased from commissary or could only be purchased in limited amounts.

Hustling may also serve psychic needs. Goffman draws attention to the importance of secondary adjustments as a means of maintaining an understanding on the self as an agent (Goffman 1961a). Secondary adjustments are those unauthorized activities that that allow the individual to at least temporarily leave behind the separation of the role and the self that is

[34] The prison can be understood as playing an important role in the maintenance of capitalism, by providing a means of managing a population that is surplus to labor needs (Shelden and Brown, 2000; Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939).
[35] A "store" is the term for a collection of items purchased in commissary that are then sold at higher prices (Thompkins, 2007; 103). For women sanitary products are important items that women are willing to pay extra for, as the amount that is supplied by the prison is often not sufficient.

created by the prison (189). In this case hustling becomes a way of ensuring the integrity of the individual's understanding of the self. The stories of hustling were always told as funny stories and were often used as a way of bonding.

Being a hustler is a way of protecting oneself. This was not often brought out in the class discussion or interviews. Dealing with violence was always spoken about as being done through physical violence. However, Thompkins notes that when he first entered the prison, he was in a situation in which he had to prove himself. However, after he was able to utilize his outside connections and his work assignment, to be able to sell weed and run two "stores", he was "assigned the status of a hustler" (2007: 103). This status decreased the threat of physical violence to which he was exposed and also decreased his likelihood of experiencing time in the "lock-up" (103).

The prison is also a site where one has to constantly be on guard for the predatory hustler. Martin repeatedly referred to this issue. *"But there's vultures, vultures… and you've got to be able to decipher a person who is trying to use that to get in and lower your guard. Who really mean it and who's trying to use it to make you his property. So you tread the waters – a little fine line"*. In this case, the predator is another prisoner, but at other times, the hustler is the guard or the administration. This awareness of the possibility of being hustled is carried over into the streets outside and into the program at Second Chance.

Being Hustled in the Program

In many ways, reentry programs have become integrated with institutions of social control. Wacquant argues reentry is part of "prisonfare", an "extension of punitive containment" and understands reentry as a "bureaucratic ceremony" (2010: 611). The class participants become part of an institutional "hustle" involving the state and not-for-profit agencies. Nixon et

al. argue that formerly incarcerated are a population that is "marked for control" and as such, "become the very objects of a service economy and the stuff of risk management industries" (2008: 27). Thompkins extends this argument with his concept of a "prisoner reentry industry" (PRI) (2010), He explicitly argues that the PRI is a "hustle" (599) and points to the development of a not-for-profit and a for-profit sector devoted to providing service (600). In some ways, this aligns with the students' understandings of the program.

As noted in the prior chapter, the Career Development class involves a significant amount of symbolic violence and this symbolic violence can understood as a form of the hustle. At least some students are quite skeptical of what the class can offer and there is a feeling that they are being worked upon for others' ends. Some clients clearly regard Second Chance as another in a long line of experiences of being the object of a hustle. Sean, an older white man with a relative who worked for the agency, took me aside to talk to me about his perceptions of people within the agency trying to game the system. He told me that some people had not left behind their old mind set and were playing games with funding. Sean didn't get into specifics and I was not able to confirm his allegations, but this cynical view of the agency was not uncommon among class participants. I should note that I am not aware of any improprieties in the management of Second Chance and that the staff members in the Career Development Unit were invested in their students and positive outcomes. Some participants view Second Chance as simply another stop on the institutional merry-go-round and list the programs that they have attended. Many have attended multiple programs with very little to show for it in terms of steady employment. Some like, Martha, who attended a program for women in unconventional jobs (construction, janitorial positions) had obtained a number of low-paying, temporary positions, but had not been able to find permanent employment.

