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Structural impediments of parole success: An extended case study of prison release, work release, and parole

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Structural impediments of parole success: An extended case study of prison release, work release, and parole

Richards, Stephen Charles, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1992

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Structural impediments of parole success: An extended case study of prison release, work release, and parole

by

Stephen Charles Richards

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Sociology

Approved:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work
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For the Major Department
Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1992

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I Shall Be Released

They say every man must need protection,
they say every man must fall.
Yet, I swear I see my reflection some place so
high above the wall.

I see my light come shining from the west
down to the east.
Any day now, any day now, I shall be
released.

Down here next to me in this lonely crowd
there's a man who swears he's not to blame.
All day long I hear him cry so loud calling
out that he's been framed.

I see my light come shining from the west
down to the east.
Any day now, any day now, I shall be
released.

Bob Dylan
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C. Wright Mills (1959) reminds us that the sociological imagination is a craftsperson's tool for envisioning and altering social structure. Social scientists are not passive interpreters of social structure, but for better or worse, they share with humanity a responsibility as architects and designers of the structures they labor within. Social structure is the "warp and woof" (Everett C. Hughes, 1958; C. Wright Mills, 1959) of socially related opportunities and restraints.

In a very real sense, the historical context of social structure inhibits or expands the parameters of our own individual lives; Marx (1987: 15) wrote, "Human beings make their own history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing." How we conceptualize social structure determines what we will discover in our research. If we conceptualize social structure as functional, we may overlook inequality, conflict and social agency. If we conceptualize social structure as deterministic and macro, without reference to micro social interaction, then we may be blind to the laboring architects of social change. Finally, as we attempt to conceptualize social structure we must control for our own specific location in that structure. Social structure appears very different to those living in ivory towers than to those doing time in penitentiary cell blocks. Raymond Williams (1983: preface) reminds us that "More than we ever believe, we understand life from where we are."
Statement of the Problem

We live in a society that blames the victim, the individual, for institutional deficiencies. Criminal justice studies are concerned with the individual as the unit of analysis, while criminology should be concerned with institutions as the unit of analysis. We are all institutional products; we are born in institutions, schooled in institutions, and labor in institutions.

Institutions are tools employed by the dominant class to socially organize their priorities and interests. Institutions organize social classes into differential strata, tracks, and opportunity structures. It is no surprise that there are upper class institutions, middle class institutions, and working class institutions. Historically, prisons have operated to defend upper class property interests, to discipline the working class to menial and alienated labor, and in our time to the fabrication of a growing under class (Ken Auletta, 1982; William Julius Wilson, 1978, 1987; Eleanor Miller, 1986; Joan Moore, 1978, 1985; John Irwin, 1985; Elliott Currie, 1985). At this very moment our society is rushing frantically to spend billions of dollars to build more institutions of concrete and steel cages.

Welcome to the puzzle house where prisoners parade technicolor skin beneath fifty foot walls guarded by concertina razor wire and gun towers. The penitentiary is an architectural structure, a panoptic machine for altering minds (Foucault, 1977b) that fabricates socially incapacitated individuals, fabricates criminals the way schools fabricate students. He (or she) has been counting days for years. Time, space, and people are all numbered. The cell block tiers, the cells, the prisoners' names are all numbered.
Over the years literally millions of prisoners, one at a time, do their time, and on a given day, upon reaching expiration of sentence, mandatory release, granted work-release or a parole date, pass through penitentiary gates to reenter society.

Why do so many ex-convicts experience rearrest and reincarceration? What are the special social structural variables that may contribute to recidivism? Controlling for individual characteristics—age, sex, race, criminal record, and social-economic class, what social structural impediments and obstacles may be related to rearrest and reincarceration of ex-convicts?

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate Giddens' Structuration Theory (1984, 1987, 1990, 1991a, 1991b), as a theoretical framework for understanding the process of prison release and prisoner reentry to the community. Qualitative research is used to explore the experiences of prison convicts with prison release and reentry to the community. The research provides prisoners and correctional staff with an opportunity to comment on the problems of prison release, work-release, reentry to the community, and recidivism. The research focuses on structural impediments to parole success. Structural impediments are defined as societally imposed barriers to prisoner reentry to the community. These impediments may be economic or social.

Economic impediments may include: (1) Problems with securing employment in both the public and private sectors; for example, barriers to employment may include criminal records, restrictions on occupational licensing, bonding, and civil service requirements; (2) the imposition of court
fees and fines, restitution, lawyer bills, and child support; (3) years of imprisonment that result in the culmination of various unpaid consumer bills, (4) the relative poverty of prisoners released as measured by their "gate money," assets and debts; and (5) the rate of unemployment as compared with the general population.

Social impediments refer to the obstacles ex-convicts may encounter in their attempt to find their place again in the community. The focus is on how released prisoners experience their transition in time and space from the prison to the streets. How do convicts upon release from prison attempt to relocate their place in time and space; their place in the community?

Giddens' Structuration Theory (GST) is employed as a theoretical framework for understanding how prisoners experience prison release, work-release, and parole. Theoretical propositions include: (1) Prisoners upon release, depending upon the length of time spent in prison, may have little memory traces of societal rules and resources (memory of social structure) with which to reciprocate in the practice (social integration) of day-to-day life (routinization). These men experience the disjuncture between two different structurations of time and space (prison and the free world) as a lack of confidence and trust (ontological security) in the structure they reenter. Conversely, society may react without confidence and trust to prisoners who wear a stigmatized and spoiled identity (Goffman, 1961, 1963); (2) Prisoners upon release, even when they are able to "pass," may carry with them memory traces of the rules and resources (structure) acquired in prison back to the streets; (3) The speed and complexity of modern society imposes additional structural impediments or barriers to ex-prisoners' reentry and reintegration to the community. In summary, the
purpose of this study is to explore what structural impediments, as opposed to individual deficiencies, may contribute to parole failure and recidivism.
CHAPTER II: DATA AND METHODS

Extended Case Method

Michael Burawoy's (1991) extended case method attempts to elaborate the effects of the "macro" on the "micro." This method demands that we specify some particular feature of the social situation that requires explanation by reference to particular forces external to itself. Specifically, the particular feature of this cross sectional case study is work release failure as explained by the rules and resource structure of prison release. Burawoy's method is qualitative and ethnographic, based on case analysis, but operationally different from "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The extended case method applies a theoretical orientation, is dedicated to reconstructing existing theory, while grounded theory works to inductively discover new theory. Burawoy (1991: 10) explains:

We look for a theory or body of theory that we want to improve, a theory that is of interest, and then show how it is challenged by the social situation we are studying. This approach, therefore, leads us to strengthen preferred theories.

The extended case method starts with a theory that is then applied and reconstructed. This study starts with an demonstration of Giddens' Structuration Theory (GSI) as a theoretical framework for reconceptualizing prison release. "Analysis, therefore, is a continual process, mediating between field data and existing theory" (Burawoy, 1991: 11).
The extended case method assumes a theoretical perspective, participant observation, and the collection of collateral data. Theory is used to organize and analyze data. Conversely, data is used to reconstruct theory. The study begins with a theoretical framework built upon the work of Lemert (1958), Goffman (1961, 1963), Foucault (1977b), and Giddens (1984, 1987, 1990, 1991b). Goffman’s discussion of stigma (1963) and "total institutions" (1961) is used to introduce the problems of prison release. Foucault’s (1977b) discussion of the "carceral archipelago" provides a means to conceptualize how prisoners may travel through a series of different prisons, or custodial stages, on their way to release. Giddens’ structuration theory terminology (1984: 373-377; 1991b: 242-244), as "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1969), is used to analytically order and discuss the experience of prisoners.

Collateral data includes a review of relevant studies of prison release and analyses of publications of the Iowa Department of Corrections, including statistical summaries, institutional inmate rule books, and annual reports. A review of studies of prison release is provided to demonstrate the importance of structural variables, as opposed to individual deficiencies, for understanding work release failure. Interviews of prisoners, correctional staff, and community activists devoted to prison reform, provide primary data for analyses.

Interview Sample

Interviews are primary data used to explore and check theoretical propositions. This study explores how prisoners report their experiences with work release. A convenience sample of work release male prisoners was
interviewed at three different locations; Curt Forbes Work-Release Center, Ames, Iowa, Des Moines Work-Release Center, and the Hanson House of Hospitality, Des Moines, Iowa. Access to these sites was secured with permission from respective Judicial District Directors. The study sample is limited to men because approximately ninety-five percent of prison convicts, nation-wide, are male; in 1990 only 5.6 percent of the national prison population was female (Camp and Camp, 1990: 4-5). My only criterion for selection of men was that they were convicted felons who had served more that one year in prison; most of the interviewees were recidivists who have served more than one prison sentence and a considerable part of their adult life in correctional institutions.

Two to four hour interviews were conducted with male work release prisoners. A number of interviewees were interviewed twice. All interviews of prisoners were audio taped. At the conclusion of the interviews, each male prisoner was paid ten dollars. The interviews included a consent form and a profile questionnaire used to structure the taped conversations. The consent form included descriptions and purpose of research procedures, provisions for confidentiality of both answers and identities, and a page for the interviewee to sign that included:

My participation is completely voluntary. I may refuse participation at any time without penalty or prejudice. I may decide not to respond to any one or more questions. I understand that all research is strictly confidential. My name will not appear in research notes, reports, or publication. I understand that as a prison inmate, my decision to participate or not participate will not affect my release date. As a parolee, my decision to participate or not participate will not affect my parole status (Richards, 1992).
The vulnerable status of work release prisoners, their precarious foothold in the community while residing in a correctional facility with controlled movement, dictated that I not in anyway jeopardize them personally. No compromising questions about criminal records, court cases, drugs, alcohol, or illegal activities were specifically asked. However, discussion of these subjects were initiated by the prisoners.

I decided not to review either criminal or prison records of prisoners. These records, including pre-sentence investigations (PSI), court records, police records, and central correctional files, are official records of stigmatization. Weber (1978) asserted that records, files, and double-entry book-keeping were the basis for modern bureaucracies. Giddens (1984: 152) suggests that double-entry book-keeping is a kind of time machine which "stacks past events as well as anticipating future ones." Giddens (1991b: 23) also notes that "Language as Levi-Strauss says, is a time machine, which permits the reenactment of social practices across the generations, while also making possible the differentiation of past, present, and future." Unfortunately, criminal records through the imposition of official stigmatization may also serve to merge a person's past, present, and future together. Giddens writes (1987: 156):

Files—in the form of dossiers or personal histories—are also a basic means where by surveillance in the sense of supervision is carried on within organizations. All organizations maintain some kind of biographical inventories of those who are members. Such data, of course, facilitate fairly concentrated forms of what Foucault (1977b) calls "disciplinary power."
Prisoners complain that these official records are used to both enhance and sustain criminal sanctions; they are part of their punishment. As records of past transgressions and deviations, they may also be considered "a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Merton, 1968) or what Merton (1968: 475-476) termed the "Thomas Theorem:" "If men define situations as real, then they are real in their consequences" (William I. Thomas, 1928).

In the State of Iowa (U.S. Department of Justice, 1991) criminal history record information is used, by statutory provision (Code of Iowa), to deny felons the right to purchase firearms (Citation 724.26), to deny bail (Citation 811.2), to upgrade criminal offenses (Citation 714.2), to enhance sentences for offenders with prior convictions (Citation 204.411), to provide for mandatory sentences for habitual felons (Citation 902.8, 9), to deny probation (Citation 907.3), to write pre-sentence reports (Citation 901.2, 3), to decide correctional classification (Citation 901.4), and to affect parole eligibility (Citation 902.8, 902.11, 906.5). As provided by state statutes, criminal history records are instrumental in the processing of prisoners through every stage of the criminal justice system. Consequently, it is not surprising that some prisoners may be threatened, or at least embarrassed, by an outside researcher reviewing their records.

Expert testimony was provided by both "inside" and "outside" correctional professionals. For example, correctional staff are considered inside professionals, while community activists are considered outside professionals. Correctional staff interviewed included Judicial District Directors, Residential Managers of Work Release Centers, Work Release Counselors, Job Development Counselors, and Parole and Probation Officers. Community activists concerned with prisons included Bill Douglas, Director of Criminal Justice Ministries, Jim
Hester, Director of the Ex-Offender Advocate Program at Urban Dreams, and Speed (nickname), the Director of Hanson House.

Correctional staff were interviewed both by phone and face-to-face interview. Without exception, I found Iowa correctional professionals to be both generous and cooperative with their time and information. Phone interviews of staff provided an opportunity to get background information on both prison release and work release programs. As the study progressed through field interviews, I was able to check contradictory or conflicting information by comparing prisoner and staff responses.

Interviews of correctional staff focused on their specific location in the Iowa correctional system. For example, interviews of Residential Managers of Work Release Centers focused on their clientele and the operation of their facilities, while Job Development Counselors were questioned about employment opportunities for men in correctional custody.

Additionally, group interviews of work release prisoners meeting with their Job Developer Counselor were audio taped. A number of informal group discussions of ex-convicts were taped at the Hanson House of Hospitality.

The profile questionnaire served as a combined interview schedule and record of field notes. Interviews were conducted on site in person with audio taped questions and answers guided by the profile questionnaire. After a few initial interviews, it became apparent that the interviewees had their own stories to tell, regardless of my interview schedule. I consciously attempted not to control the interviews. I elected to use the profile questionnaire to guide but not direct the interviews. Operationally, my concern was that all the interviewees be asked every question on the profile questionnaire. Altogether, I collected thirty
profile questionnaires of work-release prisoners, thirty-nine ninety minute audio tapes of thirty work-release prisoners (nine inmates were interviewed a second time), and eight ninety minute tapes of correctional staff. Field notes included phone conversations, observations, and face-to-face conversations with a myriad of concerned individuals, both inside and outside, the Iowa Department of Corrections.

The interviews were conducted over a six month period at one prison (Newton Release Center), two residential work release centers (Curt Forbes Work Release Center, Ames, Iowa; Des Moines Work Release Center, Des Moines, Iowa), a house of hospitality for ex-convicts (Hanson House, Des Moines, Iowa), parole and probation offices (Story County, Iowa; Polk County Iowa), and the offices of human service providers (Story County, Iowa; Polk County, Iowa). The interviews with work release prisoners were conducted late into the evenings, sometimes past midnight and on weekends. Correction staff at the interview sites graciously provided office accommodations for the interviews. All interviews were private and confidential without interruptions from either staff or clients. The prisoners, without exception, were cordial and eager to contribute. My impression is that the prisoners appreciated an opportunity to discuss prisons, prison release, and their future plans with an outside investigator.

I transcribed all interview audio tapes, an arduous labor. Deciphering the tapes required playing them again and again. One ninety minute tape may take hours to transcribe. The transcriptions have been carefully edited to delete names, identifying references, and numerous offensive expletive. People do have colorful ways of self expression including innovative uses of the English
language. For example, working class people may use the phrase "you know" as a means to both punctuate the end of a sentence and to introduce the next sentence. "You know" may also be used to convey notification of an experience or understanding that is assumed to be collectively known by people of the same background; for example, "Guards are cops, you know."

I ran a computer generated content analysis (Microsoft Word) on the transcribed tapes searching for references to rules, resources, and time. Transcribed quotations are employed as a means to demonstrate Giddens' structuration theory.

Significance of the Study

How we experience social structure is a result of social location. Biography as a "narrative of self-identity" (Giddens, 1991b: 189) is a personal record of social location. Intellectual integrity demands an honest accounting of from where we came, who we are, and what personal bias we retain in our theoretical writing and research agenda. Reality is a social construction (Berger and Luckman, 1966). As individuals, we are all personal social constructions, and biography is one record of that construction.

I am an ex-convict, a felon, a former federal prisoner. I know well the "degradation ceremony" (Garfinkel, 1956) of trial, the "pains of imprisonment" (Johnson and Toch, 1982), and the "stigma" of "spoiled identity" (Goffman, 1963) that is related to being an ex-convict. I remember the humiliation of federal strip search procedures, the pinch of handcuffs, the weight of leg irons and belly
chains, the cold winter nights in penitentiary cell blocks. An Iowa prisoner describes the cold of winter in his cell block:

Cold, gets real cold. Anamosa [Iowa State Men's Reformatory] we had a window problem, cracks, missing windows period. They will just tape a window. The windows are 90 feet tall. Ya know, the panes are broke out, they'll just put plastic and tape over. Pretty soon the wind.

...Duct tape, masking tape. Especially cell house two man, it's so old its condemned anyway. Its freezing cold in there (Richards, 1992).

Degradation, pain, humiliation, and prolonged exposure to cold do not wear off, they linger as memories.

My heart still fills with rage when I recall the prison transports, the convicts being beaten in solitary cell blocks at Talladega Federal Correctional Institution (F. C. I.), the automatic weapons fire used to intimidate the prisoners at Leavenworth United States Federal Penitentiary (U. S. F. P.), the elderly men who died in their cells for lack of adequate medical attention, or the memory of fellow inmates being tortured by sadistic guards with cattle prods on the steps leading into Marion United States Federal Penitentiary (U. S. F. P.). I will never forget the long lines of men being forced to submit to strip searches in a freezing snow storm below the Leavenworth gun towers that guarded the prison walls.

No penitentiary inmate will ever forgive the penitentiary guards for the all too familiar order to "bend over and spread 'em." An Iowa prisoner, just released from Fort Madison Penitentiary, recalls:

The people who never go to the joint are never going to know about that "in between shit," bend
over and spread 'em, lift your fucking scrotum, all that bull shit that you got to go through. They ain't never going to experience it. And if you even waste your breath trying to tell them about it, ya know, they don't want to know. That ain't part of their little world. The point is that you know and the system knows what the real fucking score is. Terry Branstad [the Governor of Iowa] he knows what the real score is, he knows how people are being beat and abused and shit inside his fucking prisons. He lies about it, and he lies his ass off about it, but he knows anyway (Richards, 1992).

This Iowa prisoner knows, as I do, what most people do not want to know: Penitentiary prisoners, by design, as part of their sentence, their punishment, are subjected to degradations that most people are unable to comprehend. These degradations are not by accident, they are part of the prison program. "Big house" penitentiaries, like Leavenworth or Fort Madison are called puzzle palaces because they look like medieval castles and they are institutionally governed by state paid terror.

From 1982 through 1991, I spent two years in court, three years in prison, including six months in work-release, and three years on parole. While I stood trial, and just prior to my incarceration in South Carolina, I was an undergraduate student studying sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Altogether, I have eight years of participant observation of correctional custody before attending graduate school. During those eight years I stood trial in three federal courtrooms (U.S. District Court, U.S. Court of Appeals, U.S. Supreme Court), served time in two jails, seven prisons in five different states, one work release center, and had six different parole officers. I have served federal prison time in South Carolina (in county jails), Alabama (Talladega F. C.
I.), Indiana (Terra Haute F. C. I.), Kansas (Leavenworth U. S. F. P.), and Wisconsin (Oxford F. C. I.). As a prisoner I served time in maximum security behind the wall of penitentiaries, in medium security within the fenced perimeters of correctional institutions, and in minimum security in three different federal camps. My participant observation informs and directs the methods chosen for the following study.

This study has been conducted by an ex-convict interviewing and observing prisoners upon their release from prison to work-release and parole. An ex-prisoner may have insight into the process of prison release, problems encountered upon release, potential recidivism and reincarceration. An ex-prisoner may still be familiar with the cultural context and symbolic meanings of the prison world. I make no pretense to value-free objectivity (Weber). The data in this study is open to different interpretation, depending upon both the analysis and analyst. I write in the partisan tradition of Gouldner (1968) and not the sentiment-free social science of Becker (1963):

At the same time, however, Becker’s school of deviance is redolent of Romanticism. It expresses the satisfaction of the Great White Hunter who has bravely risked the perils of the urban jungle to bring back an exotic specimen. It expresses the romanticism of the zoo curator who preeningly displays his rare specimens. And like the the zookeeper, he wishes to protect his collection; he does not want spectators to throw rocks at the animals behind the bars. But neither is he eager to tear down the bars and let the animals go. The attitude of these zookeepers of deviance is to create a comfortable and humane Indian Reservation, a protected social space, within which these colorful specimens may be exhibited, unmolested and unchanged. The very empirical sensitivity to fine
detail, characterizing this school, is both born of and limited by the connoisseur's fascination with the rare object: its empirical richness is inspired by a collector's aesthetic (Gouldner, 1968: 106).

A true participant observer does more than visit the "zoo" and stare at the animals on the other side of the bars. Usually, a sociologist who employs participant observation must gain entrance to the world of their subject. In this study, the subject has escaped from the cage to write about the world that he once knew. The zookeeper, the great white hunter has lost one of his collection, he is out of the zoo and home from the reservation.

As a former prisoner, I am interested in the struggle prisoners fight to extricate themselves from custody. This struggle does not cease upon walking out through penitentiary gates. Prisoners are a new ethnicity (Solzhenitsyn, 1975; Richards, 1990): They have their own cultural identity, including food, clothes, schedule of activities, spoken language, spiritual affinity, myths and morality. Prisoners upon release have an altered perception of the community, and the community, upon recognizing their prison history, may have an altered perception of them.

My interest is in the moral career (Goffman, 1961) of the prisoners as they are processed through the different stages of the criminal justice system. What are the differential effects of incarceration on individuals? If there is a differential effect, is it related to differences in individuals or differences in institutional experiences? Does the "correctional process" create prisonization (Clemmer, 1940), institutionalized individuals with "joint mentality?"

The criminal justice system can be compared to an industrial production line with prisoners, the product, moving along a conveyor belt through several
stages or work stations. These custodial stages may include court, jail, a series of different prisons, work release, and parole. Prisoners are lined up and marched or dragged from one lock-up to another. At each location they are stripped searched, their private property catalogued, and they are assigned to cell blocks or dormitories. A convict recidivist returned to prison may experience these stages repeatedly. Correctional staff may become familiar with several different custodial stages, but they themselves have not experienced the totality of the process. Some correctional staff, with considerable insight and years of on the job experience, may recognize the failing and contradictions of the prison system, but they do not understand the resentment and anger of prisoners.

Federal and State law is replete with "repeat offender statutes." Federal indictments for Continual Criminal Enterprise (CCE), RICCO, and Racketeering carry life sentences with no parole. CCE pertains to long term criminal activity; RICCO statutes are for using illegal money to operate an illegal enterprise; and Racketeering refers to using illegal money to capitalize a legal enterprise. Many federal prisoners who are second or third time losers are serving time under these federal statutes of the United States Code. Repeat offenders sentenced in Iowa may be sentenced as Habitual Offenders upon their third felony conviction. This carries an additional 15 years (Crime and Tustice in Iowa, 1990). The severity of these statutes, as provided by either United States Code or various state codes, that dramatically enhance sentences for "career criminals," makes it imperative that the process of prison release and reincarceration be sociologically addressed.
Internal and External Validity

Internal validity refers to "the degree to which the data gathered from the informants were accurate" (Eleanor Miller, 1986: 30). There are a number of potential problems with assessing the accuracy of individual interviews. Both prisoners and correctional staff may have personal agendas or a predilection for exaggeration or the telling of tall stories. There is a problem of selective recall, reinterpretation, and omission. Considering these problems, how could I have confidence in my data?

I remembered how convicts talk together beyond the range of their keepers. I missed the insider convict understanding that is rarely shared with conventional people. I introduced myself as an ex-convict who had served a number of years in federal prisons. As expected, this disclosure, and the assurance that I did not work for the police, prisons, or parole office, was welcomed by the prisoners. They questioned me about my own experiences. This questioning allowed the prisoners an opportunity to check me out, to see if I were real. As the interaction progressed in the course of the interviews, the men relaxed, decided to trust me, and the interviews improved. At each of three work release facilities, upon endorsement from the first few interviewees, the subsequent interviews improved in quality. By the second evening, upon my arrival at the work release centers, the men were lined up at my door to be interviewed.

Conversely, I had an interesting experience interviewing staff. Correctional personnel, like any other group, are a heterogeneous assortment of different personalities. I approached disclosure of my past history to correctional staff with some trepidation. Upon announcement of my prison record would
they withdraw their cooperation, their permission to interview their custodial clients? I was pleasantly surprised by the response of all concerned. Generally, if I introduced myself as an ex-prisoner I found the correctional staff to be unimpressed, and certainly not threatened by my former status. However, delaying this announcement until the middle of the interview resulted in dramatic changes in staff responses to my questions.

As a mere university researcher, with no real experience with prisons, I was treated to the standard "cop shop" public relations "mumbo jumbo" about criminals and their need for supervision and treatment. Upon being properly appraised of my background, the interviews improved, much as they had with the prisoners. In both cases, with prisoners and staff, my status provided an entrance to inside information, the real story, of how prison release is problematic.

The tapes are dynamite, an ethnographer's dream; they do include selective recall, reinterpretation, and omission. But the quality of the tapes are testimony to two important observations. First, the most important criterion for establishing the internal validity of data is to know and be close to your subject. Having been through prison, prison release, work release, and parole, I knew what questions to ask. As an ex-prisoner, I had a frame of reference that allowed me to separate out the bravado and exaggeration, to cut to the quick, and delete the rumor. I was interested in only what could be corroborated and supported by several interviews. Secondly, prisoners upon arrival at a work release center need an opportunity to talk with sympathetic company, to process their experiences, and to get some feedback on their future plans.

Correctional counselors are available for consultation, and they are
professional and well intended, but they are also figures of authority with considerable power over their clients. A work release counselor told me:

My role here is problematic. I am labeled as counselor but if you don't do what I tell you to do I am going to be the disciplinarian. So, I am going to be the judge, jury, and executioner, and counselor, pretty screwy hats to wear (Richards, 1992).

Work release prisoners need "safe" people to talk to about their problems with substance abuse, family, and dead end jobs. They need the opportunity to process their "pains of imprisonment" (Johnson and Toch, 1982), their fears and frustrations with prison release and reentry to the community. These men need an opportunity to converse and socially interact with persons who will listen to their problems without judgement or recourse to punitive action.

All data collection based on qualitative interviews is subject to questions of internal validity. Interview subjects are free to respond to questions as they deem appropriate. Without the use of a lie detector test, there is no way to confirm the validity of any one verbal response. Fortunately, this is not necessary. Internal validity can be secured by controlling for outlier statements that are not confirmed by multiple respondents; singular statements are held suspect until verified by two or more respondents. A statement that is repeated by many respondents is held to be valid, while a statement by one and only one respondent is omitted from the analysis.

External validity refers "to the extent to which the research findings can be generalized to larger populations and applied to different settings" (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992: 551). One method of generalizing research
finding to a broader population is through the use of theoretical perspectives and non-fictional literary presentation in the analytical discussion of empirical research results. The problems of prison release, for example, the pains of imprisonment, the stigma of spoiled identity, and recidivism and reincarceration, are common to every prison system. In this study, I have employed references to sociologists and authors from a number of different countries and historical periods. Solzhenitsyn's discussion on Russian prisons in the three volumes of *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973, 1975, 1978) is a seminal work that has greatly influenced European prison studies. Foucault being French, his writing include a historical study of French prisons, as well as commentary on Attica. Foucault's (1977b) discussion of the "carceral archipelago" is clearly borrowed from his reading of Solzhenitsyn. I have also provided quotations from George Konrad, a Hungarian sociologist, Victor Hugo, and Dostoevsky, all of whom have served prison time in their own respective countries.

At best, the thirty interviewed subjects may be assumed to be representative of the Iowa prisoners that are processed through work release. I am confident, however, that the experiences that the prisoner respondents share about work release and employment searches are representative of the universe of work release prisoners in Story and Polk Counties. Because both the profile questionnaire and taped interviews focused on prisoner release in Iowa, generalization beyond Iowa must be made with caution. However, empirical data on Iowa prison release may be generalized on a theoretical level by using Burawoy's (1991) extended case methodology that mediates between field data and existing theory. This study attempts to demonstrate how one empirical case
study, this study of Iowa prison release, can be generalized using Giddens' theoretical conception of rules, resources, time, and space.
CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Introduction

This is a deductive study that begins with discussion of theoretical perspectives that blend together and build upon one another. Lemert's (1951) Theory of Primary and Secondary Deviance suggests that there is a process by which societal reaction professionalizes deviance. Penitentiary prisoners experience this process as prisonization (Clemmer, 1940) or what I discuss, in a later chapter, as "joint mentality." Goffman's discussion of "total institutions" introduces the "mortification process" that is part of the entrance procedure of every penitentiary. This entrance procedure, as a process of official labeling may lead prisoners to adapt their own secondary altercations or deviations, evidenced by their own "personal lines of adaptation" (Goffman, 1961).

Solzhenitsyn's (1975: 502-533) discussion of prisoners as a a new ethnicity, as a gulag (prison) nation of zeks (prisoners) expands Lemert's idea of secondary deviance and Goffman's conception of the process of professionalization of deviance to encompass the birth of a new ethnicity of prisoners. This discussion, as sarcastic metaphor, suggests that prison systems have not only engendered metamorphic alterations in their prisoners, but have succeeded in creating their own societies, complete with ethnic food, clothes, and language.

