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Life After Prison: The Role of the Juvenile Prison Experience and the Impact on Reintegration for Black Males

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LIFE AFTER PRISON: THE ROLE OF THE JUVENILE PRISON EXPERIENCE AND THE
IMPACT ON REINTEGRATION FOR BLACK MALES

By

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A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree.

Department of Sociology

In the Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

August 2012

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

LIFE AFTER PRISON: THE ROLE OF THE JUVENILE PRISON EXPERIENCE AND THE
IMPACT ON REINTEGRATION FOR BLACK MALES

By

Wanda T. Hunter

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In the field of Sociology

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May 18, 2012

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

WANDA T. HUNTER, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in SOCIOLOGY, presented on May 18, 2012, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: Life After Prison: The Role Of The Juvenile Prison Experience And The Impact On Reintegration For Black Males

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Kimberly Leonard-Kempf

Ideas regarding race and crime have recently emerged in the media and other avenues and are also historically embedded in the framework of America. Unfortunately, some of these ideas encourage prejudicial views that depict Black people as criminals, which may play a factor in the higher rate of incarceration among Black people (Mauer 1999; Reiman 2001; Rome 2004; Tonry 1995). As a consequence, the same disproportionate impact that Black people experience in the justice system have negatively affected children by allowing them to be waived or transferred to adult court and sentenced to adult prison. The purpose of this exploratory study is to examine the reintegration experiences of Black men who were transferred to adult court and served time in adult prison as teenagers. Twenty-one semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 21 Black men who served prison time when he was a teenager.

At present, we know little about the long-term effects of waiver and sentencing practices. Hence, my question and main purpose for this research is this: *Does the “ex-convict” label affect the reintegration experiences of Black males after serving time in an adult prison as a youth?* I focus Braithwaite’s reintegrative shaming to explore how these men reintegrate and experience shaming. The men reported feeling unprepared to

subsist in the workplace. The main reasons for these feelings were because the men spent their youthful years in prison, with very little to no job skills training, leaving them highly unskilled.

I also test Braithwaite's (1989) ideas regarding shaming and cultural homogeneity among Black men while exploring how "ex-convicts" re-enter the community through personal interviews in this dissertation. I explored whether Black men experience shaming by their reference or intimate groups (family, partner, and friends), the community and potential employers. I also consider masculinity thesis and Anderson's (1999) "Code of the Streets" thesis, which posits that Black's may have culturally defined perceptions regarding feelings of shame. Findings revealed that there were differences in the shaming felt when the men were in their distinctive environments versus outside of the community. Feelings of shame were felt deeper outside of the community rather than vice versa as Braithwaite (1989) theorize. These findings provide a good test of Braithwaite's (1989) cultural homogeneity thesis. Findings from my research discredit the thesis as the sample reported feeling more shame when they left their communities (distinctive environments) even when cultural homogeneity was high in their distinctive environments.

With this research, I relay some insight on how this group reintegrates and experience shame after incarceration and how these processes affect both these men and society at large. Further research on this topic should be explored using a larger sample utilizing this framework.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my life partner, Perry and my wonderful children, Kayla, PJ, Terrius and Amari.

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First, I would like to give glory to God, who has given me the strength, patience and endurance to finish. I would like to thank my Mother for encouraging me to always do well in school when I was younger and for showing me that the only way to “make it” is to “work hard.” As I grew up, I watched how dedicated she was to each job she held. She was indeed a very hard worker and she instilled this quality in me.

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CHAPTER 1:BLACK MALES AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Historically, discussions in America about crime overwhelmingly present Black men as the main criminal perpetrators (Brunson 2007; Rome 2004; Russell 1998). Hence, the stereotype of the Black man being “criminal” has existed for more than a hundred years and it does not appear that these constructions are changing, especially when one compares the media’s ongoing representations to actual crime statistics (Mauer 1999). Empirical data reveal that Black people are arrested, convicted, and incarcerated disproportionately, in part because of racial stereotypes (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth and Visser 1986; Brunson 2007; Harrison and Beck 2006; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Mann 1993; Mauer 1999; Reese 2006; Tonry 1995).

According to a report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Harrison and Beck 2006), even today Black males make up most of the jail and prison population, with Hispanic males ranking second. Black men are disproportionately incarcerated in relation to the national population and most who are incarcerated are charged with drug-related crimes (Harrison and Beck 2006; Levin, Langan and Brown 2000). Consequently, over the past twenty years, the stereotype of the Black man being a “Criminal” has affected Black males of all ages. Specifically, many Black adolescents have been waived from juvenile court jurisdiction and tried as adults for non-violent offenses or offenses that could be considered child’s play when other factors are considered (Feld 1990; 1999; Rome 2004).

A significant number of Black children are being held in adult prisons, where they are exposed to the influence of the adult inmates and their violence (Butts and Mitchell 2000; Feld 1990; 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Ziedenberg and Schiraldi 1997). Data

also suggest that the number of children held in adult prisons overall, peaked in 1995, and the numbers have been decreasing in the last decade (Harrison and Beck 2005). Those youths who remain in adult facilities are disproportionately Black (Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998). So the purpose of this study was to find out whether the “ex-convict” label affects the reintegration experiences of Black males after serving time in an adult prison as a youth.

Criminal Justice Processes, Incarceration and Black Males

Unquestionably, Black males seem to be disproportionately incarcerated in both juvenile and adult correctional facilities (Harrison and Beck 2006; Piquero 2008). There are contradictory explanations for the overrepresentation of Black men in the criminal justice system. For instance, some view Black men as the number one perpetrators based on what is presented statistically, in terms of arrest rates and media depictions (LaFree and Russell 1993). The data also reveal that Black men are rarely given a warning when they come in contact with police (Cole 2004; LaFree and Russell 1993). Instead, they are detained, booked and arrested more frequently than White people; therefore Black people appear in the crime rate statistics more so than whites (Cole 2004; Harvard Law Review 2000). Non-minorities are often given something called a “break” when they come in contact with police (Alpert, Macdonald and Dunham 2005; Piquero 2008). This means that they are often given warnings instead of the alternative, which is being continuously moved through the system at every stage of the criminal justice process (Alpert et al., 2005).

Whites are often given a lesser charge and/or sentence compared to Black people according to Alpert and his colleagues (2005). As a consequence, these practices allow

Whites to have a less serious criminal record than Black people and often reduce their appearance in crime statistics (Alpert et al. 2005; Cole 2004).

Another level of the criminal justice process, prosecutors have the power to offer charge bargaining to any offender and often minorities are not given the option to negotiate. Charge bargaining is when offenders are offered a lesser charge in exchange for a guilty plea and no trial that will allow them to receive a more lenient sentence or probation (Walker 2001). Critics argue that these decisions may be based upon personal biases rather than case characteristics (Walker 2001).

Russell (1998) observes that there could be racial discrimination at the prosecutorial charging stage, particularly in cases with White victims and Black perpetrators. When the data are examined, prosecutors are viewed as being perpetrators when disparity is discussed because of the amount of discretion that they possess. Alpert and colleagues (2005) had similar findings when they found that White people are often given a lesser charge and/or sentenced differently for similar crimes committed by both groups.

Reese (2006:123) notes that young Black males are disproportionately sentenced and incarcerated in adult prisons. Currently, minorities make up 50 to 95% of those transferred to adult court, depending on the state (Myers 2005; Piquero 2008). Strom (2000) reported that in 1997 the majority of juvenile inmates held in state prisons were Black or Hispanic, with 60% of these inmates being Black, 13% Hispanic and 19% White. According to Leiber (2002), the number of drug charges can explain a large percentage of this overrepresentation of non-violent minorities in the system. This creates a problematic dilemma because data reveal that White youth particularly have

been heavily associated with drugs, but they generally receive probation or suspended sentences or end up in the private sector receiving treatment, while non-whites receive prison sentences (Reiman 2001).

Historical Treatment of Black Children in the Justice System

During the late 1800's, moral entrepreneurs for the juvenile justice movement lobbied for better treatment of children. The idea of *parens patriae* was that if the parents could not control and/or care for the child then the justice system should remove the child and act as a parent until the parents could do better (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007). Some of the unintended consequences and drawbacks of this practice was that when parents were ready to care for their child, it was very difficult to remove the child from the "system" once in place. Second, Black children were not eligible for the services that the justice system provided under the *parens patriae* system. To that end, Black individuals had to form a separate alliance for those Black youths who required assistance (Kempf-Leonard 2007). With that said, racial segregation, migration of Whites to the suburbs and the industrial revolution were all factors that influenced youth crime (Feld 1999).

Juveniles and the Waiver Process

Rationale and Justification for Waivers.

Juvenile Crime.

Arkansas uses waivers and direct file methods of transfer while applying amenability to treatment criterion for waivers. Amenability was determined on a case-by-case basis and it struggled to mesh legal and clinical definitions and procedures (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998). Along with that, services available to troubled youth in the jurisdiction were also a factor in the test for amenability.

The increase in juvenile crime (about 75%) between the years of 1984 and 1995 caused citizens in America to panic. One of the results of this panic led to greater use of transferring children to adult court (Feld 1999; Myers 2005). This section of the dissertation addresses the basis, processes and procedures of the juvenile waiver process. In view of the fact that the crime wave of the late 1980's and early 1990's brought about several reforms and legislative changes, many of these changes led to states lowering the age of accountability and increasing the number of youths transferred to adult court and sentenced to the adult prison system (Feld 1999; United States Department of Justice [USDOJ] 1995). During the last three decades, individuals around the ages of 15 to 17 rose to the top of those people most arrested, the average age of those youths sentenced to adult prison is 17 and race was usually the impetus to criminalizing youth (Feld 1999; Myers 2005).

Juvenile Court vs. Criminal Court Processes-Best Interest Doctrine

The public demanded that legislators devise a plan to handle these troubled youths (Feld 1999; Mauer 1999). On one side of the spectrum, legislators and members of the juvenile system had a desire to continue the “*parens patriae*” philosophy and the amenability to treatment formula by channeling status offenders toward rehabilitation programs and treatment. On the other hand, those juveniles who are considered habitual, serious (juveniles who have been moved through the system more than once for crimes other than status offenses) and violent have allegedly forced the juvenile system and legislators to prosecute juveniles as adults and many non-violent habitual offenders find themselves in adult prisons (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; Kempf-Leonard, Tracy and Howell 2001).

After the juvenile justice system was established, the phenomenon of waiving children to adult court was fairly new, but children serving time with adults is not a new phenomenon (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Even though transfer laws have been in existence since the 1920's, the criminal justice system did not increase the use of transfers until the mid 1980's. In the past, juveniles were adjudicated and locked down with adults because there was no separate system. Congress passed the JJDP Act in 1974 which encouraged states to hold juveniles separate from adults, furthermore to remove juveniles from adult jails and prisons. In return the federal government would provide funding to states that followed these practices (JJDP Act 1974; Repucci 1999). We have since moved back to this idea of housing juvenile inmates with adult inmates because of the increase in violent crime (Feld 1990).

Opportunity for Bias in the Juvenile System

Types of Transfers.

Currently, all 50 states allow children to be transferred to adult court and tried as adults if a felony is committed (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; Piquero 2008; Redding 2000). Some have argued that youth who have a non-violent felony should serve time in the juvenile system which offers at least a hint of rehabilitation (Kupchik 2007). Hence, the juvenile justice philosophy, "Amenability to treatment." A youth must be "treatable" and receptive to treatment in order to remain in the juvenile system (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998). The determining criteria of whether a youth should be transferred to the adult criminal system comes from the Supreme Court case *Kent v. United States* 383 U.S. 541, 1966. This case decided that age, offense, criminal history of the offender, potential for

rehabilitation, public safety, and prosecutorial merit of the case will be taken into consideration when a youth is considered for waiver. However, each state has its own recipe for what constitutes a transfer.

The discretionary judicial waiver is the most common method of transferring juveniles (Griffin, Torbet and Szymanski 1998). Specifically, between 1988 and 1992, the use of judicial waiver increased by 68% (Feld 1999). With this method, each individual case has to meet certain criteria, established by the judge, before it can be moved to criminal court. Criteria which include amenability, age, race and offense weigh heavily when considering this method. Further, statistics show that discretionary judicial waiver laws had produced a 47% increase in the number of cases waived between 1987 and 1996 (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Most offenses listed among those waived were property offenses, which is typically the largest crime category for young people (United States Department of Justice 2000).