The importance of hustling as a framework was brought home to me in a discussion about social services that I had with Martha and Darlene. Martha and Darlene had both been through a number of programs. The most helpful thing that they seem to have received was the cellphones that they were able to get access to as part of their welfare benefits. Welfare benefits required participation in programming – either career development or workfare programs. Martha and Darlene were guardedly optimistic about the class at Second Chance because it has a good reputation, but they were prepared to be disappointed. It seemed that their estimation of the likelihood of being hustled within a number of institutions – the Career Development class, the homeless shelters and drug rehabilitation facilities – had induced a sense of hopelessness about the possibilities that were available. At the same time, I was busy negotiating with the local school system to ensure that my daughter's special education needs were met. Even though the special education system can be very complicated and difficult, I was in a privileged position, able to act as a consumer of the system, rather than the consumed. I didn't have to strategize my way through each interaction.

Class participants often verbalized that they felt that their position as clients in the agency was to provide others with positions. During a recent wrap-up discussion between the department heads and class participants, Charles, one of the participants bluntly brought up this point. "I told Bryan (one of the soft skills trainers) that I was not here *to give him a job*. *I was here to get a job*." However, many of the class participants continue to attend. Some of the participants are mandated to attend classes by parole and probation. Others are effectively mandated by the need for employment – some for basic reasons of subsistence and other to avoid violating the conditions of parole or probation. In many ways, these individuals are unable to refuse to take part in the class, even if they feel that they are being hustled. This means that resistance to the

material in the class and resistance to the position that students hold with the class and within the labor market becomes subsumed and emerges through narratives of hustling.

Hustling as Resistance

Even though the hustle often takes the form of an economic relationship, it and other forms of "economic deviance", can be understood as a form of "economic resistance" (Austin 1992). It can be understood as a form of "everyday resistance" used to resist in ways that fly below the radar (Scott 1987: 29). Acts of "everyday resistance" are generally individual forms of self-help that do not require coordination and tend to avoid "direct symbolic confrontation with authority and elite norms" (29). In many ways, hustling can be interpreted as a hidden transcript (Scott 1990: 4).

In the context of the Career Development classes, the class participants and some of the staff members use the hustle to resist disempowerment, calls for passivity and exhortations to deemphasize one's own interests in favor of those of potential employers. Richard is one of job developers and is responsible for running the class on mock interview days. He is an interesting man – very energetic and a combination of preacher and stand-up comedian.

> *He starts by writing the word Ex-Con up on the board and asking people what the "ex" means to them. He gets a number of answers – no longer, previous, past, former, moved on. He asks about "con" and gets more answers all of them negative – conviction, felon, game, convicted, trouble maker, criminal, trouble maker, stigma, and failure and loser (the last 2 come from Andy). Richard then tells the class that con can also mean something good – conviction or convicted. I'm convicted not to go back… I have a conviction… These are things that can help you out.*
>
> *Richard works to teach the class to turn negatives to a positive. He does the same thing with hustling. He tells the class that they will have to work their hustling skills – "Did you ever sell a flashlight to a blind man?" He does this with humor. He talks about hustling – he does it now – in a positive way. He works full time and he hustles – promoting parties, selling handbags in bars. "We all hustlers." He includes me in this – "she has to hustle to get pampers for her baby."*

There are a few things that are going on in this field note. First, Richard is reclaiming the label of ex-con. There are many debates in activist circles over what term should be used to describe people who have been incarcerated[36]. The term ex-con is highly stigmatizing and Richard is very clear about the need to transform this stigmatized identity. Richard places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the hustle. He doesn't just hustle in the sense of working hard. Hustling is also a power relation, a chance to reassert the self. The hustler acts upon the world. He or she is taking charge and shaping situations. It is interesting that Richard includes me in the "hustle". In one way he is looking at me as someone who is hustling – using his experiences and those of the people in the class – to place me in the social order. This decreases the social distance between me and the other students in the class. In another way, Richard is warning the class that I am another hustler who may pose a danger. The ability to "hustle" is also seen as an important transferable skill – one that can be used to good effect in the workplace.