Foucault's (1977b) discussion of "carceral archipelago" expands the gulag analogy farther, beyond the prison gates, to include the realities of ghetto schools, neighborhoods, and deficient opportunity structures. Foucault argues that the structural continuities and similarities between prisons and low income
communities is pervasive and intentional.

Goffman's (1963) discussion of "modes of prisoner adaptation, as built upon the work of Lemert (1951), is the primary basis for Gidden's discussion of social interaction of individuals within a structural context. Foucault's essay on the "carceral archipelago," as borrowed from Solzhenitsyn's (1973, 1975, 1978) Gulag Archipelago, provides Giddens (1984, 1990, 1991b) with his structural discussion of prisons. Together, the theoretical ideas of Goffman and Foucault, are the personifications of the micro and macro that Giddens attempts to discuss simultaneously in his Structuration Theory.

Lemert's Theory of Primary and Secondary Deviance

Schur (1971:24) suggests a working definition of deviance: "Human behavior is deviant to the extent that it comes to be viewed as involving personally discrepant departure from a group's normative expectation, and it elicits interpersonal or collective reactions that serve to isolate, treat, or punish individuals engaged in such behavior." Lemert (1951:73) defines a deviant person as a "product of differentiating and isolating process, for example, adverse labeling and court-ordered institutionalization." The labeling perspective emphasizes that deviance is a socially-constructed product of the complex interaction of the prevailing norms of expected behavior, the perception by a social audience that an individual has significantly departed from these norms, and that the individual is adversely labeled for this departure. This audience may be society at large, significant others that the actor interacts with on a day-to-day basis, or organizational agents of control. Deviations are not socially
significant until they are publicly identified—"until they are organized subjectively and transformed into active roles and become the social criteria for assigning status" (Lemert, 1951:75)—until they are labeled.

Deviance from prevailing norms can be further identified as either primary or secondary deviance. Deviance remains primary as long as singular or intermittent episodes of deviance can be successfully rationalized as personally uncharacteristic or situational. Deviance becomes secondary when a person assumes or adopts a deviant role. "When a person begins to employ his deviant behavior or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the consequent societal reaction to him [her], his [her] deviation is secondary" (Lemert, 1951:76). Secondary deviance is a reciprocal response to adverse labeling that confers a detrimental status.

Secondary deviance can be understood as both a defensive or "secondary adjustment" (Goffman, 1963) and conformity to an adverse label. Lemert (1951:77) characterized secondary deviance as the belief that "life could be enormously simplified by acquiescing in this verdict and living accordingly." The actor is pressured by the audience to assume the position, dress the part, and conform to the deviant role. "Objective evidence of this change will be found in the symbolic appurtenances of the new role in clothes, speech, posture, and mannerism, which in some cases serve as symbolic clues to professionalism" (Lemert, 1951:76). For example, white canes, seeing-eye dogs, and dark glasses identify the professional blind person, and uniforms identify the professional service person.

Goffman's work (1961, 1963) demonstrates that one goal of "total institutions" is to reorganize their inmates' self-concepts. This is accomplished
through "degradation ceremonies" (Garfinkel, 1956) and a "mortification process" (Goffman, 1961) that routinely produces and sustains bewilderment and confusion in the inmate. Deviants are created by this institutional processing, not all at once, but in stages over time. Total institutions, by definition, exist outside mainstream society. Inmates of these institutions are systematically pressured to conform to a stigmatized status that assumes a deviant role. Prison inmates are processed through several stages: arrest, court, and incarceration. Recidivists are subjected to this process repeatedly. Eventually, depending on the person, a tolerance quotient (see Lemert, 1951:77) is reached where the inmate is overwhelmed by stigmatization and acquiesces to the institutional label of convicted criminal.

Goffman's "Total Institutions"

Goffman (1961) lists five types of total institutions: (1) homes for the incapable and harmless, homes for the blind, the orphaned, the aged, and the indigent; (2) institutions for the needy thought to be a threat to the community: TB sanatoria, mental hospitals, and leprosia; (3) penal, correctional, and detention facilities; (4) military camps, isolated work camps, and colonial compounds; and (5) religious retreats such as abbeys, monasteries, and convents.

These institutions share common characteristics: "Every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them: in brief, every institution has encompassing tendencies" (Goffman, 1961: 4). The encompassing or total character of prisons is best symbolized by walls, fences, barbed and razor wire, and gun towers. Other
physical features may be institutional fixtures such as locked doors, furniture, ceiling tiles, linoleum, and cement block walls. These institutions share common features of controlled movement, close supervision, regimented social structure, and severely limited entry and exit.

Prior to confinement in total institutions, persons may be subject to what Garfinkel (1956) termed "degradation ceremonies," for example, court proceedings or psychiatric evaluations. Subsequently, upon arrival at the institution, the new inmate is stripped of his/her home identity by what Goffman called a "mortification process."

The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified. He begins some radical shifts in his 'moral career' composed of progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others (Goffman, 1961:14).

These humiliations may result from strip searches, classification committees (Irwin, 1970; 1980), or orientation and admission procedures, such as being "dressed out," fingerprinted, and assignment by number.

The admission procedure can be characterized as a leaving off and taking on, with the midpoint marked by physical nakedness. Leaving off of course entails a dispossession of property,
important because persons invest self feelings in their possessions. Perhaps the most significant of these is not physical at all, one's full name; whatever one is thereafter called, loss of one's name can be a great curtailment of self ",(Goffman, 1961:18).

Prisoners may lose their full name, including their first and last names and be addressed only by their assigned institutional number.

Together, "degradation ceremonies" and "the mortification process" prepare the new inmate for potential metamorphic alteration. The degree of alteration of the new inmate upon arrival at the institution depends on several factors. First and foremost is the nature of the institution, for example whether it is threatening or benevolent. Maximum security penitentiaries are threatening and minimum security camps or farms somewhat benevolent. A second factor is his/her "presenting culture" (Goffman, 1961) or personal organization. "Presenting culture" can be understood as a collection, or inventory, of personal resources, for example, age, gender identity, social class, psychological integration, and levels of skills and confidence. This presenting culture, relatively, is appropriate or detrimental depending on the person and the specific institution.

The mortification process may lead prison convicts to "employ different personal lines of adaptation at different phases in his moral career and may even alternate among different tacks at the same time" (Goffman, 1961: 61). Goffman (1961: 61-64) list five possible modes of adaptation assumed or practiced by prisoners. Prisoners may assume "situation withdrawal," an "intransigent line," "colonization," "conversion," or "playing it cool." We can think of these five
modes of adaptation as playing cards that the prisoner plays when necessary or advantageous; playing poker is an analogy well known to any prisoner.

Situation withdrawal is an adaptation, known as "regression" in mental hospitals, as "prison psychosis" in prisons, or simply "stir crazy" by prisoners, that may include varying degrees of disinvlement. One Iowa prisoner described the numbing loneliness of his prison experience as:

I'd rather be alone, but then I get scared being alone. So it's like "catch twenty-two. Stir crazy, I have to do something. Snap is what I call it, I'd snap (Richards, 1992).

Prisoners discuss their situation withdrawal as laying up in their own cells, minding their own business, and "doing their own time."

The intransigent line is an active rebellion or resistance to incarceration. Prisoners may challenge institutional rules and procedures, refuse to co-operate with staff, or refuse programming such as education or chemical abuse counseling. Prisoner resistance to rules and procedures may be understood as the exercise of limited autonomy or social agency; resistance to authority is a predictable response for persons serving time in prison.

As Goffman (1961: 62) characterizes colonization, "the sampling of the outside world provided by the establishment is taken by the inmate as the whole, and a stable, relatively contented existence is built up out of the maximum satisfactions procurable within the institution." A Fort Madison prisoner described his "colonization" as:

They would lock me down at nine o'clock at night. I go in and and have some lemon line soda, and I'd
take my Bicardi and my lemon line soda, make me a cocktail, roll me up a joint. After the man walked by and took count, I knew it would be a half hour before he went by again. I'd get high, drink, watch TV, have a hang-over the next morning (Richards, 1992).

Prisoners may strive to make the best of their carceral situation by making a home complete with television, radio, and goods purchased or requisitioned through the inmate economy. Irwin (1970: 76) demonstrates how the inmate economy, using cigarettes as currency and gambling as market speculation, is used to provide both services and commodities.

Prisoners that are engaged in colonization may do business with penitentiary "merchants" (Sykes, 1958) or "wheeler dealers" (Irwin, 1970). State raised youth, young men who have spent considerable time in juvenile institutions before going to prison, may practice an intensive type of colonization called "jailing" (Irwin, 1970). These prisoners, because they were raised in juvenile detention centers, and may not remember any other home, are at home within the penitentiary cell blocks. They may be the inmate economy merchants and wheeler dealers who do a brisk business or provide protection to those prisoners that do. A community correctional professional observed:

Excuse me, that's one thing that I've noticed, above and beyond anything else that all the guys have told me coming out of the joint. And that's after they been on the streets a couple weeks, is that it's so much easier to get drugs in prison then [than] it is on the streets. And that it's safer, 'cause you don't have to worry about cops, you know where they're at all the time (Richards, 1992).
Merchants and wheeler dealers may traffic in gambling, chemical substances, legal assistance, dining hall food, or any number of contraband commodities. Prisoners, because they are segregated from the "free market," create their own black market in scarce goods.

A final variation of colonization is the "gleaner" (Irwin, 1970), a prisoner who makes the most of educational, vocational, and library resources to improve himself. Gleaners may use their prison time to read, write, and dream a plan for a new future. An Iowa work release prisoner comments on his gleaning:

Forgive yourself. Now is the time to go forward. When you keep looking back you are going to trip over that which is a head of you. So, forget what's back there. It will always be part of you, but don't let it become what you are and what you will be. Let it be what you were.

We have so much time while we are in prison to dream and plan. By golly, you know what, when they tell you're leaving next Tuesday, holy smoke you know what, now it's put up or shut up. See, I have all these plans. Now, have I made this goal, and this directive, and this prospective, so much a dream state that I can't put it into reality. What kind of help am I going to need? What kind of endorsements? Sure I can get out and get a job. [The employment application asks,] "Have you been convicted of a felony within the last ten years?" [The employer says,] "Yea, well, we don't need you." [The felon replies,] "But that's not what I am now, give me a chance."

Nobody in the world is gonna tell you that when you get out of prison that everything is gonna fall right back. The old saying is, "you can't ever go home again" [Thomas Wolfe]. I never knew quite what that meant. Because when you go home everything has changed. You're the only one who is hoping and dreaming all this time that it's all going be the same. But hold your head up and
be proud of who you are and set your sights straight ahead and go for it. And never be afraid to ask for help. Because there are a lot of people out there who are willing to help, who understand what you are going through. When I help somebody the only thing that I ask of them is that when the time comes where somebody needs your help you be there for them. Pass it on, pass it on (Richards, 1992).

Solzhenitsyn writes (1975: 619): "A duel with years and with walls constitutes moral work and a path upwards if you can climb it." Some prisoners learn from their imprisonment. They learn to accept simplicity and nonmaterial existence. This simplicity, although enforced by the regimentated environment, has its own lessons to teach: that feelings of security are a function of a person's mental state and not his collection of material possessions; that a person can be happy with less. Gleaners are prisoners who understand that prison time can be a precious opportunity, like Kafka's (1961) "hunger artist," who lives in a cell and transforms his life through intellectual metamorphosis.

Goffman's (1961: 63) fourth mode of prisoner adaptation to total institutions is that of conversion; "the inmate appears to take over the official or staff view of himself and tries to act out the role of the perfect inmate."

Conversion, as a total adaptation to incarceration, is a rare event. Most prisoners only appear to adopt a role of conversion to the official or staff view. For example, "Square Johns" (Irwin, 1970) may subscribe to conventional value systems, and compared to state raised youth or habitual offenders, may appear converted to staff expectations, but they still live within a convict social system with a convict code with two maxims, do your own time and don't inform on others (Irwin, 1970).
"Playing it cool," the most prevalent form of adaptation, provides the prisoner with social agency. Playing it cool refers to knowing when, where, and with whom to display one's selective adaptation. Prisoners may create and exercise their limited autonomy through a combination of secondary adjustments. Goffman (1961: 64) suggests:

In most total institutions, most inmates take the tack of what some of them call "playing it cool." This involves a somewhat opportunistic combination of secondary adjustments, conversion, colonization, and loyalty to the inmate group, so that the inmate will have a maximum chance, in the particular circumstances, of eventually getting out physically and psychologically undamaged.

"Secondary adjustments provide the inmate with important evidence that he is still his own man, with some control of his environment; sometimes a secondary adjustment becomes almost a kind of lodgment for the self, a churinga in which the soul is felt to reside" (Goffman, 1961: 55). These secondary adjustments may be quite dramatic, and clearly evident, as when an inmate gets "ugly" (Irwin, 1970) by growing a beard or being tattooed with churinga-like totems or spiritual double images.

**Solzhenitsyn's "Zeks as a Nation"**

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1963), *The First Circle* (1970) and his three books of *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973, 1975, 1978) introduced the world to his literary presentation of the Soviet prison system as a gulag. Solzhenitsyn asserts in Chapter 19: "The Zeks as a Nation" (Solzhenitsyn, 1975: 502-533) that gulag prisoners (zeks) constitute their own
separate nation, which is defined as a inhabitants with a specific territory who share common customs, origins, history, and related languages. Common customs may include food, dress, and form of government.

Solzhenitsyn's assertion that zeks, as gulag prisoners, constitute a separate nation is predicated on zeks having their own national food, clothes, schedule of activities, spoken language, spiritual affinity, and universal characteristics, including myths, and morality. Solzhenitsyn contends (1975: 504):

They eat food which no one else on earth eats any more. They wear clothes which no one else wears any more. And even their daily schedule is identical on all the islands and obligatory for every zek. (Now what ethnographer is able to point to any other nation all of whose members have uniform daily schedule and uniform food and clothing).

Iowa prisoners, like prisoners in most prisons, get up in the morning at the same time, are locked down at night at the same time, and must stand for count at the same times each day. The prisoners are served substandard food everyday in the penitentiary cafeteria. Prisoners held in segregation strip cells at Fort Madison (Iowa State Penitentiary) are served an ethnic delicacy—the food loaf: "When an inmate is placed in incorrigible status the inmate will receive a food loaf that will be prepared by the institutional food service department. The food loaf combines the food items from the regularly scheduled meals" (State of Iowa, 1987b: 1). The men coming out of Anamosa (Iowa State Men's Reformatory) and Fort Madison (Iowa State Penitentiary) complain about being served "mystery meat" and desert storm military rations. A number of prisoners reported that
the food at Anamosa was so poor that half the population would skip dinner. All Iowa prisoners wear the same clothes, "prison blues" that consists of black boots, blue jeans, blue work shirts, and a blue denim coat.

Zeks have their own myths, folklore, and hero images (Solzhenitsyn, 1975: 505). They do not have their own written language, but their spoken language, complete with lively argot and colorful curses, may be quite incomprehensible to all but the most learned student. Iowa penitentiary convicts coin their own language to confuse and humiliate their keepers:

Prisoner--Convicts take something [words] that means something entirely different and use it so if a guard hears it they don't understand what's going on. The gangsters up there [Fort Madison] were learning that deaf sign language, using it. It don't take the guards no time to figure out what a slang means, that's why it changes so fast (Richards, 1992).

Richards--What do you call the guards?

Prisoner--Pigs, cops, some people even still call them screws. Now days, this is funny too. We used to all call them guard, right, but you didn't call them "guard," cause that was their name, so you called them pig or cop. They want to be called officer, they even put out this memorandum about they don't like to view theirselves [themselves] as guards. They want to be officers. So now we call them guard because they don't like it. You'll say, "hey guard." And they'll say, "I'm not a guard I'm an officer." So you just insist on calling them guard cause it gets to em, ya know (Richards, 1992).

The most colorful curses are reserved for addressing their keepers. Iowa prisoners have named the Fort Madison CERT Team (Certified Emergency
Recovery Team), an elite force of penitentiary officers used to subdue incorrigible prisoners with gas, shock batons, and taser guns—the "goon squad" (Richards, 1992).

The gulag zek has its own moral code. "All this code, taken as a whole, is imprinted on and exemplified in the moral structure of the native, and produces what we can call the zek national type" (Solzhenisyn, 1975: 510). This moral code, the religious traditions of the gulag, are embodied in what is called the Zek Commandments:

- Don't Stick Your Neck Out
- Don't Squeal
- Don't Lick the Bowls
- Don't Scavenge
- Don't Shove Your Nose in Someone Else's Mess Tin.
- Don't Trust
- Don't Fear
- Don't Beg
- Do Not Lose Heart
- Do Not Be Overjoyed

These zek commandments are the convict code, recognizable to any seasoned prisoner in any penitentiary, correctional institution, or prison camp.

The gulag zeks reproduce themselves, they replenish their own ranks by bearing children, though the social climate of their native territory presents
problems. Lexington Federal Correctional Institution and Fort Worth Federal Correctional Institution provide maternity wards in the prison hospitals for the care of zek mothers and their babies. Female prisoners that give birth while in prison automatically are forced to relinquish parental custody:

Yes, its ranks are replenished by the technical method of jugging (and, out of some strange caprice, its own chicks are turned over to a neighboring peoples). However, chicks after all, are hatched in an incubator, yet we do not, for this reason, cease to regard them as chickens when we use their meat (Solzhenitsyn, 1975: 506).

Zek men have secret liaisons in visiting rooms with female natives from the mainland, the product of whoever, this off-spring may one day too take up citizenship within the gulag.

The gulag has its own economy, both the internal inmate economy, and industrial production for export. The gulag is a dependent colonial nation, the original platform economy, that produces for the profit of the mother country. At Leavenworth U. S. Federal Penitentiary (USP), there are five Federal Prison Industry (UNICOR) factories that produce metal furniture (desks, file cabinets, bookcases, tables), wooden furniture, paintbrushes, government printed forms, and mattresses. The prison is complete with its own truck terminal, railroad spur, and a diesel freight train with painted UNICOR logo.

The Iowa Department of Corrections operates prison industries at five institutions. The mission statement and goals (State of Iowa, 1989b: 145) of this operation are: "To provide opportunities for meaningful work to inmates of state correctional institutions; to provide quality goods and services to the state
and political subdivisions of the state at competitive prices; and, to fund these activities from the sale of products manufactured by Iowa State Industries without appropriations to the revolving fund." The products manufactured include metal furniture, license plates, traffic signs, graphic arts, housekeeping and laundry supplies, tire recapping, custom wood products, plasma collection, cook and chill food preparation, fibersin furniture, dry cleaning, textiles, and printing. Iowa also maintains prison farm industries for the production and marketing of garden produce, grain, livestock, and eggs.

A nation, as provided by definition, must have its own government. Gulag zeks maintain that they have too much government, the government is too big, but then the gulag is not democratically ruled. All prisons have elaborate procedures for governing their populations. Iowa prisons have inmate rule books (State of Iowa, 1987; 1987a; 1987b) with provisions for nearly every facet of a prisoner's daily schedule.

The gulag does have its own specific territory, its own national customs (national food and dress), its own origins and history (recorded in myths and the Zek Commandments), and its own spoken language (argot and curses). Zeks reproduce their own species, have their own national economy, and their own government.

The author considers that the present inquiry has succeeded and that his hypothesis has been fully proved, namely, that in the middle of the twentieth century a completely new nation has been discovered, unknown to anyone before, with the ethnic scope of many millions of men (Solzhenitsyn, 1975: 533).
The ethnic scope of this nation of zeks spans the gulag archipelago, a nation of island communities, like the Jewish Diaspora (Greek word for dispersion) or the far flung Pacific islands of Polynesia. The Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Iowa Department of Corrections are two islands of this gulag nation.

Foucault's "Carceral Archipelago"

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977b), proceeding beyond structuralism and hermeneutics, presents a "somber recounting of the growth of disciplinary technology" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 143) in a critical discourse about the "materialist" history of knowledge. Foucault's objective, in his discussion of the French penal system 1750s to 1840, is to explicate and uncover how social institutions came to be.

Foucault's discourse on disciplinary technology includes three figures of punishment: sovereign torture, humanist reform, and normalizing detention (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). Historically, different systems of punishment can be related to different modes of production (Marx; see Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939: *Punishment and Social Structures*). Justice and punishment evolve as a consequence of social-economic development; slavery and feudalism are marked by corporal punishment, mercantilism by forced labor and the prison factory, while capitalism develops "corrective detention." There is no strict correlation between different systems of punishment and different modes of production, because there are historical overlaps.

In eighteenth century France, as in most of Europe, under the rule of divine monarches, "justice pursues the body beyond all possible pain" (Foucault, 1977b: 34). The "political economy of the body" (Foucault, 1977b), regarding
torture as a political tactic, culminates in the horror of public punishment, the spectacle of the scaffold. Foucault (1977b, 47) suggests:

The public execution is to be understood not only as a judicial, but also as a political ritual. It belongs, even in minor cases, to the ceremonies by which power is manifested.

Sovereign power, demonstrated as public torture—to be burned with sulphur, boiling oil, molten lead, or drawn and quartered—must be legible for all to see.

The French Revolution and the republican challenge to monarchy marks the transition from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism, and from public torture to the building of the first modern prisons. For the bourgeoisie the public executions which precipitated disorder and armed resistance in the populace had become intolerable. Reform, a new economy of power, was needed to provide a "closer penal mapping of the social body" (Foucault, 1977b: 78):

The reform of the criminal law must be read as a strategy for the rearrangement of the power to punish, according to modalities that render it more regular, more effective, more constant, and more detailed in effects while diminishing its economic cost (that is to say, by dissociating it from the system of property, of buying and selling, of corruption in obtaining not only offices, but the decisions themselves) and its political cost (by dissociating it from the arbitrariness of monarchical power). The new juridical theory of penalty corresponds in fact to a new political economy of the power to punish (Foucault, 1977b: 80-81).

The new judicial theory of penalty, as penal arithmetic, became a calculated economy of punishment, based on time and money to be paid for each
transgression. This new penal calculus was more humane, torture is replaced by imprisonment. However, "setting the limit to punishment was tethered to the eagerness to punish even the least crime" (Cousins and Hussain, 1984: 181). "There is an economico-moral self-evidence of a penalty that metes out punishments in days, months, and years and draws up quantitative equivalences between offenses and durations" (Foucault, 1977b: 232).

The economy of illegalities was restructured with the development of capitalist society. New forms of capital production, new relations of production, and the new legal status of property required the invention of police, the multiplicity of courts, and the partitioning of prisoners in panoptic prisons. Police, courts, and prisons were created to discipline the lower classes to the rule of bourgeois law:

So common and ingrained was the incomplete observance of the law and edicts that some of the illegalities were woven into the fabric of the economy. The lowest classes did not have privileges but they had recourse to illegalities--the non-payment of taxes and feudal dues, pilfering, and violations of guild regulations. A section of them depended on illegal practices for their livelihood, which they staunchly defended when under threat. Often there was no clear dividing-line between crimes and illegal practices that had come to be accepted as custom. And the lower classes themselves had an ambivalent attitude to transgressions of the law. They welcomed and protected certain types of criminals such as peasants who did not pay their feudal dues and who fled their feudal masters, tax evaders and smugglers (Cousins and Hussain, 1984: 179).
Foucault (quoted in Simon, 1974: 161) asserts that economic crime is inherently political:

> All of that profound struggle is, I believe, political. Crime is 'coup d'etat' from below. That phrase is from Les Miserables.

The bourgeoisie constructed a legal system to defend its own historic interests and prevent the peasantry and proletariat from exercising their "recourse to illegalities" and opportunities for violent transfer of ownership (see Marx, "The Theft of Wood").

The historic problem for nineteenth century Europe, with industrial capitalism booming, was how to instill discipline in the labor force (Marx, Weber). With the "closing of the commons" beginning in the Fourteenth Century, the imposition of land titles upon the free peasantry, and the freeing of the serfs, the rural population roamed the countryside. Foucault argues that two processes, the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital, were necessary in order to build and sustain the infrastructure of industrial production. The military model provided the disciplinary mechanism that gradually penetrated the basic functioning of society to inform an historic transformation of the labor force. Gradually, in the span of a mere few decades, bourgeois society spawned institutions to discipline men/women to wage labor. "Discipline may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a 'physics' or 'anatomy' of power, a technology" (Foucault, 1977b: 215). This technology,
based on the military model of discipline as power, was systematically refined and prepared in the prisons for application to other institutions.

The first prisons (e.g. Rasphuis of Amsterdam in 1596, Glent and Gloucester in 1779 and Walnut Street Jail in 1790) were built as machines for altering minds (Foucault, 1977b). Prison, as the institutionalization of the power to punish, represents a new secret model of punishment based on three technologies of confinement: coercive, corporal, and solitary. "In the 1830s, the Panopticon became the architectural programme of most prison projects. It was the most direct way of expressing the intelligence of discipline in stone" (Foucault, 1977b: 249).

Foucault (1977b: 204) describes the panoptic prison as a laboratory of power. Panopticism, as fortress-like architecture, locates bodies in space where they are always visible, under surveillance; "... in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them" (Foucault, 1977b: 172). It was in the prisons (see the Auburn and Philadelphia models) that society first worked out the blueprint for the machine-men (women), the proletarians. Foucault (1977b: 217) argues that through surveillance and training individuals are carefully fabricated:

Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance: under the surface of images, one invests bodies in depth; behind the great abstraction of exchange, there continues the meticulous, concrete training of useful forces; the circuits of communication are the supports of accumulation and a centralization of knowledge; the play of signs defines the anchorages of power; it is not that the
beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies. We are much less Greeks than we believe. We are neither in the amphitheater, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine.

The panopticon is a political technology, conceived as an ingenious cage, similar to Weber's use of "iron cage" to describe bureaucracy, that distributes individuals in hierarchical organization, provides a material definition to power as set in stone, and can be implemented in hospitals, workshops, schools, as well as prisons:

Bentham himself regarded the panopticon as eminently generalizable: mutatis mutandis, it could become, so he thought, a plan for a school, an asylum, a workshop or a hospital. That the panopticon is polyvalent in its application is, for Foucault, not its secondary but its central feature (Cousins and Hussain, 1984: 190-191).

Foucault maintains that prisons are the center of modern society, the "ideal type" (Weber, 1947: 110) model of every other institution. Foucault asserts that we live in a disciplinary society based on the Benthamite physics of power that arranges our institutional space. Power is not position or location but a strategy that has spread from prisons to all other social institutions. On a continuum, schools, hospitals, factories, public housing can all be compared with prisons. "Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons" (Foucault, 1977b: 228)?

Foucault names this proliferation of disciplining institutions the "carceral archipelago:" a carceral continuum of diverse institutions dedicated to the
surveillance, training, and normalization of individuals. "The frontiers between confinement, judicial punishment and institutions of discipline, which were already blurred in the classical age, tended to disappear and to create a great carceral continuum that diffused penitentiary techniques into the most innocent of disciplines..."(Foucault, 1977b: 297). "The carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institution to the entire social body" (Foucault, 1977b: 298).

Foucault's discussion of the nineteenth century prison complements radical criminology (e.g. Richard Quinney, 1970, 1973, 1978; David Greenberg, 1981; Jeffrey Reiman, 1984; John Irwin, 1962, 1960, 1985a, 1985b; Eric Olin Wright, 1973): prisons do not diminish the crime rate, detention causes recidivism, the prison fabricates and organizes delinquents, the prison reduces the inmate's family to destitution, and "for the past 150 years the proclamation of the failure of the prison has always been accompanied by its maintenance" (Foucault, 1977b: 272). Foucault (quoted in Simon, 1974: 158) argues that prisons are maintained as institutions designed to eliminate stigmatized individuals from economic competition:

But prison is not only punitive; it is also part of the eliminative process. Prison is the physical elimination of people who come out of it, who die of it sometimes directly, and almost always indirectly in so far as they can no longer find a trade, don't have anything to live on, cannot reconstitute a family anymore, etc., and finally passing from one prison to another or from one crime to another end up physically being eliminated.
Foucault "looks at the often cited phenomenon that prison, rather than reducing crime, produces a class which lives by crime not as the failure of the prison but as something which serves a positive function for the police" (Cousins and Hussain, 1984: 175). This failure of the prison to reduce crime and correct individuals is not a contradiction but a consequence of the true functions of prisons (e.g. Reiman, 1979: "Pyrrhic Defeat Theory").

Foucault's (1977b) Discipline and Punish presents a history of social institutions. His descriptions of the plague city, the tortures on the scaffold, the panoptic prison, and the factory-works haunt the imagination. Foucault uses historical research and phenomenological genealogy to support his theory that power is a strategy embedded in the institutional structures of society. His concern is how discipline and surveillance became a tactical strategy for ordering society. He demonstrates that prison is a historical instrument used for the disciplining and surveillance of society. Foucault reminds us that there is no truth, only modest truths, and that the reason we seek to understand the abuse of power is to render it intolerable. His theory is both historically substantive and conceptually formal. Ultimately, Foucault’s question is: Where do norms emanate from, and whom do they compel us to serve?