Juveniles can also be transferred to criminal court by prosecutor direct file which is also referred to as concurrent jurisdiction or prosecutor discretion (Butts and Mitchell 2000). This law gives the prosecutors the option of trying the juvenile in either the juvenile or criminal court system (Butts and Mitchell 2000). The criterion requires that if youth are at least fourteen and have been charged with multiple felonies, there will be a direct file to criminal court.

Presumptive judicial waiver became a popular transfer method in the 90's and it redirected power from judges to the prosecuting attorney in the case. The criterion determined by *Kent v. U.S.*, 383 U.S. 541, 1966 is used in this instance if the juvenile offender is at least 16 and is charged with an adult crime. So if the criterion is met, the

judge is required to transfer the juvenile to criminal court (Butts and Mitchell 2000).

States have multiple ways to transfer juveniles to criminal court. For instance, statutory exclusion (or automatic transfer) is another transfer method that has become popular in the 20th century (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Statutory exclusion requires that juveniles charged with certain offenses and are repeat offenders be automatically transferred to criminal court and subjected to all criminal rules with no leniency (Butts and Mitchell 2000).

Unfortunately, there is no consistency of waiver use among states; hence each state has different criteria for prosecutor direct filing which mainly reflect the age of the offender and the number of offenses (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Florida has been the most consistent in transferring offenders under the age of 18 to criminal court since the 1990's (Lane, Lanza-Kaduce, Fraizer, and Bishop 2002).

Another mode of transfer that can send teenagers to adult court is by automatic transfer. This transfer method is the newest amongst the laws and the law allows juveniles to be transferred if they are above a certain age with a felony charge (Redding 2000). Many are not aware that youth as young as 15 can be held with adult prisoners in this country whether violent or not (Butts and Mitchell 2000; Feld 1990).

Some states have combined criminal court sentencing and juvenile dispositions [Blended sentencing] (Winner, Lanza-Kaduce, Bishop and Frazier 1997). So under this system, the juvenile can be placed in a juvenile facility or in an adult facility.

Furthermore, some states send the juvenile to a juvenile facility until the offender is old enough to be transferred to an adult facility. This method is referred to as blended

sentencing (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Whatever the method of transfer, serving time with adults can be damaging to youth.

Effect of Transfers

There are many negative effects associated with transfers. Data have revealed that juveniles transferred to criminal court and who serve time in adult prisons have much higher recidivism rates when compared to juveniles handled in the juvenile justice system (Howell 1996; Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; McShane and Williams 2007). Even juveniles charged with property and/or burglary offenses recidivate more when serving time in the adult system (Fagan 1996). Moreover, there is some evidence which suggest that juveniles held for longer periods in the juvenile system have lower recidivism rates (McShane and Williams 2007). This may be due to extensive programming that juveniles receive when they serve time in the juvenile system or the type of youths retained in juvenile courts (McShane and Williams 2007; Redding 2003).

The Texas study reported that after 2002 legislation was passed to exclude certain crimes from juvenile court, thus processing serious crimes as a direct file to criminal court (McShane and Williams 2007). The recent data reveal that when teenagers are incarcerated with adults, they are exposed to stronger and more experienced criminals and there are opportunities for kids to learn more criminal behavior (Kempf-Leonard 2007; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; McShane and Williams 2007; Myers 2005). Furthermore, the adult facilities are much larger than the juvenile facilities, which pose a breeding ground for violence, victimization and chaos with little room for programs that encourage rehabilitation (Kupchik 2007; Meyers 2005). For these reasons, juvenile

inmates are more often sexually and physically assaulted, treated unfairly and brutalized by staff because of the lack of training with the juvenile population (McShane and Williams 2007). This treatment often contributes to the large number of juveniles who commit suicide behind bars (Feld 1990; Meyers 2005).

Juvenile Inmates Held in State Jails and Prisons

There has been an increase in the number of juveniles held since 1985. This increase in the number of juveniles admitted to adult prison was due to the efforts toward getting tough on crime, which led to “Get Tough” legislation passed for adult offenders, which also ultimately affected juveniles. The data reveal that during that time more than 50% of juveniles held were non-violent youths charged with drug and property offenses which reflects the same sentiment today (McShane and Williams 2007; Snyder and Sickmund 1999).

While most juveniles remain within the juvenile system, many researchers have argued that non-violent juveniles should be tried in the juvenile justice system (McShane and Williams 2007; Myers 2005; Strom 2000). Many are classified as non-violent felons because they are serving time for dealing drugs, which is a federal offense that has a mandatory sentence under truth in sentencing laws (Sabol, Minton and Harrison 2007; Strom 2000; Tonry 1995). Often youth are placed in a category labeled habitual, chronic and serious simply because they have had several confrontations with the law including encounters that could be considered child’s play. Child’s play is defined as activities including fighting, vandalism, property theft, auto theft and even distributing drugs (Strom 2000). White youth seem to escape convictions, whereas minority youth are viewed as criminals and are punished under the law (McShane and Williams 2007; Reese

2006; Strom 2000). According to Meyers (2005) there will be some juveniles that clearly belong in the adult system, but every case should be decided on an individual basis rather than habitual status.

To provide a glimpse of the number of juveniles held in adult prison, Harrison and Beck (2006) reported at midyear 2005 that Connecticut held more than 383 juveniles in jails and adult prisons. Following that, New York and Florida held just over 200 in state prisons, with North Carolina holding 169. Comparatively, there were three states that reported having no juvenile inmates in state prisons, while 19 states reported that they held fewer than 10. Further, nationally in 2005 and 2006 there were 5,750 and 4,836 (respectively) juvenile inmates held in local jails which is a significant number of juvenile inmates held as adults (Sabol, Minton and Harrison 2007)

To begin this transfer trend, between 1985 and 1990, the number of juveniles being admitted to adult prisons had almost doubled (figure 1). Thereafter the number of admissions was still increasing, but not drastically (Strom 2000). Strom (2000) reported that nationally in 1997, many of these juvenile offenders admitted to adult prison systems were violent offenders (61%), but 39% were non-violent. It seems that the non-violent youths should be treated as a social service issue rather than a case considered for transfer (Strom 2000).

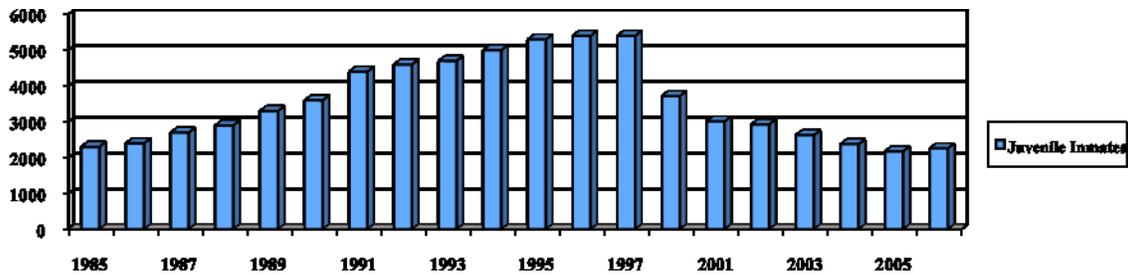


Figure 1 The Number of Juvenile Offenders Held in State Prison, 1985-2006

According to national data, the number of juvenile offenders admitted to adult prisons rose to its highest peak in 1997 (Strom 2000). Figure 1 above shows that in 1985, there were approximately 2,300 juveniles held in adult state prisons, and by 1997; this number had grown to 5,400 (Harrison and Beck 2006; Sabol, Minton and Harrison 2007; Strom 2000). In 2006, over 32% of juveniles were held in adult jails during pre-trial detention (Campaign for Youth Justice 2007).

Leiber’s (2002) research revealed that minority youth over represented white youth in public facilities by a 2 to 1 ratio, despite data that reveal White youth are just as much associated with drugs as minorities. Since minorities generally end up in the criminal justice system for numerous reasons, this increases the chance that minority youth could be waived to adult court due to a higher number of previous offenses. This is not to mention direct file laws and laws regarding habitual offenders, which defines “habitual” as juveniles who have moved through the system several times. This status alone can cause the youth to be transferred (Campaign for Youth Justice 2007; Leiber 2002). Because this overrepresentation of minorities in the system is evident, funding

has been offered by the government to states to collect data to find out more regarding this phenomenon (Leiber 2002).

The number of juveniles held with adults in prison is not as substantial as it has been in previous years but has revealed a slight increase up from 2005 (figure 1) according to a report by Sabol, Minton, and Harrison (2007). There were about 2,266 juveniles in state prisons and 6,759 juveniles held in jails when reported by Harrison and Beck in 2006. To that end, different states have different accommodation plans for juveniles held in adult prisons. Arkansas house juveniles with adults which is similar to most states, while other states have passed legislation that require juveniles to be separated from adults (USDOJ 1995).

Age of Admission

Since 1985, the age of admission to adult court has been steadily decreasing (Butts and Mitchell 2000). It appears that before 1985, placing a fourteen-year-old in an adult facility would be unthinkable, but recent violent acts by juveniles (including the Jonesboro, AR and Columbine massacres) have caused Americans to change their perspective on the concept of juveniles in adult facilities (Strom 2000). The strongest predictor of whether a youth will be sentenced in adult court is age (Butts and Mitchell 2000). Previously, under *parens patriae* doctrine, the government would remove the child from the home if the parents could not control and/or care for the child. The justice system would remove the child and act as a parent until the parents could do better. To expand this idea of *parens patriae* other options were tried, including counseling, intervention and prevention programs, boot camps etc.

Today, Americans have become somewhat intolerant of juvenile crime because of the increase of violent criminal activity among this group. Some citizens refuse to spend time or money to help correct or attempt to rehabilitate troubled youth. Instead, they would rather detain them, which may produce the opposite effect. Many researchers have found that the shock of prison does not force juveniles to conform, as some would expect (Feld 1990; McShane and Williams 2007; OJJDP 2000). In fact, some research reveals that young men recidivate more when they serve time in adult prisons as opposed to juvenile facilities (McShane and Williams 2007; Redding 2003; Synder, Sickmund, and Poe Yamagata 2000). Hence, collecting data in this area could increase what we know about the potential reintegrative shaming experiences of men that have served time in adult prisons as teenagers.

The stigmatization or labels attached by society, for young Black males may lead a large percentage to a self-fulfilling prophecy (Goffman 1963) of becoming deviant and engaging in activities (drugs and violence) that place them in the hands of the law (Bourgois 1995). Black people have higher arrest and incarceration rates and Black juveniles are waived and moved through the system more often than any group (Singer 1996). With that said, the Black population experiences (particularly Black males) continued victimization through such practices as ongoing institutional racism and large-scale imprisonment (Mauer 1999).

Review of the Literature

Reintegrative Shaming

The criminological literature is filled with research related to reintegration and how one desists (i.e. when one stops or quits criminal behavior) or recidivates (i.e. when

one is re-arrested for criminal behavior). Here, reintegration is defined in terms of how one returns to life after the socialization of prison. However, the existing research is based upon the experiences of adult men only: there are no post-prison reintegration studies of teenagers who served their time in adult prison. In addition, the current reintegration literature focuses heavily upon males, but often excludes information specifically relating to Black men; the group most disproportionately incarcerated and open to the elements of the reintegration experience and faced with the prospect of reintegration (Glaser 1964; Kupchik 2007; Maruna 2001; Patillo, Weiman, and Western 2004; Pravis and Visser 2005; Reese 2006). Black males' reintegration may differ significantly, based upon master status and other personal experiences (Anderson 1999; Braithwaite 1989).

Further, the reintegration literature does not explore the effects of racism directed at Blacks through history, especially in regard to the American criminal justice system (LaFree and Russell 1993). For this research, the racist frame will be defined as a system of discrimination that was intentionally designed to exclude Americans of color from becoming full citizens, stemming from the days of slavery and institutionalized segregation (Jim Crow), thereby denying certain opportunities to Black people that are given to Whites (Feagin, Vera and Batur 2001; Feld 1999; Reese 2006). Consequently, the lack of sociological research in this area hinders our ability to understand the reintegration experiences of Black men after they have served time in adult prisons during their teenaged years.