On occasion, staff members would break with the disciplinary goals of the Second Chance. Bryan is one of the Soft Skills Trainers. As part of the curriculum, he is responsible for instilling discipline in the students – preparing them for the generally low-wage and low respect employment that most will be able to find in the service sector. He routinely instructs the students to consider the employer and the employer's needs and desires. However, he also appears to be conflicted about and resistant to this part of the curriculum.

Bryan uses the workplace as a place where he can rewrite the standard narrative of submission to the employer. Bryan often talks about how he had no "work experience" before the last time he was incarcerated. The only job he had he worked one day, cased the business and came back to burglarize it. He frequently describes his dealing activities – how he developed a

[36] Many activists chose to use the term "formerly incarcerated person" in place of ex-con or ex-felon.

McDonald's inspired "value menu" and worked to maintain his customer base. In one class, Bryan and the students discussed ways students could be legal hustlers.

> *Don, an older guy in the back starts talking about the ways that he gets money. Working odd jobs – doing handyman work for local people. The class agrees and starts to come up with ways of earning money. In some ways Bryan is still a "hustler". He hasn't really taken in the idea of identifying with the employer that is present in so much of the new class materials that focus on the employer's needs and desires. In fact, at times Bryan actively pushes against this. In earlier classes, he has stated that before the last time he left prison, the only job he has was one where he worked for one day and then came back and robbed the place.*
>
> *Some of the guys are looking for jobs in delivery – one has experience doing installations of electronics. J tells him that he can leave a card with the customers telling them that he can install the equipment and low ball the price that the retailer is charging. One of the guys who did federal time for a middle-class, white collar offense is chagrined. He says that this is stealing from the employer because this is a service that the employer has a vested interest in carrying out. The general consensus in the class is that this isn't stealing. The employer has already sold the customer an expensive piece of equipment. I think that it might be a bad idea because there is a good possibility of being found out and fired.*

What is important in this field note, is that Bryan has put the people in the class in the driver's seat. This is different than much of the material that the students have access to in the career development class. Bryan is turning the public transcript that is presented to the class, being deferent to the employer and thinking primarily about the needs of the employer, on its head (Scott 1990: 19). Bryan as the Soft Skills Trainer is responsible for instilling the discipline required to transform the participants in the Career Development class into safe employees in the secondary labor market. However, at times, particularly as the classes went on, Bryan pushed back against the discipline.

Bryan and the members of the class are reclaiming their position as subjects. It is difficult to understand the importance of the hustle without relating it back to the experience of being a product – an object worked to achieve the ends of others. Taking the place of the hustler

establishes one as an active agent. Bryan stands out from the other staff members in that he has not had any experience in college outside of classes he was able to take while he was incarcerated. The majority of the other staff members have at least some college and many of them were attending college before being incarcerated. Bryan was in and out of institutions since his early teens. In many ways, his biography is more similar to the majority of the students.

The class participants appear to resent the hustle that they feel takes place within programming and parole more than the prison. In the era of mass incarceration, the primary concern of the prison has become incapacitation. Programing such as Second Chance, has taken over the disciplinary aspects of the prison. This is where the importance of docility and the ability to "eat some shit" is emphasized. The programs, even the activist ones, reinforce the racial hierarchies that exist in the labor markets. For example, the Career Development program includes a discussion of an article from the *Wall Street Journal* titled "Why Black Men Don't Get Hired". Here – not only are you being hustled and worked upon – but you are supposed to feel happy about it and be appropriately grateful. That same sort of symbolic violence doesn't exist within the prison. The violence in the prison is more direct, but your identity as an individual is left intact. You are worked on – stored – but in the reentry programming there is a desire to reform and reshape the individual as a worker.