The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in a society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social-worker judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behavior, his aptitudes, his achievements. The carceral network, in its compact or disseminated forms, with its systems of insertion, distribution, surveillance, observation,
It has been the greatest support, in modern society, of the normalizing power (Foucault, 1977b: 304).

Is the "carceral archipelago" an intentional construction? Picture the slums of the south Bronx, south side Detroit or Chicago, South Central Los Angeles, downtown Newark, or any of a hundred other inner-cities of metropolitan America. Every American city has a section where skin gets darker, population denser, and police sirens howl all night long. Slum neighborhoods are islands (usually of minorities) in a sea of affluence. The "carceral archipelago" is a system of interrelated social structures that have been constructed and maintained to contain and disorder the lower class, the redundant population, the unemployed, or marginally employed.

This archipelago is composed of material structures, discretely distributed over space, but functionally related. Persons born or relegated to deprived social positions know the reality of public housing, deficient schools welfare offices, and secondary sector labor in prison like factories (see Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bowles, Gordon, and Weisskopf, 1984; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977). This reality, the housing, schools, and occupational structure, these material structures, have a profound and pervasive impact, and may severely limit a person's aspirations, opportunities, and potential, but they do not eliminate resistance.

The "carceral archipelago" is not an intended construction of any one agent-organizer, or any one historical epoch; no monarch, legislative body, or presiding executive gave the explicit orders; there is no grand conspiracy or strategic plan that mandates the social organization. But, then again, the "carceral archipelago" is not a mirage, an historical accident, or the simple result of misplaced priorities. By definition, the "carceral archipelago" is an array of
islands employed to contain and control social discontent, disillusionment, and social class aspirations. While the "carceral archipelago" is not an intended construction, it does serve the intentions of the upper classes.

The privileged do benefit from the imposition of poverty and deprivation on the underclass, the marginally employed. The wealthy do benefit from their investments because of the "intentional" plan to structure unemployment to suppress wage scales; and, full employment entails another, opposite intention. Together, the upper and middle classes, as owners and managers respectively, practice conscious control of the social classes below. John Irwin (1985a), in his book *The Jail*, uses the argot term "rabble" to describe the lower classes. The rabble is to be contained (jails, prisons, urban slums), regulated (Piven and Cloward, 1971), and convinced of their own inadequacy (William Ryan, 1971).

Prisons have become the last depository for America's unwanted--they are not on the "Most Wanted list," they are the unwanted. As the mental institutions were deinstitutionalized, the prison population went up. Many prisoners were damaged children that drifted into criminal activity as teenagers and then went to prison. They are not successful criminals, they are socially and economically disorganized.

The privileged engage in protracted economic and ideological attack on the less fortunate. Veblen (1899) characterized economic competition as a predatory war fought by the rich against the poor:

Fifty years ago, Thorstein Veblen, in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, exposed the irrational psychological springs of pecuniary emulation and showed that economic competition not the theory, but the practice, psychologically considered, is a game of ownership lineally descended from the
This attack, this predatory war, is pursued on both economic and ideological fronts. For example, while the poor are labeled welfare bums, the elite owned utility companies collect entitlement funds, savings and loans are bailed out by the taxpayers, and corporations are provided world-wide military protection (Bush's new "World Order") to ensure their profits. Structurally, private corporations line their corporate coffers with public money (see Squires, 1989: e.g., industrial revenue bonds, tax abatements, depreciation schedules, and funds intended for poverty and public housing programs- HUD scandals). The upper classes clip coupons and collect dividends on stock in corporations that have abandoned America for slave-labor markets abroad (see Bluestone and Harrison, 1982). The ideology of free markets, economic growth, and technological progress justifies this protracted attack upon the poor. An integral part of this attack and "technological progress" is the disciplinary technology employed in the intentional operation and continual maintenance of the "carceral archipelago."

The "carceral archipelago" is not an intended construction, but it serves the intentions of the elite, the privileged, and the upper classes. Some of these intentions are to ensure a supply of cheap labor (Marx), to limit entrance to and competition for social mobility, to serve as a boundary to "respectable society" (Erikson, 1970), to enforce the norms and laws of a society predicated on inequality, social hierarchy, and class hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). Norms, laws and class hegemony are maintained by elite authoritarian control of the legal machinery. In turn, this monopoly control is assured by the lower class
acquiescence to elite definitions of reality. "After all, one can only be crucified in
the name of one's own faith" (Arthur Koestler, 1941: 174).

Giddens' Structuration Theory

Anthony Giddens, with at least ten major works published in the last
twenty years, is one of the most prolific contemporary sociologists:

The world of sociology does not know quite what to
make of Anthony Giddens and his theory of
structuration. There are a number of reasons for
this. For a start he has written so much—twenty-
three books alone between 1971 and 1989 (eleven
sole-authored, four sole edited, four joint edited and
four collections of his own articles and essays) -- that
it is difficult to take it all in (Bryant, et. al, 1991: 1).

His greatest strength may be his ability to discuss and summarize the theoretical
perspective of other theorists. The culmination of this endeavor is his synthetic
construction (Kilminster, 1991) of structuration theory. "Giddens develops
structuration theory by way of 'positive critiques' through which he not only
underscores the errors of established schools of thought, but which he also
appropriates and reconstructs insights and concepts of enduring value" (Cohn,
1989: 2).

Structuration theory is not a grand theory or possible emergent meta
narrative. The theory "does not propose empirically relevant accounts of
substantive circumstances or events, it does not provide a method of theory
construction, and it is not a 'grand theory' for the systematic integration of
concepts, or the progressive accumulation of social science research" (Cohn, 189:
1). Structuration theory begs, borrows, and steals (see Turner, 1986) from
structuralism (Claude Levi-Strauss), macrostructuralism (Blau), structural functional action theory (Parsons), symbolic interactionism (Blumer), dramaturgy (Goffman), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel), and European phenomenology (Husserl, Habermas, and Schutz). Giddens has critiqued and borrowed to build his own glossary of terminology (Giddens, 1984: 373-377; 1991b: 242-244) reminiscent of Blumer's "sensitizing devices" or concepts. Learning Giddens' terminology or conceptual vocabulary becomes a prerequisite for understanding its theoretical value. This glossary of conceptual vocabulary is used to provide ontological resources for the reformulation of empirical research.

Giddens' theoretical project is to merge the "micro" with the "macro" in a unified theory capable of explaining the duality of structure. This project is demonstrated in his attempt to simultaneously discuss the dramaturgical micro analysis of Goffman (1961, 1963) with the phenomenological genealogy of Foucault (1977b). Giddens (1984: 377) defines structure as "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems; structures as "rule-resource sets, implicated in the institutional articulation of social systems," and system as "the pattering of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices." "One of the main propositions of structuration theory is that the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (duality of structure)" (Giddens, 1984: 19). "The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984: 2).
Giddens is concerned with reformulating the "Hobbesian problem" of how is social cohesion possible. Giddens conceptualizes rules, resources, positional roles, time, and space as the foundation for social practices, the pattering of reproduced social practices referred to as social systems. Rules and resource sets, or bundles, are the building blocks of social structure. Social structure in turn, is reproduced by social systems that bracket time and space. "The problem of order is the issue of time-space distanciation" (Giddens, 1987: 153). Giddens (1987: 377) defines time-space distanciation as "the stretching of social systems across time-space, on the basis of mechanisms of social and system integration."

It can be argued that discussions of time and space have been neglected in modern sociology because of the disciplinary division of universities into academic departments. "Incorporating time-space in the heart of social theory means thinking again about some of the disciplinary divisions which separate sociology from history and from geography" (Giddens, 1984: xxi). "Social scientists have normally been content to let historians be specialists in time and geographers specialists in space" (Giddens, 1984: 286). Time is the domain of history and space is the purview of geography. Structuration theory attempts to reintroduce time-space into sociological discourse through three interrelated concepts: sequestration of experience, time-space distanciation, and time-space edges.

Giddens (1991: 244) defines the "sequestration of experience" as "the separation of day-to-day life from contact with experiences which raise potentially disturbing existential questions--particularly experiences to do with sickness, madness, criminality, sexuality and death." Society has developed
different institutions, settings of technical correction, to isolate the criminally deviant from the "normal" law abiding population. The sick, mad, and criminal are shuttled off to total or carceral institutions to be sequestered from the community. The sequestration of criminals may serve to protect the routine lives of the "normal" population, but only at the expense of further marginalization of those incarcerated. This sequestration of experience in total institutions is not total because individuals do their prison time and then return to the community. These individuals may carry with them knowledge of the rules and resource structures learned in prison.

Time-space distanciation refers to how rule-resource sets of one institutional structure may be the similar or different from that of another institutional structure. In effect, different social structures are built upon the rules and resources that endure over time within a particular institutional space. Giddens (1984: xxi) explains:

The structural properties of social systems exist only in so far as forms of social conduct are reproduced chronically across time and space. The structuration of institutions can be understood in terms of how it comes about that social activities become 'stretched' across wide spans of time-space.

An example of time-space distanciation is provided by Foucault's (1977b) discussion of how disciplinary technology was systematically refined and prepared in the prisons for application to other institutions: schools, hospitals, and factories. We can conceptualize different institutions as intersocietal social systems that share or borrow rules-resource sets that transcend one system to
invade or "colonize" another system. Goffman (1961) demonstrates how some prisoners may experience time-space distanciation as they colonize their "inside" environment by securing "outside" consumer goods, such as televisions and radios. A prisoner locked up for years in a penitentiary cell block may be conditioned to except television portrayals of the outside world as real.

Conversely, the importation model (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Joan Moore, 1978) suggests that, depending on their initial presenting culture, prisoners do their prison time and upon release return to the streets with little reorganization of their personal identities. Foucault's (1977b) discussion of the carceral archipelago reminds us that there may be structural continuities (similar rule-resource sets) between low income communities and prison environments; for example, urban ghettos share many of the same structural realities as prisons.

Although there may be structural continuities between prison and disadvantaged communities, prisoners upon release from prison straddle the time-space edge of two different intersocietal systems--prison and the "free world." Prisoners upon release, depending upon the length of time spent in prison, may have little memory traces of societal rules and resources (memory of social structure) with which to reciprocate in the practice (social integration) of day-to-day life (routinization). These ex-convicts experience the disjuncture between two different societies (prison and the "free world") or structurations of time and space (time-space edges) as a lack of confidence and trust (ontological security) in the structure they reenter. Prisoners, upon release, even when they are able to "pass" (Goffman, 1961) may carry with them memory traces of the rules and resources (structure) acquired in prison back to the streets. Conversely, society may react without confidence and trust to prisoners who wear a
stigmatized and spoiled identity. The speed and complexity of modern society imposes additional structural impediments or barriers to ex-prisoners reentry and reintegration to the community. These structural impediments may be social and economic.

Selected Glossary of Giddens' Concepts

Duality of structure—Structure as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes; the structural properties of social systems do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction.

Intersocietal systems—Social systems which cut across whatever dividing lines exist between societies or societal totalities, including agglomerations of societies.

Structuration—The structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure.

Structural properties—Structured features of social systems, especially institutionalized features, stretching across time and space.

Structure—Rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action.

Structures—rule resource sets, implicated in the institutional articulation of social systems. To study structures, including structural principles, is to study major aspects of the transformation/mediation relations which influence social and system integration.

System—The pattering of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices.

Time-Space distanciation—The stretching of social systems across time-space, on the mechanisms of social and system integration.

Time-space edges—Connections, whether conflictual or symbiotic between societies of differing structural types.
Sequestration of experience--The separation of day-to-day life from contact with experiences which raise potentially disturbing existential questions—particularly experiences to do with sickness, madness, criminality, sexuality, and death.

Social integration—Reciprocity of practices between actors in circumstances of co-presence, understood as continuities in and disjunctions of encounters.

Routinization—The habitual, taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of the activities of day-to-day social life; the prevalence of familiar styles and forms of conduct, both supporting and supported by a sense of ontological security.

Ontological security—Confidence and trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity.
CHAPTER IV: STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS TO PAROLE SUCCESS

Introduction

They Treat Us Like Animals

Animals, animals walking around
They let us run free, then lock us back down.

They say we don't fit on society's page,
So they lock us in cages and fill us with rage.

The animal trainer has a shiny new gun,
He sits high in his tower having his fun.

He breaks us all down and the weak ones obey,
The ones who will not, he kills slowly each day.

We are the animals who stand proud and grow strong,
Awaiting our freedom, and it won't be long.

Now take a look trainer, look deep in my eyes,
Yeah, look at the anger you can't realize.

And take a good look at the future you've laid,
Then tremble in fear at the beast that you've made.
(Wayne A. Quiller, Jr., Iowa prison inmate)
Overview of Iowa Department of Correction

In 1989, Iowa had the seventh lowest incarceration rate in the nation with 126 prison inmates per 100,000 residents. In comparison, the national rate of incarceration was 274 prisoners per 100,000 residents, with the District of Columbia having 1,129 per 100,000 and Nevada 473 per 100,000 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990). Iowa is a state with a tradition of low incarceration rates, alternative sentencing, and an emphasis on community corrections.

There were more than 21,000 Iowa residents in correctional custody in 1991 with 18% in prison, 2% in residential facilities, 1% in work release facilities, 1% serving time in facilities for driving drunk (OWI), 9% on parole, 65% on probation, and 5% in pre-trial (State of Iowa, 1990b). Correctional custody is the result of arrest or conviction for a criminal offense. All persons in custody, except those released on bail, are serving time. Persons awaiting trial may be released on bail or serve jail time. Probationers and parolees are subject to restrictions on their movement and are required to report for supervision. Prisoners may serve time in a penitentiary, reformatory, correctional institution, camp, or community facility. Many prisoners will serve time on probation, in jails, prisons, and in community facilities. Prisoners serving time in community facilities total about 3% of the total correctional population. "Work release, residential, and OWI beds are interchangeable at many facilities" (State of Iowa, 1989b). On any given day, over 80% of Iowa prisoners are serving some balance of their sentence in the community, they are "prisoners among us" (Stanley, 1976).
Iowa has eight prisons with a total design capacity of 3,035 (State of Iowa, 1990b). Prison custody may be minimum, medium, or maximum security. Oakdale, opened in 1969, with a design capacity of 300, is the Iowa medical and classification center, the prison where prisoners first enter the Iowa system for evaluation and custody classification before reassignment to other facilities. Newton Riverview Release Center, opened in 1964 with a design capacity of 121, and Rockwell City, built by prisoner labor in 1916-1918 with a design capacity of 100, are the two minimum custody prisons. Iowa has two medium/minimum prisons: Mount Pleasant, established in 1976 with a design capacity of 528 and Clarinda, opened in 1980 with a design capacity 120. The Iowa Men's Reformatory at Anamosa, built in 1886 with a design capacity of 911, is the largest penal institution with security levels ranging from maximum to minimum including an outside camp, Luster Heights. Fort Madison, built in 1839, is the Iowa State Penitentiary. The penitentiary (design capacity 546) built on fifty acres has three satellite facilities outside the walls: the John Bennett Center (design capacity 100) medium security dormitory, and two minimum security farm facilities (design capacity 150). Mitchellville, opened in 1982 with a design capacity of 123, includes both medium and minimum custody and is the only prison facility for women prisoners.

Iowa has 12 residential facilities (design capacity 350) designed for defendants who have demonstrated problems with fulfilling their court ordered probation supervision. There are 15 work release facilities scattered throughout the state with a design capacity to accommodate over 200 men. There are also nine additional facilities (design capacity over 130) for prisoners convicted of operating a motor vehicle while under the influence (OWI). Fort Des Moines is
a facility for OWI men that also includes a work release center for women prisoners released from Mitchellville.

As of December 1990 the total inmate daily count at Iowa's eight prisons was 3,965–30% over capacity. All of the Iowa prisons are at or beyond full design capacity; Anamosa, Rockwell City, and Mitchellville are 50% or more over design capacity. "The single most serious problem facing the "Department of corrections continues to be overcrowding in our prisons" (State of Iowa, 1990b: 7). One Iowa work release prisoner commented on overcrowding:

The state, and this governor, cracking down on drugs and stuff and drunk drivers, putting these guys who are doing less than a year in prison for stupid stuff are overcrowding the prisons. And they don't have room so they're crowding us in prison. Our space is getting smaller, it's very crowded and it's very uncomfortable. And I feel that if the state don't do nothing within the next five years, they're going to have major riots in all the institutions. They need to release some of those people. They need to lower the population (Richards, 1992).

Iowa operates a "staged release" program where by prisoners are provided an opportunity to serve their last three to six months in work release centers. Prisoners leave prison on furlough transfers to assigned work release centers. Work release is a post-institutional program that provides prison convicts with an opportunity to adjust in stages to working and living in the community. Iowa prisoners are processed through a series of structured environments, or diminishing security levels, as they gradually progress to release:
Work release you go to a halfway house. You are there, in this state they call it "gradual release." Rather then just turn you out they put you in another structured environment where you are on the streets working but you are also in this structured environment (Richards, 1992).

Prisoners serve time in a number of different prisons, then are transferred to a work release facility. Upon successfully completing the work release program the men are eligible for parole. These men are still considered prisoners, in constructive custody, until they are released from parole supervision.

Rules and Resources

Going to prison means "going down," descending below conventional society to another parallel world predicated on different rules and resources. The first rule that every new prisoner learns is that they have to do their time inside. The outside world, the world beyond the wall is no longer their concern. Prisoners learn not to call their wives and girlfriends late at night. Who knows what "new" man may answer the phone? Old cons warn the new arrival that every thing he had on the the street, the outside, is up for grabs. A man calls home late at night and another man answers the phone. The convict loses his temper and screams on the phone. Prison phone conversations are monitored and tape recorded by the institution. If the man continues to scream and complain his phone call may be terminated or he may be confined in segregation. His phone conversation may arouse the the indignation and ridicule of his fellow cell mates. I remember the sarcastic refrain of federal prisoners responding to the late night phone call of a fellow inmate:
Shit, listen to that man cry about his woman. What do you think she is doing, waiting for you? You ain't keeping her warm. How long is she going to wait, three years, five years? Who do you think is paying the rent, keeping the heat turned on, paying for your collect phone calls, feeding your children?

So quiet down and show respect, at least she takes your sorry phone calls. Man, you got to do your time inside and let that outside world go. And when you do get out of this joint, and go home, thank god that that woman invites you in the house. Now don't look under the bed, or in the closet. And don't ask no questions about who she been with all these years you been locked up, cause it don't matter no how (Richards, 1986).

A prison sentence carries both direct and indirect consequences. The direct consequences of incarceration may be pervasive and profound, they are part and parcel of what Sykes (1958) termed the "pains of imprisonment." Upon being sentenced to prison, men (and women) lose nearly everything near and dear to them. Men lose their marriages, their wives and children. Most of their worldly possessions get lost, loaned, or stolen while they serve their time in the penitentiary. Their homes, farms, businesses, and material possessions are repossessed by the bank. They lose their jobs, their occupational status, their place in the employment structure.

Upon release from prison, most prisoners do find employment. This is the primary requirement or rule of the work release centers. At the time of the interviews, twenty-three of the thirty men were employed. Those men unemployed had either just arrived from prison at the work release facilities, were disabled, been recently laid off, or had had their employment terminated.
Many of the men expressed dissatisfaction with the jobs they were working, with the low pay and working conditions. Before going to prison, the men, on average, reported having work that paid considerably higher than their present employment. The average mean wage of the men for their highest paid job was over ten dollars an hour prior to going to prison, with a number of the men working union construction and factory jobs. The average mean wage of the men upon finding their first employment while residing at the the work release centers was just over $5.50 an hour, with only one man of the thirty receiving a wage that was significantly above minimum wage. As a group the work release prisoners were being paid approximately half the hourly wages they made before going to prison.

The indirect or collateral consequences of incarceration may not appear evident to the the prisoner until he is released from prison to attempt reentry to the community. Allen and Simonsen (1992: 319) define collateral consequences of criminal conviction as:

Many state and federal statutes restrict some of the rights and privileges ordinarily available to law-abiding citizens in the nation. They include the right to vote, to hold offices of private and public trust, to assist in parenting, to be on jury duty, to own firearms, to remain married, and to have privacy. Those and other rights may be lost upon conviction. They are collectively called collateral consequences of criminal conviction.

Just how many citizens face collateral consequences is unknown, but a conservative estimate is that there are at least 50 million persons who have been arrested for some offense in the nation, and at least 14 million persons have been convicted of a felony.
In a national study of state statutes, Burton, Cullen and Travis's (1987: 52-60) major findings on collateral consequences of a felony conviction were:

In some sixteen states (nearly one third of the jurisdictions surveyed), courts may terminate parenting rights upon conviction or incarceration of a parent. (2) More than half (twenty-eight states) permit divorce for conviction or imprisonment of a felony. (3) Some 30 percent of the jurisdictions permanently bar convicted felons from public employment in their home states, unless pardoned or restored to full citizenship. (4) If one is a felon in nineteen states, one may not hold public office. (5) Almost every state forbids a felon from possession of a firearm. (6) Only eight states require the felon to register as a former offender, and only four states continue the practice of civil death.

These collateral consequences of conviction are the legal structural impediments to successful reentry to the community. These legal impediments, by rule of law, restrict the ex-prisoner to a structure of diminished resources.

Historically, the legal status of prisoners has been defined by civil death statutes. Johnson (1990: 155-156; 168) discusses civil death:

When we sentence criminals to prison we suspend their civil lives, rendering them civilly dead until they are deemed worthy of return to the society of the living. Civil death entails the loss of one's freedom and of the attendant benefits of civil life in the free world...Prisoners, until fairly recently, were viewed as the legal equivalent of dead men... They were civilités mortuus, and their estates, if they had any, were managed like those of dead men.

Civil death (Davidenas, 1983: 61; Allen and Simonsen, 1992: 6, 273-274) implies
that a prisoner's property is confiscated in the name of the state (a common practice of the federal government), that a man's wife is declared a widow and is free to remarry, and that a "dead" person is disqualified from signing contracts or conducting business affairs. Many prison systems, including the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Iowa Department of Corrections prohibit prisoners from operating a business or engaging in legal contracts while incarcerated without explicit permission from prison authorities.

Prisoners describe the experience of "civil death" as existing as a walking ghost. They are dead to the world. Their worldly legacy is claimed or inherited by others. Prisons are burial tombs for men living "dead time." Long-term prisoners may behave like institutional zombies, automatons numbed by the boredom and regimentation of serving years of time inside penitentiaries. These prisoners refer to prison release as crawling or climbing out of the grave.

Direct and indirect, or collateral consequences of incarceration are reflected in the rules and resource structure that prisoners encounter upon leaving prison. Felons as ex-convicts are subject to a plethoric number of bewildering restrictions upon release from prison, as stipulated by the rules of first work release facilities and then parole. These rules are predicated on the requirements of custodial supervision and not the needs of the released prisoners. At the same time that these released prisoners are subject to parole rules and regulations they have experienced a dramatic decrease in personal resources. They walk out of prison with five dollars "gate money," a bus ticket, a cardboard box, and the clothes on their back.

The literature (Holt, 1972; Miller, 1972) on prisoner release is replete with studies that relate two variables--frequency of visits received in prison and
amount of "gate money" to recidivism. Many of the studies employ poorly
drawn samples, samples are not representative, or samples are too small to be
statistically significant. Nevertheless, it does seem reasonable to assume that a
high frequency of visits in prison and significant "gate money" is related to a
reduced rate of recidivism.

Many ex-convicts leave prison with barely enough money to survive a
few days. "Most State governments give each releasee clothing, transportation,
and 'gate money,' ranging from $10 to $200--the median is $28. Fifteen states do
not provide transportation; six do not provide clothing; three give neither; and
two give no money" (Lenihan, 1974: 4-6). Prisoners, on the average, from the
Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) in 1974 (U.S. General Accounting Office)
received but $45, plus clothing and transportation, upon release. My
observations (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 1984-1987) concur that prisoners are
released from the BOP with very little money, usually less than $100. Typically,
prisoners may not be provided with any money, clothes, or bus tickets; BOP
prisoners have a relevant saying "you have nothing coming."

Many ex-convicts are released from prison with considerable debts and
financial liabilities. Many of these debts are a consequence of being locked up for
years and being forced to work at prison wages. The BOP wage scale for prison
inmates starts at 11 cents an hour for kitchen work and rises to 38 cents an hour
for skilled clerks. Federal Prison Industries (UNICOR) starts at 22 cents an hour
and rises to $1.10 an hour for prison industry clerks. Iowa institutional inmate
pay is considerably less. An Iowa work release prisoner recalled:

Two dollars a day was top pay, I was making twenty
two fifty cents an hour top pay. The pay we get up there
Prison inmates, with these meager earnings, must provide for their personal needs, for example commissary, legal expenses, and collect phone calls to family. Upon release from prison the ex-convict is typically hit with delinquent bills that have built up over the years. These bills include court costs, court fees, court fines, tax deficiencies, child support, child care, and domestic family bills.

The literature on employment for recently released prisoners is replete with references to chronic unemployment. One study (Pownall, 1969: 49) reports federal male parolees experiencing three times the rate of unemployment of the general population; Tropin (1977) estimates the national rate of unemployment for all ex-offenders at three times the rate for non-offenders. Dale (1976, 323) suggests that ex-convict unemployment is related to the rate of recidivism: "This high unemployment rate is reflected directly in the rate of recidivism. Of the more than 100,000 ex-offenders released from prison each year, 70 percent will return to prison—30 percent within a year after release."

The unemployment rate of ex-convicts may be the result of employment applications that inquire about criminal records. "The American Bar Association (1973) speculates that the reasons for an unusually high (36 percent and higher) unemployment rate among ex-offenders are not only their lack of skills but laws, regulations, and practices which prohibit certain jobs to those with a criminal record" (Robert R. Smith, 1984: 5). Generally, ex-convicts are unlikely to receive any prison training in marketable skills, employees are reluctant to hire
ex-convicts, and ex-convicts have great difficulty in filling out employment applications:

...Then she hits me with a long application and I'm really in trouble. I just can't fill out one of them. Most of the questions I can't answer because they don't have anything to do with me or my life or I can't remember. They just weren't written for a guy like me. They were written for some guy who went to work right out of high school and only held two jobs before this one. I get to that part about former employment and I got to pass (Irwin, 1970: 135).

Ex-convicts are routinely threatened by employment applications that inquire about arrest records. Ex-convicts on parole must okay their employment with their parole officer. Parole officers are generally required to verify employment by calling or visiting the parolees work site, this may lead to the termination of employment.

Restrictive laws and policies provide for serious obstacles to ex-convicts in the labor market. Stanley (1976) discusses three structural barriers to ex-convicts finding employment, licensing restrictions, civil service rules and practices, and bonding requirements. A study by the American Bar Association found "1,948 separate (state) statutory provisions that affect the licensing of persons with an arrest or conviction record" (Hunt, et al, 1973: 5). Generally, ex-convicts are required by state statutes to prove "good moral character" in order to receive an occupational licence for the following: restaurant work where alcohol is sold, bartender, chauffeur, plumber, physical therapist, teacher, tree surgeon, dry cleaner, midwife, funeral director, doctor lawyer, stock broker, insurance agent, barber, cab driver, child care worker. "There are lists pages long of occupations
for which a license may be denied if the applicant has committed a criminal offense" (Stanley, 1976: 152).

Ex-convicts may fare no better in public sector employment. Herbert Miller (1972) reports that ex-convicts face formidable obstacles in securing government employment. Stanley (1976) reports that civil service laws are worded to deny ex-convicts employment opportunities. Ironically, one innovative program, the Model Offender Program funded by the U.S. Department of Labor was unable to hire ex-convicts as employment counselors because of restrictive civil rights regulations. Criminal records are used to deny ex-convicts employment as policeman, fireman, garbage collectors, secretaries, clerks, and to prevent enlistment in the military.

Bonding companies routinely deny bonding to ex-convicts. This practice effectively eliminates ex-convicts from many jobs, including truck driving, furniture moving, or any employment that includes handling money or operating a cash register, such as fast food or retail sales.

The standard commercial blanket bond contains a provision that nullifies the coverage if the employer has knowing hired any person with an offense record—obviously, to minimize the bonding company's risk. The equally obvious result is that ex-offenders are unable to obtain employment when bonding is required (Dale, 1976: 326).

Ex-convicts that are employed in food service may be limited to food preparation and dish washing and denied positions of responsibility that require the processing of customer checks and cash.
There are three different types of bonds used to insure employees in larger retail and service businesses. The commercial blanket bond is preferred by employers because it is inexpensive and covers all loses that result from employee dishonesty:

Generally, it is obtained through low cost "blanket bonds" that protect the employer against "dishonesty loses" caused by any of his [her] employees. Individual employees are not identified on the blanket bond, and all new employees added to the payroll during the term of the bond are automatically covered without notice to the surety. To cover a loss, the employer need not identify the person or persons responsible (Dale, 1976: 325)

A typical blanket bond reads:

The coverage of this bond shall not apply to any employee from and after the time that the insured or any partner or officer thereof, not in collusion with such employee, shall have knowledge or information that such employee has committed any fraudulent or dishonest act in the service of the insured or otherwise, whether such act be committed before or after the date of employment by the insured (Lykke, 1957: 37).