My contribution to the criminological literature is to explore the reintegration experiences of Black males who served time in an adult prison as a juvenile, using

Braithwaite's (1989) ideas regarding reintegration, with special reference to the notions of shaming and cultural homogeneity (ideas which he does not fully develop). The primary research question is this: "*Does the 'ex-convict' label affect the reintegration experiences of Black males after serving time in an adult prison as a youth?*" Second, I explored how Blacks experience shaming. Braithwaite (1989) notes that cultural homogeneity exists among different groups so that individuals in the group may share collective ideas and measures for shaming, a point also considered in Anderson's (1999) *Code of the Streets*. For this research, shaming will be defined as internal or external forces that cause an individual to feel badly and take responsibility for what they perceive to be criminal behavior.

Methodology

I used structured in-depth interviews using unstructured probes. During the interviews, I asked questions about familial, romantic, peer acquaintances and economic interactions post incarceration. My goal was to ascertain how prison experiences and shaming affect these relationships. In the literature review, I discuss how social and economic factors (structural factors) affect Black people living in America (racist frame) and how this experience hinders reintegration (Tonry 1995).

Outline of the Dissertation

To begin these discussions, in chapter two I discussed how the social conditions of Black people have improved minimally over time, how systematic economic racism and discrimination against Black people have been maintained, and following that, I described how these processes may be connected to Blacks in the criminal justice system (Bell 1992; Bennett 1984; DuBois 1899; 1953). To that end, what is the experience of

Blacks in the “The American Justice System” (Miller 1996; Reese 2006)? Specifically, what does the literature say about the social, institutional and economic factors of Black people in this country that may have a direct or indirect relationship to their involvement in crime (Braithwaite 1989; Tonry 1995) and their reintegration into society? For this research, it is necessary to provide an explanation of how the American construct of the “criminal Black man” emerged historically and I show this through the existing literature. Possible factors related to the creation of the “Criminal Black Man” may coincide with social, institutional, systematic economic racism and discrimination in America (Brown 2007; Maruna 2001; Russell 1998; Schur 1980).

I conclude chapter two by briefly discussing the elements of reintegration and shaming experiences. I use Braithwaite’s (1989) reintegration theory to explain how reintegration and the shaming process work in a general sense. Additionally, I test how Braithwaite’s (1989) underdeveloped argument regarding certain groups experiencing “shame” differently because of past and present social factors. In particular, I explore how some Black males view serving time in this country, and how others use the incarceration experience for personal safety or to gain status on the outside (Anderson 1999). With that said, some Black males experienced very little shaming as a result of their incarceration (Anderson 1999; Braithwaite 1989; Reese 2006).

In chapter three, I described the methods, beginning with the sample and the sampling techniques. Chapter four is a discussion of the demographics and reintegration experiences. In chapter five, I described how the men felt and experienced shame. Chapter six was an exploration of cultural homogeneity and how the men did “masculinity” as some followed “the code.” Finally, chapter seven is a general

discussion of the results and conclusions that can be drawn from this research. I also discuss limitations and policy implications and recommendations for future research.

Conclusion

This was an exploratory qualitative study. Participants were from Arkansas, but this research did not limit participation from men in states not listed. The ultimate goal for this research was to explore the reintegration experiences of Black males incarcerated in an adult prison as a teenager.

This research is vital to the literature and to criminal justice policy because it fills a vital gap in exploring how the juvenile waiver process has affected communities, the economy, and Black males. Additionally, this research may encourage policy makers to improve or eliminate the existing waiver policies.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I begin this literature review by discussing how America's past may play a role with Black people and their experiences today particularly in relation to their involvement in crime and in the justice system. I discuss the reintegrative shaming framework and what the literature reveals about reintegration and shaming. I also discuss theoretical explanations and research that explain Blacks' involvement in crime.

Historical Factors that may influence Black people and their involvement in crime: a Review of the Literature

Systematic Social and Economic Racism and Discrimination: The Racist Frame of America.

The main theme in this capitalist nation is that everyone has the opportunity to succeed; ironically, these sentiments are merely rhetorical as the American system may not be designed for Black people or non-whites to succeed (Feld 1999; Messner and Rosenfeld 1994; Reese 2006; Tonry 1995). Evidence reveals that many opportunities afforded to White Americans are blocked from most Black people thus creating unequal opportunities (Bell 1992; Bennett 1984; DuBois 1953; Feld 1999; Mann 1993). With that said, my argument is based upon the premise that this nation was founded upon racism, a system of discrimination that was intentionally designed to exclude Americans of color from becoming full citizens and participating in activities that have been referred to as the "American Way" (i.e., employment, owning land/property).

Racism echoes from the days of institutionalized slavery, to denial of certain opportunities today, thus reflecting a racist frame (Hawkins 1983; Feagin et al., 2001; Reese 2006; Silberman 1978). As noted earlier, for this research the racist frame will be defined as a system of discrimination that was intentionally designed to exclude

Americans of color from becoming full citizens, stemming from the days of slavery and institutionalized segregation (Jim Crow), thereby denying certain opportunities to Black people compared to White Americans [The Dominant Group] (Feagin et al., 2001; Reese 2006). Historically, this country used slavery and the labor of slaves to build this nation to what it is today (Bennett 1984). Slave status meant segregation from mainstream society so that Whites could continue to maintain their dominant status (Patterson 1982). According to conflict and critical race theories, the “Spoils of slavery” are often ignored or excluded from the literature today (West 1994), despite the suggestion that the racist frame in America contributes to Black experiences socially, economically and their experiences in the criminal justice system (Dubois 1953; Hawkins 1983; LaFree and Russell 1993).

In the book, *Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois (1953) states that the problem in America is the color line, and further, that slavery has led to an uneven playing field of opportunity between Black people and Whites. For example, Schwartz and Disch (1970) wrote that over time, Americans might have lowered the standard of living for all, by blocking opportunities for an entire group of people. Incidentally, blocked opportunities (Merton 1938) destroy families and the overall cost of these practices is phenomenal (welfare, mental and/or health care cost, courts, police, prisons). Black men in particular have been segregated from mainstream society from the beginning of America’s history (Newman 1975), and recently Black children have become part of this group, mainly because of the increase in crime rates approximately two decade ago (Harrison and Beck 2006).

C. Wright Mills (1959) told us that we should reconsider our history to gain an understanding of the current structure and state of society today. Therefore, before we discuss what criminological theories note about Black crime, we need to discuss historical events that have affected the structural design of this country and how this may have affected some groups socially and economically. Consequently, I would like to briefly provide a historical overview of the Black experience in America, linking it with some of the experiences in this country today (LaFree and Russell 1993).

As an introduction to understanding the structure of my argument, I want to briefly make use of C. Wright Mills' (1959:8) ideas on the sociological imagination when he discussed the distinction between "personal troubles of milieu" and "public issues of social structure." I think this point is critical when discussing Black people and their participation in crime in America, because many issues that Blacks face are often structural rather than individual level phenomenon.

Mills (1959:8) wrote, "Troubles occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relations with others," thus the boundaries of these troubles exist within reach of the individual's social life, meaning that the individual does have control over his or her life events. In the same way, "issues have to do with matters that transcend these local environments of the individual and the range of his inner life" (Mills 1959:8), that is to say that there are issues and/or factors that exist that are beyond one man's control. Instead, there is a system and actors in place that control the life events of people on a macro level. Therefore, issues are public matters that are historically connected with existing institutions to "form the larger structure of social and historical life" (Mills 1959:8). These ideas could be used to explain the Black experience

in America as related to slavery. Connecting current Black experiences with the social structure of American and institutionalized segregation, may encourage some Black people to participate in criminal behavior to “get ahead.”

Employment Discrimination

Mills (1959) provides an example of this phenomenon by explaining how one man unemployed in a city of 10,000 employees may result from his “personal troubles,” but 15 million men unemployed in a city of 50 million should be defined as a public “issue.” In short, the racist foundation of America has oppressed Black people, and this oppression has led to economic and political discrimination, which may have encouraged some to participate in criminal activities for gain or as a way of survival (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Feagin et al. 2001; Sellin 1938; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). That is to say, this is not a “Black problem,” but rather structural issues which could be changed through public policy (Mills 1959).

Many issues that Black people face in America are not merely personal problems, but rather structural problems purposely cultivated by the forefathers of this country to control Black people dating back to the Diaspora period (DuBois 1947). One example of structural problems would be employment discrimination and high unemployment rates among Black people (Feagin et al. 2001). Because of this, economic and social situations such as job placement and obtaining assets (redlining practices), can be negatively affected (Bell 1992). The oppression experienced has created strain among some, and often this strain leads people to participate in crime to obtain the “American Dream” (Merton 1938). Merton (1938) explains that the “American Dream” is the hope that one will have a good paying job, a nice house and a nice car. Unfortunately, many Black

people do not experience the American Dream because of structural factors that continue to run deep through America's veins, that stemmed from Black code practices and Jim Crow laws that contributed to the demise of Black people (Mann 1993; Russell 1998). When felony status becomes an issue, further limits the social and economic capital available to Black men.

Racism and Crime

Since the criminal justice system often uses empirical findings provided by criminological theories to implement policy (Cullen and Agnew 1999), perhaps it would be helpful if theories incorporated effects of history and its influence upon the current social structure of this nation. For instance, when discussing American Indians and alcoholism, one should provide a discussion of the historical hardships that American Indians had in this country and how history affects their experiences today.

Therefore, I argue that the unfair treatment of Black people in the past could prove to have a connection to their involvement in crime and their experiences in the criminal justice system today (Hawkins 1983). Bailey (1991) agrees that one's ethnicity relates to life experiences and could be connected to criminal involvement and criminal processing, based upon the structure of the American system as it relates to racism. Additionally, Russell (1992) notes that the sociology discipline can and should go beyond the simple observation of Blacks overrepresentation in crime by exploring new paradigms that include issues resulting from the "racist frame" which could explain why some Black people are overrepresented in crime on a macro level. To that end, each minority group should be studied in relation to historical experiences (Hawkins 1983). Braithwaite (1989) follows a similar argument when he stated that people from different

subcultures may have different reintegrative shaming experiences based upon their societal experiences. Nevertheless, the prison and the reintegrative experiences are challenging across cultures.

Stojkovic (1984) stated that prison is a place where a positive self-image could never be developed. There are many juveniles who are placed in the adult system resulting in their lives being ultimately destroyed from the experience. Ironically, those juvenile property offenders who serve time in the adult system as opposed to the juvenile system, serve less time overall, but the emotional damage is horrendous (Feld 1999). For that reason, this research is developed to provide more information on how these offenders perform post-prison. The reintegration literature reveals that the reintegration experience for adult males is often difficult, but this research provided insight on the reintegration experiences for adult Black males who served their teenage years in adult prison.

Reintegrative Shaming

The theoretical framework of Reintegrative Shaming presented by John Braithwaite (1989), was considered to help us understand how Black males who served time in an adult prison as youth returned to life outside of prison walls as adults (Maruna 2001). This theory was formulated to explain how to control crime by positively reintegrating those who have broken the law. I used Braithwaite's (1989) theory, to provide insight on how shaming is applied and experienced during the reintegration process for these men.

Braithwaite and Braithwaite's (2001) revision of the theory notes that some subcultures stigmatize or bully those who are law abiding. Often times considering them

“weak” or referring to them as a “weakling” (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite and Braithwaite 2001:40).

Elijah Anderson’s thesis is similar to Wolfgang and Ferracuti’s subculture of violence theory but adds an element. Anderson’s (1999) “Street v. Decent” people thesis is applicable when discussing reintegration experiences among Black people. Should we consider the ideas that some people do abide by the “Code of the Streets” (i.e. using toughness to gain respect etc.) and may glorify the prison experience during the reintegration process? To that end, some “decent people” may even use the prison experience as a mechanism to gain respect for protection.

Recidivism and Reintegration

Recidivism is often considered when discussing reintegration, because it provides evidence describing the outcome of the reintegration experience. Some statistics reveal that many people return to prison for new crimes within a year of release (Petersilia 2003). Often times, ex-cons are sent back to prison for technical violations including, failing to provide a change of address to probation officer or missing payments to parole officers which is problematic in and of itself because of the difficulty that ex-felons have finding employment (Maruna 2001; Petersilia 2003). But far too many people return to prison for gun violations or failing drug tests. Petersilia (2003) points out that drug treatment in prison should be a priority, thus providing relief for those who struggle with this disease. Additional drug treatment and resources should also be available upon release because many ex-felons return to prison for drug possession as a result of scarce resources (Petersilia 2003).