This is not to valorize the position of the hustler within the urban hyperghetto. The activity of the hustler can involve drug sales, assault, witness intimidation, and robbery, all of which have a negative impact on public safety and wellbeing. However, as Clear notes, they may not solely be a drain on the community and may act as resources to at least some community members (2007: loc.1638). My argument is not to remove agency from my research subjects. Very few have argued that the street was the only possible alternative and all hold identities other

than that of the hustler. After all, the majority of people residing in even hyperghetto areas are not involved in criminal activity. It is possible to view the hustler in much the same way as Willis's "Lads" (Willis 1997). In a manner similar to the Lads, there is a valorization of an identity, the hustler, that is related to what many of the men who participate in the Career Development, particularly the young men, see as an almost inevitable future (Rios 2011: 36).

Conclusions

An understanding of the hustle as a complex concept that contains a number of different meanings an important corrective to the practice of urban ethnography. Young has critiqued ethnography as "replac[ing] the reification of numbers with the reification of representation" (2011: 133). The hustle is a complex set of behaviors with a wide range of meanings, but it is frequently reified and cast solely as an economic strategy. The hustle can be viewed as an attempt to reassert identity and power in light of a structure in which the individual has become an object within institutional hustles. Simply viewing the hustle as an economic strategy allows us to ignore the structures that shape the meanings of the hustle and the experiences of hustling and being hustled.

Hustling informs and shapes the carceral habitus. Hustling and being hustled shape the outlines of the fields in which the formerly incarcerated person participates. The ability to hustle functions as a form of capital and allows individuals to move within fields. Those who are better at hustling in the context of the neighborhood and the prison tend to have better outcomes outside of the prison. Those who are good at hustling are better able to navigate the system in the broader system. For example, Bryan had accomplished something that relatively few people who had been incarcerated are able to do. Although he did not have a college degree and no work

history outside of his prison assignments (this was not the norm for the Career Development unit) he was able to parlay his street smarts and ability to hustle into employment at service agencies.

It important to acknowledge that hustling is a double edged sword. Although the better hustlers appear to do better in the outside, there are significant risks to relying upon the hustle as a source of capital. Living within a framework of hustling can make friendships and other relationships, such as occur in the workplace difficult. The hustle also sits in the back of the mind and remains a response to stressful situations. It can also be a response to boredom – something that Mark brought up when he said that he was trying to fill every minute of his day so that he wouldn't get into trouble.

The implications of the use of the hustler identity as a form of resistance are important for pedagogy within reentry programs. First, the participants within the programs must be treated with respect. Behavior that replicates the treatment that they receive at through State agencies of social control places the program participants in the position of the hustled and leads to disengagement from the programming and may actually lead to the behaviors that the program is attempting to prevent. This can be problematic for some agencies as they have become bound up with parole and probation departments. Second, reentry programs must become more aware of the necessities that impact the day-to-day lives of program participants. If the hustler, emerges as a response to the interaction between necessity and structure than it is imperative that programs find ways of targeting the areas of necessity. A third recommendation would be a shift away from a focus on preparing program participants for positions in the secondary economy. These positions offer little in the way of remuneration, still leaving the individuals needing to participate in the economic hustle in order to get by. In addition, the lack of respect that often

accompanies these jobs can drive the psychic need to hustle as a means of bolstering the identity and resisting the symbolic violence inherent in these workplaces.

Chapter 9 - CONCLUSION

This chapter of the dissertation includes a summary of the study and a discussion of the contributions that the study makes to knowledge. The chapter then moves to a discussion of the questions raised by the research, policy implications, and plans for future research.

Contributions of the Research

Theoretical

This study was developed with three aims. The first of these is theoretical. The study attempts to expand our knowledge of the habitus by investigating the impact of the total institution on the habitus. The habitus is often understood as developing in an unconscious manner and this study looks at the conditions in which people seek to purposively alter the *carceral* habitus and the ways in which this *carceral* habitus can become sticky or resistant to change. Another theoretical contribution of this study is that it proposes a way for studies of prison socialization to move beyond the debate between the indigenous/deprivation model (Clemmer 1958; Sykes 1958; Goffman 1961a; Haney 2006) and the importation model (Irwin and Cressey 1962). The concept of the *carceral* habitus as a secondary habitus allows us to incorporate the frameworks that people bring to the prison with the frameworks that are inculcated by the demands of the prison as total institution.