Work release prisoners, parolees, or felons, are not eligible for coverage under blanket commercial bonds. An employer who is informed of the criminal history of an employee, for example, by work release staff or a parole officer, must either terminate the employee or have the employee secure either a "face
schedule bond," also called "individual fidelity bond," or apply to the Federal Bonding Program.

An insurance company may issue a face schedule or individual fidelity bond upon successful completion of an investigation into an employee's personal background, including a check of credit history. Few work release prisoners, just released from prison, are able to pass the background check, and if they did, afford the expense of purchasing the bond.

The Federal Bonding Program, under the department of labor will provide a free face schedule bond to "any ex-offender who (a) seeks a job where bonding is (or may be) a condition of employment and (b) has been (or might be) refused bonding coverage by regular commercial sources (Dale, 1976: 326). "There is an under 25 default rate on the 25,000 bonds issued through this program in the past 25 years" (Graterfriends Newsletter, Graterford Prison, Pennsylvania). Federal Bonding Program services are available at State Job Service offices. Iowa work release prisoners are provided information on this bonding program by both Job Service and community corrections counselors.

The Study Sample

Iowa prisoners are released from prison to work release with five dollars "gate money," a bus ticket paid for by the institution, and fifty dollars release money from which the cost of their "prison blues," their prison clothes, has been deducted. During a group interview at the Hanson House of Hospitality, two
parolees just released from work released related to me their experiences with walking out of prison:

First prisoner--Out of the money allotment for clothes ($50) I bought two pairs of their jeans and a shirt. And basically it ain't like I went down to the clothing room, I got the clothing I already had up in my locker.

Richards--How much did that cost you?

First prisoner--The pants were fifteen, the shirt was seven, and they made me pay for my boots.

Richards--Did you have any of that $50 left?

First prisoner--About $10 or $12, something like that.

Second prisoner--Did you get out in winter time man?

First prisoner--It was March, sort of winter.

Richards--Did they make you buy the coat?

First prisoner--Yea, thanks man. The coat came along too. The coat and the boots.

Second prisoner--If you don't buy the coat they'll make you go without one.

Richards--They give you $50?

Second prisoner--That you never see. You don't see the money. If you got personal clothes they still won't give you the money if you don't want to wear the state clothes. They used to be they took you downtown and you bought straight from the store. But now they don't do that. It ain't like they take you to the clothing room and give you new stuff for the money. It's what you been wearing.
Like they expect a pair of pants to last like what a year. Hell, they want your socks and underwear to last you six months. And it's stuff you been wearing for awhile, working in and everything. So like, huh, if you work around paint, you might have paint on them.

Second prisoner--They make shirts and pants at Mt. Pleasant and Mitchelville. And they can't even sew a pair of pants right. This seam here it will end up here in front of your leg. And they will make you buy those and walk out and expect you to find a job wearing them. It [is] just like going to buy irregular clothes, one leg longer than the other.

Second prisoner--They allow you like--out of your $50 you get two pairs of jeans--a blue shirt, one [pair of] socks, one underwear, one t-shirt, and they even make you buy the coat.

Richards--What kind of coat is it?

First prisoner--Prison made, blue denim work coat.

The balance of the fifty dollars, if there is any left, is forwarded to the men's institutional account at their intended destination, the work release facility, where it is then applied to their first weeks rent payment.

Prison inmates within the penitentiary walls must wear prison uniforms, the "prison blues," as a precaution against escape. Why are these men being released from prison wearing prison uniforms? No wonder, upon release from prison, wearing these uniforms, these men are nervous and scared. Considering what they are wearing their first few days back on the street, it is a miracle that they have not been shot as escaped convicts by the police.

These men are walking out of prison wearing old, worn out, prison uniforms, carrying a cardboard box containing their personal affects, with five
dollars gate money in their pockets. In effect, the prisoners released from Iowa prisons receive five dollars "gate money" they spend on food while on the bus and fifty dollars release money they never see. Another Iowa prisoner remembers the day he got out of prison:

I had five dollars, everything else was in the check and that was mailed [to Curt Forbes Work release Center]. I had a sixteen hour lay over in Des Moines. I ended up spending the five dollars long before I got to Des Moines cause I stopped in this other town, we stopped for like fifteen minutes, the bus did. I got out and got me a sandwich and soda, and stuff, and a small order of fries. And this just shot that five dollars right out. So, I sat in Des Moines for sixteen hours or better without eating (Richards, 1992).

Most of the men, upon arrival at the work release center, are "stone broke" until either their family arrives to provide them "walk around money" or their prison account money arrives by mail, which may take a week or more. Many of the men receive loans from the work release center to tide them over while they look for work, wait for their first real pay check, or pursue alternative means to securing street money.

Their are two reasons why the men are broke upon arrival from prison at the community work release facilities, low prison work pay and the collection of restitution. Iowa prisoners with jobs report inmate pay as one dollar per day, that is twenty dollars a month. Out of this twenty dollars a month, inmates are required to pay for their own cigarettes, paper, envelopes, stamps, and commissary food. Most prisoners, as a means of survival, must rely upon money from home, that arrives as U.S. Postal Money Orders and is added to their
inmate accounts. Traditionally, money sent in to prisoners from their family and friends has been protected from institutional deductions for court ordered restitution.

The State of Iowa has recently (May, 1992) instituted a new restitution collection rule that allows the prisons to deduct twenty percent from both inmate pay checks and U.S. Postal Money Orders arriving from home. The Des Moines Register reports (Jack Hovelson, 1992) that restitution collections have nearly doubled, from approximately $17,000 to $30,000 a month, with the new policy. Chuck Lee, Deputy Director of the Iowa Department of corrections is quoted in the Des Moines Register as saying:

The state's new policy of collecting for restitution some of the money sent to inmates probably will reduce the amounts coming to the prisoners from their families, but that's desirable....Everything the inmates really need is provided for them. They don't need any more money when they're in prison (Jack Hovelson, 1992: June).

I doubt that many prisoners would agree that it is desirable that they have less money in prison or that the prisons provide their every need. The prisoner response to this new rule is that restitution is extortion and collecting restitution from their families is robbing their mothers, fathers, wives, and friends. After all, if families and friends were concerned about paying court ordered restitution, they would send their checks to the court and not to their men in the penitentiary. This new rule, allowing the prisons to deduct restitution from the checks written from family and friends to prisoners, is sure to initiate a plethora of writs and legal challenges.
Seven of the thirty men in the study received no visits at all while they were incarcerated. Many of the men reported considerable anxiety about visits. One Iowa prisoner recalls his visiting days:

I remember a lot of days like that. My visits would be the next day, and the day before I would get real quiet. On the day my visit was coming I always got real nervous. And I never understood why because I had known this girl for ten years. When it was time to go visit her I would always get real nervous. I'd get nervous to the point where my hands would shake (Richards, 1992)

Some of these men refused visits while other men had no family or friends that were interested in visiting the prison. A number of men referred to their families' low income as the reason why they did not visit their sons, husbands, and fathers in prison; other men preferred that their families not visit them because of the degrading treatment they would receive from penitentiary staff. The number of prison visits a prisoner receives per year may be related to his length of sentence and number of prior incarcerations. Prisoners serving long sentences, ten years to life, or who have served a number of prior sentences do seem to lose ties to the community and may have fewer visits per year.

One study (Rosemary Erickson, et. al, 1973: 68) asked a non-representative sample of California parolees to rank their needs in order of priority, with the following results: 1.) education, 2.) money, 3.) job, 4.) job training, 5.) circle of friends, 6.) home/shelter, 7.) medical care, 8.) recreational activities, 9.) legal assistance, 10.) sexual life, 11.) dental care, 12.) marriage/ home life. The thirty work release prisoners in this study ranked their needs upon release from prison in the following order: 1. money (24 men), 2. job (23 men), 3. new friends (18
men), 4. job training (13 men), and, 5. education (13 men). I suspect that the men ranked money as the most important because of their need, as required by the work release centers' rules, that they pay weekly rent (from to four to twelve dollars a day), purchase institutional sheets (they have fifteen dollars deducted from their money that arrives from the prison), and provide for their own food and transportation. The men reported being under constant pressure from the work release centers to work for money that would then be deducted, to pay for mandatory rent and restitution, from their pay checks. One prisoner reported, "I ain't going to do time and pay for it too. You don't have to pay that restitution" (Richards, 1992). Men who are unable, or unwilling to find work, usually minimum wage employment, and do not have the resources to pay restitution and work release rent, may be restricted to daily release only to look for work.

The work release prisoners, upon release from prison, have accumulated considerable debts, including restitution, court cost and fees, back child support bills with the county, and miscellaneous domestic bills. The sample of work release prisoners had debt ranging from a few hundred dollars to tens of thousands of dollars, most of this restitution and court costs. Iowa prisoners, while they are in prison, in a work release center, or serving time on parole or probation are subject to a twenty percent deduction from their pay checks, whether in the institutions or in community custody on the street.

Many of the men complained bitterly about being assessed legal fees for court appointed lawyers. None of the men understood how they could be charged legal fees for public defenders. An Iowa prisoner stated:

Court costs, reimbursement to the place we broke into, the stuff that we took. It's really weird, it's
suppose to be free [public defender], when you lose [plead guilty] you have to pay (Richards, 1992).

In Iowa court appointed lawyers collect their fees for services rendered to indigent clients through the imposition of court costs on their convicted clients; the fees are collected from prisoners by the state and paid to the attorneys. Defendants that are acquitted or found innocent are not assessed for legal fees. Seasoned prisoners, those that had been through the court system more than once, were not surprised by how they were pressured by public defenders to plead guilty.

Experienced prisoners know that without money for bail or collateral for bond, for example a surety bond, they will sit for months in jail waiting for trial. Jails are considered to be "hard time," they are dangerous, dirty, and crowded with what Irwin (1985a) calls the "rabble:"

My critical discovery was that instead of "criminals," the jail receives and confines mostly detached and disreputable persons who are arrested more because they are offensive than because they have committed crimes. Moreover, I learned that the primary purpose of the jail is to manage, whom I finally decided to call the rabble. I also discovered that in managing the rabble by arresting them and holding them in jail, society inadvertently increases their number and holds people in rabble status (Irwin, 1985a: xiii).

Without the money for a private attorney they are at the mercy of the court appointed lawyers, who are only assured of being paid when they lose. A stubborn defendant will make numerous court appearances, to satisfy the "speedy trial" law, each of them brief, and then be returned to his cell when he
refuses to plea bargain. This process may be repeated for many months until the defendant is worn down by doing jail time, and to get out of jail, he pleads guilty with the assistance of his court appointed attorney. Sophisticated prisoners explain that they call them court appointed attorneys because they work for the court and not the defendant. Depending upon the length of jail time served and the sentence handed down by the presiding judge, the defendant may then receive "time served" and be released to the street or be transferred to the prison system, either result being preferable to serving perpetual pre-trial jail time.

The rule is that defendants without resources for bail, bond, or a real attorney must plead guilty to get out of jail, such is the reality of the legal system for the indigent. One Iowa prisoner, the only one in my sample of thirty, who steadfastly maintained his innocence and demanded a trial, commented on the reality of the courtroom for the indigent prisoner:

You go to court, you're guilty because you are in court. The juries look at you like that. We as a defendant, we don't have the resources to adequately defend yourself [ourselves]. The prosecutor has all the resources at hand. I'm not guilty, I couldn't "cop" to something I didn't do. Yeah, public defender and they get their check and that what's it about. He been in prison before, can't afford a suit, got a county paid attorney, yah know, so his word is no good (Richards, 1992).

The indigent, those without resources, are unable to purchase "due process," they are at the mercy of what Skolnick (1966) refers to as "justice without trial."

Prisoners experience a dramatic reduction in material resources as the result of serving prison time. The sample of thirty work release prisoners in this study reported losing the following as a result of their prolonged removal from
the community during their incarceration: Eleven of the men reported losing a marriage; they were divorced while in prison. Eight of the men reported losing homes or farms, either by bank repossession or divorce. Seventeen of the men lost cars upon going to prison. Ten of the men had their furniture disappear while eleven men reported not being able to relocate their clothes upon release. The most commonly reported loss is that of employment, with seventeen men losing the jobs they held prior to incarceration.

Many of the men reported dramatic losses of temper, considerable frustration, and an all consuming anger. One Iowa ex-prisoner described the process of how repeated parole failure and subsequent incarcerations lead to intense anger:

Myself, I went down in 77. Got out in 80. Went back down in 86. Went down in 88 and went back again. Got out six or seven months later and went back again. Got out this time right back here this past January [1992]. One of the things I noticed is that each time I come out I was more angry. I had chips on my shoulder as big as a block of ice. When I first got out it was like some officer if I had seen him in church services I would of busted their [his] head.

In Fort Madison, per se, all they are doing is warehousing. When you are warehousing you are getting people where a lot of frustration and anger is building up. I believe this is the reason for the past ten years [there is] more violent crime in the State of Iowa. They can talk about drugs and gangs all they want to. But as an eye witness and a person that has experienced, I believe that at least sixty percent of the violent crime that is going on in this state from ex-cons is when they come out of Fort Madison, they come out of Anamosa, man, eh, they're tied, they're wired. So, the first argument with the wife, the girlfriend, in-laws, hey man, they
catch the blunt of all that anger. It just "woo," and he's gone back [to prison] (Richards, 1992).

In effect, repeated incarcerations as the result of parole failure may lead to the fabrication (Foucault, 1977b) of angry individuals. These men, upon release from prison, after years of frustration with repeated incarcerations, may be prone to explosive bursts of violence. This process of loss of temper, as a result of accumulated frustration and anger, may culminate in violence, described by Katz (1988) as "righteous slaughter."

The men in work release, with the exception of the disabled and impaired, who may require assignment to sheltered workshops, do find employment. But they are limited by their interrupted work histories, the missing years in their work records, their need to disclose their place of residence to prospective employers, employment application questions about criminal records, and legal restrictions, to the lowest paid occupations. These men do find work, but usually only dead end jobs that pay minimum wage or slightly better; they take jobs in laundries, food service, car washes, day labor, service stations, hotel service, low paid factory or construction labor, or telemarketing; they take jobs that no one wants to work for more than a few months. In effect, their prison experience may limit their access to legitimate opportunity structures while, at the same time, providing entrance to a more lucrative illegitimate opportunity structure.
The Juggernaut: Additional Social Structural Obstacles

A juggernaut is defined (American Heritage Dictionary, 1970) as: "Anything that draws blind and destructive devotion, or to which people are ruthlessly sacrificed, such as a belief or institution." "The term comes from the Hindi Jagannath, "lord of the world," and is a title of Krishna; an idol of this deity was taken each year through the streets on a huge cart, which followers are said to have thrown themselves under, to be crushed beneath the wheels" (Giddens, 1990: 139). The term was first used by Marx (Capital, Vol. I, 1977: 604; see also, Harvey, 1989: 106; ) to describe the "creative destruction" of capitalism:

All means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labour process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labour-process to a despotism the more hated for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the juggernaut of capital.

Giddens (1990: 139) describes the image of the juggernaut as:

... A runaway engine of enormous power which, collectively as human beings, we can drive to some extent but which also threatens to rush out of our
control and which could rend itself asunder. The juggernaut crushes those who resist it, and while it sometimes seems to have a steady path, there are times when it veers away erratically in directions we cannot foresee...It is not an engine made up of integrated machinery, but one in which there is a tensionful, contradictory, push-and-pull of different influence.

The juggernaut may be used as a metaphor for capitalism (Marx, 1977; Harvey, 1989), modernity (Giddens, 1990), or the legal and penal machinery of the panoptic criminal justice system (Foucault, 1977b; Diana Gordon, 1990).

Diana Gordon (1990: 7), borrowing from Marx, Harvey, Foucault, and Giddens, describes the criminal justice system as a "justice juggernaut" rolling on two tracks; (1) capture and confinement, and (2) observation. Capture and confinement refers to the dramatic increase in arrests and incarcerations as well as the proliferations of new developments in criminal justice punishments, for example, intermediate sentences (Morris and Tonry, 1990), electronic monitoring and surveillance, and pre-trial detention:

They blur distinctions that facilitate judicial regulation of criminal justice activity; when does punishment begin if someone has been under pre-trial supervision for six-months [or years] before guilt is determined (Gordon, 1990: 6)?

Pre-trial supervision may include both jail time that does count and community supervision that does not count toward the completion of an anticipated criminal sentence. Prisoners released on bail may be ordered by the court to report to parole offices on a daily or weekly basis (common practice of federal courts) for months or years while they await the disposition of their criminal
case. The question is not only when does custody begin, but when, if ever, does it end?

Prisoners released from prison, as convicted felons, are now tracked by electronic record keeping that legally extends their punishment. The U.S. Department of Justice, and many local police departments and courthouses actually sell criminal history records information to the public. A recent publication of the U.S. Department of Justice (1992b) reports:

> The importance of the criminal history record itself continues to expand as its utility for new purposes becomes apparent. This is evidenced by the burgeoning use of criminal history record information by noncriminal justice government agencies, the private sector, and researchers. Such uses include: background checks for licensing, pre-employment screening, and security clearances... For making various employment decisions, the public increasingly demands the availability of accurate background information (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992b: iv).

This electronic tracking of criminal history records is facilitated by interlocking computer information systems that provide prior criminal history records, of both arrests and convictions for sale to both public and private sector employers.

What is becoming a vast, national network, fed by smaller local tributaries, is both fundamentally changing the nature of police investigations and making tens of millions of records--many of them inaccurate, stale, and trivial--available not only to law enforcement nationwide but to employers and others outside the criminal justice system (Gordon, 1990: 7).
In "open records states," for example, Wisconsin and Florida, criminal records can be purchased at the local courthouse by anyone for a modest fee. In many other states, criminal records information are sold by law enforcement agencies to employers, financial institutions, and landlords (Gordon, 1990).

Gordon (1990) has named this technological surveillance the "electronic panopticon:"

Michel Foucault's use of Jeremy Bentham's model prison as image of the "machinery of power" is apt here. Bentham's Panopticon was a circular prison with individual cells around a central tower so that a single warden could observe the movements of inmates at all times. With the national computerized system the entire function of crime control, not just the prison, becomes a "panoptic schema," with the record a surrogate for the inmate and all of law enforcement as warden. Such an image has no boundaries; the warden becomes boss and landlord and banker. And then our fundamental autonomy is compromised; we are all enclosed in an electronic panopticon (Gordon, 1990: 53).

This electronic panopticon extends the reach of criminal justice sanctions beyond the prison walls, the prison sentence, into the community. Computers, disseminating criminal justice data, are being used to systematically redefine the opportunity structure, and to create a permanent underclass of leveled aspirations. Criminal records have become the biographical barriers to viable employment.

These barriers are the most apparent to felons, particularly the poor and minorities. They have become the invisible walls of urban ghettos, what Foucault (1977b) termed the "carceral archipelago."
Those who have records in the system—disproportionately poor and dark-skinned—run the risk of more or less permanent unemployability. As more employers, landlords, and insurers gain access to the system on a national basis, and as more investigative files are included within it, criminal records, however minor or outdated, become a secret stratifier of social and economic power, channeling millions of Americans away from jobs and services because they have been arrested at some time for something other than a traffic offense. It is not fanciful to worry about the emergence of a sophisticated computer quarantine that has profound implications for social structure (Gordon, 1990: 89).

These profound implications are already known to felons who are denied entrance back into conventional social structure by legal statutes that deny them employment, occupational licensing, occupational bonds, and fair market rates on consumer credit and insurance.

We live in a computer age where social security numbers are used to trace criminal records, credit histories, and insurance records. Typically, ex-convicts are denied bank loans, credit cards, even government guaranteed student loans, as well as fair market insurance rates. Without credit, ex-convicts may be unable to purchase homes or a car, provide for their own or their children's higher education, or pay for occupational training.

I witnessed at the work release centers the frustration of prisoners who attempted to secure financing to buy used cars that they needed as transportation to get to work. These men received phone notification of denial of credit. They explained to me they were denied credit for the following reasons: They had just started working at their present employment. Their credit ratings had been
ruined by unpaid bills that had accumulated while they were in prison. And, their present address at the work release facility provided the banks or auto dealerships with the discrediting knowledge of their prisoner status. A number of prisoners, as the result of their incarceration, had defaulted on home, auto, and student loans, their credit histories wrecked, they were unable to get new financing.

Additionally, felons, those convicted of a crime that carries a possible penalty of a year or more in prison, lose the right to vote. Today in the USA the felon population reaches into the tens of millions. This felon population is disproportionately working class and minority. Consider how the loss of the right to vote, as the result of one felony conviction, may contribute to low voter turnout, and thereby lower political participation, in low income minority communities and neighborhoods. It could be argued that differential felony arrest rates work to systematically disenfranchise Black, Hispanic, and white working class voters.

Together, money problems, employment problems, and credit problems severely limit but the ability of all but the most determined ex-convicts from reintegrating themselves back into the the every day mainstream of society. Ex-convicts experience a prevailing contradiction in the structure of legal rule. Dale (1976, 336-337) writes:

An opportunity to live a normally noncriminal, productive life is denied the ex-offender immediately upon his release from the penal institution. We effectively preclude his rehabilitation by failing to train and educate him, by refusing to hire him, by allowing the private bonding industry to intimidate employers, and by
enacting restrictive occupational licensing requirements at the behest of self-serving economic groups.

Implicit in the concept of a good legal system is consistency of the law. Different laws may serve different purposes, but they must not counteract one another. Yet, we have in this country a situation where we spend millions of dollars to "rehabilitate" the offender and then frustrate whatever was thereby accomplished by raising legal barriers that may bar him absolutely from employment and its rewards.

Prisoners, upon release from prison, may encounter an opportunity structure limited by the rule of law that denies them access to employment resources, legitimate opportunity structures, and conventional social structure. These structural obstacles, taken together, may contribute to parole failure, recidivism, and reincarceration.
CHAPTER VII: GIDDENS' STRUCTURATION THEORY APPLIED

Introduction

The Ballad of Reading Goal

The vilest deeds like poison weeds,
Bloom well in prison;
It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there:
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
and the Warder is Despair.

For they starve the little frightened child
Till it weeps both night and day:
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool,
and gib the old and grey,
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
and none a word may say.

Each narrow cell in which we dwell
Is a foul and dark latrine,
And the fetid breath of living Death
Chokes up each grated screen,
And all, but Lust, is turned to dust
In Humanity's machine.

The brackish water that we drink
Creeps with a loathsome slime,
And the bitter bread they weigh in scales
Is full of chalk and lime,
And Sleep will not lie down, but walks
Wild-eyed, and cries to Time.

-Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)
The purpose of this study has been to explore what structural impediments, as opposed to individual deficiencies, may contribute to parole failure and recidivism. The research has been guided by three theoretical propositions that derive from Giddens' Structuration Theory (1984, 1987, 1990, 1991a, 1991b): (1) Prisoners upon release, depending upon the length of time spent in prison, may have little memory traces of societal rules and resources (memory of social structure) with which to reciprocate in the practice (social integration) of day-to-day life (routinization). These men experience the disjuncture between two different structurations of time and space (prison and the free world) as a lack of confidence and trust (ontological security) in the structure they reenter. Conversely, society may react without confidence and trust to prisoners who wear a stigmatized and spoiled identity (Goffman, 1961, 1963); (2) Prisoners upon release, even when they are able to "pass," may carry with them memory traces of the rules and resources (structure) acquired in prison back to the streets; (3) The speed and complexity of modern society imposes additional structural impediments or barriers to ex-prisoners' reentry and reintegration into the community.

Controlling for individual differences and deficiencies, how does the rule-resource structure of prison release contribute to work release and parole failure? For example, consider a hypothetical sample of 100 innocent men, without criminal records, psychological disorders, or deficiencies in educational or vocational training. Now imagine a mad social scientist, without any concern for human decency or professional ethics, designing a nightmare experiment whereby these 100 innocent men were each arrested for a serious felony, convicted, and sentenced to an Iowa penitentiary to serve ten year sentences.
Additionally, there are three assumptions: (1) These innocent men are "Square Johns" (Irwin, 1970) who had families and employment before their incarcerations. (2) These men do not learn and internalize criminal identities while in prison. (3) These men, upon leaving prison, have the same rate of parole failure, and subsequent reincarceration, as the non-experimental population of prisoners. Considering this hypothetical sample, with the three assumptions provided, what structural variables (rules and resource sets) may explain parole failure? Specifically, what insights into the problems of prison release has this study of thirty real prisoners provided that may explain the parole failure of even a hypothetical sample of innocent men?

**Time and Space**

We can think of time as the warp and rule-resource sets the woof of social structure. Everett C. Hughes (1958: 18) described the fabric of society as: "The calendar is the warp of the fabric of society, running lengthwise through time, and carrying and preserving the woof, which is the structure of relations among men [people], and the things we call institutions." This structure of relations among people is dependent upon a common understanding of time. Time is "kept" by calendars and watches as a means to meter an "economy of time" (Marx, 1973: 173). We have family time, work time, dead time, play time, free time, and prison time. Each permutation of time serves as a temporal parameter for distinctly different institutional structures of rules and resources.

Penitentiary inmates literally do "serve time." Time is the master and measure of their punishment. Prisoners may be sentenced to nickels, dimes, or
quarters. Consecutive sentences, for example two dimes running end to end, are called pulling a twenty year "box car." An Iowa prisoner explains:

What it seems like the state here does if you get charged with two [consecutive sentences], and they don't run them together [concurrent], they'll send you down on the smallest one and the biggest one will follow after (Richards, 1992).

Pulling a "box car" means serving a number of consecutive sentences, one after the other. The prisoner must first serve the shorter sentence and then start the longer sentence, for example a nickel is followed by a dime.

Iowa prisoners typically serve less than half of their sentence. Prison sentences are divided into "good time," "bad time," and "sweet time." One Iowa work release prisoner explains:

Iowa cuts your sentence in half. So, if you catch a "dime" you have a five year discharge date. They can take your "sweet time," but unless you really fuck up they're not going to take all your "sweet time." But they have that option. Because right off jump street, they tell you okay you got a ten year sentence being the State of Iowa we're going to cut that down to a five year discharge date. Now they can pull "sweet time" from you, but that's only if you're a fuck up. You earn "good credit time" three days a month, five days while you are in work release. You can lose that time, "good conduct time," and after you lose all that time they take your "sweet time" [for disciplinary reports] (Richards, 1992).
Good time, whether it is called good credit time or good conduct time, is prison
time that counts toward the completion of sentence. Sweet time is the second
half of the sentence that is automatically granted the prisoner when the state cuts
the sentence in half. If a prisoner loses their good time, for violations of
institutional rules, they are serving bad time or dead time. A prisoner that
repeatedly breaks prison rules, may lose all of their good time and then start
serving sweet time. This prisoner is then serving what is called flat time;
serving their entire sentence day for day without benefit of time off for good
behavior.

In the Federal Bureau of Prisons, at Springfield, Lexington, Rochester,
and other federal prisons with medical units, they have psychiatric prisoners
who's time has stopped; there time has stopped because they must be mentally
competent in order to serve their sentences. These prisoner have a "P" placed
before their prison number, as long as that "P" remains before their number
their time does not count toward completing their sentences. In Iowa
segregation units they have something very analogous where time stops--in the
federal prison system time stops for being psychiatric, in the Iowa prison system
time stops because of assignment to administrative segregation for disciplinary
punishment.

Prisoners lose good time and serve bad or dead time when they are found
guilty of violating institutional rules and are locked up in segregation. At the
Fort Madison Penitentiary over forty percent of the prisoners are currently
confined in eleven different types of segregation cells. One "outside"
community corrections expert explained the use of segregation as the result of
warehousing prisoners in overcrowded penitentiaries:
Over forty percent of the men at Fort Madison are in segregation. They have got a pretty Byzantine system of at least eleven different types of segregation. There is a court order that there can't be more than 550 men behind the walls. So that's one of the things that segregation does, if you have all the segregation units filled to capacity it's the best use to make of your space in terms of warehousing people. I should say the maximum use of space not necessarily the best use of space (Richards, 1992).

A Fort Madison prisoner discusses how he lost his good time:

If he gets six months in the hole it doesn't count on his discharge date. Not only that, you lose good time for going to the hole. The first time it's two days, the second time it's four, then you pick up 16, then 32. They give me six months in the lock up, and six months loss of good time (Richards, 1992).

A second prisoner discusses losing good time for a fist fight:

Now your very first fist fight at Fort Madison [you get] one year in "ad seg" [administrative segregation], thirty days in the hole, 365 days loss of good time. Then six months in what they call "close management" which is still administrative segregation [the hole], just get more air. They take a year of good time (Richards, 1992).

A third prisoner relates how men do bad time for violating prison rules concerning institutional contraband:
See, when ever you get "bad time" like he gets six months in the "hole" for holding stash. Alright, that six months, technically, he does not exist in prison. So, that six months will have to be added to the end of his sentence. They don't consider him doing prison time on that "down time." See, if he gets six months in the "hole" and six months in isolation that's a year that they add on to his sentence (Richards, 1992).