Blacks and Recidivism

Currently, there are not many theories or research available that describe reintegration experiences among Black males. Consequently, the most popular studies presented in the literature focus on reintegration in a general sense and most of the participants in the studies are White males in places abroad (Abraria 1994; Braithwaite 1989; Irwin 1970; Maruna 2001; Rose 1996). Instead, the literature is filled with generalizations regarding Black men and their reintegration experiences. Because of this, if one wants to theorize or understand what Black males or minorities (or Black male juveniles who served adult time) experience during this process, one would have to speculate by applying theories generally.

Reintegration and Juveniles

Petersilia (2003) points out that about 93% of all prison inmates are released at some point which means that these people will be returning to the community, with the spoils of prison life embedded in their consciousness. What has been noted in the previous literature is that the total reintegrative process becomes more difficult because people released from prison are fundamentally uneducated, unskilled, blocked from certain opportunities and/or prohibited from holding certain certificates or licenses. What is more important, felons are disenfranchised which affects society on a macro level (Petersilia 2003).

The United States' incarceration rates have been growing at tremendous rates compared to other nations in the world (Mauer 1994; Petersilia 2003; Travis and Petersilia 2001). This means that more and more people will be exposed to prison and all of its consequences, thereafter experiencing reintegration. The outcome of this experience may negatively affect our way of life as this practice could possibly eliminate

an entire group of citizens from becoming productive members of society (Lane et al. 2002; Mauer 1994). Unfortunately, there is little in the literature that provides a glimpse of the lives of these young men after serving time with adults.

Bontrager, Bales and Chiricos (2005:590) refer to convicted felons as being “Condemned to die,” because of unpleasant experiences during incarceration and the murky path to reintegration that all must follow once released from prison. The same sentiments or worse may exist for juvenile inmates. Research reveals that youths have a higher suicide rate when serving time with adults (Feld 1990; 1999; Ziedenberg and Schiraldi 1997). In addition, they are at a higher risk for sexual assault and they re-offend more often because of these experiences (Feld 1990; 1999; Ziedenberg and Schiraldi 1997).

Ultimately, some Black children experience a so-called “Triple victimization” because they are stereotyped and condemned as unproductive as early as elementary school (Mann 1993; Mauer 1999). They are victimized in the criminal justice system, in prison and considered irredeemable post-prison. What is most problematic is that the victimization continues post prison because upon release, jobs are “few and far between” and resources are limited in regards to rehabilitation and educational and economic assistance (Mann 1993; Maruna and Immarigeon 2003).

Juveniles and Recidivism

Research reveals that when juveniles serve time in adult facilities they tend to recidivate more often than juveniles who serve time in juvenile facilities (Austin, Johnson and Gregorious 2000; McShane and Williams 2007; Meyers 2005). Many researchers tend to credit the extensive programming and counseling that juveniles receive in a

juvenile facility because of immaturity and lack of structure. Juveniles who serve time with adults are more disruptive so they may receive less programming and counseling because of time spent in lock down. Along with that, they are often victimized by older inmates and staff, which is a traumatic experience for juveniles (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; McShane and Williams 2007; Meyers 2005).

According to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (amended in 2001), juvenile facilities must provide the best possible care for youth while being held in a state correctional facility (Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 2001 [JJDP]). For instance, juveniles must have access to programming and the programming must be more extensive than what is provided to adult inmates. Juveniles must have adequate housing, exercise, staffing, must attend school while incarcerated, receive life skills training and given the opportunity to learn a trade skill during this time.

The prevalent idea in juvenile corrections is to rehabilitate the youth (Austin et al. 2000; Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 2007). Because there is still time to recondition young minds, youth held with adults do not reap these benefits of the juvenile system.

Studies reveal that practical and legal obstacles associated with the prison experience have a negative impact on the reintegration process (Kempf-Leonard and Tracy 1998; Mauer 1999). Thus disenfranchisement and the “felony status” prohibits people from voting, obtaining educational loans for college and holding certain licensures to practice, which Petersilia (2004) believes are underlying factors for recidivism.

Reintegration

Reintegration is a process which is generally defined as how people return to life outside of prison walls, with the hope of becoming productive citizens and not re-offending (Petersilia 2004). Many reintegration discussions conceptualize reintegration by using *desistance*, which is usually defined as to stop or quit criminal activity (Maruna 2001; Maruna and Immarigeon 2003). To add to that, recidivism rates are discussed in the reintegration literature, and recidivism is often defined as going back to criminal activity or in most cases going back to prison (easier to measure), which is often considered an unsuccessful reintegration experience because the individual returned to prison (Petersilia 2003).

Generally, when life experiences are successful post-prison, productivity and reintegration can easily be measured. To that end, successful reintegration is not generally held to the standard of “completely desisting or quitting” criminal behavior but based more upon the productivity level of the ex-offender and whether the ex-offender has recidivated (Petersilia 2003). The problem with relying solely upon desistance as a measure of successful reintegration is the difficulty in determining whether this person has discontinued criminal behavior (Petersilia 2003).

What is the total reintegration experience in regards to activity associated with family, community, social connections and economic opportunities (Braithwaite 1989; Patillo et al., 2004; Petersilia 2003; Maruna 2001)? When people are released from prison, they return to limited opportunities in regards to economic opportunities. Some are undereducated which means that they have minimal skills. In addition, they are labeled “ex-convict” which blocks many opportunities that otherwise would be available (Petersilia 2003). Further, prisons are not required to assist the ex-convict with job

prospects, however, in some states parole officers have this role, but employment is not a guarantee (Austin 2001; Clear, Rose and Ryder 2001; Maruna and Immarigeon 2003; Travis and Petersilia 2001), so one could predict the outcome of the reintegration experience without the proper resources (Petersilia 2004).

Petersilia (2004) points out those ex-offenders may need more assistance than in the past because of diminished resources and the failing economic system in America. Further, inmates are serving longer sentences that cause them to become more disconnected with society, which makes it difficult to find employment and other resources. Additionally, because they are undereducated and more likely to have substance abuse and/or mental illness, this further contributes to failure during the reintegration process (Petersilia 2004). Many of these individuals return to the same environment and associate with the same friends post-release (Austin 2001). This proves to be hazardous to successful reintegration experience because “participating with same friends post release” is often a “reoccurring” factor that often appears in the recidivism literature (Petersilia 2004).

Shaming

Braithwaite (1989) notes in his writings that shaming outside of the distinctive environment, may in fact be ineffective. Harris (1999) explored how emotions impacts shaming. The major themes included feelings of wrong doing, feeling ashamed of behavior, concerned about the impact of behavior on others and broken relationships with family members. But the question remains as to whether the feeling of shame stems solely from internalized values, or from feeling embedded within the “Self.” With that said, “Shame” is difficult to measure, making it complicated to study and has many

interpretations (Scheff 1988). Darwin (1872) describes shame as modesty and shyness. He used the term “blushing,” a physical expression, to explain how people feel when they have positive or negative interactions with others. Gottschalk and Gleser (1969) attempted to measure shame via terms (shame markers) like embarrassed, humiliated, ridiculed and inadequate.

If participants use these terms in written descriptions of their emotions, then feelings of shame may be uncovered. In view of that, shame may be a “perception of negative evaluations of self by self or others, even if the negative evaluation is somewhat indirect (Scheff 1988:401).” Shame in this instance can be felt internally and externally through interaction with others.

Lewis (1971) tied the shame markers more specifically to behavior, which was different from what other researchers had done in the past. For instance, Lewis (1971) explored what she called overt undifferentiated shame and bypassed shame. Overt undifferentiated shame occurs when one experiences a negative evaluation by “Self” or “Others.” The terms or “shame markers” include: feeling foolish, stupid, ridiculous, inadequate, incompetent, and the feeling of insecurity were reported (Gottschalk and Gleser 1969). Additionally, people reported physical occurrences in the body including speech disruption or blushing when one reported feeling embarrassed, stupid or inadequate (Lewis 1971). With bypassed shame, the shame markers are faint, concealed or unacknowledged, so people who reported feeling this way attempted to avoid these feelings by ignoring them (Lewis 1971). Ultimately, shame could be defined and measured by using the terms or “shame markers” that Gottschalk and Gleser (1969) and Lewis (1971) have discovered.

Restorative justice is also a component of shame and shame management (Ahmed et al. 2001). Restorative justice gives focus to the victim, while forcing the perpetrator to become accountable for the crime/crimes (Ahmed et al., 2001). Some critics argue that this type of stigmatization will cause the perpetrator to become bitter and return to a life of crime. Along with that, Braithwaite (1989:7) believed that shame was a reaction to social pressures (external factors) based upon his original premise, but now considers shame as a response to internalized values based upon findings from recent research by Harris (1999), ala the totality of shaming is a process that stimulates emotions of shame.

Conceptualization of Reintegrative Shaming

One anticipated outcome of reintegration has been shaming (Abraria 1994; Foucault 1988; Garland 1997; Lewis 1971; MacDougall 1908; Maruna 2001; Messerschmidt 1993; Sampson and Laub 1990). Braithwaite (1989) refers to shaming as “expressing disapproval” of one’s action (often through gossip). To add to that, shaming is usually referred to as the efforts put forth to force or coerce an ex-offender to take responsibility, feel bad or rather “own up” to his/her illegal behavior (Abraria 1994; Braithwaite 1989; Foucault 1988; Garland 1997; Lewis 1971; and MacDougall 1908).

Abraria (1994) notes stigmatization may reform offenders, because offenders expect the community to stigmatize them for past behavior, yet they emphasize to “self” that they are really good people on the inside. In addition, Foucault (1988) and Garland (1997) believe that the only way that a person can be forced to take responsibility for their actions is through confessions. Hence, people must accept complete responsibility for inappropriate behaviors or criminal actions. These ideas can be seen more pointedly with sex offenders, because if sex offenders do not take responsibility for his/her actions,

he/she could be shamed, terminated from treatment, and even punished with more time in prison (Nelson 1996).

John Braithwaite (1989) has the most widely accepted ideas in regards to explaining the relationship between reintegration and shaming. Braithwaite (1989) hypothesizes how communities can control crime through reintegrative shaming. Consequently, shaming in this case is a process when people are doing the “shaming” and the feeling of “shame” is an emotion which is a psychological process that the individual being shamed experiences (Scheff 1988). Braithwaite differentiates between, shame and stigma (or positive shaming and negative shaming) to present the underlying principles of reintegrative shaming. He argues that there is a distinction between the two and the outcomes of each are different (Braithwaite 1989).

Braithwaite argues that positive shaming makes people feel such guilt or remorse for past criminal behavior that the feeling overwhelms them, thus forcing them to feel shame, (while being welcomed back into the community) thus hesitating about committing further criminal behavior. This premise is based on the idea of separating “the person” from “the behavior” (Maruna 2001). In comparison, Braithwaite (1989) agrees that applying stigma or negative shaming will lead criminals to internalize the stigma and “play the part” because of rejection, thus driving them further into a life of crime.

Braithwaite (1989) integrated several different theories to explain a general theory of crime (for predatory crimes) on an individual and a community level. Reintegrative shaming is an emotion (psychological [internal] process) and an external process respectively. Some of the theories include, learning theory, Hirschi’s (1969) bonding

theory, and Durkheim's (1897) ideas on integration, subculture, control, strain and labeling theory. Furthermore, Braithwaite attempts to provide an explanation for crime and why some areas are more crime prone than others. Furthermore, how society as a whole come together in an attempt to prevent criminal behavior through reintegrative shaming. Hence, the ultimate goal of shaming is deterrence. Braithwaite (1989) argues that crime rates in society are high because the community (on a micro level) fails to positively shame (or make one feel guilt for their behavior) offenders.

Braithwaite's (1989) theory incorporates interdependency and communitarianism as the most important concepts of the theory and considers cultural homogeneity in his explanations. Interdependency is a Durkheimian concept which means that the individual relies on intimates (family, close friends, neighbors, peers) for support so that one can continue on with life (Durkheim 1899). Therefore, shaming becomes more effective when intimates are doing the shaming as opposed to those who are not intimates. So non-intimates do not have enough power over the individual to stereotype or stigmatize them where it would have any affect (Braithwaite 1989). It may have been helpful if Braithwaite (1989) attributed more significance to employers. Ex-offenders may rely heavily upon them for support and recognition post prison.