This study also argues for a new and expanded understanding of the concept of hustling. In the much of the literature surrounding urban sociology, hustling is understood as an economic strategy. This study understands the “hustle” as a framework of reference influenced by social class, race and ethnicity. Individuals understand themselves as pieces in a hustle, the hustled, and as hustlers who actively resist systems of oppression.

The second aim of this study was to make a case for expanding the study of prisons and prisoner reentry by treating the institutions and processes involved, not as special cases, but as institutions and processes that can inform our understanding of the social world. In the United States, since the work of Clemmer (1958), Sykes (2007), Jacobs (1977), and Irwin (1970), studies of the prison and reentry have largely been isolated within the fields of penology and prison management (Wacquant 2002: 70).[37] In the United States, prison ethnography has largely been limited to the accounts of incarcerated individuals that are primarily consumed in the studies of penology (Braly 1976; Carceral 2006; Hassine 2004, Santos, 2006) and those texts created and consumed by prison activists (Abu Jamal 1995; Peltier 1999). This isolation contributes to the construction of incarcerated persons as being inherently different from others and it also enables ignorance of the impact of the prison on communities in the United States.

Activist and Policy Oriented

Another aim of the study is more activist. Through this research I seek to provide information to assist formerly incarcerated individuals and their families in the reentry and reintegration process. It is hoped that this information can also aid in the improvement of available programming for incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals.

Findings relating to the ongoing impact of inmate interpersonal violence on reentry can be used to establish the relationship between security practices within the prison. The aspects of the *carceral* habitus, such as the "yard face", the snap reaction to perceived disrespect and the hyper-sensitivity to physical space, that were found to relate to inmate interpersonal violence, make interactions with others more difficult. This can lead to problems with employment and activities of daily living. This research can provide support for policies such as the Prison Rape

[37] The text *Prison Masculinities* by Sabo et al. (2001) is a notable exception that attempted to use the prison as a site in which to investigate the meanings of masculinity within the total institution.

Elimination Act (2003) that seek to improve the safety of incarcerated persons. It also suggests the necessity for more research regarding counseling and pedagogical practices that are targeted at behaviors at the level of embodiment. This could potentially include programs such as The Lineage Project and other forms of Awareness-Based Practices that seek to include practices such as yoga and meditation with cognitive-behavioral techniques (Navon 2013).

The findings that concern symbolic violence in reentry programming are of particular concern. The symbolic violence is keenly felt by the class participants and for some it leads to anger and resistance. It also places the program in the position of a hustler, reinforcing the framework of hustled/hustler that shapes the understanding of the field in which the *carceral* habitus is formed. This can induce the participants in programming to withdraw decreasing the effectiveness of the programming.

Findings of time dislocation and loss of agentic behavior that also characterize the carceral habitus are also important for prison programming. Paradoxically, many of the individuals who displayed fewer markings of the *carceral* habitus were men who had served long sentences. These men, including Joseph and Martin, had been involved in lifers' organizations and were thus able to partake in more planning and agentic behavior than my other subjects. This points to the importance the lifers' organizations and the lifers as a source of informal social control. It appears that the use of lifers and their institutional knowledge is happening, at least on an informal basis. One of my informants, Walter who was a lifer reported being assigned to work with youth in Great Meadow, a facility that he said had problems with order and safety after a number of young men had been transferred to one of their housing units.

The findings surrounding the themes of time dislocation and agency also point to the need to develop techniques that can be used to assist incarcerated individuals with learning to

manage time as it moves in the institution. The findings also point to the need for the development of opportunities for incarcerated persons to engage in goal oriented behavior outside of the grey economies that exist within the prison. The findings of the study also point to the need for more extensive research as outlined below.