Penitentiary prisoners because of the overcrowding and stress of serving long prison sentences may be subject to repeated punishments for violations of institutional rules. For example, men serving life sentences without parole may have little incentive to obey prison rules, as they have no end but their own deaths to their prison time.

Prisoners upon release, depending upon the length of time spent in prison, may have little memory traces of societal rules and resources (memory of social structure) with which to reciprocate in the practice (social integration) of day-to-day life (routinization). Time served in prison, conceptualized as a structural variable, may be the singular best explanation for parole failure and reincarceration. The longer a person is in prison, the more acclimated they are to the routine of prison time, the more difficulty they may have readjusting to the routine of street time. Prisoners that have served ten or twenty years in prisoner may have nearly forgotten the norms, and mores (Sumner, 1906) of free society. Upon their return to free society, they may have severe problems with relocating themselves in social structure.

Upon first being released from the penitentiary, prisoners may go through a euphoric stage, where they display their happiness. One Iowa work release prisoners discussed the day he walked out of the penitentiary:
I walked out the gate, I wasn't handcuffed, I wasn't shackled. Had a box under my arm, envelopes here. Another guard had one of my boxes too. I put it [boxes] in the van. I kissed the ground. Yea, I kissed the ground. And then driving away [from the penitentiary] I was so happy I was almost in tears, just being happy being free (Richards, 1992).

This euphoric stage is based in the prisoner's rediscovery of the "free world," of the freedom to enjoy the fresh air, move about at will, and take in the sights of green grass and blue sky.

This initial happiness with freedom is short lived. Prisoners, just released from prison may then go through a second stage where they perceive their "new world" as strange and different. Prisoners notice the new styles of automobiles, trucks, and homes. They comment about how the city streets have changed, the store that are gone, and the new businesses that have opened. These men may even be frightened by new technologies that most people take for granted.

Another Iowa prisoner, who had been sentenced to Fort Madison Penitentiary at age eighteen, and had just been released after serving nine years of a twenty-five year sentence, explained his feelings of fear on the day of his release:

I thought I was in a new world, on cloud nine, my head was swelling about nine times its size. Felt great, kinda scared too though. I mean a lot of guys don't like to admit it but, not really institutionalized, but you're just so used to that one setting [the penitentiary] that once you step out there and its been so long. Everybody, I think has got a little fear in them as far as it's something new after that long, it's almost like never being out there before, you know. I knew it was gonna be a
new life for me to start all over. It all looked real new, strange, like a new world. Things have really changed. All this new technology, and stuff, as far as you know, like these answering machine services. Lot of your CD players and lot of these new kinda phones and just different things, computers and stuff, it's all real strange, you know. These sideways motors in the cars, and the computers in the cars, and you got machines that talk to you when you put money change in the pop machines. Like I was down there in Ottumwa, we stopped there for about a fifteen minute break on the bus. Went in to this little restaurant and I put the dollar in there. It freaked me out when it had a dollar machine to put into the damn pop machine and it gave me change back. There was one next to it and this guy put money in it, and he didn't put the correct change in it, and the damn machine talked back to him and said how much money he [it] needed. And I looked over and said, "What?" It was really strange, a weird feeling. Another thing that freaked me out too: 'Cause, back when I first got locked up phone calls were a dime, sometimes even a nickel you could put in, you know (Richards, 1992).

Prisoners may laugh when they compare notes on how the world had changed while they were away "doing time."

The prisoners told me "get out of prison stories" about men who had forgotten how to "time" the flow of traffic, so they had difficulty crossing the street. Another story was about a work release prisoner who had served twenty years in the penitentiary, and upon his release, he went to buy a used car. He became upset when he could not find the dimmer switch for the headlights. Driving at night in city traffic, without a driver's license, he was concerned that he would be stopped by the police for his failure to dim his lights. The prisoners
laughed when they described how the man had torn up the floor carpet in the
used car searching for the headlight dimmer switch. A final story was about a
man who had served nearly fifty years in Fort Madison. Upon his release from
prison he went to a grocery store. The last time this man had been shopping for
groceries had been in the 1930's. He was so surprised by the automatic doors and
the electronic check-out counters in the modern grocery store that he freaked out
and was arrested for disorderly conduct. After getting out of jail he went to see
his parole officer and begged to be sent back to prison.

Prisoners, upon release from prison, straddle what Giddens (1987) calls
time-space edges. The rule is that whoever controls institutional time and space
controls the structure of rules and resources. Being a prisoner, by definition,
means having your time and space controlled by others. Prisons have controlled
movement. Prisoners must be at their assigned station, be it their work
assignment or cell block. They have to have written passes to move from one
area of the prison to another. In prison, men must stand for count in their cells.
Counts are called throughout the day and night, including emergency counts. A
prisoner who misses count, or who is out of place, is disciplined severely, usually
a trip to the "hole" and loss of good time. During counts prisoners have to have
their cell light on and one hand on the cell bars. At night they are required to
sleep with their heads uncovered so the guards can count them while they sleep.

At the work release facilities time and space is also controlled, the doors
are locked, and the men are counted by the counselors, but they do not have to
"stand for count." Men that I interviewed in work release, who had served
many years in prisons, discussed their anxiety with anticipating counts, what are
called *La Quinta* in federal penitentiaries. They were so accustomed to "standing
for count" that they became insecure when count was not called. A prisoner, who after serving a ten year prison sentence had recently arrived at the the work release facility, explained his anxiety with not being required to "stand for counts:"

First couple of days [out of the penitentiary] though [he laughs], I kinda, might sound kinda weird, but, I caught myself the first two days at five-thirty count, well both counts really twelve-thirty count, noon count, and then five-thirty count, I kinda of got up and walked over to the door and was standing around. Then it dawned on me what the hell I was doing. I said, "Man there ain't no count [he laughs again]" (Richards, 1992).

In effect, as prisoners, they had become regimentated to the call of count as a means to tell the time of day. These prisoners no longer had a working memory of free time and space, they were experiencing the disorientation of a time-space edge.

**Joint Mentality**

Anticipating counts may be the first sign of what prisoners call "joint mentality." A prisoner with joint mentality walks and talks like a convict. To some extent, most men who have served years of prison time suffer from joint mentality. Upon release from prison, and their return to the "free world," convicts carry with them the memory traces of the rules and resources (structure) acquired in prison back to the streets. Prisoners coming out of penitentiaries are a "zek nation" (Solzhenitsyn, 1973, 1975, 1978) immigrating back into the free
world. These prisoners among us have their own cultural traditions and understandings. One of these traditions, known to most convicts that have served time is that their futures are limited by their criminal histories. A community corrections professional stated:

Most of the guys when they get here out of the pit [prison], you know, they are so happy to be on the street and have a chance to go out and have a beer and chase women that the first couple weeks it's hard to determine who were the ones that had their act together and who was the ones that were unraveling. Most of these guys they send to prison don't think they even [have] got a future, they don't even think about a future, they don't even try to plan a future. And that's what really pisses me off because the government and these organizations and stuff, they don't come right all and tell these guys that, but that's the way they pattern them. You know if you go to prison your life is destroyed, you might as well forget it, you will never have nothing, you will never be nothing (Richards, 1992).

Being an ex-convict, considering the stigma and discrimination implied, the rate of recidivism, the limited opportunity structure available upon release, and the altered perception of time, means losing the ability to plan a future.

An ex-convict that has joint mentality lives day to day, like he did in the "joint" without anticipating or planning future events. What would be the point of planning a future? After all, upon release from prison, the convict is not free. He has months to serve in work release, and then possibly years to serve on parole. Most ex-convicts are structurally impeded, while on "paper," while serving parole time, from planning their futures. The rules of parole
include living in a specified county, reporting on a regular basis to a parole officer, filing monthly reports with the parole office, not acting as a police informer, keeping steady employment, not associating with persons that have a criminal record, not possessing firearms, not drinking alcoholic beverages, and making a diligent effort to satisfy any court order for fines, restitution, or child support. Convicts upon release from prison are not free, they are in work release, and then parole, each stage of custody having its own rules and time to serve.

Ontological Security

Ontological security is predicated on the naive presumption that freedom of time and space is assumed. This is like assuming that a job is permanent or a marriage is forever. To some degree, all persons who have suffered years of imprisonment, be they political prisoners, prisoners of war, or convicts, share a common perspective on the precarious presumption of freedom, that it can be taken by agents of social control. Former prisoners share an ontological view predicated on their experience of incarceration. They have lived in a society built of cement and steel and predicated on different rules and resources. Upon release from prison, and reentering "free society," prisoners are tentative and insecure, for they know that society is not as free as they once may have believed.

Work release prisoners are living two contradictory routines. They live in a community based prison where they are released to work for wages in the community. Fifty percent of these prisoners will fail the work release program within the first three months and be sent back to prison. Seventy percent of Iowa
prisoners will be violated on parole and returned to either jail or prison. Knowing the rate of work release failure, as most of these men are recidivists, these prisoners describe the prison system as a giant shell game with them the peas being shuffled back and forth. One Iowa prisoner stated:

If they didn't do it like that there would be twice as many still incarcerated in this state as what there is right now. They [the prison authorities] fully realize that all they are doing is shuffling people, the way that they do things. They only let people go when they have to, knowing full well they will be back (Richards, 1992).

These men experience the disjuncture between two different structurations of time and space (prison and the free world) as a lack of confidence and trust (ontological security) in the structure they reenter. Living in the work release centers, under the supervision and surveillance of correctional counselors, working low paid labor, with their pay checks controlled by the correctional staff, and the fifty percent rate of work release failure, these men may have good reason to be insecure with their continued existence in the free world.

The prison release literature is sexist; literature about women prisoners is concerned with children and child development, while literature about men is only concerned with employment. In fact, the men are rarely asked about their marriages or children. These men may not go to see their children because they have no resources and they are vulnerable to being violated upon any complaint from their ex-wives or girlfriends.

Some of these men suffer the confusion of no longer knowing why they should be laboring because they no longer have wives and children to support.
Men go to work to support their families. Many of these men have lost contact with their families. As residents of a correctional work release center they must turn in their pay checks to the staff. The correctional counselors deduct from their pay checks court ordered fines and restitution. The remainder of their pay check is kept on account with the work release center as a saving account. They are allowed only a small part of their weekly earnings to have as spending money, to purchase food and bus tickets. Part of their ambivalence and confusion with working is that they have no control over their own wages. They are working, most of them at minimum wage jobs, and because the work release center controls their savings, they are unable to help their families with domestic bills.

The problem is really based in how men define themselves by their responsibilities to wives and children. This is an important missing piece. Men are motivated to labor at jobs they do not enjoy as a means of supporting their families. This gives their lives meaning. Men learn by assuming the daily responsibilities for families. These men are being forced to pay work release rent and court ordered restitution while their families make do on their own. Meanwhile, these prisoners, live day to day in a twilight state, on a state imposed time-space edge, home in the community, working for a living, but unable to be men because they are denied the opportunity to make financial contributions to their families.
Race Against Time

Iowa releases men from prison wearing blue prison uniforms, carrying cardboard boxes, with five dollars "gate money in their pockets. These men are assigned to work release facilities. They find low paid dead end jobs. These men fail work release at an alarming rate and abscond from custody or are returned to prison.

Men released from prison need more than just a job and pay check, a home and a family. They need time to process their prison experiences, their "pains of imprisonment" (Johnson and Toch, 1982). Over and over the prisoners told me: "They treat us like animals." When a prisoner is treated like an animal, labeled an animal, locked in a cage, and fed like in animal in a zoo, and subjected to this for a number of years, the person experiences pain and learns anger. That is what I see in their faces, both pain and anger. Pain and anger have to be processed. I see these men struggling with how to process their pain and anger. Processing takes time. But how much time does a man have when he is making minimum wage washing dishes and has so many detrimental memories to process? I don't see these men getting a viable opportunity to process their pain and anger. These men are walking around with all this pain and anger and so little money in their pockets and so few prospects for the future. If these men don't have the money and job prospects to act on then it is not surprising that they act on their pain or anger. I see this as a race against time.

These men do not take freedom for granted, they expect to have their parole violated, to be rearrested and returned to prison, they are that poorly prepared for prison release. The question is how do we properly prepare and
support prisoners, upon release from prison, for successful reentry to the community? The question turns on what rule and resource structure is available for this preparation and support? Considering the present rate of work release failure, and the dedication of Iowa community corrections professionals, the present structure of prison-work-parole release can only be judged to be a dismal failure in need of considerable redress.
CONCLUSION: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

If a soul is left in the darkness, sins will be committed. The guilty one is not he who commits the sin, but he who causes the darkness. (Victor Hugo)

In 1988 (State of Iowa, 1990a: 48) the total population of Iowa prisons was 2,890. By 1989, this population had grown by 432 to 3,322, an increase of nearly 15 percent. For 1989, (State of Iowa, 1990a: 52) there were 2,913 total admissions and 2,481 total releases. At this rate, Iowa will have to build a new medium size prison every year to keep up with the anticipated increase in incarcerations. Of these 2,913 new prison admissions only 1,156 were new court commitments, while 570 were probation revocations, 650 were parole returns, 56 were shock probation returns, 205 were escape returns, 139 were work release returns, 38 were OWI returns, and 99 were other admissions. For 1989, over half of all prison admissions were former prisoners returned on either new criminal charges or revocation of community custody. These revocations of probation, work release, and parole community custody were largely due to increases in violations other than new convictions for felonies or aggravated misdemeanors (State of Iowa, 1990a: 53). In effect, the state's prison population continues to climb as the result of prison release failure, as reflected in the rate of community custody revocation.

Prisoners are released to work release or parole with little preparation for success. Over 50 percent of the men will fail work release, and nearly 70 percent fail parole, and eventually return to prison. Many of these probationers and
parolees are being returned to prison for status offenses, as they have violated the rules and regulations of their community custody status.

Iowa is operating human warehouses for the return of damaged goods. Bill Douglas (1992), the Director of Criminal Justice Ministries, calls the Iowa Department of Corrections a "perpetual incarceration machine." The prison system is perpetuating growth on its own institutional failure to properly prepare prisoners for release. The system is a revolving door that shuffles prisoners from one level of custody to another, from probation to prison, from prison to work release and parole, and from parole back to prison. The prison system is growing because of its own failure.

The following policy recommendations are provided as a means to address Iowa's problem with prison overcrowding and probation and parole failure. Iowa overcrowded prisons are filled with individuals that were returned on probation and parole violations. These proposals or policy recommendations follow from my interviews of both Iowa prisoners and community corrections staff. These recommendations are presented in four parts; Policy Recommendations, Prison Release Program Recommendations, a Summary of Recommendations, and a Call for Further Study.

**Policy Recommendations**

Iowa needs to rethink the public defender system. Why are indigent defendants being assessed court costs for court appointed attorneys? In this study of Iowa prison release, I did not ask work release prisoners questions about the court system. However, in nearly every interview I conducted, when asked
about court ordered restitution, the prisoners complained, sometimes bitterly, about being assessed for court appointed attorneys. The most prevalent complaint I heard from prisoners was their surprise at being charged for public defenders. The prisoners, at the time that their court cases were being decided (by their public defenders pressuring them into pleading guilty), were unaware that they would later be assessed attorney fees. I recommend that the present system of appointing and paying for public defenders be investigated. I suggest that this is a topic for further legislative and academic study, and possible legal action.

Courts are now handing out multiple sentences, what Morris and Tonry (1990) call "punishment packages," that include prison time and alternative sentencing. Prisoners complain that they understood probation, restitution, and community service to be alternatives to incarceration. (Probation, restitution, and community service orders were originally designed as community alternatives to prisons.) Community supervision, for example probation or court ordered treatment for substance abuse, were developed as a means to divert minor or first time offenders from prison. Financial sanctions, such as court imposed fees, fines, and restitution, were intended to reimburse the state for administrative and judicial costs, compensate the victims of crime, and teach the defendant civic responsibility, as an alternative to prison. Why are Iowa judges imposing multiple sentences of prison and financial sanctions on defendants?

The state's fiscal needs dictate that the courts charge defendants for public defenders and impose financial sanctions along with prison sentences. Lawyer fees, court costs, and restitution orders serve as a means of paying part of the state expense for operating courts and prisons. While the policy makes sense to state
fiscal mangers, it may be counter productive in the long run. What is the point of charging defendants for court appointed lawyers, for court costs, and imposing restitution, and then sentencing them to years in the penitentiary? Maybe this policy of collecting for public defender services, court costs, and restitution is counter productive if it contributes to increased status violations, recidivism, and subsequent incarcerations.

In Iowa prisons, the prisoners are paid a dollar a day for work. Under a new program where 20% is deducted from prisoner pay, inmate accounts, and checks received from family and friends, the total sum of funds collected from Iowa prisoners does not amount to more than $30,000 a month (Jack Hovelson, 1992). This collection of $30,000 a month works out to an average of $10 a month for 3,000 prisoners. Meeting with these prisoners, keeping records, and completing the monthly paperwork consumes precious staff hours.

Considering all the court, prison, community corrections, and parole staff time devoted to collecting restitution payments from prisoners, I doubt the effort is worth the trouble. The state of Iowa may actually save money, the salaries paid to state employees required to collect restitution, by terminating the collection of restitution from prisoners. I suggest the state conduct a study comparing the cost of restitution collection and the funds received, as a means of evaluating the present policy.

Even if the collection of restitution from prisoners was profitable for the state, is it the best use of staff resources? Why are state court and correctional professionals being employed as bill collectors? Prisoners complain that correctional counselors are more concerned with collecting restitution than providing counseling. Considering the emphasis put on collecting restitution by
prison authorities, it is not surprising that Iowa convicts refer to correctional counselors as collection counselors.

Correctional counselors, as dedicated professionals, should be concerned that their performance as counselors may be compromised by their role as bill collectors. In work release facilities, correctional counselors are ordered to collect restitution and rent from prisoners. Work release prisoners are charged either four, seven, or twelve dollars a day rent for their bed in a work release center, depending on the facility and their status; for example, OWI prisoners are charged twelve dollars a day rent. These men are paying $120, $210, or $360 rent a month plus 20% deduction for restitution. They are paying rent for a bed or bunk in a dormitory or four man apartment in a controlled movement facility. This rent charge does not cover food. The rent and restitution is deducted from their pay checks. Most of the prisoners are stone broke or in debt to the work release center for back rent. Some of the prisoners with good jobs have their rent paid up and are building a saving account that is kept with the work release center. But most of the work release prisoners, working at minimum wage jobs, deeply resent having restitution and exorbitant rent charges deducted from their meager pay checks.

In some cases, prisoner resentment of correctional staff handling their pay checks and deducting for restitution and rent may dampen their interest in legitimate employment. One Iowa work release prisoner voiced his resentment:

You leave the penitentiary on a Tuesday, you come here, and you're broke for the whole week or two till they send your money from the penitentiary. What kind of shit is that? Ya know, I mean a man come home from the penitentiary they don't even give you gate money. They give you five dollars
[and] bus fare. You got rent to pay, bus tokens to pay for. They make you buy sheets. They give us two sheets, pillow case, face towel, and a bath towel, and charge us fifteen dollars. And it ain't like do you want it, you got to take it. There ain't no option. They do that and that ain't right.

We coming straight from the penitentiary, they trying to take our money. And then you get your money, okay my money just come [from the penitentiary], I owe for sheets, owe for bus tokens, I owe for my rent. You're automatically two weeks behind in rent, see what I'm saying. Then your counselor, I don't where, they get the power to take your money and spend it like they want to.

I didn't ask to come here and be put in the hole by your all program. Ya all know that when I come here it would take awhile for me to find a job (Richards, 1992).

Another prisoner, who served time for OWI at Fort Des Moines paid $10 a day rent to live in a crowded dormitory stated:

"I had my bachelor's degree and the only job I could find was a minimum wage third shift station attendant [gas station], that was it. I couldn't go outside the Des Moines area, of course. It was all I could do to keep the rent paid and get out of there (Richards, 1992).

A third prisoner, serving time at the Curt Forbes Work Release Center was charged $12 a day to live in another dormitory: "They charge us twelve [dollars a day rent] for the OWI program" (Richards, 1992). These men, if they do locate employment, their first few weeks at the work release facility, find themselves already in debt for rent, sheets, and bus tokens. Every week that passes without
them working puts them deeper in debt to the program. This debt contributes to the tension and bad feeling that exists between the staff and some of their less than successful clients.

I recommend that the practice of deducting restitution and rent money from prisoner pay checks be terminated. I suggest that work release facilities negotiate banking services with local banks for the benefit of their clients. Prisoners, upon receiving their pay checks could deposit their own pay checks in a joint saving account. The account would accrue interest and be subject to rules as decided by the work release director. For example, withdrawals could be limited to specific amounts and require the co-signature of both the prisoner and work release director. This policy recommendation would provide the prisoners with an opportunity to save money to reestablish a private domicile, purchase an automobile, and save for the future.

Another policy recommendation concerns restoring prisoners' civil rights. Iowa, as a progressive state, should consider installing voting booths in all the state's jails and prisons. Why should a convicted felon lose the right to vote? Why should a person, without a conviction, being held in pre-trial detention because they can not raise bail, be denied the their right to vote on election day?

The installation of voting booths in all the state's jails and prisons, and the restoration of voting rights to all felons, deserves further study. I suggest that the restoration of voting rights to felons and prisoners may have interesting repercussions for prison conditions and correctional budget demands. For example, if prisoners could vote, politicians may suddenly become interested in providing increased budgets for prison educational and vocational programs. At the very least, restoring voting rights to prisoners would encourage state
politicians to visit prisons. This may result in dramatic improvements in the food served, reductions in overcrowding, and increases in general funding for maintenance and repair of facilities.

Finally, I recommend that Iowa close the "big house" prisons and replace them with smaller facilities. Penitentiaries are outdated, a relic of the 19th Century. Modern prisons should be small, populations 200 or less. One correctional counselor suggested, "If you had unlimited resources you could plunk one of them down here for 100 people. And I still think that it takes probably less money to do it that way than to build a gigantic prison, and probably going to be more productive in the long run" (Richards, 1992). Small facilities provide the staff with an opportunity to get to know the prisoners, to know their names, their needs, and their ability for self-improvement.

Prison Release Program Recommendations

My observations and interviews at Iowa work release facilities has convinced me of three essential facts (1) Iowa's prisons have not properly prepared prisoners for release to work release facilities, (2) There is a need for better communication and program continuity between the prisons and the work release centers, and (3) work release prisoners need less supervision and more support, including comprehensive and intensive counseling.

Iowa prisoners are being shuffled from the penitentiary and reformatory to community work release facilities without adequate preparation. They are walking out the prison gates wearing "prison blues," carrying a cardboard box,
with $5 and a bus ticket. Why are these men existing prison wearing prison uniforms? One community corrections employee discussed the problem:

They come in with no clothes. He came in [referring to one prisoner in a group interview] with no shoes. January 24th and no shoes no coat, t-shirt and a pair of pants. Coming from prison, one guy from Oakdale came in with, in December, cut off shirt, one lense in his glasses, not two. They did get his hearing aid cleaned so he did have that. Pair of pants that's it, no coat. And we are seeing more and more of that. We are seeing more and more come in with nothing. And they are even talking about cutting the money they get when they leave [prison]. That's rumors from the budget cuts (Richards, 1992).

Another community correction employee responded to my question: "How long has it been that you been seeing them walk in here wearing prison blues?"

Well they have always done that, oh yea, forever. Even when they dressed people out they really didn't dress them out in clothing that was really appropriate. You could pretty much pick them out in a crowd no matter what. I'm not sure it has to be that way but that's the way it's always been. The shoes are a big giveaway most of the time (Richards, 1992).

The prisoners arrive at the work release centers without appropriate clothing for applying for employment. The same community corrections employee explains:

If they could get a stock of clothing that was varied enough that would fit in. I think that probably would help. I certainly don't like to see them come in here [wearing prison blues] because that's one of the first things we have to deal with. The work
release prisoner says, "I don't have appropriate clothing to job search."

I don't know what the answer to that [street clothes] is. At some point in time they need to address that, whether it be at the institution or give us enough money and resources here to be able to do it, one or the other. But it needs to be addressed, that is a problem. If we had a pre-release center that certainly would be the appropriate place to deal with those kinds of issues (Richards, 1992).

The amount of "gate money," release clothing, and bus tickets, are only some of the issues that need to be addressed.

The prisoners do not have sufficient notification of their scheduled date for prison release. They have not had the time to psychologically prepare for their transfers from prison to community work release. The director of a work release facility stated:

Down there in the institution [prison], I would hate to have someone from the institution to probably take exception to this: What I see happening is there is a waiting list. I don't know that there is a hell of a lot of work that goes on with that individual prior to the time that he is to be released. Has that counselor really sat down and tried to work with and prepare that guy for release? I don't think so. They are jerking a guy out of a cell or off his work detail and saying, "Here pack your stuff you are going to Newton, your bus leaves in an hour." That's the kind of thing I see happening. That's the stories we hear (Richards, 1992).

The prisoners are walking out of the prison gates in a euphoric trance. They are happy to be out from behind the wall and fences, but they are not prepared for
the challenges before them. The same director of a work release facility explained the problem:

There is not a heck of a lot of time for that individual to get a mind set about what he is going to try to do or try to accomplish while he's on work release. Maybe that somewhere along the line did take place but then with our waiting list we got with the halfway house maybe that was three months ago. He still has to get that mind set going to say, "okay, you know I've got to do this, I'm going to do that, I'm going to really try to do this, I'm going to try to avoid that." He is probably thinking about that on the way here on the bus. And then we bring him in here and nail him with all the rules and regulations in an orientation and he's just spinning. We know that that's a problem (Richards, 1992).

"Spinning" refers to the state of mind the prisoner may be in upon arrival at the work release center. They have been transported from prison, with its rules and regulations, to a new environment, the work release facility, with an entirely new set of rules and specific obligations. Some of these men, those that served a long time in the penitentiary, have not been required to pay rent, purchase food, or look for employment in years. The problem is that they have not been properly prepared for release by the prison.

I recommend that a pre-release program be established at the Newton River View Release Center. Newton has the land to expand. Oakdale is the entrance and classification center. The system needs an exit point that serves to prepare men for release. This program should include expanded visitation privileges, home furloughs, family and employment counseling. For example,
classes should be taught in family and parenting skills (some classes are already being offered at Newton and Mitchelville). The pre-release program should arrange for the prisoners to have driver's licences and social security cards before leaving prison. The men, upon completing the pre-release program, should be supplied with a set of clothes appropriate for their employment search, and sufficient gate money to meet their needs until their first paycheck.

All prisoners should have a well thought out pre-release plan. This may be a parole plan or work release plan. The plan should include specific reference to family, place of residence, and employment or school. Social workers or parole officers should be assigned to take these men home for a first visit with their children and spouses or ex-spouses. This provides the prisoner and his family with a professional observer if assistance or intervention is required. Iowa may consider a program that waives the first year of tuition at state supported schools and universities for men just released from prison. The state may save money by sending men to school, including college, rather than back to prison. At the very least the pre-release program should invite representatives of state schools, colleges, and universities to visit Newton. These educational institutions should be encouraged to bring admissions and financial aid information, and consider extending scholarships to prisoners with academic promise.

This pre-release program needs to be one step in a carefully planned program of staged release that includes institutional vocational and education programs, the pre-release program at Newton, and work release facilities. The director of a work release facility eloquently explains:
I think that that needs to be a natural progression in the chain again. From there it needs to slow down, bring it back in there, lets do those steps, lets hammer those things into these people, lets work with them. Get it to a natural progression again. Get it going again. We did then years ago. We did it and we had a seventy some percent success rate. We are not doing it now. We are getting a fifty some success rate. And believe it or not we are working harder than ever with people, working with resources that we have never worked with before, in manners that we have never done before. We are knocking our brains out and getting less pay back. The system is just not working properly (Richards, 1992).

A carefully planned program of staged release requires increased funding, a commitment to helping prisoners, community cooperation, and a steady flow of information and feedback between the prisons, community corrections, and conditions on the street.

I recommend an on going effort be made to improve communication and coordination between this pre-prison release program and the work release centers and parole offices. As the situation now exists, prisoners may have a better informed understanding of the correctional system than the staff. Prisoners have lived and experienced the succession of correctional stages. Prison, community corrections, and parole staff have worked cemented in place, doing their jobs the best they can, but without a comprehensive understanding of the system as a whole. One community corrections employee stated:

I don't know what they tell these people. I don't know who does what in the prison system. But I will tell you there is very little communication between the institutions and community based corrections (Richards, 1992).
This lack of communication between the prisons and community corrections does not allow for effective prison release planning and implementation. I recommend that the Department of Corrections encourage staff to apply for positions both inside and outside of the prison, as a means of acquiring experience with different stages of the correctional system.

A final recommendation concerns the need for work release facilities that operated with less supervision. Not all work release clients require the intensive supervision of controlled movement facilities. Some work release prisoners may benefit from a less structured work release center that is operated informally, on an honor plan. I suggest that the Department of Corrections may want to visit and tour less restrictive work release centers currently operated by the federal government and non-profit agencies.