Communitarianism is another concept that Braithwaite (1989) uses to explain the Reintegrative Shaming theory and it is defined as sharing a community or developed relationships with those who live in close proximity (Braithwaite 1989). People tend to work as a group or a family unit (more seen with American Indians, Jews and Chinese), and individual behaviors affect the unit. Hence, reintegrative shaming becomes more effective in this setting. One may not express feelings regarding outsiders opinions

because contact with the person or people will be limited, which makes an outsiders' opinion undervalued (Braithwaite 1989).

Braithwaite (1989) stated that there are also demographic factors that come into play when reintegrative shaming is considered and applied. He posits that the more urban the area, the less one is affected by reintegrative shaming from someone outside of the community or intimate group. Hence, the idea is that the more urban the area, the less people are connected to one another, decreasing the effectiveness of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite 1989).

Last, Braithwaite (1989) admits that his theory is incomplete in regards to cultural homogeneity. He acknowledges that certain cultures are so tightly linked that shaming by outsiders may be ineffective. To that end, Best (1990:318) pointed out in his critique of Braithwaite's theory, that Braithwaite (1989) did not adequately incorporate or discuss varying ethnic sub-cultural meanings of "shame" to expand upon his ideas on crime, shame and reintegration.

Though Braithwaite (1989) acknowledged that perhaps some ethnic subcultures define their own meanings of shame based upon personal experiences, thus the shaming mechanism may differ or be non-existent, yet he failed to provide clarity on these issues. Further, Braithwaite (1989) has also been criticized for ambiguous and incomplete ideas on reintegrative shaming. He notes that Black males may not experience the dominant groups' perceived feelings of shame, because a large percentage of Black males (criminal and law abiding) may view spending time in jail or prison as a "given", "hap hazard" or simply "just part of life" because of how the racist frame operates in America (Anderson 1999; Reese 2006). Still, he failed to elaborate on how criminal behavior may be the

norm therefore, shaming by reference groups may not exist (Anderson 1999; Irwin 1970). For this reason, my dissertation will add to the existing literature on reintegrative shaming by comparing Braithwaite's (1989) assumptions to the reintegrative shaming experiences of Black males.

If Braithwaite's (1989) assumptions are correct, Black males may experience less shame if they stepped outside the boundaries of their community (community is defined as surrounding neighborhood or the "hood"). This may also be consistent with other research that emphasizes shaming's effect only among reference group members.

Realizing that the reintegrative shaming theory could be better explained from the critiques that the theory has received previously, Braithwaite and Braithwaite (2001) attempted to clarify some of the missing items in part I of *Shame Management Through Reintegration* (Ahmed et al. 2001). Braithwaite and Braithwaite's (2001) reintegrative shaming premise remains the same, but they have removed the term stigma and have replaced it with negative shaming. They also make a distinction between "shame" the emotion and "shame" the regulatory practice. The regulatory practice invokes negative stimuli which forces people to feel shame for past behavior. In contrast to that idea is shame the emotion, which is viewed as an internal process, typically found in the human conscious (Scheff 1988).

Braithwaite and Braithwaite (2001) believe that these ideas are important concepts in restorative justice. Restorative justice allows for healing to emerge following a criminal act. "So restorative justice is about hurt begetting healing as an alternative to hurt begetting hurt" (Braithwaite and Braithwaite 2001:5). Many critics argue that shaming should not be considered in restorative justice because it is a hurtful and

destructive emotion that could lead to making crime worse. Whereas, Braithwaite and Braithwaite (2001) agree with this notion, but only to the degree that shaming is “negative shaming” rather than “helpful shaming,” because the effects for each are different. Further, they believe that shaming should be a part of every social movement because positive shaming promotes healing and reconciliation.

In summary, there are several items missing from reintegrative shaming theory. First, Braithwaite (1989) has incomplete ideas on how reintegrative shaming works for racial/ethnic subcultures. While, he mentioned that cultural diversity may play a role in how reintegrative shaming works, he failed to provide information on how his theory could be applied to different cultures. While Braithwaite (1989) acknowledges “the degree of inequality in society is important to the explanation of crime rates, which is an excellent beginning to explaining how the system could influence criminal behavior (Braithwaite 1989:96),” he did not provide clarity on cultural homogeneity and how different cultural groups will react to shaming and/or may differ in their shaming traditions. Further, it is unclear whether shaming is more an internalized value or a reaction to social pressure, when existing data are applied.

Braithwaite (1989) relied upon an assumption that most people agree that crimes including rape, murder, robbery and fraud are bad, so the intensity of shaming may be similar. But, according to the ideas of Elijah Anderson (1999), some cultures may accept behaviors including fighting with weapons or theft as the norm for some law abiding and non-law abiding subcultures. Therefore, shaming may not exist in these domains.

Reintegration and Conceptualization

Uggen, Manza and Behrens (2004) wrote about successful transitions and life changing events. The idea is that if people experience positive life changing events including, maintaining stable employment, marriage, having children, or attending school, involvement in a religious organization or simply by aging which explains how aging forces people into adult roles which allows one to transition out of crime and focus on more mature activities (Glueck and Glueck 1940; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Sampson and Laub 1993; Uggen 2000). The more one can give back to the community by leading a productive life, the more involved and successful the reintegration experience.

The “turning points” literature suggest that as people mature and embark upon life changing experiences, they may be deterred from criminal behavior (Sampson and Laub 1993). For example, Uggen (2000) found that work or being employed does have an effect upon recidivism, but the effects were consistent among older people rather than young offenders. Further, work or employment tends to be more meaningful for an older adult. Along with that, social bonds such as marriage and having children may also affect the desistance process (Laub, Nagin and Sampson 1998; Sampson and Laub 1993). Social bonding (successful marriages) is similar to an investment process, which develops overtime and acts as an incentive to desistance (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). In comparison, young, unattached people may not have the same views about life because of the lack of maturity.

Discussions also provide insight on how it is that people come to feel bad or guilty about past criminal behavior that results in desistance and/or self-transformation (Braithwaite 1989; Lofland 1969; Maruna 2001; Scott and Lyman 1968). Generally

surveys can capture these ideas regarding desistance, or to gain more specificity one should use qualitative methods to allow people to verbally express their experiences. These are studies that focus on the cognitive process of how the individual gives up criminal ways, and how the individual rationalizes through the situation, and/or how one comes to show remorse for past criminal actions which may in fact lead to desistance or quitting criminal behavior (Braithwaite 1989; Glaser 1964; Glueck and Glueck 1940; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Maruna 2001; Matza 1964; Waldorf 1983; West 1978; Sampson and Laub 1995).

The idea is that “ex-convicts” have to become aware of their identity and understand the reasoning for past behaviors while evaluating the reasoning behind their norm abiding behavior. Thus the ex-offenders can do this by creating “self narratives” (Maruna 2001). These “self narratives” require that the ex-offenders “make sense” of their life by recognizing the “whys” of the criminal behavior perhaps encouraging change (Sampson and Laub 1995).

Further, this transformation requires the ex-offenders to “develop a coherent, pro-social identity for themselves” which includes combining all experiences past, present and the anticipated future in some sort of a life’s story (Maruna 2001:7; McAdams 1985). This process is referred to as “making sense of their lives” (McAdams 1985; 1993; Sampson and Laub 1995). In other words, ex-offenders need to undergo “self transformation” in order to become successful in desisting which is very important aspect of reintegration (Maruna 2001: 7).

Garland (1997) discovered that “owning up” to one’s criminal actions is the first and most vital step of reform, hence, this “owning up” means to come to grips with their

past behavior and accept that they have done wrong. This “therapeutic work” assists the offender through rationalizing of past behaviors while accepting responsibility for those past actions. As such, Foucault (1988) has ideas about reintegration and “sense making” through the use of personal narratives. These “personal narratives” are generally associated with cultural customs and interaction with reference group members and society.

Foucault (1988:11) suggests that self-narratives are created, “proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group.” As such, if his family and peers accept him while “understanding” his behavior, how will he experience shame for their past behavior? For the most part, these stories or self narratives have to appear genuine or people in the community may discredit the vowed transformation and continue to stigmatize. According to Braithwaite (1989), has a negative impact on the individual (Lofland 1969). The ex-offender must convince people that the past experiences have caused a positive change (Irwin 1970).

In conclusion, criminal justice organizations must be mindful of the fact that many people will at some point arrive at the “prisoner reentry” process and prison programming should prepare prisoners to return to the community with skills that encourage productivity. In addition, parole and supervision processes should be adequate, in ways that assist the offender with this reintegrative process. Job and education assistance should be available. Otherwise, society should expect public safety to be jeopardized because this group may have few alternatives other than criminal activity for economic gain (Petersilia 2003). As a final point, Liebrich (1993) found that the strongest predictor of “going straight” was feeling shame for past criminal actions.

Hence, shaming does appear to remain a significant factor in the reintegration process (Braithwaite 1989; Harris 1999; Lewis 1971).

Conceptualization of Shame

Shame and Stigma.

Shame and stigma are important factors in the reintegration process (Braithwaite 1989; Scheff 1988). Shaming and stigma have similarities in interpretations. Specific meanings for shame include disgrace, dishonor and humiliation, feeling foolish, inadequate, ridiculous or incompetent which seem to be internal feelings of shaming, hence these shameful feelings generally come from within (Lewis 1971). Similarly, stigma can be viewed as being shamed, disgraced and/or dishonored, which tend to be driven by external elements.

The idea behind shaming (driven by external factors) is to force or invoke the individual to show remorse or feel bad for individual behaviors that are against the norm and/or are prohibited by law. Sociologists go beyond this limited definition by taking into account the behaviors of both the individual and the actors. During the actual criminal justice shaming process, the offender is required to confess and feel remorse for this behavior, which is a therapeutic process that appears to be a path toward rehabilitative therapy (Foucault 1988; Rose 1996). In view of that, Abraria (1994) talks about “stigmatizing wrongdoers.” This is also a process that forces offenders to realize the “wrongs” that they have done. During this time, the offender begins to seriously take responsibility for the behavior through accepting and confessing the wrongful actions. The literature reveals that this maybe the most effective way that an ex-offender will become reformed (Foucault 1988; Garland 1997).

Stigma is attached to people who violate norms and laws. This stigma is aimed to force the law-breaker to outcast status. Stigma also serves another purpose, which is labeling certain groups as different or criminal even though they have done nothing wrong (Goffman 1963; Sagarin 1990). “In the Black and White world of good guys and bad guys, one is either a good person who makes some forgivable mistakes or a common criminal who deserves no sympathy (Maruna 2001: 5).” These ideologies serve a purpose in society. They are often used to distinguish the “Us versus Them” relationship which creates a common enemy that benefits the “Us” by reassurance, that our behavior is acceptable (Maruna 2001).

Reintegrative Shaming and Black Males

There is very little in the current literature that provides comprehensive details in regards to the reintegration and shaming experiences among Black males in America (Anderson 1999; Reese 2006). Braithwaite (1989:95) touches upon these ideas by stating that the experience for African American’s may be different because Black people have been systematically blocked from opportunities in America and herded into areas that may require one to portray aggressive behavior even when this conduct is contrary to their actual personality (Anderson 1999; Darwin 1859). Additionally, Braithwaite (1989:95) wrote, “It should be contemplated whether the high crime rates of these groups might have less to do with shaming and belief in the law than with the systematically blocked opportunities they endure in the American class system.” Thus, in this brief expression of his ideas on economic inequality, Braithwaite (1989) notes that there may be more structural factors at play than individual ones.

While there is literature available that could explain some aspects of reintegrate shaming and Black males, many researchers argue that reintegration among Black males may be different from other races (Anderson 1999; Chiricos, Barrack, Bales and Bontrager 2007; Meyers 2005). Braithwaite (1989:94) writes, “The theory rejects the notion that American Black people as a group exert more shaming to secure violation of the law than shaming to secure compliance; but it accepts that there may be Black subcultures that use “shaming” to foster crime rather than conformity, just as there are subcultures of Anglo-Saxon businessmen which do this.” For instance, Anderson (1999) suggest that in some African American cultures, serving time in prison maybe viewed as a “Badge of Honor,” or at least as a “Respect” gaining mechanism. Therefore, some people may not feel shame for past criminal behavior thus making their reintegration experiences different from the norm (Anderson 1999).