Questions Raised by the Study and Areas for Future Research

At the end of the process of research and writing I find that this study has raised a significant number of questions that can be used as a framework for future research. These questions are being raised in order to set an agenda for the study of the secondary habitus and the impact of the prison on incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals in the United States. *Question 1: How do incarcerated persons understand the self and what strategies do they use to create and maintain the self-image while incarcerated?*

The threat that the prison poses to one's understanding of the self is significant. Prison limits autonomy and creates a state of existential uncertainty to a greater or lesser extent depending upon institutional characteristics (i.e. security level, population make-up, strategies used by administration to maintain order) and individual biography. Some of the individuals in my study were able to become leaders within the prison or able to run businesses, activities that allowed them to maintain a positive self-image and ensure their safety. These individuals tended to do better within the context of the Career Development class and often displayed fewer markers of the *carceral* habitus. However, these individuals are not necessarily representative of the larger population of people who are incarcerated and their strategies depended upon the cultural capital, social capital and physical capital that were not likely to be available to others. If the majority of incarcerated people are concentrated on doing "easy time", simply trying to keep

their heads down and stay out of the way of other prisoners and the prison administration, this would seem to require a limiting of the self that can be problematic in terms exercising agency when outside of the prison context.

Question 2: What is the impact of physical violence committed by the corrections officers and other prison officials on the carceral *habitus? How is this expressed during daily life, particularly in home and workplace settings?*

One of the issues noted in chapter seven is the difficulty associated with assessing the impact of the violence incarcerated persons experience at the hands of various prison employees. This would be expected to impact the *carceral* habitus because it increases the level of threat and uncertainty experienced by the incarcerated person. It is possible that the impact could possibly be heightened due to issues of race, ethnicity and the fact prisoners are under the control of prison officials. This can also be problematic because it can impact relations with authority figures such as parole officers, employers and supervisors. It may also contribute to the need of the formerly incarcerated person to exert control in relationships.

Question 3: How do understandings of time differ among incarcerated persons involved in different forms of programming within the prison? How do these different understandings of time impact the process of reentry?

Given the preliminary findings in this study, more investigation into the understanding of time and its relationship to agency within the prison is necessary. This also requires comparison to time as it moves within other institutions. This would seem to require a longitudinal study following individuals from incarceration through release from the prison and the processes of reentry and reintegration.

Question 4: How does the carceral habitus impact relationships with family and friends?

Given that this study focused on the *carceral* habitus in the context of a program that was preparing formerly incarcerated people for entrance into the job market, it doesn't include information about the ways in which the *carceral* habitus impacts other types of relationships. There are some indications that this would be the case. Certainly one would expect the sudden reactions to perceived disrespect and the need to demonstrate control to be expressed within the family context. This is important because for many people in the process of reentry, family and friends can act as important potential resources for affection, material resources, psychological support and assistance in rebuilding a positive understanding of self.

Question 5: Can policies within the prison address the issues that lead to the development of the carceral habitus? Is it possible to increase the level of agency that incarcerated people are able to exercise within the context of the prison? In what ways can violence, both from inmates and prison staff be reduced and individual security be increased?

These questions are interrelated. This study has identified issues relating to physical security, time and the ability to exercise agency that appear to impact the development and the strength of the *carceral* habitus. People who were more readily able to secure their physical safety, those who were able to manage time and exercise more agency show less of the *carceral* habitus, even given differences in sentence length. This research would require comparative study of prisons with different orientations toward programming and the maintenance of order. For example, it may be possible to compare reentry outcomes for prison system in states that have made the decision not to comply with the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 with the outcomes for prison systems in those states that do comply. Given the importance of lifers in socializing new prisoners in ways that may assist with their adaptation to the prison and in

offering friendship and activity networks, additional research should include a comparison of prisons with active lifers' groups to those without lifers' groups (Irwin, 2009).

Question 6: Are there alternative methods to the use of desistance in measuring outcomes in prison reentry?