One such facility is the Salvation Army Shelter located at 6th and Walnut, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This facility is a former Holiday Inn Motel operated by the Salvation Army as a shelter for homeless families. The Wisconsin Department of Corrections and the Federal Bureau of Prisons place work release prisoners at these facilities. In effect the Salvation Army has a contract with the state of Wisconsin and the federal government to provide rooms for prisoners just released from prison. This contract supports a community shelter that provides rooms, food, and services for hundreds of homeless families each year.

Another less restrictive facility, this one located on 6th avenue in Des Moines, Iowa, is the Hanson House of Hospitality operated by Criminal Justice Ministries. This group home for men released from prisons operates without any government funding. The Hanson House of Hospitality charges nothing for
rent and food, and has successfully assisted nearly 700 former prisoners with their reentry to the community over the last twelve years.

Summary of Recommendations

Policy recommendations include rethinking the public defender system. Defendants should not be assessed fees for public defender services. I suggest that this is a topic for further legislative and academic study, and possible legal action. I suggest that the judicial practice of imposing "punishment packages" on convicted defendants be ended. Sentencing judges should exercise their discretion by either imposing prison or an alternative sentence, but not both at the same time. The state of Iowa should terminate orders to collect court costs and restitution from persons in prison. Work release centers should not be required to collect rent from clients.

Iowa could gain national recognition by installing voting booths in all the state's jails and prisons. The state should restore voting rights to all felons and prisoners. This policy recommendation may dramatically improve both prison conditions and the opportunity for increased funding of the correctional system.

The Department of Corrections should phase out Anamosa and Fort Madison and replace them with small modern facilities. Smaller facilities would give the corrections staff an opportunity to know the prisoner's names, needs, and ability for constructive change.

Program recommendations include establishing a pre-release program at the Newton River View Release Center. This program should include expanded visitation privileges, home furloughs, family and employment counseling. The
pre-release program should arrange for the prisoners to be issued driver's licenses and social security cards before leaving prison.

All prisoners should have a well thought out pre-release plan. This may be a parole plan or work release plan. Iowa should assist these men in their first year of vocational or university study.

I recommend that communication and coordination between this pre-prison release program and the work release centers and parole offices be established to better serve all concerned. I suggest that correctional staff be encouraged to acquire career experience in both prisons and community based corrections. I also recommend that the Iowa Department of Corrections visit and tour less restrictive work release centers operated by the federal government and non-profit agencies.

Call for Further Study

The purpose of this study has been to demonstrate Giddens' Structuration Theory as a theoretical framework for reconceptualizing prison release and reentry to the community. Giddens' theory defined social structure as rule and resource sets. This theory is not readily suited for identifying or analyzing anti social behavior, such as premeditated violence or concerted rule breaking. In this study, I have limited my discussion to an analysis of the official structure of rules and resources that are found at different levels of correctional custody. I leave the examination of aberrant behavior, rule deviations, and social agency to further study.
I have also not distinguished between institutional sets of rules and resources and individual sets of rules and resources. My discussion has proceeded without sorting out how individuals may perceive and act on institutional rules differently, depending on their own judgement, or lack of judgement. I have made no effort to separately discuss institutional and individual resources. Although, there is a implicit difference.

One issue that demands further study deals with the composition of correctional populations. Who are these prisoners? How does the sample of incarcerated population compare with a sample of the "free" community. I did not find these questions directly relevant to my study of rules, resources, and structural impediments. However, given a structure of rules and resources, further studies that compare different samples of prisoners, may prove interesting.

One surprise in this study, that has not been adequately addressed, but begs for further study, concerns the number of low functioning, mentally retarded, and mentally ill, individuals in Iowa prison facilities. One work release counselor stated:

That's a major problem in the whole correctional system. We have people that you would call special needs clients, either people that have diagnosed psychiatric illness or that have real low function, either borderline retarded or retarded. Those are the special needs clients that get passed over a lot of the time. They just don't have the resources. You know you are dealing with counselors in the institutions where the case loads are eighty--ninety--a hundred guys. You are also dealing with very few psychologists and I think they have maybe a couple psychiatrists on staff. So, there is really no
treatment for people in the institutions. Then of course, the institutions are more of a management situation, warehousing. For a guy like he just kind of got caught up in the big wheel. There really is no treatment (Richards, 1992).

Another correctional counselor added:

It is getting tougher. The number of people who are low functioning or mentally ill. One of the things that I'm starting to track on my data sheet is how many people come in with a diagnosable disability of some kind, mental, emotional, or physical. Because I think that as we go along and we lose more community based funding for people mentally ill or mentally retarded you're going to find those people in the correctional systems. People in the correction systems are not equipped to deal with that, they don't have the professional training to deal with people that are in those categories. They got caseloads that are astronomical, they don't have time to be paying attention to that [special needs of impaired individuals].

I don't know how many numbers of people we've gotten that are mildly retarded. They don't have judgement skills. They did stuff that was poor judgement based on the fact that they had fairly low functioning I.Q., and they end up in the prison system (Richards, 1992).
The director of a work release facility explains the problem with psychiatric cases:

Another area that I think needs to be addressed, that a certain number of these people have mental problems that really need to be addressed. And we don't have any place, as far as I'm concerned, that's equipped to deal with some of these folks who have really major psychiatric problems. Those people need to be isolated out and put into a unit somewhere and dealt with in a more clinical fashion (Richards, 1992).

He continues with a discussion of low functioning individuals who have been mainstreamed, and fall through the "social safety net" to be caught by the criminal justice net:

We have mainstreamed a lot of folks who are low functioning, not necessarily mentally ill. And some who are mentally ill. They have mainstreamed a lot of those folks. And I can't help but believe that some of them that I see, well I know they are, because some of the people we see need sheltered workshops, they are that limited. There is just no place for them. And I don't think the correctional system really deals very well with those folks. Then you throw those people out there without a net. What happens is we catch some of them in our net, and we don't know what to do with them. We house them, we push them off here, we push them off there. Then, they finally push them to me at a work release center. Believe it or not I don't have even have resources to deal with some of these people here. And we do it, you know. They can function quite adequately at this level in a work release setting. That's not the problem. I can house them here. I don't have any problem with them. Give me a whole house full of them. I love them. They are very easy for me to manage here. Once I release them out there what
will they go back to? They go back to that same mainstream site situation and get caught up in it all again and go back [to jail or prison] (Richards, 1992).

It is imperative that further study be conducted on finding alternatives to incarcerating low functioning, impaired, and special needs individuals. This is a topic that will require a team of well funded research scientists with a interdisciplinary mission.

A final call for further study concerns a need to identify and implement a process for the rebuilding of prisoner self-esteem. Sociologists have devoted considerable attention to "degradation ceremonies" (Garfinkel, 1956), "mortification processes" and "stigma" (Goffman, 1961, 1963). We have considerable literature on prison admission procedures (Goffman, 1961) and prison release (Irwin, 1970), but we have very little information on how to rebuild demoralized convicts back into constructive citizens. The director of the Hanson House of Hospitality explained:

There is nothing in writing and nothing laid out about it. You just got to see in between the lines, so to speak, of what they [prison staff] are saying and doing, to see what they are trying to accomplish. They are trying to demoralize these guys and tell them you ain't got a future anyway so you might as well be washing dishes, instead of going out and finding a construction job that will pay you twice as much. You ain't worth nothing anymore. They don't come right out and say it, but that's exactly what they are telling these guys (Richards, 1992).

These men have been torn down by degradations. In the beginning this served to get their attention, give them a wake up call, and remind them that they broke
the law. But the steady humiliations that they experience break their will to succeed. Maybe the system is more successful than expected, successful at breaking men; the system programs these men to fail. When does the process reverse? Where is that point where these men see the system helping them. We need research on how to effectively rebuild prisoners' self-esteem, confidence, and their will to succeed.
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APPENDIX A. SELECTED INTERVIEWS OF WORK RELEASE PRISONERS

Introduction

Let all the others come, those whom no amount of candy, tears, and toy trains can keep at home, who climb out the window, toss their school bags into the cellar, hide stolen money under their inner soles, arm themselves with compass, kitchen knife, paper mask, and flashlight, and set out for the border, for new worlds across the sea, but end up in jail where food is served every other day; who when released, hunt down the informer and kick him in the groin; who on a visit home knock down their mothers and take the key to the money box; who jump handcuffed from the train, break through the crowd of curious old people outside the courthouse, and with panting prison guards at their heels, jump onto a passing truck; who crawl through the corn fields of the prison farm to take off their prison uniforms in a ditch; who break out of cells, scramble over brick walls, and regularly get caught, shivering in a swamp, breaking into weekend cottages, sleeping on a pile of sugar beets in a freight car, or in the bed of a girl friend who turns them in to the police; who finally, enrolled in the ranks of full fledged convicts, sit gray-haired or bald in their cells or on the tractors in the prison yard, speaking little, possessing nothing worth taking when they're searched, bursting into tears on the day of their release, when the warden shakes hands with them and wishes them well...

...Let all of those come who want to; one of us will talk, the other will listen; at least we shall be together (George Konrad, 1974: 170-173).
The following provides an opportunity for prisoners to comment on prisons and prison release. A report of research results is insufficient for capturing the flavor and context of the interviews conducted with prisoners. The usual procedure is to employ interviews as data to support research results. This approved method tends to appropriate selected interview quotations and use them to support the author's analysis. Unfortunately, this method disrupts the flow of biographical data that is necessary for understanding how prisoners express their own experiences. The interviewees' responses become a series of data fragments woven into the sociologist's discussion. This method has been used in previous chapters.

This chapter employs a new method that allows the interviews to stand on their own without analysis. I have elected to present these interviews with a minimum of commentary. This allows the prisoners an opportunity to voice their views without the reification of my analysis. I have only added some notes that may clarify the context and content of the interviews. As an expression of solidarity, in the partisan tradition (Gouldner, 1968), I am presenting the "voices" of the prisoners to be heard without appropriation. In effect, these interviews are the prisoner's narrative and not mine.

The following provides a select sampling of interviews with five different work release prisoners. These interviews have their own lessons to teach, at the very least that prisoners are a heterogeneous group with different experiences to share and express. Prisoner responses have been carefully edited to ensure confidentiality, improve readability, and correct for obscure language. The names of respondents have been changed to preclude identification. As a demonstration, I have printed references to Giddens' Structuration Theory.
terminology in bold. The reader will notice the repeated use of the words, rules, resources, and time in the prisoners' responses.

Case #1: Ron

Biographical summary: Ron is a European-American male in his early thirties. He has a high school diploma and is trained in welding and construction. Between prison sentences, Ron has worked washing cars, doing heavy construction, roofing, washing dishes, and working in a packing house. Ron is single with two children. He has served four different prison sentences for a total of over ten years in penitentiaries.

Richards—You work as a welder?

Ron—Not really, I’ve worked a lot of construction jobs in the summer, and you know they will have me weld something when it breaks, but I’ve never been hired just as a welder. I’ve never seen many welding jobs in this town [Des Moines]. You see one advertised and go apply and there is already 200 people applied before you.

Ron—Before I went to prison I never really had a serious job. I just worked here and there. From the time I was 15 till I was 18 I was in the training school at Eldora.

Richards—How would you characterize your relationship with the mother of your kids?

Ron—With her it’s kinda of touch and go. She doesn’t like me much because I spent so much time in prison rather then being with her. With the kids, that’s kinda of strange, they really don’t know
me that well because for the majority of their lives I've been locked up."

Richards--Do you have any idea about what you are going to do about that now?

Ron--Yea, the only thing I've ever thought about doing is wait till they get older, let them decide. I imagine they will get more interested in me as they get to be teenagers and that.

Richards--Does it make sense to you that guys might be a little quieter on Friday because their visits are coming on Saturday, but maybe after their visits leave on Sunday they might be a little uptight on Monday and Tuesday?

Ron--Yea, I've seen real severe cases of that down at Fort Madison with the lifers, especially ones who are married and have kids. I've seen quite a few of them go off right after their visits, ya know, as soon as they came back in from after their visits. They had this attitude that they just didn't care anymore. That will play a major part. In Iowa, if you are doing life the only way you can get parole is if the Governor commutes your sentence. Terry Branstad has only commuted one sentence since he has been Governor.

Richards--What did you lose when you went to prison?

Ron--I lost a couple of good jobs, going back, lost a couple of good girlfriends, never been married. Really, the girlfriends I didn't lose them. When I knew I was going back I broke up myself. Cause I didn't want an old lady while I was locked up, didn't need that head trip going on.

Richards--Upon release from prison, what did the prison system provide?

Ron--Five dollars. They buy your bus ticket. They give you a set of prison clothes, blue jeans, blue work shirt,
underwear. If it's winter they give you a blue prison coat. But they make you buy the stuff. Yea, see, they used to give 50 dollars and they took you downtown. Now, you get 50 dollars and you have no choice but to buy their stuff. And if you have personal clothes and you don't want to buy their stuff they just don't give you the 50 bucks. That's the way it was last time I got out. If you go to work release you get 5 bucks, if you go straight to the street, like on MR [mandatory release], you get 100 bucks. They give you a check and then they cash it right there at the front, the business office. 100 dollars now don't cut it.

Richards--Upon leaving prison, what outstanding debts did you have?

Ron--My child support stacks up on me in there [prison]. I'm not sure where I'm at on that. She's on ADC [AFDC]. Whatever they give her, they tack on me, while you're locked up it stacks up, it doesn't stop.

Richards--Since your release from prison have you received any money from family or friends? How much?

Ron--My one sister loaned me a hundred and fifty bucks. I'm on unemployment cause I got layed off, 113 bucks a week.

Richards--Did you wear a watch in prison?

Ron--If you wear a watch. You got [to] have a watch permit. They put the serial number and all that on this card. When they shake you down, if you don't have one they confiscate it. The same thing with a wallet and a belt, you have to have a permit.

Richards--Did you keep a calendar in prison?

Ron--I had one on the wall, but I didn't, like in August I'd look up there and notice it was still on April. I never paid much attention to it. Some guys even marked the days off, for myself it just made time too
slow. It seemed to me most guys who marked off the days were the ones who had a woman on the streets they were serious about.

Richards--Do you have any personal philosophy about how to do prison time?

Ron--Personally, I just do it one day at a time. And I never sit around and think about what's going on on the streets. And I don't go up to my counselor and ask when I'm going to get out. I don't believe in writing letters, I don't believe in having any relationship on the outside. Ya know they're two different worlds.

You do the time, don't let time do you. Do it the way you want to do, the way you feel comfortable with, don't let that the prison time get to you. Always remember that it's a fight, cause they will try to fuck with your head if you let them.

Richards--Did you have restitution deducted from your inmate pay?

Ron--If you make 50 cents a day, and they take restitution out, instead of making 10 dollars, you only get about maybe 7 or 8 to live on for a month. What it is is that it keeps you frustrated, keeps you so frustrated that when you get out you hate society. They'll go in a nonviolent offender and come out a violent one, because of the frustration.

Richards--What efforts have you made to rehabilitate yourself?

Ron--Guys always bitch about, you always hear guys bitch about, they aren't trying to rehabilitate [us]. I didn't always look at it that way. When I got ready to change, I started looking at it. Right, they don't want to help you. They could give a fuck less if they keep seeing me or not. They could care less if I die in here an old man. So it's up to me to rehabilitate myself, ya know. Since I started going to prison this is the longest I've been out. Any
other time I would already fucked up by now and I'd be back [in prison]. And it's not due to anything that they did for me. Cause they did nothing for me. They fought me every step of the way. They tried to make me bitter. They lied when they felt like lying. They locked me up [in the hole] for false reasons, when they felt like doing so, ya know, just to make an example to other people [convicts]. If I had allowed them to, it's just like if you hate anybody then they control you. And I used to hate them people [prison authorities] with a passion. But then I came to realize that I got to overlook them too.

You don't have to let him [prison authorities] control your brain like that. It's just a game, it's a fight, a match of wills. Who's will is stronger, his or yours? Okay, he wants to control you, he wants to fuck with your mind. He wants to see you as a stupid dumb animal to make his self feel better about his job, ya know. And if you play into his game that's all you're doing is convincing him that you are a stupid dumb animal. The only way to beat the system is to never go back in it.

Ron--They know, and you know, they didn't do anything at all to rehabilitate you. They know you don't have to preach it at them and tell them. They know, they know they're doing nothing. That's just so they get funding. They have you sign a paper [enrollment for prison programs and education classes] so they get federal funding for it.

Richards--Do you think you have served too much time. Do you have "joint mentality?"

Ron--I would say I did too much time. I was to the point before I discharged, where I don't [didn't] give a fuck. You get to the point where you talk to yourself.

Ron-- I was determined to make up for lost time. What I was I was careless. I knew I was careless, but
I sort of didn't care. I'm out here and I gonna make up for time lost. Then I went back [to prison]. The taxpayers in this state are saying, "Why the hell are these people coming out of prison doing worst shit them before they went in [prison]? [Prison authorities say,] "It ain't our fault, we've tried, we've worked with them, ya know, we gave them schooling, we've gave them classes."

Richards—When you were in the joint who were your friends, the guys you hung out with?

Ron—When I was like 19-20, it was guys my own age. But my second, third, and fourth time, I'd pretty much already made a reputation for myself so it was always the more stand up people of the joint ya know, a lot of lifers, a lot of guys doing long sentences who knew how to do time, didn't play the bull shit games. Guys that know how to do time. They mind their own business, they don't snivel all the time, you can trust them they don't steal from ya. They watch your back for you, you watch theirs.

Richards—Are there guys you know in prison that you miss, that you think about?

Ron—Yea, a lot of these guys actually had something worthwhile to say in a day, ya know. When you got tired of just hearing the same old crap out of other people 's mouths. These are people with a little bit of wisdom. Running the same thing out here on the streets, you get to know people who really have nothing to say. They don't even seem to think on the same level. Their mentality is like they don't want insight into things, they just seem like sheep being herded along.

Richards—When you get short [prison slang for being within a year of release] and you are coming out of prison. And you've made friends with guys, you've lived with them for years, and you leave
them all behind, you walk out all by yourself. Think back when you walked out of prison, out that gate with five bucks and a bus ticket, how did it feel to walk out of there?

Ron--Real high anxiety, a lot of fear of the unknown, you're lonely as soon as you get on the bus, you sometimes feel a little guilty about leaving the others behind.

Richards--What's the first thing you did when you got off that bus, or you wanted to do, before you got to the halfway house?

Ron--I wanted to call some friends of mine. But they [prison authorities] give you a certain amount [of time] and they know exactly what time the bus comes in, ya know, and you gotta call them out of your five dollars. But, first thing, about every time [he gets out of prison], I wanted to hook up with my old crowd and just get high.

Richards--Did you want to have dinner and get a beer?

Ron--Nah, mostly I wanted to just call up girls that I knew.

Richards--You were locked up for a couple of years with no women. Getting out of prison did it strike you that it wasn't going to be as easy as you thought?

Ron--Yea, I never thought it would be easy. There is a lot of anxiety in there ya know. Myself, I couldn't picture anything working out the way I hoped it would. I figured everything was going to be against me.

Richards--Have you had any luck since you got out of prison?
Ron—Luck? Oh yea, I got girlfriends that I always go back to. But I find myself, like they are just people I just don't even get serious with, ya know. One girl that I wanted to get lucky with was married and a bartender. I don't know there [is] a lot trash in there that she's married. It's like I don't even try to get anything going with normal women. Usually, they are co-dependent, using drugs or alcohol, and like from my same walk of life, ya know. Which is like getting lucky because, ya know, you can pretty much just tell 'em what you want and they do it.

Richards—Like you said "normal woman," sometimes woman who don't know from nothing, like guys that are tough?

Ron—But then you get to thinking that once you tell her about yourself that she isn't going to want nothing to do with you anyway. Ya know, that is the way its always with me with straight girls, they'll seem like they're interested, I'll even go out with them a couple times to eat, and that. Especially, like when I worked at this restaurant and most of them were college girls, ya know, they would ask me out. But then I'd turn them down, because if it turned into anything I have to get into telling them about the past, ya know, which I didn't even want to begin to do. When they'd offer me a ride home I turn it down because I didn't want to explain why I was in a half-way house. They would, after work, want to go stop and have a beer, [they would say] 'I'll give you a ride home." Ya know, you can't stop and have a beer cause you gonna have to blow in the meter [breathalyzer used to monitor alcohol consumption], as soon as you come through the door [half-way house]. You only got so much time to get home from work. And this is all more than you want to explain. So there's a couple of three girls in this town. Like I use them and they use me and that's just the way it goes, and I don't have to explain, they've known me for years.
Ron—When you come out of the joint now, especially the first few weeks that I'm out, I'll go into like a "Quick Trip", and I'm paying good money that I haven't even stole for a pack of cigarettes, and when the cash register opens I'll look, just glance over there, and then I feel guilty. I feel like everybody is staring at me and knows that I'm a convict and is wondering why I'm looking at the cash register.

Richards—When you came out of prison, did you have difficulty with things like crossing the street?

Ron—Yea, in going to the grocery store people bumping into ya and not saying excuse me. Ya know, in the joint you'd be calling them back because if they were anybody about anything they would of excuse their self [themselves]. Almost everything you do, automatically you think one way, but then you gotta go oh, I'm suppose to think this way now. Like they are not very polite. They knock into you and don't excuse themselves. In the joint people will fight over that, you don't just bump into somebody. If you don't excuse yourself, you're saying he isn't man enough for you to excuse yourself.

Ron—When the cops drive by you automatically wonder are they gonna pull a stop and shake you down. Ya know, you feel like oh they know who you are. They look at you because you are looking at them and you think, yea, they seen my mug shot.

Richards—We have a theory that people age out of crime?

Ron—That how it feels what I did. Yea, because even while I was in my twenties I really couldn't imagine myself not doing crime. Ya know, it was the same with drinking and getting high. I couldn't imagine myself not doing it. But yea then about the time that I was thirty I just started changing. I could see myself not going to the joint. I used to except it as just part of the game. If I got caught the rules
said I had to go do my time. Go to the penalty box, whatever. Especially in my twenties that how I viewed it, as a game. I also comfort myself with the fact that, okay, so they caught me for one thing, I did twenty crimes that they don't even know about. What really made it feel good was they always come to you and want you to confess to all these crimes, "make our job easy for us," they say. Then you get to laugh inside. But there finally come a time just how many years, getting caught for one crime can take a few years off your life that you are never going to see again. Like I started when I was a teenager, time in the joint went slow, ya know. But then as you look back it like it was just a couple of days ago that it all started, and it just went on and on.

Richards—How do you go about getting a car, a home, and a normal life?

Ron—First thing you gotta do is you have to have a normal job. Which really I never had, even the construction jobs I get. I never looked at them as permanent jobs. I be on bridge crews and that, it was just the season, ya know. And the money was there to be made, while it was warm and the sun was up. No thought to what I'd do in the winter, just always knew that when come winter-last winter I washed dishes out in West Des Moines. That's basically how my life's been, crime [is] the only thing I ever really planned.

Richards—You ever thought about the fact that if you had a normal old lady, one that went to work every day and didn't drink and didn't get high, one that had a job and a paycheck, that might help you?

Ron—Oh yea! I haven't drank or got high since August. I signed myself into that relapse treatment. Right before that I was living with another woman who deals cocaine. They are easy to find, and if you know the right things to say, the next thing you know you're living with them. I was smoking
cocaine, snorting cocaine, drinking, we were going through like four bottles of VO a day at $12.50 a bottle at Econo Foods. Until one day I got tired of it ya know. Not to mention the fact I been ducking my parole officer and I knew that I was going to be in trouble. So when I finally did go see him, rather than him catch me on a dirty UA or something I just flat out told him I been drinking and getting high for the last month and I need to go to treatment.

Case #2: Bill

Biographical summary: Bill is a African-American male in his early forties. He has a tenth grade education and is trained in cooking and hotel work. He is married with four children and has served four prison sentences for a total of eight years. Bill is a booster, a shop lifter, who practices his trade as a professional; in the tradition of Edwin Sutherland’s (1937) professional thief Chic Conwell and William Chambliss' (1984) "boxman" Harry King.

Richards- -Are you presently employed?

Bill--Na, unemployed. I don't know man. I'm still looked at that thought in mind where I'm still trying to work things out, ya know. I got family things here. But, really me and my ex [common law wife] ain't getting along that great right now. So, I ain't too interested in going back trying to work on a relationship that ain't working, ya know. I got some things that I still have to do for my self first to get myself together before I start thinking about them. I got four kids. And I feel whatever I'm gonna do for my kids I'm gonna do regardless if I'm with her or without her I'm still going to do what I have to do for my kids. So right now I'm just try to find me some kinda of income. For a
man who ain't never worked, ya know, to find a legit income is kinda of rough, ya know. But I think that part of what I got do to stay free. Find me some kind of employment and stay away from drugs that about the top two things on my agenda.

Bill—I don't want to go back to penitentiary no more. I mean don't get me wrong I been out here doing wrong all my life. I've been to the federal penitentiary. I come out here bout maybe ten years ago, I've been out here bout ten years, and it's been a rough ten years out here, ya know. I don't know if [it is] the system or a guess my activities or what but seems like I can't stay out of jail out here. Something about Iowa, something, I mean I don't know I ain't doing no more wrong now that I been doing the rest of my life. In fact, I think I'm doing less wrong now than I did when I was younger. Just seem they lock you up more in Iowa.

Bill—I got hooked up in this system and I just can't get out of for some reason, I don't know what it is, ya know. And I kinda of want to get out of Des Moines. 'Cause I feel, I don't know, I feel, ya know, you did everything you could do. And there really anything else you could do. There ain't no jobs really. And the jobs you get don't really amount to nothing, you know. Old guys hard to break habits. And then when you look up the last job I had I work all week and I still ain't got nothing but a $120 or $130 to take home. To me that just don't cut it.

Richards—You work as a professional booster?

Bill—It's a hustle, you know, and everybody got to do what they got to do. It's a hustle that I picked up that I like. I like cause it don't carry that much time. The most time you gonna get, like I say, is two years, ya know. State of Iowa you get two years that like a year. So you go to the joint for four or five months and you back home. Take that into consideration, that ain't bad. Ya know, I mean, from the way I look at it that ain't really bad. But it
get boring, get tiresome. But it pays good, it pays good.

Bill—They got a what they got a "return law" here. Anything you get you [can] take it back and get full price for it, so. Like I say, you can walk in almost anything store in the state of Iowa and pick up something and just take it to the counter and they will buy it back from you. You don't even have to leave the store with it. So when you look at it like that, it's got its benefits.

Richards—So, what you are telling me is that when you work a straight job you don't make any money?

Bill—Nah, You got to have a hustle. Basically now days the price of living is so rough that even with a legit job, you ain't got something paying $8-$9 dollars an hour you [are] in trouble. I know people both parties working and they still in trouble, you know. I have been through the 60's, I have been through the 70's, 80's, and 90's. And these 90's seems like they ain't right. Guess when you think about it, you go out and work 40 hours a week, and you look at your little check and man, you feel like you just been robbed.

Bill—I used to work down here at the steel works. We used to get off on Friday night eleven o'clock. They would give us our checks when we get off. This tavern where we used to go cash our checks at. So, we get in there and cash em. Like I say they ain't nothing but $120-130-140 stuff like that. By the time you cash your check, buy you a couple of beers, ya know, try to get high, whatever. Buy yourself a bag of weed, whatever, you're broke. Make it seem like you work all week for nothing. You get home got to argue with the old lady cause she can't understand how you worked all week and ain't got $50 to put in the house. And that's kind of rough when you think about it, ya know, damn. So, just can't win. It's like being in a no win situation.
Bill—Used to go to the institutions [prisons], man, and the institution used to have some kind of programs, something to train you, something to give you to work with when you get out, you know. Now they just warehousing you. Ya now you, go you, sit up do your little time. They need a bed, need some more room, some kind of politic move, you back out again no better off then you was when you left. You know, that's a crime, that's wild, that's wild.

Bill—Ninety percent of these guys here at this halfway house, for example, they force you to take any kind of job. I mean they don't care. Me and my counselor got into it the other day. I say I can't understand you telling me I should take anything that comes along, dish washing anything. I say you ain't worried about me bettering myself. All you worried about is the rules and regulation of the institution—get you a job. I got a job, regardless if I'm happy with it or not, that ain't what counts. It makes you look good to on paper to your supervisor. I get a job, I lay here four or five months work this old dish washing job, suffer this old dish washing job, then I get out. I got family, four or five kids to take care of, I got a woman, I got myself. How am I going to support them washing dishes? So when I leave here, I got to start all over again. The first time I roll over and kids get to tripping and my woman get to hollering, the first thing that come to my mind is fuck this I can get some money quicker than this. So I'm back where I started from back on the streets doing the same thing.

Bill—They don't let them go to school, you can't go to school. They say you owe us $28 a week so pay your rent.

Bill—I, got locked up, went to the federal penitentiary, from 71 to 74, right. I got out and I stayed out 8-9 years before I come up here and
started going back to jail. Don't nobody care no more. In the state of Iowa, they just warehouse you in warehouse you out. And they got drug programs, these little drug programs, and they get money from the feds or whatever for going you through these drug programs. And that's all they are concerned about. They holler about overcrowding us and every time you look up, they are sending you back for anything. I never could understand that, ya know. We ain't got no beds, no room, we ain't got money to feed ya. You go out here and get drunk, you going back to the penitentiary. It's a mental game, ya know it's a mind game, but they ain't do nothing for you.