Masculinity and the Code of the Streets

Subculture of Violence.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) are at the forefront of ideas regarding the subculture of violence and how we study these phenomena. They posit that a subculture of violence exists among Blacks and violent values are widespread throughout the culture. This subculture holds true to elements of the dominant culture. However, the subculture has its own set of norms and rules to follow, and these norms or rules are contrary to the dominant culture (Cohen 1955; Miller 1958; Sellin 1938).

Elijah Anderson’s (1999) ideas from *Code of the Streets* describe how an environment can become conducive to violence. As an illustration, Anderson’s (1999) study was based on the interactions between minority people in the inner cities of

Philadelphia. He describes how in this highly urban setting which is prone to high crime, a code exists that most (Decent and Street) must abide by or they may be seriously injured or possibly killed. This code is referred to as the “code of streets” and the main components are aggressiveness, toughness and violence. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) theorized that a Black subculture values violence. The individual who is best at displaying these qualities gains the most respect within the community. Consequently, this respect brings protection within this subculture (Anderson 1999).

Anderson (1999) goes on to discuss how people learn to survive (by using the “Code of the Streets”) in an environment that is conducive to violence. In line with Sutherland’s (1947) learning theory and Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) posit that people in these communities learn to solve altercations using violence in many cases to survive in that atmosphere.

Anderson’s (1999) describes two types of people in urban areas: “Decent” people and “Street” people. Decent people are defined as those who subscribe to the norms of mainstream society. Conversely, Street people are those who do not necessarily subscribe to the norms of mainstream society, but rather have a different set of rules and regulations. Decent and Street families have to co-exist, and in the day-to-day interactions of co-existing, one must learn the rules and regulations of the “streets” in order to avoid or overcome conflict. With that said people who consider and view themselves as law-abiding citizens (decent), have to learn to be aggressive. The idea is that at some point, they too have to succumb to aggression and violence (culture of street people) in order to survive in the environment. Violence is such an integral part of the

culture that everyone living and socializing in the area must learn to follow in order to survive (Cohen 1955; Miller 1958; Sellin 1938).

“Respect” is also an integral part of this culture and must be sustained at all times no matter what the cost (Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006). For that reason, respect has strong connections to perceptions of masculinity and/or manhood and the “code of the streets” is the guidebook to achieve this respect (Anderson 1999; Messerschmidt 1993; Mullins 2006).

These ideas will be applied to this research as some of the participants may in fact live by the “code of the streets”. People, who live by this code, may have an ideology that opposes the dominant culture, and this may affect their behavior and how they are treated in the justice system. Following this code may also affect the reintegration experience and how the individual experiences shame.

Other Theoretical Considerations

Learning Theory.

The learning process described by Anderson (1999) is consistent with *differential association*, a theory of delinquency that explains how people learn criminal behavior. During the formation of this theory, Sutherland (1947) did not use racial categories to explain this theory; instead, he used crime categories and provided extensive research on White collar criminals, which was an important contribution to the literature. For Sutherland (1947), the cause of criminal behavior is based upon heavy association with people who violate the law, and this idea is what is most important when delinquency is discussed. So if the values of a person’s “intimates” are criminal, then *differential association* posits that others may learn, adopt and engage in criminal behavior.

Sutherland (1947) also noted that the process of copying criminal behavior (can be learned from parents, peers or co-workers) is a learning process consistent with that of any other learning, but at the same time, may require one to learn highly detailed techniques necessary to accomplish a crime (Sutherland 1947). Furthermore, the theory suggests that in order to change criminal behavior, one must sever ties with those who influence this type of behavior (Sutherland 1947).

Critical Race and the Construction of “Black” as Criminal

The leading explanation regarding race, crime and criminal justice is presented from a critical race perspective. The critical race theory discusses how minorities (particularly Black men) are treated within the criminal justice system, rather than relating their experience with more sociological complexity (Bell 1987). It focuses on the historical overview of race and race relations in America, particularly relating to the justice system while focusing on Black people and stigmatization, alienation, economic marginalization and differential treatment in the justice system.

Specifically, the *critical race* perspective is a theoretical formulation by a group of legal scholars who attempt to identify racism embedded in legal documents and practices in the justice system (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller and Thomas 1995). Derrick Bell (1987), author and law professor, seems to head this critical race movement (Reese 2006). The premise of this approach is derived from conflict theory because it also suggests that the criminal justice system is designed to legitimate White supremacy (privilege), while victimizing less powerful groups, one of which is the Black race (Reese 2006). Critical race theorists view the idea of equal protection under the law as merely rhetorical (Reese 2006). This is substantiated by the fact that Black men as well as other

minorities are highly overrepresented in the prison system yet there are other groups who have similar offending patterns (Russell 1998).

The *critical race* perspective is derived from critical legal studies and has many different perspectives in relation to how race arguments are described and emphasized.

The arguments are unified under two common themes:

The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.”

The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it (Crenshaw, et al. 1995:xiii).

Today, the literature currently presents race as a major factor in the crime realm, yet it often downplays structural forces in its explanation of race and crime, specifically in relation to Black people and crime (Hawkins 1983). Instead, it presents Black people and their involvement in crime as an individual level phenomenon. Fortunately, this is changing because critical race theory explains how conflicting and erroneous ideas or beliefs about race and crime have continuously emerged from the media and other avenues. These beliefs have also been recycled throughout history and have led to depiction and overgeneralizations of Black people as criminal (Reiman 2001; Rome 2004; Russell 1998). Unfortunately, this has affected how this group is treated within

society, the school system and in the justice system (Joseph 1996; Rome 2002; Russell 1998).

Russell (1998) uses the phrases “Law used to criminalize Blackness” or “Blackness itself is a crime” to illustrate these points. She wrote in her discussion regarding slave codes, Black codes and Jim Crow laws, that “slaves lived with the constant fear that at any moment they might be charged and convicted of crimes that they did not commit” (Russell 1998:15). Using this statement, I argue along with Russell (1998), that policies and procedures (e.g. racial profiling) in the justice system appears to be a continuation of how Black people were treated during slavery. To be explicit, the mere structure of the legal system seems to use existing practices to support a racially unfair justice system. Some research reveals that Black men in America expect to serve some time in jail or prison due to these practices (Reese 2006; Rome 2004; Russell 1998).

These are contemporary illustrations of how law is used to criminalize Blackness. Consistent with the conflict theory, let us examine the present political atmosphere in regards to Black people and crime. For instance, the dominant group constructs Blacks as deviant or criminal in order to validate superiority of the elite and to legitimate the lawlessness of the “others” (Russell 1998). Such ideologies regarding Black males filter into the justice system and affect the process and procedures (Russell 1998).

Furthermore, realities about crime are constructed in the media and movies and these realities affect how Black people are treated in America and abroad (Feagin et al., 2001). Some constructions include depicting Black people as lazy and deviant (Liebow

2003; Russell 1998). Even ideas regarding crime are constructed and diffused into societal communications about crime (Quinney 1970).

Many scholars believe that the media, which include television, newspapers and movies, are the most important agents of transmitted ideas about crime (Quinney 1970). The information that these agents present about crime heavily affects public opinion about the frequency and the level of crime in their area even when the data doesn't support such opinions. As a result, news presentations may have the most effect on opinions about crime and delinquency because people view the news as a valuable and trusted source even though some stories may be social constructions of reality (Eschholz 2002; Quinney 1970).

Eschholz (2002) found that television viewing instills more fear in White Americans toward African Americans because of how they are depicted on screen. Barak (1996:111) quotes, "African Americans are put on the defensive to demonstrate that they are not the demonized others who are supposedly responsible for all that is wrong with society." When some people see a Black face, they see a criminal, often as a result of media presentations (Russell 1998).

The media sustains the belief of Black males as criminal and these messages are not invisible to the Black population (Rome 2002). For example, Russell (1998:7) conducted focus groups with college Black men to explore images and realities of crime and race. She interviewed Black males and some of the participants' stated that they were as young as four years of age when they first became aware of the negative images portrayed of them by the media. Unsurprisingly, some of the participants revealed that

they were instructed at a young age on how to act when they come in contact with the police based on past experience with Blacks and police brutality (Russell 1998:34).

In conclusion, critical race theory argues that Black people are continually depicted as thieves, rapist and murderers, and when these types of criminal incidents do occur, the criminal activity among people of color is highlighted, rather than focusing on criminal activity by all groups (Barak 1996; Rome 2004; 2002). More importantly the unequal treatment of this group can remain justified by the media's images as the media continues these stereotypes that ultimately may affect their treatment in the justice system (Rome 2002).

In my opinion, it would be difficult to discuss causes or reasons for crime in relation to minorities and not deem it necessary to add assumptions about the historic racist frame in America and how it affects our justice system processes (LaFree and Russell 1993). The current literature and statistics presents an overrepresentation of Blacks in crime statistics and reveal that they are disproportionately incarcerated (LaFree and Russell 1993; Reese 2006; Tonry 1995). Through this research, I shed light on what these people have experienced after they have been released from prison.

Differential Offending and Selection Bias

Minority overrepresentation in the criminal justice system is also explained by differential offending and/or selection bias (Bishop 2005; Lieber 2002). The rise in juvenile crime in the 1980's and 1990's contributed to the increase in arrest among juveniles. Even though White juveniles had the largest increase in violent crime during this time, Blacks were more likely to be moved through the system for violent and drug crimes (Lieber 2002). There is also data that reveal that the practice of disproportionately confining Black children dates back to the 1970's. During the late 1970's, arrest rates for

Black children were down, yet confinement had increased for this group (Krisberg, Schwartz, Fishman, Eisikovits, Guttman and Joe 1987).

Because of the continued pattern of selection bias, Black males are more likely to go through the reintegration process, as they are more likely to be moved through the system and sentenced to prison.

Conclusion

The ideas presented in this chapter are important for this research because the social structure of this nation makes it difficult for minorities to receive fair treatment in the criminal justice system. Unfavorable treatment by this same system is magnified when they are released from prison (Mauer 1994; 1999). Ideas about race and crime have been embedded in our society and in media images thus depicting Black men as the primary suspect when discussing deviance or criminality (Leibow 2003; Mullins 2006). Theories provide some explanations on how we arrived at this juncture. This research will provide some insight on how Black men move through this process of labeling as they attempt to re-build their lives.

CHAPTER 3: DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

This chapter describes methods and data collection processes used to conduct this qualitative exploratory reintegration study. An exploratory study is usually referred to as research conducted to explore a phenomenon and/or to familiarize the researcher and the readers with the subject matter (Berg 1998). Although the subject matter is not new (adult Black males and reintegration), the literature lacks an exploration of the reintegration experiences of Black males who served time in adult prisons as teenagers (Harrison and Beck 2006). For that reason, this research is ground breaking and is referred to as an exploratory study. There is very little sociological or criminological specific research on this topic presented in the literature. To that end, this research may have heuristic value for those who would like to explore the topic quantitatively.

Qualitative methods are suitable for an adequate understanding of perceptions of personal experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Qualitative methods make use of surveys and interviews that may bring forth the richness and genuineness of the study (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

The primary research question was: *Does the “ex-convict” label affect the reintegration experiences of Black males after serving time in an adult prison as a youth?* The rationale surrounding this research is that Black men probably have a more difficult time with the reintegration process because they overwhelmingly experience stigmatization, alienation and economic marginalization together with discrimination in the criminal justice system and society at large (Braithwaite 1989; Reese 2006; Rome 2004; Russell 1998). But are the reintegration experiences of Black men similar for those men who serve time in adult facilities as teenagers? Existing studies reveal that

reintegration experiences among former inmates are bleak because of the lack of resources available to this group and the stigmas attached (Mauer 1994; Meyers 2005; Miller 1996; Petersilia 2004). This research helps gain more insight to what this group has experienced during this reintegration process. I also aim to determine whether Black men experience shame from the label affixed during prison experiences and/or if the “ex-convict” label is openly accepted in their community. Braithwaite’s (1989) cultural homogeneity thesis and the subculture of violence thesis along with Elijah Anderson’s (1999) “Decent vs. Street” people thesis are considered for this research.

In this chapter, I will provide a detailed account of the sample and sampling technique, the recruitment strategy, data collection measures and the data analysis process.