While the *carceral* habitus can impact an individual's ability to desist from offending behaviors (through making it easier for the individual to interact with others and potentially secure employment in the legitimate economy), it is possible that one can desist from crime while still having difficulties relating to the *carceral* habitus. This means that it will be necessary to determine another means of measurement. This would likely need to include a number of factors including: the quality of friendships; relationships with family members; ability to maintain employment; and self-assessed quality of life.

Conclusion

This study was developed to investigate the presence of a *carceral* habitus, the factors that contribute to the *carceral* habitus and the ways in which the *carceral* habitus is expressed.

In chapters four and five, the contexts of reentry and reentry programming are discussed. The pedagogical practices used in reentry programming are interrogated as is the role of race and ethnicity in the construction of the safe "ex-con". The role of symbolic violence in attempting to reshape the elements of the *carceral* habitus that hamper success in the secondary job market was also studied.

Chapters six and seven are investigations of the development of the *carceral* habitus and its impact on participating in the Career Development class and in activities of daily living. The operation of the prison as a field is described as it shapes the *carceral* habitus. The *carceral*

habitus is found to vary depending upon a number of factors including: prison type (state versus federal); security level; violence and cultural capital; and the ability to deal with time strategically. It is marked by a number of characteristics such as: the "yard face"; a hypersensitivity to physical space and the proximity of others; difficulty smiling; the loss of the ability to make small talk; and a snap result to disrespect.

Chapter eight is an investigation of the concept of hustling. Hustling is found to be a framework of reference that both informs and is formed by the *carceral* habitus. The various meanings of the hustle were interrogated and the hustle was found to be an economic strategy, a basis for identity and an act of resistance.

This study and the concept of the *carceral* habitus makes a significant contribution to the research surrounding punishment, reentry and embodiment. The work reveals some interesting insights. However, this study is only the beginning of the research that is necessary to investigate the formation of the *carceral* habitus and the key role that it plays in shaping the life experiences of formerly incarcerated individuals. It is hoped that this study offers the academic community some tools for the investigation of the impacts of prison and prisoner reentry.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

General History:

- Tell me a little bit about yourself – where you were born, where you grew up…
- What was your family life like, growing up?
- What was school like?
- What was your neighborhood like?
- Did you serve in the military?

Incarceration History:

- How long were you incarcerated? Which facilities?
- Were you moved around frequently?
- Could you describe your typical day inside the facility?
- Did you experience, or did you carry out acts of violence while incarcerated?
- While in the facility did you have access to special programs such as a GED program, anger management, and addiction treatment or college courses? What was attending these programs like? In what ways did they change your experience while you were incarcerated?
- Were you able to work?
- Can you describe what the interior of the prison was like? Did you feel like you could orient yourself in the prison environment?
- How did the sound levels affect you? The light levels?
- Were you able to keep track of time? How?
- What strategies did you have for passing time?
- What was the worst thing that happened to you while you were incarcerated? What was the best?
- Did you have visitors – family, friends etc.?

Reentry History:

- Can you describe your first day outside of the facility?
- Can you describe your typical day?
- Where do you live – with family members, transitional housing, own apartment, shelter system, the street?
- Do you have access to job preparation or other educational programs? If so, could you please describe them?
- Do you have access to physical and mental health treatment?
- Can you describe your first ride on the subway or bus?
- Do you find yourself repeating activities that you used to do in the prison? Could you give me an example? Do these activities impact your relationships with friends and family?
- If you had access to special programs inside the facility (see above), how are they impacting your experience of reentry?

- Outside of having to state that you have a felony conviction on employment applications, do you feel that there is anything in particular that marks you as having been incarcerated? Can you describe what these markings are?
- Are you currently employed? If so, how do you feel that your incarceration experience impacts your work? If not, has the incarceration experience made it difficult for you to go on interviews or to maintain a job?
- Can you describe what it is like to interact with your family and friends? Can you give me an example of how being incarcerated has changed the ways in which you interact with those who are close to you?