Bill--Regardless how long you been gone, six months, a year, two years, whatever. You come to the halfway house, first day, this going to be putting in contact with your people, the man going to tell you well you got ninety minutes to go eat. How the fuck am I going to do with ninety minutes, I got four kids, I can't kiss no four kids in ninety minutes, I can't even hug my wife in ninety minutes. And then if you ain't got no transportation to get there and get back you're fucked.

Bill--You leave the penitentiary on a Tuesday, you come here, and you're broke for the whole week or two till they send your money from the penitentiary. What kind of shit is that? Ya know, I mean a man come home from the penitentiary they don't even give you gate money. They give you five dollars [and] bus fare. You got rent to pay, bus tokens to pay for. They make you buy sheets. They give us two sheets, pillow case, face towel, and a bath towel, and charge us fifteen dollars. And it ain't like do you want it, you got to take it. There ain't no option. They do that and that ain't right.

Bill--We coming straight from the penitentiary, they trying to take our money. And then you get your money, okay my money just come [from the
penitentiary], I owe for sheets, owe for bus tokens, I owe for my rent. You're automatically two weeks behind in rent, see what I'm saying. Then your counselor, I don't where, they get the power to take your money and spend it like they want to.

Bill—I didn't ask to come here and be put in the hole by your all program. Ya all know that when I come here it would take awhile for me to find a job.

Bill—They got frozen dinners, like if we ain't got nothing to eat they charge $1.59 for them, they don't give us nothing.

Bill— Shop lifting, some of these stores, some of these little cities you go into and get busted, they don't even have time for ya. This stuff ain't selling no way so I'm glad it's stolen, I'm glad it's missing. Some times I think those people put that stuff back there just for us thieves. They getting all that stuff marked off on taxes, they write it all off as stolen merchandize.

Bill—I don't like visits, I talks on the phone or writes. I never did like visits, even when I was in the federal [penitentiary], I don't even let my mamma in to see me.

Bill—I can't say that I really lost nothing, cause I never I really had nothing to lose. I'm a thief, but I'm not really a materialistic guy.

NOTE: Bill says that if he weren't boosting for drugs he wouldn't get caught. If he were only was boosting for domestic bills he could go on forever. He boosts all over the state. Bill reports that the best times for boosting at department stores are the first 10-15 minutes after the stores open because the employees are talking and drinking coffee together away from their work stations; also, the first snow storm; and, at six or seven o'clock in the evening and right before closing.
Mid-day is the worst time for shoplifting because the department stores have two overlapping work shifts, and twice the number of employees on duty.

Bill--I'm a thief and it's my job. If you catch me I'm going to jail, I ain't going to fight you, I ain't mad at you 'cause you got me. I mad at myself 'cause I'm the one that was a fool. You know that I'm a thief but you don't know when I'm coming.

Richards--Did you keep a calendar in prison?

Bill--No, it's too rough counting days. I couldn't do make your time too long, that's too rough.

Richards--Do you have any personal philosophy about how to do prison time?

Bill--Mind your business, leave other people business alone, be yourself, that what it is, be yourself.

Bill--Every time they tell us to use that Desert Storm stuff [surplus food being served in Iowa's prisons] we open it up and throw it away.

Richards--Now that you are at the work release facility, what are your plans?

Bill--Right now I'm just taking every day one day at a time. I ain't putting nothing definite together right now, you know. Right now I'm here. I'm still playing these peoples' program.
Biographical summary: Marty is a European-American male in his early twenties who is single with no children. He has a GED, some training in welding, and has worked as a laborer doing construction and in factories. He has been locked up almost continuously since he was fifteen years old, serving both juvenile and adult sentences with over six years in prison. Marty is an example of a "state raised youth" with a juvenile joint mentality (Irwin, 1970) who has adapted to prison through what Irwin (1970) terms "jailing." This young man has spent a third of his life behind bars, he is better adapted to "jailing" then being free.

Marty has taken enough abuse, enough damage-- like some old car that people kick, like an abandoned old car that collects dents in some back alley. He is the product of what happens when young men grow up in working class neighborhoods where drinking and drugs is epidemic and sporadic employment is a way of life. His family has moved out of state, did not bother to visit him in prison, and have abandoned him first to the juvenile justice system and now to the Department of Corrections.

Marty needs a plan to stay free; for example, he needs to make a deal with himself not to drink or smoke pot. He needs to strike a balanced deal with himself that takes care of the business of going to work and paying his bills and still allows for an occasional weekend evening for partying. Marty needs a big change in his "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959), an opportunity to play a different role.

Marty is a young man who is a walking talking personification of joint mentality as evidenced by his long hair, Harley-Davidson T-shirt and
penitentiary tattoos. He knows the rules and resources of the penitentiary but is barely familiar with the rules and resources of the "free world." He has a severely limited idea of what to do with his newly acquired "freedom." Walking out of prison, Marty is unable to recognize and locate conventional social structure.

Marty—I never lasted on a job more than a couple months. You think them guys out there working are doing good, man? Guys like me that are out there working eight hours a day they ain't got nothing. They can hardly put diapers on their kids.

Marty—Tired, man, sick to death. Seriously I'm tired. Gives me a gut feeling every time I think about it anymore. I used to never really care, man. But, now I just look around me, man, kids my age, and shit, man, got cars. I know buddies out there buying houses and shit. My age I went to school with them. Look at me, man, I got my friends' clothes on. Can't hardly stand it no more, ain't funny no more.

Marty—I would go for six months without a visit sometimes.

Richards—You went to Anamosa at age 19. Did You make friends while you were at Anamosa?

Marty—Lot of friends, lot of good friends, best friends that I ever had in my life. People who will do something for you, real people. You know you can walk into a joint down there and you are going to have a carton of cigarettes and shampoo, everything. And the cops don't give it to you.

Marty—I caught this case when I was 17, they waived me to adult court, see.
Marty--They were taking 70% of my state pay in the joint this last time. And I was making $1.50 a day. When I got in that fight down there they put me in lock up and stuff and put me on special status where I paid 70% restitution. Cause they said I cost them money for taking that guy to the hospital. Yea, they do that now, if you destroy state property they're gonna ding you on that restitution. See, I don't know if it carries over to the work release.

Note- Marty had a fight at while incarcerated at the Iowa Men's Reformatory at Anamosa. The institutional rule is that prisoners are charged for medical expenses and staff time that result from fighting. They may also be forced to pay for damages to state property, for example, damage to their cells or clothes. Marty was charged $300 for breaking another man's nose. His total restitution is $1800 which is deducted from his inmate pay.

Marty--All my family lives in Texas. They all moved out since I been in the joint. Me and my family not really close that much.

Marty--This broad brought me up some clothes and stuff. My other friend brought me up a couple pairs of pants and stuff. Come and got me today, took me to look for a job. Another guy I was in the joint with, matter of fact.

Marty--Annie [prisoner nickname for Anamosa] is the worst one for that too [overcrowding]. Fort Madison [Iowa State Penitentiary] got a [population] cap on it.

Marty--Education is out man. You need cash. You believe ninety-eight percent [of the prisoners] ain't got nothing.
Marty--Seems to me, you're gonna do what you're gonna do. I was around guys today man smoking and drinking. I just told them I can't do it and I didn't. Everybody I know does. And I can't go change my whole world. You know what I'm saying. I just can't do it. I wouldn't want to do. I wouldn't be happy like that. They are my friends, you know. They all tell me just wait, you know. They don't try to force it on me or nothing. Half of them are convicts themselves. They know what time it is. I don't know, I think you're going to do what you're going to do. If I wasn't in here I'd be out having a beer and smoking some pot having fun with my friends.

Marty--When my class graduated, I was in the joint, man, straight up. Their graduation day I was in the joint.

Marty--Grew up on the south side of Des Moines. Middle class, ya know, maybe a lit bit under middle class, working people neighborhood.

NOTE: Every night after conducting my interviews as I walk out of this work release center, I notice the correctional officers watching television together in their office. They act more like parking attendants than correctional staff. This particular work release center has forty men, straight out of prison, many of whom are having severe difficulties with reentry to the community. These officers should be talking and socializing with their work release prisoners. These convicts need to interact with conventional people, not just with each other. These guards have a cop attitude and little imagination. This con-cop bipolar role playing needs to be overcome.

Marty--Where are these straight people, where would be a place where straight people hang out?
Richards--The trouble with drinking and drugs is it becomes a very small world. Because you only do drugs with people you trust. So, you hang out with the same group of people. You have to score something, pay for it, and then go over to somebody's house and do it. While you are doing that the world is going on without you. While you are busy getting wasted "straight people" are busy working, buying homes, and raising their families.

Case #4: Steve

Biographical summary: Steve is a European-American in his late-thirties with a GED and two years of junior college. He is divorced with three children; he says he has no idea where his children are living. He is an ex-marine, a Vietnam combat veteran. Steve is an over-the-road Teamster truck driver. He has served two prison sentences for a total of nearly five years behind bars. Steve is a man with both a dangerous temper and a number of interesting skills. While in prison he discovered music and art, and has become an accomplished artist with an impressive portfolio and a number of prizes in state wide competitions. Steve is an example of a "gleaner" (Irwin, 1970), a man who while in prison used his time to actively improve himself.

Steve--I believe in the Union, ain't because nobody stick up for you but you. It's just like being a convict, it's us and it's them. Just like with working class, there's you and there's them. [He calls minimum wage work "rent-a-slave."]

Steve--I can't drive [truck for his employment] right now cause these yahoos [work release correctional officers] can't check on me.
NOTE: Steve normally makes $12.50 an hour as an over-the-road Teamster truck driver. He is presently being paid $4.65 an hour for "walking the dog and playing cards" at the same union trucking company he worked for before going to prison. The work release center rules will not allow him to assume his former job as truck driver because the staff are unable to supervise his whereabouts while he is on the road driving truck; correctional staff must be able to locate work release prisoners by phone while they are at work.

Steve—My crime is violent. I held the cops off for four hours. I held one at gun point for two hours. I understand it. Hey, I understand it. I'm satisfied with what I'm doing right now.

Steve—This [work release facility] ain't like the joint. I mean if you got a problem with your roommate, you can't drill him or dot his eye. You got to work it out, sometimes it's tough.

Steve—It's like I told them tonight, told my counselor. I don't like you. I don't like the people who work here. I don't like this building. I don't like the prison system. I don't like none of you. I don't like nothing about you. And that's why I'm not going back. I don't want this. This is not my home. I'm staying out. I want out of here as soon as I can possibly can because I know I can make it. I know what I want. I don't want to go back. I'm tired of being on a leash.

Steve— I found out how to make it through a halfway house. They [correctional staff] said, "How's that?" You just don't go down on them you got to swallow too. Because if you don't swallow it ain't going to happen. You got to go all the way or none, ya know. I've learned to swallow and swallow.
Steve—Take count every night, they take count all the time. I'm still in prison, "bub." The only thing they did was give me enough rope to hang myself, that's all this is.

Steve—I can't furlough to a girl's house overnight unless I can prove that I'm divorced, even though I haven't seen her [ex-wife] in six years. Until I have legal proof that I'm separated or divorced. I don't even know where she's at [the work release center doesn't want to be sued for alienation of affection]. It's stupid, another stupid rule, but I swallowed.

Steve—I did four years, eleven months, and seventeen days. The first one was two nickels running together. I was only in for five months, out for two months, and came back with a dime.

NOTE: Men may serve five, ten, or twenty-five year sentences. Prisoners call this doing nickels, dimes, and quarters on the small change installment plan.

Steve—I just didn't want to go back [to prison]. I knew. I just shot at these guys. I'm on parole. I'm drunk. I'm tripping. I've been drinking for three days. They took my blood and it was almost four points alcohol. I was forty thousand feet and cruising and I wasn't looking for no landing strip. I decided I'm not going back to jail. I'm going out fighting. They're going to have to pry this gun from my cold dead hand. They asked me, they wanted to talk to me and I opened up on them [the local police].

Steve—Basically, I was suicidal. I hated myself. I hated life. I hated you. And then I was suicidal and I had a gun and I had over three hundred rounds of shells. My whole life is out of control, but that night I was in control. I just started getting that "PMS," poor me shit.
Steve--George [police officer] saved my life. I thanked him for it too in county jail. The state of Iowa couldn't do nothing to me. They [the police] saved my life.

Note: Steve went to Viet Nam at age 17 in 1971. While on parole and after three days of massive consumption of drugs and alcohol, he decided to secure the perimeter around his rural home, tape ammunition clips together and have a "fire fight" with local law enforcement officers. He did not wound any police officers but he did succeed in doing considerable damage to a number of police cars totaling thousands of dollars. The police did not return his gun fire. Law enforcement officials managed to talk him into surrendering himself. Steve was greatly impressed by the police officers' display of courage and professional judgement; he said, "They didn't arrest me, they rescued me."

Steve--I did eight months in solitary max max. I know I loved it. They couldn't hurt me. They helped me. It was like a sanctuary. It was like the world turned upside down so I could relate to it. I got pain which I never knew how to deal with. I stuffed it. And when it came out it came out backwards, upside down, totally inside out, and wrong, when it did come out. And that's when I got in trouble. I've been arrested twenty-six times. Most of them is assaults carrying guns. I got a fixation with guns. And I'm a big boy. I got twenty-two inch arms. I wear eighteen and a half shirts. And it's not all fat. I work out with 310 [pounds], that's what I warm up with when I bench. I can squat 680 [pounds]. And I didn't have much trouble in the joint cause there wasn't that many people bigger than me.
NOTE: Steve's pain is that he has been playing the same role, the tough guy, for too long. This is a person of considerable intellectual capacity. I can see where, given his intelligence, truck driving would lead him to frustration. He is also very intimidating. His mother was an alcoholic and he has had five step fathers. I think he has spent most his life beating up men that remind him of his step fathers. At the conclusion of the interview, Steve spent the next hour showing me his art portfolio. He had never worked as an artist before going to prison. His work is beautiful. This man has been "out of place" his whole life. Locked up inside this ex-marine-Vietnam combat vet-truck driver- scooter tramp biker-thug-drunk-drugged convict is an artist. We talked together about his plan for studying art and making a new role for himself. Upon completing our conversation, he gave me a big hug.

Steve—I'm an artist. I took first place in State Fair this year. I can back up what I'm saying. I got a portfolio that will kick your ass.

Steve—I hate cops. I can't help it. They handcuffed me to the bars until I pissed in my pants. They beat me. They treated me like shit. They took away everything I ever loved. I hate them. I got to get over that. I don't like cops. Cops can do whatever they want to do. But if they touch me, if they put their hands on me, it's off to the rodeo, "bub." Because I'm jamming them. I don't care. I'll dot their eye. They ain't no different. And that's why I'm the most dangerous person that you probably ever met.

Steve—I couldn't even write a letter. I couldn't even spell words when I first got locked up. I was in DTs. I thought I was going to die. I went cold turkey. When my mind cleared, the longer I stayed clean, the more clear and clearer and clearer my
mind became, the better and better I did at my art work. The better and better I could read and write. I got back into Shakespeare and Poe.

NOTE: If a person has a high I.Q., but have been born to the working class, there may be precious little opportunity for intellectual expression, especially working as a truck driver. Steve needs to locate in society a place to exercise the higher functions of his brain.

Steve—I feel I got this sign across my back, ya know convict. I walk like a convict. I carry myself like one. You can't come up behind me, nobody can.

Richards—Every month out of prison it will wear off. Learn a repertoire of interacting with people where you modulate your voice. Big guys, because of the way they walk and talk, tend to scare people. It is important to learn how to smile; smile with your eyes and voice. Men forget how to smile in prison. Macho men stereotype themselves, they limit their own presentation and exploration of self.

Richards—While in prison did you have visits from family and friends? How many visits per year?

Steve—Yes, and I didn't want them. I had three visits in five years. I also hated to have my family put through that degrading crap. I was ashamed. Just what they had to go through to get in to see me. The way that they were talked to. I hated the visits. It wasn't my family. It was just me that couldn't deal with it. I'd rather be alone, but then I get scared being alone. So it's like "catch twenty-two. Stir crazy, I have to do something. Snap is what I call it, I'd snap.

Steve—I give them counselors a run for they're money. I look at it is that their there, I'm going to
take all the benefit I can, ya know. I was even told I'm too honest. I going to do more time because of my honesty, things like that. They said some shit blew me away for them being counselors. I thought they were there to help me? Some of them were there from eight to four wanted to pick up that pay check. I said that to one counselor and she started crying. I realize right then that wasn't her, she really cared. She wasn't just there from eight to four to pick up her check once a week. I made her cry and I felt really bad. I talked to her a lot.

Steve—That's the main thing I missed being locked up all those years. Just being held. I mean I cared about sex, but it didn't seem important. Just somebody to hug me and tell me it was okay, just tell me it was okay. If you can understand?

NOTE: My first night visiting the work release facility I thought these men needed to be hugged. They have taken a lot of damage, spent a long time in a cold place. They need less supervision, fewer rules, and more hugs. These men need hugs and somebody to say they care. These men have been treated like sub-human throw away trash. This con/cop stereotype is what we all trip over.

Steve—I've gained self worth, insight, identity, top it off with life. You can't change anybody that don't want to change. You can't do it. I don't care how many "fricken" programs you got. You hire the best psychologists, the best psychiatrists, and it ain't going to make a god damn bit of difference unless that individual wants to change. That's why there are so many returning [to prison].

Richards—Did you keep a calendar in prison?

Steve—My ritual at night was to make my X. Time went fast. I didn't let my do me, I did it. Got to do
that the time, got to take command of it [spoken like a "gleaner"].

Steve—Sex is one thing you can go without the longest and catch up on the quickest. One time you caught up.

NOTE: If you lock somebody up for 24 hours a day seven days a week we should be able to change their behavior. If the prison system really worked we could change people's behavior in one or two years.

Case #5: Bob

Biographical summary: Bob is a Mexican-American in his mid-forties who graduated from high school while serving time at Fort Madison, the Iowa State Penitentiary. He has worked as a union meat cutter, a union iron worker, a certified welder, and at an assortment of construction and factory jobs. Bob is divorced with one child. Beginning as a teenager he has served five separate prison sentences for a total of nearly twelve years in prison. Bob is presently completing a twenty year sentence for armed robbery.

Bob—They started me out at $5.60. That's less than half of what I was making before [went to prison]. But it's a job, something to live off. It's kind of hard for me to accept a job paying a low wage like that. But when you are only making like $62 a month in the joint, $5.60 [an hour] is a lot. You know what I mean? Lot of overtime. Usually I work any where from 9 to 10 hours a day six days a week.
NOTE: Bob is working in a non-union packing plant which employs approximately eighty people. A number of men from the work release facility are employed in the plant.

Bob--Now I'm just trying to get back on my feet again. First time I've been in the half way house, you know. I do like it [work release center] because it's the closest thing to freedom that I have. I get to go to work everyday. I get to go to furloughs and meetings, stuff like that, you know. To me it's not really that much of a structured environment, you know. What they do is at this place is they play a lot of head games, you know. They give you enough rope to hang yourself. It happened to me over the holidays. I got into a party with some people Christmas and New Years and stuff. I had to suffer the consequences, lost all my points. I was maxed out. I could of been out this month if it hadn't been for that, you know. Now, I'm just trying to get back into society.

Bob--I have accepted what I'm making now. I got no choice. I feel good about earning an honest living. I've accumulated a little bit of money, nothing much to speak of, but I'm not broke. I'm surviving, paying my bills, and I'm eating every day. I feel good about that. But, I would feel much better if I could make ten bucks [an hour] or over. That to me would make me more content. Feel better about myself too, you know. Then I would feel like I'm worth something.

Bob--I'm at an age now where I'm slowing down. I value my freedom more. I'm very grateful to be at this place [work release center]. I got more freedom here than I could actually ask for. I'm really grateful for that. I'm tired of doing time, man. Being in a cell, having to stand up for a count, and
told what to do all the time. Just being a number, you know. Not really being a person, you know.

Bob--Making that kind of money [$10 an hour] I can get by, pay my bills and build a little nest. I don't want to be rich, but I don't want to be poor either. I just want to live comfortable. And if I can make ten dollars an hour or better, I can live comfortable. I won't have to resort to any crime. Because I've made that kind of money before and I didn't get into no trouble when I was making that kind of money. I worked in a packing house for seven and half years. And didn't have no problems at all. Yea, I went out and got drunk once in a while, raise a little hell, maybe got into a fight, stuff like that. But I didn't have to resort to doing any robberies, selling drugs, or anything like that, or anything out of the ordinary, you know.

Bob--My [police] record goes all the way back to 1963 actually.

Bob--See, both of my parents are deceased. My brother and sister don't even know that I'm doing time. They don't even know I'm here. And I'd rather keep it that way. I don't need them to know that I'm fucking up. They are doing good, my brother is successful and my sister's got a good marriage. I don't want to bring any bad news on them or bad feelings on them. I'm kind of alone by myself, you know. And it's hard when you don't have anybody to turn to. Right now I've got this place [work release center], they are very supportive.

Richards--Did you keep a calendar in prison? Did you mark the days?

Bob--I did in the beginning [laugh]. Then after that I said, "Hell, I'm going to be here for a while [20 year sentence]."
Richards—Do you have any personal philosophy about how to do prison time?

Bob—Yea, my philosophy is like do your own time and not somebody else's time, you know. Don't get into any debts, you know gambling. Stay away from drugs. Run with some good people who will back you up if you ever do need them.

Bob—Just get tired of being poor. Yea, that's right. I want to be looked up to too, just like the people that are living the good life, you know. I just want a taste of that luxury, to find out what [is] so good about having these things, you know. There is only one way to find out and that's to do what I got to do to accumulate that. You know and I did. I stuck my neck out and took a big risk.

Bob—Here I am seventeen years old. And I got, you know, pocket change $1,000 in my pocket. I wasn't wearing jeans, I was wearing $100 pair of shoes back then, you know. I'm wearing nice pants, sharkskin slacks, stuff like that. Suit for every day of the week. Top coats and all that. I got jewelry. I got girlfriends, you know. Everything going for me at seventeen years old, you know. I felt like I was sitting on top of the world. And I wasn't about to stop. There was no limit to what I could accumulate, or what I wanted to accumulate. It was to prove to myself, and to prove to others, you know, that okay, maybe I didn't have a high school diploma, I didn't have no college, but look at what I can do. You know what I'm saying? I got the potential, you know, to be somebody. Maybe even at my age now [44]. I mean I could still, you know, make it some way. But I would like to make it legit this time.

Bob—I definitely don't want to make it [penitentiary] a retirement home. I feel if I ever go back, again, it's going to be for a big one, you know. And I would hate for it to be something like
murder, because then I would have to spend the
rest of my life in there.

NOTE: Bob has been serving time of the installment plan since he was 17 years
old. His parents are both native born Mexican. He grew up in a New York City
housing project. He is an example of a hard working person who has lived his
life alternating between both legitimate and illegitimate employment. He has
endeavored to make the most of alternative opportunity structures (Cloward and
Ohlin, 1960) when necessary. Together we discussed the reality of his present
situation coming out of prison, living at the work release facility, and working
for five dollars an hour. He told me that he would rather work a straight job if
he could find some work that pays better. He is determined to give up crime,
unless he gets the opportunity for "one big scam." I reminded him that coming
out of prison he has no resources for bail and private attorneys, no resources to
defend himself against future criminal charges. An ex-con with Bob's prior
record, without money for bail and lawyers, is in a precarious situation upon
subsequent arrest. Bob, as a seasoned convict, understood that his discussion of
"one big scam" was penitentiary talk, convict bravado, and an invitation to
continued recidivism.
APPENDIX B. SELECTED INTERVIEWS OF COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS STAFF

Introduction

I repudiate the high priests of individual salvation and the sob sisters of altruism, who exchange commonplace partial responsibility for the aesthetic transports of cosmohistorical guilt or the gratuitous slogans of universal love. I refuse to emulate these Sunday-school clowns and prefer—I know my limitations—to be the skeptical bureaucrat that I am. My highest aspiration is that a medium-rank, utterly insignificant civil servant should, as far as possible, live with his eyes open (George Konrad, 1974).

The following provides correctional staff with an opportunity to express their views in their own words about the problems of prison release, work release, and recidivism. I have selected three interviews, one each of a residential director of a work release facility, a residential counselor, and a correctional job developer. These are dedicated professionals with years of experience and service in Iowa corrections. Their views are presented without analysis. I have added my own observations as notes and commentary. The interviews have been edited, for example, names have been deleted.

NOTE: The average stay for the man at the residential work release center is 100 days. Only about 50% of the work release prisoners make it through the program. Those men who fail the work release program are sent back to prison to complete their sentences and serve time until mandatory release or they are granted another opportunity to attempt work release.
Interview #1: Residential Director of Work Release Center

Director—As long as I know we have given it a good honest effort, we have treated people fairly... I try to treat people with respect, treat them like they are individuals rather than, you know, some lower class of life of some sort, like you see happening some places. We do , we use a lot of humor, or the place will get you down, it really will.

Director—No, failed UA [urine analysis for drugs] is not going to send them back [to prison]. That's not what generally happens. We get guys here they will get bad UA after bad UA. That's not going to fail them. That's just a symptom. What I'm talking about is the substance abuse and the things that accompany that, the bad decision making. They don't become rational beings anymore. They become driven by another whole set of rules and regulations. You know, they don't think what's the program any more, they are thinking about the drug. That's what generally sends them back. If a man is getting [bad] UA's here we don't send him back [to prison] for that. Now, if they [the prisoners] bring a drug into this facility and I catch them red handed with some drug on them then they are going to go back. I have a zero tolerance program here as far as substance abuse within this facility. If I find them using drugs in here, or having drugs in their possession, they're gone. If they come in and we take a UA on them, it's dirty, we will try to get them into treatment. And we will work with them. They may have repeated dirty UA's. At some point in time, if they don't appear that they are investing in some program to control that, that will then get them sent back. We just don't just send that many people back. Most of them are new charges or abscondions. Twenty-five percent of that fifty percent that go back are probably absconders. You break that absconders down, a high percentage are probably substance abusers. They got back into
drinking or drugs. The other big reason people go back is just relationships. They are not able to deal with relationships in the community, girlfriends, wives. Something goes sour. They are not able to cope with the problems. They make bad decisions. Their decision making processes are flawed.

NOTE: The prisoners make the wrong decision because they are alcohol or drug dependent. The work release director identifies the major problems of his clients as chemical abuse, relationships with their families and significant others, and poor decision making.

Director—I really feel those are the problem[s], substance abuse, drugs and alcohol, both being substances that are abused. Relationships with the opposite sex, maybe the same sex in some cases. Outside relationships and decision making, those are the big areas that I feel are their problems and the reason they don't make it.

NOTE: Many of these prisoners are unhappy with their employment opportunities. They need better jobs that pay them a family wage. These men are not adequately prepared for release from prison. Few of them have any real plans for finding employment. Many of these men, upon release from prison, go directly home to the same small towns where they had been originally arrested. Because they have just coming out of prison and no longer have the resources to pay for attorneys to beat minor charges, like drunk driving, they are easy targets for being rearrested and having their paroles violated.

Director—We try to encourage them not to go back [small town] for those same reasons. Because we
know that there if something goes wrong that's the first person they look at in that community. I grew up in small town Iowa. I know every time something goes wrong, you know there is those three or four families in town that they say he's back at it again. So they [the local police] go knocking on the door.

Director--The fact of the matter is that people are not really getting violated all that much. A drunken driving [charge] would probably qualify for a revocation because it would be a conviction on a new charge. People with dirty UA's and possession and so forth they are not doing an awful lot with those folks. They are trying to put them through treatment. These officers are working awfully darn hard right now because of the overcrowding right now. They are having to exhaust all resources and work with people two three times where they would of [have] only worked with them once. I think that the clients are some what naive. Some of them [the prisoners] have a big misconception about what they can really get away with on parole and probation.

Richards--What would you do if you were the Governor of the State of Iowa and you had unlimited resources and you could write your own legislation, from the top down you had new resources, new money?

Director--First of all I don't think you are going to cure a problem, totally cure the problem right now, with longer sentencing. Longer sentencing creates more problems. I think what you would have to do is continue to work with community resources as much as possible. I'm really sold on residential facilities being an alternative. I have to be or I wouldn't be with it this long. I've been here since 1975. I see the smaller facilities as the way to go. I think that he is going to have to add bed space. I don't see any way around adding bed space. Although you don't want to do that, and that's
costly, that brick and mortar stuff is always costly. I don't see any way around doing that. You are going to have to add some bed space. There are some people that are slipping through the cracks right now that really shouldn't be on the street. Contrary to what people think right now I don't think there are too many people in the institution that don't belong there. There are a few but not too many. Most of the people who have been in institutions right now have had several opportunities for release and have failed everything.

I would throw more money at the institutions in the form of training and education. I think that it is unconscionable for a person to come out of an institution without an education. And it happens, it happens all the time. You talk to people that did take some courses. But you can also talk to people that just flat refuse to do anything about their education.