Sample and Sampling Technique

Participants in this study were Black males who had been released and/or paroled from an adult facility where they served time as a juvenile. Twenty one Black males were chosen for this study because this group is being waived and sentenced to prison more than any other group nationally and the reintegration process among this group is understudied (Harrison and Beck 2006). The mean sentence length for this group was 11.33 years. The mode was 15 years and the range was from 5 to 15 year sentences. However, some participants reported serving about 1/3 to 1/2 of the actual sentence.

In Table 2 (Appendix) the data also reflect the changes implemented with mandatory sentences in the 1990’s (Travis 2005). When comparing Table 1 for age and Table 2 (Appendix) for sentence length, the older participants seemed to be without consistency in sentencing, but the younger participants seemed to have more

consistency/similarities with sentencing and charges. Perhaps this is because they were sentenced after Arkansas adopted sentencing guidelines in 1993 (Arkansas Sentencing Commission 2001).

There were no particular specifications for age at the time of the interview. The main requirement was that the men had to have been waived as a juvenile and served time in an adult prison. The population was selective because of the increase in waivers to adult court in the mid 1980's to 1990's, (Synder et al. 2000; Torbet, Gable, Hurst, Montgomery and Szymanski 1996). However, most of the participants for this study were between the ages of 23 to 48 years old, leaving the selection criterion for this research being men that had served time with adults as juveniles and of African descent.

For this study, Black males will be defined as men who self identified as having at least part African ancestry. This distinction is important because African Americans (Blacks) possess a variety of skin tones and hair textures. Moreover, some people with African ancestry may look Caucasian more than Black or phenotypically “pass” for White. In either case, these people may not share the same experiences with institutional discrimination as those individuals having culturally been recognized having African American features (Hudgins v. Wright, 11 VA 134, Supp Ct App. 1806).

The primary target area for this research was Arkansas and surrounding areas because of convenience and accessibility. Most all of the participants were Arkansans. I had two participants move out of the state but I was able to make contact and conduct interviews by email. The final sample consisted of 20.5 interviews or 21 participants. I lost contact with one email participant midway through the process, but was able to salvage one half of the interview.

All participants served time in the Arkansas Department of Corrections (ADC). There are a total of 31 adult prison facilities in the state of Arkansas, including work release facilities which allow inmates to work, live in community housing on the prison campus, while slowly transitioning back into social and living skills (www.adc.arkansas.gov). The state of Wisconsin (Huber Law 1913) was the first to introduce these kinds of work release programs (www.docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/document/statuesindex/huber%20law).

The initial contact was recruited by way of “word of mouth” through an individual within the community (e.g. judge, minister, professor, etc). I used a convenience sample to select participants, which allowed the researcher to provide an interview to any eligible participant. Availability of participants was most important to this research so participants were not limited to Arkansas. This convenience sample then lead to a snowballing technique, which means, I used my current contacts to expand my participant pool. A snowball sampling or a chain referral technique builds upon the initial contacts (Berg 1995; 1998).

I identified four participants by convenience and the remaining participants were identified through snowballing. Snowballing methods were important to this research. There was active and passive solicitation to recruit participants for the research (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Active solicitation included assertively recruiting participants through personal contacts, family and friends, and also emailing flyers advertising for the study (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Conversely, passive solicitation required participants to contact the researcher if interested in participating in the study using the information from the flyer. This method was not effective in producing interviews.

Barring people listed in department of corrections (DOC) websites there was little to no access to a list of people who composed the population (Appendix C). This method had its drawbacks because some of the participants lost contact with individuals that they had served time with because the law requires ex-felons to remain distant from one another. Early on in the interview process, during one particular interview, when asked for a name of a possible contact, one participant quickly and nervously responded:

“I don’t know of anyone else because we not allowed to hang around other ex-convicts.”

Consequently, a felon cannot co-mingle with another felon because such interactions are a parole violation. As a result, a few of the participants were reluctant to pass on information in that regard. I assumed the participant believed that people would assume that he “hung out” with ex-felons if he passed on a name. Because of this, I was very cautious at how I approached the question in future interviews. I definitely made sure that when I asked that question, it was after the interview, casually and when the recorder was off. To my surprise, many of the participants either responded, “Yes, I know a few people,” “No, I don’t know anyone,” or “Let me see and I’ll get back with you.” But unfortunately, only a few of the participants contacted me with names of possible participants. I gave \$20.00 cash for participating in the interview as an incentive.

Recruitment

Primary Recruitment Strategies.

Personal Contacts.

I had four strategies for recruiting participants which include personal contacts, internet searches, telephone and email solicitation. The primary recruitment method was

to search for participants by contacting local community leaders asking for referrals. I asked my colleagues at major Universities in Kentucky, Arkansas and Alabama to assist me with locating possible participants by distributing my business cards, emailing the flyer advertising for the study and communicating with them about the study and possibly contacting people whom they may know directly. None of the contacts out of state provided information that led to an interview.

I had one particular contact that worked directly with ex-offenders at a two year community college in central Arkansas. This contact provided the greatest number of participants. This program is free of charge to participants and funded by the United States Department of Education and geared to assist African-American males improve his educational outcomes. The mission of the program is to provide “Brother-to-Brother” case management that serves up to 300 males in hopes to improve retention and graduation. The director of this program became my primary contact, as he led me to most of my potential interviews. My primary contact works with ex-offenders and was able to round up about 55% of my contacts/participants. He worked directly with these men in a rehabilitative capacity at the community college. He did the introductions for me by personally talking with these individuals (because he knew them personally) to briefly explain the study and then ask if he would be interested. If they agreed to participate, then he would provide me with the names and numbers, and I would make the call to extensively explain the study and possibly set up the interview.

Many of the participants that arrived from this pool were college students or working towards becoming college bound merely based upon their participation in this particular program. I had to contact the potential participant right away or I would risk

losing the participants due to the phone numbers being frequently disconnected or changed.

Many of my family and friends contacted individuals that they knew directly and this resulted in 4 interviews face-to-face interviews. Parole agencies and court houses were suitable locations to solicit because of the forced relationships/ties between these institutions and possible participants. For these reasons, Judges, parole officers and representatives of police departments were contacted by telephone to solicit assistance in locating men who fit the selection criteria. Unfortunately, these attempts lead nowhere.

Internet Search

Information provided by the department of corrections provided enough information to conduct a google search to locate people who had been paroled as potential participants for the study if the people matched participant characteristics (adult waiver). I used the Department of Corrections information to locate people through an internet name and age search in order to obtain a telephone number or address for the individual. Many departments of corrections websites list the name, charge/charges, sentence and sentencing and release dates and other identifying information about inmates (i.e. gender, race and age). I used this information to select potential participants. I had printed release date information on Black inmates ranging from the last five years which allows for many of the former inmates on the Arkansas Department of Corrections' website to be at least two years post-prison. Then I used this contact information to perform a Google search to see what came up under the name, age and state. From this search, I found two participants through MyLife website and one

through Facebook for a total of three interviews. I interview two participants face-to-face and one through email.

The internet yellow pages publish identifying information for people who are listed in the telephone book. The internet yellow pages allows for one to search for people by geographical region, city, age and name. I found two participants using internet yellow pages. I found five total contacts through this method of recruitment.

Telephone Contact

Once I gained telephone numbers, the initial contact was a call explaining the study and I asked the individual to participate in my research (while mentioning the \$20.00 incentive will be a money order mailed via USPS). I asked the participant, when is a good time to call for the interview?, and the actual date and time of the interview was scheduled from the initial telephone contact.

Email Recruitment Strategy

I used email to advertise for the study by attaching a flyer (with local numbers available for the participant to contact me) advertising for the study at universities, local parole agencies and courthouses. I received no calls from this method of advertisement.

Data Collection and Measures

Interview Location.

I met participants at the public library and we used conference rooms, university library conference rooms or whatever room was available to conduct the interview. I had a male assist me during some of the face-to-face interviews to enhance my safety, as most of these individuals were strangers. When my assistant came along, he waited outside of the conference rooms to minimize the distraction. When I scheduled an interview in a

conference or study room that had a glass window, my assistant did not accompany me because the library security guard could easily detect if I was in danger. Most libraries were required to have security on duty because of the city size. If I knew the participant (relative/family friend), then I would ask if he would like to do the interview at his home for privacy reasons. The participant and I would find a quiet place to do the interview. For the most part, these interviews went smoothly with the exception of the disruption of the occasional house phone ring from time to time. The interviews lasted about an hour and a half.

Contact with the Participants

Face-to-Face Interviews.

The other contacts were made initially by telephone and when the participant agreed to participate, I then asked which public library was closest or most convenient to meet. Before I completed the call, I had an interview set up. The day before the interview, I would always call to confirm that the interview was still on. I had seventeen face-to-face interviews.

The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. After each interview, I asked participants for referrals for the study. Several of the participants made it a point to say that they did not know of anyone else and “it is against the law for ex-felons to hang around other felons.”¹ Before the interview, I explained the importance of the research in regards to its relationship with policy changes, which may add resources (economic assistance, jobs, education assistance etc.) for those who are in

¹ This was something that I did not consider initially. This could have been the participants’ way of letting me know that they did not fully trust me.

similar situations. Also, I explained to the participant the importance of informing society about the experiences of people who have served time in adult prisons as juveniles; possibly initiating a movement to stop sending juveniles to serve their time in adult facilities.

Telephone Interviews

I had two telephone interviews. During my telephone interviews, I read the informed consent to the participant and had him verbally agree to its content. I also asked for a mailing address so the participant would receive his \$20.00 money order for his participating along with a copy of the consent form. After we took care of the business portion of the interview process we began the interview. Both interviews went smoothly with the exception of a few interruptions from the pet dog and an occasional interruption from a family member.

Email Interviews

I was able to conduct two interviews by email with names and email addresses given by my primary contact who worked directly with ex-offenders. We conducted all communication through email, even the consent information and form. The participant provided an electronic signature on the consent form and then we began the interview. It took several days to complete this process because I would email a few questions at a time so that the participant would not become over whelmed by the amount of questions listed and the amount of typing required to complete the question. I sent the \$20 money order through U.S. Postal Services when the interview was completed. To my surprise, I had no refusals with the exception of the participant who was unable to finish the email interview for reasons unknown.

Interview Process

I began the interview process by engaging in rapport building with the participant by asking about the weather, birth state, school attended etc. All participants were assured their identity and the information gained from the interview would be confidential. The definition of participant protection was explained, according to the American Sociological Association. In addition, I also explained the function of the Human Subjects Committee at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and then went over the informed consent information and ask if he had any questions before we began the interview.

The consent form explained the details and purpose of the study, while highlighting the rights of the participant during this process. I explained the overall importance of the study and how the information participants provide will help me complete the degree. I informed each participant of the expected time expectations and the monetary incentives for participating, while emphasizing that he could stop the interview at any time during the interview process. Finally, I asked the participant to sign the consent form, so that we could begin the interview.

Study Instrument

In-depth interviews were used to collect data and explore participants' experiences from their personal accounts (Berg 1995). In drawing on personal accounts of life events, respondents disclosed the process of how he attached and/or interpret meanings and symbols to experiences, and how he understood the subject matter (Berg 1995). This style of interviewing allowed for relaxed conversations or discussions that were beneficial to me, as the researcher and the participants. Generally, the idea is that if

the participant is relaxed by the informal style of the interview, then perhaps he may be more open to share information (Berg 1995). I reassured the participants that the interview was confidential and he had complete autonomy to answer freely. Subsequently, most spoke freely and did not appear to be nervous. Some were quite energetic and animated as they told their story.

The interview guide was semi-structured, meaning the questions were predetermined, but the interview was informal enough to allow room for unstructured probes for the sake of clarity, and to allow the participant to add any information that he deemed pertinent to the study (Berg 1998). The semi-structure interview format allowed for flexibility because oftentimes clarity was needed in determining meanings. For instance, terms like “G” were used and this is defined as “gangsta” or gang member. I used unstructured probes to capture meanings to terms in which I was unsure, which was a valuable benefit of using qualitative methods (Berg 1998). By structuring my interviews as such, I gained a clearer understanding of ambiguous or vague responses that the participants made at times. For instance, some vague responses include, “I don’t know how to explain it?” “They taught me how to be a man.” So through probes, I was able to ask the participants to elaborate or discuss in detail.