Bodily Awareness:

- Can you describe how it is to have people close to you? Do you allow people physically close, or do you prefer to maintain a certain distance?
- How do you react when bumped while walking in the street?
- Can you guide me through a typical day in prison?
    - Can you show me how you used to walk while in the prison? Do you walk differently now? If you have made changes, was it difficult and what was the process like?
- How do you feel when meeting new people? Is it easy to make eye contact or shake hands?
- Do you feel that having been imprisoned changed the ways in which you sense things?

Miscellaneous:

- I hope to do further research on this topic. Can you suggest important areas or topics that I should look into?
- Do you have suggestions on how this interview could have been improved?
- Is there anything else you want to add?

The interviews were semi-structured. I often moved beyond the interview questionnaire during the course of the interview.

APPENDIX B - CONSENT FORMS

Consent for an Interview

Dear Interview Subject,

You are being asked to volunteer in a research study, Negotiating the Process of Community Re-entry.

The purpose of the study is to investigate how formerly incarcerated individuals learn to manage the stigma associated with having spent time in a prison or jail.
If you agree to participate, your part will be to participate in an interview, etc. It should take no more than one hour to one and a half hours of your time.
Participation in this study may entail the following risks: a) talking with the researcher may cause you to confront some sensitive feelings and issues related to your incarceration and to stigma experienced in the job search. Furthermore, the information being requested in this study may be of a sensitive and personal nature; because of the sensitive nature of the information that you are being asked to provide, you may experience discomfort. If you experience distress and wish to speak to a counselor, referral information will be provided to you by the interviewer.
There are no physical risks anticipated to participation in this study.
You will not be paid for your participation.

The following procedures will be followed in an effort to keep your personal information confidential (all data collected will remain anonymous, recordings and transcripts of interviews will be destroyed after completion of the study, all information will be stored in a locked area to which only the investigators will have access, any digital files will be encrypted, the investigator has sought a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health to ensure data confidentiality) To ensure that this research activity is being conducted properly, Stony Brook University's Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects and/or applicable officials of SBU, OHRP (Office for Human Research Protections), have the right to review study records, but confidentiality will be maintained as allowed by law.

There are no costs to you for participating in this study.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You do not have to participate if you don't want to.

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact me at 518-932-3891 or by e-mail at caputolevine@optonline.net. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Ms. Judy Matuk, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 631-632-9036.

'If you participate in this interview, it means that you have read (or have had read to you) the information contained in this letter, and would like to be a volunteer in this research study.

Thank you,

Deirdre Caputo-Levine

Michael Schwartz, Ph.D

Consent for Participant Observation

Dear Subject,

You are being asked to volunteer in a research study, Negotiating the Process of Community Re-entry.

The purpose of the study is to investigate how formerly incarcerated individuals learn to manage the stigma associated with having spent time in a prison or jail.

If you agree to participate, your part will be to allow the researcher to observe and participate in the Career Development class.

Participation in this study may entail the following risks: a) having the researcher observe and participate in the class may cause you to confront some sensitive feelings and issues related to your conviction, incarceration, and process of preparing for the job search. Furthermore, the information being discussed in class may be of a sensitive and personal nature; because of the sensitive nature of this, you may experience discomfort. If you experience distress and wish to speak to a counselor, referral information will be provided to you by the interviewer. There are no physical risks anticipated to participation in this study.

You will not be paid for your participation.

The following procedures will be followed in an effort to keep your personal information confidential (all data collected will remain anonymous, recordings and transcripts of interviews will be destroyed after completion of the study, all information will be stored in a locked area to which only the investigators will have access, any digital files will be encrypted, the investigator has sought a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health to ensure data confidentiality) To ensure that this research activity is being conducted properly, Stony Brook University's Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects and/or applicable officials of SBU, OHRP (Office for Human Research Protections), have the right to review study records, but confidentiality will be maintained as allowed by law.

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'If you allow the researcher to observe and participate in the class, it means that you have read (or have had read to you) the information contained in this letter, and would like to be a volunteer in this research study.

Thank you,

Deirdre Caputo-Levine

Michael Schwartz, Ph.D