NOTE: The missing link in rehabilitative treatment is rebuilding the clients' self-esteem, reversing the process of degradation. Prisons are teaching welding, auto body, and printing-- these occupations are not in demand in today's economy. Printing is a good program, but the prison training is with out-dated technology. Prisons need to provide up-to-date occupation training that will prepare men upon release to gain well paid employment.

Director-- I think that there are a number of things that need to be done within the institutions, [for example] education, [and] viable training. And I'm not talking about welding. I'm not talking about stamping license plates or dry cleaning, or some of the things they've tried in the past using antiquated equipment. I think that they ought to get into the computer field, computer repair, some of the fields that are viable in today's economy. They don't
even tie anything to today's economy. You can't place a welder in the city of Des Moines, hardly. Those people who are in the institution have failed, failed, and failed. They failed at being a student, through the juvenile justice system, through the adult justice system, probation and parole, they failed them all, and they are in there. Now you have to do something with them.

Director—If you had unlimited resources you could plunk one of them [small residential community facility for prisoners] down here for 100 people. And I still think that's probably less money to do it that way then to build a gigantic prison, and probably going to be more productive in the long run.

Richards—Is that because when you have a small correctional unit you know everybody?

Director—You know people and you can staff it and you have a better relationship, you bet. You can also isolate people out a little better, out of that population. Leave Fort Madison and Anamosa alone to hold the hard core that do want to do nothing, you know [who] you can't do anything with. You are going to have Fort Madison soon full of lifers and nothing else. It's something that is a fact of life, it's got to be there. Under today's rules of society we got to have some place to hold those folks. We've got to have larger jails because the jails' population are overcrowded. You have got to give more bed space to folks, whether they be at the work release level, minimum security level, jails level. You have got to give that bed space to slow this whole damn thing down to where people can really work with people again. You have got to add staff to the point where you can bring case loads down to a manageable level so you can get to know these people, and you can work with them.

NOTE: Work release case loads are approximately 20 men per counselor.

Probation and parole case loads may range from 60 to 160. The director of the
work release center suggests that men leaving prison have not been adequately prepared for release; they don't have the education, employment skills, or prior notification to properly orientate themselves to be successful at work release. Many men are actually surprised by their release, they had insufficient notice of their release date. The director also supports the ideas of reinstating prison furloughs as a means of giving the men an opportunity to prepare themselves for transfer to the work release facilities; prepare themselves by scouting out their home situation and finding a job.

Director—Down there in the institution [the prisons], I would hate to have someone from the institution take exception to this: What I see happening is there is a waiting list. I don't know that there is a hell of a lot of work that goes on with that individual prior to the time that he is to be released. Has that counselor really sat down and tried to work [to] prepare that guy for release? I don't think so. They are jerking a guy out of a cell or off his work detail and saying, "Here pack your stuff you are going to Newton, your bus leaves in an hour." That's the kind of thing I see happening. That's the stories we hear.

There is not a heck of a lot of time for that individual to get a mind set about what he is going to try to do or try to accomplish while he's on work release. Maybe that somewhere along the line did take place but then with our waiting list we got with the halfway house maybe that was three months ago. He [the prisoner] still has to get that mind set going to say: "Okay, you know I've got to do this. I'm going to do that. I'm going to really try to do this. I'm going to try to avoid that." He is probably thinking about that on the way here, on the bus. And then we bring him in here and nail him with all the rules and regulations in an
orientation and he's just spinning. We know that that's a problem.

NOTE: Iowa needs to rebuild a "real" pre-release program at Newton; a program with furloughs, expanded visitation, employment counseling, and orientation classes specifically developed to aid the prisoner upon release. For example, the program should include classes in family and parenting skills (some of this is currently operating at Newton and Mitchelville), a program to aid the men in getting back their civil rights, driver's license, and building a wardrobe of appropriate street clothes.

Many of these men are destined to a life serving prison sentences on the installment plan because they continue to fail at prison release. One of the reasons why they fail at prison release is because they are being shuffled from the penitentiary and reformatory to the work release facilities without adequate preparation. For example, prison inmates within the penitentiary walls must wear prison uniforms, the "prison blues," as a precaution against escape. Why are these men being released from prison wearing prison uniforms? No wonder, upon release from prison, wearing these uniforms, they are nervous and scared. Considering what they are wearing their first few days back on the street, it is a miracle that they haven't been shot as escaped convicts by the police.

It is important to prepare these men with the proper clothes, haircut, and appropriate social skills to "pass " on the street; they need to learn to smile, soften and modulate their voices. Oakdale is the entrance and classification center for the Iowa Department of Corrections. The system needs an exist point that serves to prepare the men for release. The Riverview Release Center at
Newton needs additional funding and staff to build a sophisticated and professional pre-release program.

Director--I think that that needs to be a natural progression in the chain again. From there it needs to slow down, bring it back in there, let's do those steps, let's hammer those things into these people, let's work with them. Get it to a natural progression again. Get it going again. We did that years ago. We did it and we had a seventy some percent success rate. We are not doing it now. We are getting a fifty some success rate. And believe it or not, we are working harder than ever with people, working with resources that we have never worked with before, in manners that we have never done before. We are knocking our brains out and getting less pay back. The system is just not working properly. I think there needs to be a change in attitudes too, there needs to be that slow down. Because then you can run a program where they know where they stand. Right now they know they can get away with a whole bunch of stuff. I think in some areas you should run a zero tolerance program. With a zero tolerance program comes some returns [to prison]. Just got to slow the whole thing down. It takes money and resources to do that, and we don't have it.

We never used to have as much chemical abuse as we got now. They knew if they got drinking reports they'd go back. Now they get drinking reports after drinking report. We send them to treatment. They get drinking report after drinking report, you know. Yea, I'm sure they learn something by it. We have some really good resources right now that are really doing some good things with people. I think we need to keep those in tack and really work with people that are trying.

Director--We get ninety-eight percent of them [federal prisoners] through the facility, ninety-nine
percent maybe, it is pretty damn high, as opposed to fifty percent of the state people. Why is that?

Richards—I think the feds are selective in who they indict and convict. They don't indict the bottom of the social ladder. They indict the middle class and above.

Director—Sure, and that makes a big difference. I'm sure their [the Federal Bureau of Prisons] clientele has something to do with that.

Richards—I have noticed that a lot of these men come from really poor backgrounds. So they come back to the streets, whether they use drugs and alcohol, they are coming home to a poor world. A lot of your guys are coming from working class or lower class backgrounds. The fed guys are coming from higher income to begin with.

Director—That's true, there is no doubt about that.

Richards—I have noticed that a lot of these men were granted probation, then they blew probation.

Director—There is just not a lot of people locked up in that joint that are a first time offender. You bet ya. You will find that routinely. They failed school, they failed as a juvenile, they failed at two or three probation opportunities, including maybe residential at Fort Des Moines. Absconded or failed there. They failed and went back to probation again, and failed again. Finally, the judge said, "That's enough I'm going to lock you up."

Richards—I have heard almost no complaints, very little critical commentary, about work release staff from the residents. I heard over and over again from the men that they were not arrested they were rescued. These men have very low self-esteem. Everything in their life tells them that they are zero. I see this as what leads them back to using drugs and alcohol.
There is no attention paid to the parental role of male prisoners. These men are treated like they do not have parental obligations and concerns. They need staff assigned to helping these men link back up with their families and children.

Director--We do work with people. That's the key, you do listen to them, you talk with them, you treat them as equals, and you work with them.

Director--I really feel that this is the ideal setting myself. I think the apartment style with the way we are operating it I don't see it as a threat to the community. They have to do all their own cooking, meal preparation, purchasing of food, the same thing you and I do on a weekly basis we take for granted. Some of these guys have just never done it, never done it. One of the things we don't do here is probably take it one step further and really actively pursue doing classes in how to do that efficiently.

Director--I've personally taken people down to the grocery store and said, "Okay, look how much money you got. Now what are we going to with this."

Director--There isn't someone here that can always find someone within this staff to relate to, always. If they are willing to put forth some effort on their own they can make it through this program. That fifty percent that failed, a very very high percentage of those people if they would stick it out with the program, and not give up on themselves and abscond, would have made it through this program. And could have successfully completed this program and could probably be out there on parole. Maybe fail after they get out on parole, I don't know. But even if they stayed out [of prison] six weeks longer than they did before maybe that's a success. I don't know where you measure the success rate on some people.
Richards--Men abscond and escape from work release?

Director--Go out to work, go out on pass, and we never see them again. Say we deal with a one hundred and twenty people last year. About twenty-five, twenty-six, twenty-seven of those people just ran off. Some of them ran off before they even got here. They were released from the door of the institution, put on a bus to come here, and somewhere got off in between. The law says from running off from here or the grounds should be five years. If you run off from work or furlough, it's suppose to be a year consecutive. In reality, what happens is if they get themselves a halfway decent public defender they can plea bargain that to a guilty plea with maybe three months consecutive.

Richards--Another correctional counselor characterized these men as "hapless". He told me that in his opinion they stumble through life in any way they can without any direction.

Director--I don't think that we deal with many people that are very successful criminals, that's for sure. I some what buy that. They don't seem to have much direction. And they have not had much successes in their lives, that's for sure. I know many of them are their own worse enemy. They just make bad decisions, that's all there is to it.

Richards--Maybe part of the reason why these men continue to make bad decisions is because they are, as you said, "spinning" from being subjected to institutional movement from one facility to another.

Director--I don't know if it really hurts them to move them. For some folks if you move them around they can't build themselves a power base, that they do in some places. From a management level, correctional management level, there are reasons to move people. I think they need to slow
it down some. Even if they are moving them, they need to slow it down and let people get their feet on the ground again. I think that they need to be working toward some sort of goal when they are moving them. If each step were a step closer, or a specific planned program, phased program for instance, where the people could feel like they were progressing.

Richards--The academic literature on prison release suggests that there is a dramatic contradiction between the requirements of custody and the need for rehabilitation programs.

Director--It's true. It's almost like you need a catchment like Fort Madison (Iowa State Penitentiary) to catch those people who are trouble makers and just leave them there, and let those people be.

Director--Another area that I think needs to be addressed, that a certain number of these people have mental problems that really need to be addressed. And we don't have any place, as far as I'm concerned, that's equipped to deal with some of these folks who have really major psychiatric problems. Those people need to be isolated out and put into a unit somewhere and dealt in a more clinical fashion.

We have mainstreamed a lot of folks who are low functioning, not necessarily mentally ill. And some who are mentally ill. They have mainstreamed a lot of those folks. And I can't help but believe that some of them that I see, well I know they are, because some of the people we see need sheltered workshops. They are that limited. There is just no place for them. And I don't think the correctional system really deals very well with those folks.

Then you throw those people out there without a net. What happens is we catch some of them in our net, and we don't know what to do with them. We house them, we push then off
here, we push them off there. Then they finally push them to me at a work release center. Believe it or not, I don't have even have resources to deal with some of these people here. And we do it, you know. They can function quite adequately at this level in a work release setting. That's not the problem. I can house them here. I don't have any problem with them. Give me a whole house full of them. I love them. They are very easy for me to manage here. Once I release them out there, what will they go back to? They go back to that same mainstream site situation and get caught up in it all again and go back [to jail or prison].

Richards--Many of the prisoners that I interviewed expressed the idea that they were really tired of prison.

Director--The majority of people reach that point, some earlier then others. But everyone reaches that. If you could isolate that and turn them out at that point, and could really do something with them at that point, you would never see them again. But those people really need a lot of help at that time, and I don't think they always get it. Isolating that time is also very difficult. For every one that's real, eight or nine that aren't.

Director--Ultimately, if they will be honest with themselves, they will tell you that they are really the one at fault, no one else caused them to go back but their own behavior.

Director--They realize that they can't, after they are here for awhile, they realize that the community is so costly that they can't make it on two or three hundred dollars. They have to save a little bit more. They realize that for the first time in their lives, at twenty-eight dollars a week (rent) in a work release center, and having to provide their own food and clothing, they can actually save money.
Note: Work release prisoners are charged either four, seven, or twelve dollars a day rent for their bed in a work release center, depending on the facility and their status; for example, OWI prisoners are charged twelve dollars a day rent. These men are paying $120, $210, or $360 rent a month plus 20% deduction for restitution. This rent charge does not cover food. The rent is deducted from their paychecks. Most of the prisoners are stone broke or in debt to the work release center for back rent. Some of the prisoners with good jobs have their rent paid up and are building a saving account that is kept with the work release center.

Director—They have that paycheck, they have got a regular job, they have some work history to offer people when they get out of here, they're linked with community as far as outside resources, whether that be Polk County Mental Health, whether it be AA, or a more sophisticated alcohol treatment out-patient program. Family services, whatever it is, we have already gotten them linked, they are attending, they're doing these things. Basically they have been given a leg up if they will just utilize it, and continue to do it.

Note: The men are being released from prison wearing prison clothes that are called "prison blues" because they wear a blue shirt, blue jeans, and blue denim jacket.

Richards—How long has it been that you been seeing them walk in here wearing prison blues?

Director—Well they have always done that, oh yea, forever. Even when they dressed people out, they really didn't dress them out in clothing that was really appropriate. You could pretty much pick them out in a crowd no matter what. I'm not sure
it has to be that way, but that's the way it's always been. The shoes are a big give away most of the time. If they could get a stock of clothing that was varied enough, that would fit in, I think that probably would help. I certainly don't like to see them come in here [wearing prison blues] because that's one of the first things we have to deal with. The work release prisoner says, "I don't have appropriate clothing to job search."

Director—I don't know what the answer to that [street clothes] is. At some point in time they need to address that, whether it be at the institution or give us enough money and resources here to be able to do it, one or the other. But it needs to be addressed, that is a problem. If we had a pre-release center that certainly would be the appropriate place to deal with those kinds of issues. Fortunately, what we are talking about here is probably turning back the clock on what was done in corrections ten or fifteen years ago.

Richards—Before it got so overcrowded?

Director—Before it got nuts, yea. I don't know if the system keeps growing, if it's [a] defeating system and it just continues, it's like a snowball rolling down hill just picking up speed and size. I don't know. It's becoming almost a society of itself as many people we are pushing through it. Subculture or something.

Director—I say, look, to get through here you got to not drink not use drugs. If you are going to use them don't bring them in here for God's sake. Don't commit a new crime. Tell me the truth. If you are going some place, you go where you tell me. Don't go some place else. Tell me if you are going to go some place else. I don't have any problem with that. Just keep me informed. Don't lie to me. Basically that is the key to the whole thing. The whole key beyond that is self discipline.
We try to deal with people appropriately here. When they hired me here, one of the first things my supervisor said was one of the things we are dedicated to is getting a person safely into the program and safely out of the program. We try to get it done the best way we can.

Interview # 2: Residential Counselor

Counselor—That's a major problem in the whole correctional system. We have people that you would call special needs clients, either people that have diagnosed psychiatric illness or that have real low function, either borderline retarded or retarded. Those are the special needs clients [who] get passed over a lot of the time. They just don't have the resources. You know you are dealing with counselors in the institutions [where] the case loads are eighty ninety a hundred guys. You are also dealing with very few psychologists and I think they have maybe a couple psychiatrists on staff. So, there is really no treatment for people in the institutions. Then of course institutions is more of a management situation, warehousing. For a guy like _____he just kind of got caught up in the big wheel. There really is no treatment.

NOTE: Welcome to the Warehouse: Prisons and work release centers are more concerned with day to day security, the "orderly operation of the institution," than with treatment.

Counselor—If a person is failing the program we will terminate his stay here pretty readily.

Richards—Most of these men have leveled aspirations; they think in terms of working class jobs.
Counselor--I tell them to state on the application that they would like to discuss that [the question on the employment application that inquires about criminal records] with them personally in interview. Then when the opportunity arises to be stone cold honest about things in terms of their custody status, their crime, why they're here, how long they're here, about this house. I found, and this comes from talking to employers in the area, that they appreciate when the guy levels with them completely. I told the guys to say they need a break. They are in a situation where they need to get a job here to satisfy the program. But, yes, I would like to discuss this face to face with you.

Richards--Does this admirable display of honesty about their prison record limit the men's employment opportunities?

Counselor--I think that a lot of people that have felonies on their record are indeed locked out of a lot of jobs. And that's how it is. When guys come to me and want to work in banks I tell them, "What the fuck, there isn't a snowballs chance in hell you are going to get that job."

Counselor--I really shy away from sending our guys to those kind of places [banks, social service group homes]. Those jobs working in the public, working with the vulnerable public, you know those are pretty high risk jobs for our guys.

You have to understand who you are dealing with. Until a person does that, then I think they are always going to miss the point. They are always not going to see. Until you understand criminals, until you understand how criminals think, then I don't think a person is ever going to really get a really good idea of what it's going to take to help criminals.
NOTE: How do we effect change in men coming out of prison that gives them some opportunity to change their lives, that gives them an opportunity to grab on to something new and interesting? People become comfortable with their labels. It takes support, imagination, and a lot of courage to slip a label and take on a new role. We don't have a reverse process whereby men are provided a viable opportunity to rebuild themselves after going through the degradation of courts and prisons. Certainly, this correctional counselor has a low opinion of his clients.

Counselor--They are too damn anti-social for their own good, they are too criminal for their own good.

Counselor--It hasn't happened, not to my knowledge it did not happen, where a person got terminated [lost his job] on past information that came up. The guys here that get terminated are the guys that screw up on their jobs. They screw up and that is why they get terminated.

I am speaking specifically now to the employers out there. They will call me. They are having this trouble with this guy, "What should I do?" Sometimes the employers are a little afraid. If I fire this guy, will he come back and hurt me, if I get on him too much, you know? And that might be part of the game that the "con" is playing with them. You know, kind of strong arm a little bit. But most people want to work with these guys.

Counselor--Obviously, that's part of my role here as an advocate of these guys within the community.

Counselor--Some guys have a problem with stealing a lot. And I'll be real careful what kind of jobs I'll let them have, or encourage them to have. This whole notion of high risk factors. Why put a guy that has trouble with stealing doing maintenance work in a mall where he access to the
room where people keep their purses? I mean too much of a temptation. Just like why put a sex offender in a day care center? Why do that to a guy? Why set him up like that? Every criminal's got their patterns.

Counselor--A lot of times the institution counselors aren't counselors. They are people who worked in institutions, as you well know, and then they get promoted to counselor. So they may not have any training. And most people that work in these fields aren't really trained to work with people. They don't really have any training. So, it's all what they get from their peers and by the seat of their pants.

NOTE: After visiting the Riverview Release Center at Newton, Curt Forbes Work Release Center, Fort Des Moines, and Des Moines Work Release Center: The system is a correctional ghetto badly in need of funding and modernization. These men come out of prison degraded and humiliated and there is little effort or attention focused on reversing the degradation process. They have been labeled and are now being forced to assume the role of convict. I do not believe this particular correctional counselor has a clue as to the amount of damage his stereotyping is doing to his clients. This particular "counselor" should give up the masquerade and put his uniform back on, he is not fooling anyone, least of all the prisoners.

Richards--These men complain about being put on a bus, sitting in a bus station, wearing prison blues.

Counselor--But still that's fine. Yea, but the deal is you see who cares to me. I'm thinking who cares. That is one day of humiliation, that's too bad, that's
tough. That's one day of sitting on the bus feeling bad.

Richards--These men have been torn down by degradations. In the beginning this served to get their attention, give them a wake up call, and remind them that they broke the law. But the steady humiliations that they experience break their will to succeed. Maybe, the system is more successful than expected, successful at breaking men; the system programs these men to fail. When does the process reverse? Where is that point where these men see the system helping them? We are not very good at building people up.

Counselor--That's where you and I will always differ. We are not going to do nothing. We can't build somebody back up. We are not in that position. We are not that powerful. That's the illusion I think.

Counselor--We need tons of more money, but it's not there. Matter of fact we are going backwards. We aren't even staying even now. We are losing funding.

Counselor--I don't think these guys are bad. I've have met very few bad people. They are criminals, they think like criminals. They are not bad people. They are arrested adolescents. You deal with guys that are thirty and act like fourteen.

Interview #3: Job Developer

The following includes a group interview of a probation and parole job developer having a conference with three work release prisoners. The job developer has a pro-active attitude that includes a sincere commitment to helping these men find employment in the community. The prisoners discuss
problems with work release rules, having no money, no transportation other than walking, no money to pay for haircuts or street clothes; these men are still wearing prison blues. To simplify the text of this group interview I have elected to present three different prisoners as one.

Prisoner--I think that's why she hired me because she knows she's got me kind of under her thumb because I'm in the half way house.

Job Developer--You've got to have thirty hours to be able to move up a level [a level in the custody system at the work release center].

Prisoner--Its thirty-five [hours of work per week] now. They changed the rules.

Job Developer--Well, you are kind of in a situation where they can change rules on you.

Prisoner--If they hire you, they give the company a tax break if you work for them. I never got one, but I got one from Job Service. It's good for three months.

Job Developer--It's a card that shows if they hire you they are eligible to deduct sixty-five percent of your wages from their [the employer's] taxes.

Prisoner--So many of us out looking. All [the] people that hire you off the street, like construction, aren't hiring right now. Just guessing at eighty applications, at least. Because some of these applications are one page you can do them in ten minutes. You get back to the half way house and they aren't satisfied. If you come too early, back too early, they make you go out and look some more. So I've canvassed all of Duff Avenue and Lincoln Way, north, south, east, and west.
Richards—How many of these applications ask you about criminal convictions?

Prisoner—About every one.

Job Developer—Legally they can only ask you if you have been convicted of a felony, or if it has to do with, like a bank, they can ask you if you have been convicted of a property offense or the illegal use of a financial instrument. They can only ask you if you have been convicted of a felony. They can ask you if you have been convicted of a traffic violation if it meant that you couldn't be insured by their company. There has to be a link between the question that they ask you and the minimum standards for the job.

Richards—What address do you put down?

Prisoner—111 Sherman. As soon as you put 111 North Sherman on a piece of paper in this town, all these employers seem to know what North Sherman is. Soon as they see that, ya know, they know right away that that's a half way house. That man either is in their for OWI, some trouble with the law, or he just come out of prison. Most applications where they ask you about felonies within the last five years, I write on there yes- will explain in interview. Basically, all we get is jobs that other people won't do. We get all the junk jobs, as I put it. Any good job would be hard to get. One thing, the employer ain't gonna want to trust you because you're convict. That's the way I feel, I could be wrong. They know right out that no matter how they treat me I don't dare walk up to the boss and say, "Hey, fuck you I quit." Because they know better than that. Because If I said that to them, they know I'm gonna be in trouble as soon as I get back here [Work Release Center]. The only way I'm gonna get out of the job is to get fired.
Richards--So they [the potential employers] know right away you live in the half way house?

Prisoner--Yes.

Job Developer--They know that they're in the half way house. And actually that's to their benefit. The guys in the house get jobs much faster than the guys that I work with on the street [probation and parole]. They know that by being at the house they have more power over you. They know that if they need you they can call you up, they can find you. They know that if you do something wrong they can call [the half way house].

NOTE: The men assert that they are being hired at minimum wage or less because the employers know they are prisoners. They say that they have to sign in and sign out; they have to be at employment locations at specified times to apply for a job; they claim they are followed by the police. They have to fill out forms supplied by the work release centers specifying the time, location, and name of every employment application before they go on their job search.

Prisoner--They change the rules all the time.

Job Developer--Even though they talk about jobs a lot in the prisons, they are not giving them the skills to get jobs when they get out.

Job Developer--A lot of them [people working food service jobs] are students that are leaving. Our guys usually stay the whole duration. They get in there they keep the job the whole time that they're there. Because that means that they can get furlough time, they can move up in the levels, and they can get out of the house [work release center] faster.
NOTE: These men have a choice between fast food, service type jobs, and seasonal construction. Construction pays more but is contingent on the economy, the weather, and the season of the year. Construction labor may lend itself to drinking and drugs.

Job Developer--There is a whole culture around substance abuse in the building trades. It's one of the problems. But I think you are going to see it more in factories.

I think the same things [substance abuse, periodic layoffs, seasonal work, alienation, and division in the work force] that you are experiencing in the building trades you will experience in factories, at least here in Iowa. The biggest problem I have with building trades is that there is a substance abuse culture around that and most of the people I work with have a substance abuse problem. We talk at length about whether they should go back into building trades or whether they should go to food service where there isn't going to be the issues of drinking all the time.

That's always in the back of my mind about where they are going to work and how they are going to deal with those issues of sobriety in the work place when everybody around them is drinking.

NOTE: Farm workers, factory workers, and construction workers all must deal with heavy hard labor, the possibility of injury, and periodic layoffs. The culture of chemical abuse is well known to people who do hard labor for a living.

Richards--Are you seeing men come in wearing prison blues?

Job Developer--And come in with no clothes! He [one of the prisoners in the group interview] came
in with no shoes. January 24th and no shoes, no coat, t-shirt and a pair of pants. To the half way house Thursday night [from jail]. Coming from prison, one guy from Oakdale came in with, in December, cut off shirt, one lens in his glasses, not two. They did get his hearing aid cleaned so he did have that. Pair of pants. That's it. No coat. And we are seeing more and more of that. We are seeing more and more come in with nothing. And they are even talking about [cutting] the money they get when they leave [prison]. That is the rumors from the budget cuts.

NOTE: Middle class people are used to having regular medical attention. Young poor working class people do not expect to have regular visits to doctors and dentists. These men don't realize that they may have medical problems that have not been addressed. I have been interviewing men with obvious dental problems, rotten and missing teeth, but they say that they do not need dental care.

Job Developer—I just think it interesting that you have to petition to get your voting rights back. Why? If all it takes is you sign a paper and send it to the Governor's office, why not just let them vote? It doesn't make any sense to me. Because they know, a lot of them won't bother, it's not a big deal to them. They have all these other things to worry about. Why have to worry about one more thing to do.

NOTE: Felons in Iowa lose the right to vote, they may petition to get their right to vote back but few of them know how.

Job Developer—I don't know what they to tell these people [about petitioning to get back their right to vote]. I don't know who does what in the prison
system. But I will tell you there is very little communication between the institutions and the community based [corrections].

Job Developer--I've got a couple guys that were in [prison] for siphoning gas. One guy was in prison for it because he didn't do time well and it just kept compounding. It's like reading Kafka, you know, it's just incredible. The other guy that came in today—attempted burglary. Second degree attempted burglary for siphoning gas. You should see, I mean the probation officers say, "That's all I need on my work load is a kid that siphoned gas."

Job Developer—It is getting tougher. The number of people who are low functioning or mentally ill. One of the things that I'm starting to track on my data sheet is how many people come in with a diagnosable disability of some kind, mental, emotional, or physical. Because I think that as we go along and we find that more community based fundings for people mentally ill or mentally retarded is cut you're going to find those people in the correctional systems. People in the correction systems are not equipped to deal with that. They don't have the professional training to deal with people that are in those categories. They have got case loads that are astronomical, they don't have time to be paying attention to that [the special needs of impaired individuals]. I don't know how many numbers of people we've gotten that are mildly retarded. They don't have judgement skills. They did stuff that was poor judgement based on the fact that they had fairly low functioning I.Q. and they end up in the prison system. One guy I worked with, his dad was a burglar and that's all his dad taught him how to do was to steal things, break into people's houses and steal things. And he's not very good at it because he's kind of low functioning so he got caught all the time. This is not a man that you stick in prison. So he just gets better at what he does or
learns new ways to do other things that are wrong. Doesn't make any sense.

Richards--Prison is a school!

Job Developer--A great school, they come out with great skills [at crime].

NOTE: In the Federal Bureau of Prisons, at Springfield, Lexington, Rochester, and other federal prisons with medical units, they have psychiatric prisoners who's time has stopped; there time has stopped because they must be mentally competent in order to serve their sentences. These prisoner have a "P" placed before their prison number, as long as that "P" remains before their number their time does not count toward completing their sentences. In Iowa segregation units they have something very analogous where time stops--in the federal prison system time stops for being psychiatric, in the Iowa prison system time stops because of assignment to administrative segregation for disciplinary punishment. One "outside" community corrections expert explained the use of segregation as the result of warehousing prisoners in overcrowded penitentiaries:

Over forty percent of the men at Fort Madison are in segregation. They have got a pretty Byzantine system of at least eleven different types of segregation. There is a court order that there can't be more than 550 men behind the walls. So that's one of the things that segregation does, if you have all the segregation units filled to capacity it's the best use to make of your space in terms of warehousing people. I should say the maximum use of space not necessarily the best use of space (Richards, 1992).
Unfortunately, the prison system is becoming a low-income, administrative ghetto, for individuals who are unable to sustain themselves in the "free world." For those people, who are impaired and unable to successfully compete for jobs, prison has become the ultimate warehouse, the last known address, and the only institutional structure that welcomes them with predictable regularity.

Job Developer--The reality is and not just for people in the prison system, anybody with any kind of barrier, and that may be physical, mental, emotional disability or prison record, anybody in those categories is going to find it harder to find employment that is sustainable, that will sustain them.