This process is important because the topic encompassed many “unknowns” due to the exploratory nature. Moreover, the literature revealed an unclear and unfinished portrait of these experiences. As such, qualitative methods allowed meanings of these “unknowns” to be captured during the interview process (Neuman 2006).

Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to tell their story in their own words and define their own actions using their own words and rationale (Orbuch 1997).

These strategies carry more validity than the assumptions made regarding findings through quantitative research (Wolcott 2001). Steps were taken to assure that the definition and meanings provided by participants will be coded accurately based upon individual interpretations. For instance, “stomp” was interpreted by one participant as “helping friends fight.” Additionally, “homeboy” was a term used to describe a friend. In this instance, the voice of the participant is heard rather than the researcher.

The interviews helped me gain an understanding of their personal experiences since being released from prison, while providing information about how that experience impacted their lives daily. Additionally, this research provides some sociological and criminological insight regarding experiences of juvenile offenders who were waived and sent to adult prison.

The interviews were divided into four different content areas. The first component of the interview was devoted to collecting demographic data to determine the participant’s characteristics. The next two sections were devoted to collecting information that described the participant’s past life, prison and reintegrative shaming experiences (Survey Instrument in Appendix B). Because I had anticipated that some participants had recidivated after that initial prison experience, the last section was devoted to those who had gone back to prison since that first teenage experience (Questionnaire A in Appendix B). I had created a distinctive set of questions to address those who fit in this category (Questionnaire B in Appendix B).

The format of the interviews allowed me to gain a comprehensive understanding of the events that took place after the offenders were released. In addition to that, the

interview provides a glimpse of their experiences pre-prison, perhaps revealing how they ended up in their current situation.

Past Life Experiences

Some of the questions were constructed to get feedback on past experiences. This information was relevant because I desired an understanding of how their lives and relationships had changed or remained the same since prison. The idea was to begin with an understanding of the relationships before prison and how they had changed once released from prison, thus having an effect upon the reintegrative shaming experience. Conversely, I used Orbuch's (1997) ideas of allowing participants to use stories to organize themselves, others and the world to position themselves in their current situation. For instance, the men were asked "How have you changed since serving time in prison?" "How did you get along with your family before you went to prison/penitentiary?" "How do you get along with them now?"

I also asked questions regarding the prison experience, leading into the section by asking "What was that (prison) life like for you?" "How did you adapt?" These questions addressed the participants' experiences in prison and how these experiences may have affected life on the outside.

This section also addressed the recidivist or people who had several reintegration experiences, as the literature reveals that many of these people often return to prison (Maruna 2001). For example, every participant was asked, "How many times have you been to prison?" [Note: if incarcerated since that first juvenile experience, go to items for recidivist Questionnaire B. If not, go to next item 9]. So if the he had gone back to prison, he was asked questions from Questionnaire B and the questions addressed his

reintegration experiences after each period of incarceration. The participant was asked, “Describe how your hopes have changed or remained the same each time you were released from prison?” “Describe your living situation during those periods.” “How had your family reacted each time you were incarcerated and released?” These questions allowed the men to possibly respond in a retrospective manner, which made them reminisce about the pre-prison experience that may have helped frame his life in a story format (Orbuch 1997).

Reintegrative Shaming

Reintegrative shaming questions captured two themes, the reintegration experiences and whether the individual felt shame for his criminal behavior. Some questions asked the men to describe hopes and dreams once released to address his reintegration experiences. He was also asked, “Describe your life since you were released.” “Do you tell people you served time?” (Probe: If so, who do you tell and why do you feel comfortable telling them?). To address instances of shaming, the participant was asked, “How do you feel about the crimes that they say you have committed?” “How did you feel about going to prison?” “Do you think people should just get past what you did?” Additionally, a probe was used with this question to ask participants, “How do you want people to think of you?” This allowed participants to self reflect.

The Process of Data Analysis

Qualitative methods allow researchers to explore new meanings or themes that emerge from data with minimal difficulty because of the intense nature of the interview or data collecting process (Neuman 2006). After transcription, each response from the interviews were read and the information was placed into categories by main themes or

ideas and main topic patterns or terms relevant to reintegration (Lofland and Lofland 1995). Open coding was used to pull themes from the data, which consisted of words, phrases or sentences used to describe reintegration experiences (Berg 1998). Major themes that emerged from the data were issues regarding housing, family relationships, community, school and work. I discuss these findings in the subsequent chapters.

An inductive approach was used as I searched specifically for meaningful themes, categories, patterns, topics or issues in the data that described reintegration experiences and feelings of shame (Abrahamson 1983; Strauss and Corbin 1998). A variables list was constructed using the questionnaires and the main themes in each question were used as thematic guides. Sociological constructs were created from the variables presented that represent major themes describing shaming experiences.

Content analysis was used to analyze the data. Content analysis is generally defined as any systematic technique that assists with interpretation, by systematically identifying cultural meanings in a message (Berg 1998). There are two types of contents for analyses. The first is manifest content, which limits the analysis of the data to what is actually presented and countable. Clear themes and identifiable categories are identified through this method. Contrasting to that is latent content analysis, which is more of a subjective interpretation of the data, which is used to identify general themes in the data. For this research, I analyzed using both manifest and latent content.

First, I constructed a table for the demographic questions 1 through 8 which provides a description of the participants. Then I constructed table 2, for part I questions 1 through 9, which discussed the men's past life experiences. Next, themes from questions 9 through 33 on Questionnaire A and 9 through 33 on Questionnaire B

(Appendix B) were sorted and categorized in a table by participant, question and response. For each interview, I used the “find” function to search for themes related to reintegration. I searched for terms including neighborhood, community, jobs, housing, home, house, apartment, rent etc. or any term associated with reintegration as a beginning to the analysis.

Then using the “comment” function, I described the context in which the terms was used, for instance, the men may have been discussing his living situation, or employment experiences etc. So just to provide an example of the analysis process, if the participant’s response was “good housing is hard to find because of my status” I coded this as a reintegration experience and I copied and pasted the direct quote under that theme in a table that included the interview number, name, and the interview question. I did this for each interview and research question searching for individual themes that described shaming, cultural homogeneity, masculinity and for elements of “the code.” I created a tally sheet and counted the number of similar and overlapping themes and linked the items to theory in an effort to gain an understanding of issues related to the reintegration and shaming experiences of Black males who served time in an adult prison as a teenager.

Finally, I used latent or open coding to search for additional themes that emerged from the data and from this method, I found issues related to intersectionality (regarding immature perceptions compared to maturity), illiteracy, job readiness, and lack of skills possessed to effectively function on the outside. This method allows for the “inquiry to be open widely” (Berg 2004). I did not want to miss any opportunities to include important themes and issues that emerged.

The qualitative research logic requires researchers to sometimes use their own judgment when interpreting data because of the ambiguousness of the qualitative process compared to the organized logic of quantitative methods (Neuman 2006). Because of this ambiguity and non-linearity, qualitative data require the researcher to collect and analyze the data closely which requires one to pay attention to the details of the conversations in the interview, which is a more intense and time consuming process. For instance, the word illiteracy was not used by the men, rather the statement was “some of these young guys down here can’t read or write and they sleep in school” and “some people don’t even know how to fill out an application.” I placed this information under a theme called illiteracy using latent coding. Latent coding was very effective in uncovering themes that did not naturally emerge from the data. I also used probes whenever I needed clarity on a response because of this. Qualitative methods are particularly suited for contextualized research issues like reintegration because of the personal nature of the subject (reintegration).

Laub and Sampson (2001) believe that this reintegration and desistance process is difficult to study without integrating quantitative and qualitative methods. With that said, they also believe that it is difficult to determine whether the individual made a conscious decision to desist or if structural or social factors contributed to desistance (Laub and Sampson 1993). One result is that these issues are difficult to identify in a quantitative cross sectional study. So my goal is to seek a systematic understanding of the respondent’s interpretation of his reintegration experiences through the interview (Wolcott 2001). By allowing the participants to tell their life story as it relates to

reintegration after the participants had served time in adult prisons as teenagers (Orbuch 1997).

For example, the main thematic terms were ideas that described the reintegration experiences and instances of shaming. The categories were as broad as possible to allow for additional themes to emerge from the data during the analysis process (Scott and Lyman 1968; Wolcott 2001). Scott and Lyman (1968) measured reintegration constructs by determining whether the experiences were a success, failure (disastrous), and demise or somewhere in between as determined by the participants. Instead of following this format, I allowed the participant to express himself and I did not ask him directly whether he thought his life was a success or failure. Rather, I used latent content analysis to pull interpretations from the terms used by the participants. For instance, I asked questions like: “Is there anything in your life that you would change?” Many of the respondents provided enough information for me to interpret whether he viewed his life as a success or failure. This is just one of the questions aimed to get at this issue.

I operationalized the reintegration experiences on the basis of whether the individual perceived his life as positively improving during the reintegration process. Examples of this description, according to Scott and Lyman (1968) may include but are not limited to the following: working, volunteering, attending school or learning a trade, married, having children and most importantly have discontinued criminal activity. Some of the questions I asked included: “Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released?” “Is it ok to not be employed?”

I determined whether the participant viewed himself as “merely existing,” productive or unproductive by the responses that he provided and probes that I used

which I will discuss further in the subsequent chapters. I asked questions about legitimate employment, work and school activities, assuming these types of activities were perceived as valuable. Most participants valued both work and school. Some of the questions included: “Describe the first job that you took once released and how long did you remain employed?” “How long did it take you to find a job after you were released?” (Probe: Who assisted you with your job hunt?) “Describe for me your typical daily routine (Probe: Does it differ when you’re employed versus when you’re not employed?). These questions along with probes were used to describe experiences during the reintegration process.

For this research, disclosure was used as a method to measure shame. Disclosure has been referred to as a stigma managing mechanism, where the actors tend to hide the stigma or make the stigma known (Goffman 1963). Goffman (1963) posits that there are several ways to manage stigma. The first is “passing” which involves concealing the discreditable information regarding one’s stigmatized identity. This process can form multiple identities, where the stigma/discreditable status is known in one distinctive environment and kept hidden in an alternate environment. Disclosure requires the actor to determine whether he will disclose his status. People generally do not disclose when they anticipate negative reactions (Goffman 1963).

Shaming was measured by whether the men disclosed feelings regarding internal and external shaming. Internal shaming is the shame people feel internally and naturally, if you will, without social pressures, and perhaps is associated with the human conscience (Scheff 1988). Conversely, external shame is the shame felt because of social criticism and pressure felt by people or groups (Goffman 1963). Because of this, I asked questions

like: How were you treated when people found out that you had served time in prison? Probe: Treated by people that you come in contact with. Do you tell people that you have served time? Probe: If no, why not? If yes, who do you tell and why do feel comfortable telling them? Would the way that people react toward you (when they find out that you have been in prison) keep you from committing further crimes? Why or why not? Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released? Probe: Did you disclose your prison experience? What was their reaction? How did you feel? Would this feeling you have deter you from committing further crimes if this be the case? Do you care about what your employer or potential employer thinks about you serving time in the penitentiary?

There should also be a distinction between shame felt when associating with intimates versus non-intimates according to the literature (Braithwaite 1989). Braithwaite (1989) notes that cultural homogeneity makes it easy for an individual to devalue an outside opinion. Hence, shaming experiences outside of the cultural group/community should not cause deep feelings of shame. On the contrary, if the group/community lacks homogeneity the individual may be influenced by shaming among outsiders (Braithwaite 1989).

Shaming has also been measured in other ways. For instance, researchers use shame markers that have been previously discovered while allowing other categories to emerge (Lewis 1971; MacDougall 1908). One could ask participants about their perceptions of whether they feel that they have been shamed, seeking physical and non-verbal evidence (stare, sneer, glance etc.). Along with that, Scheff (1988) constructed attitude scales to measure shaming. Particularly based on whether the participants felt

they were being shamed because the community had probably learned about the criminal act/acts and the time spent in prison (Scheff 1988).

So to follow this example, I used disclosure to measure shame and I asked questions like: Do you tell people that you have served time? Probe: If no, why not? If yes, who do you tell and why do feel comfortable telling them?

Finally, questions were asked explaining if participants viewed family and peers as forgiving for their past criminal behavior. I asked questions like: Would the way that people react toward you (when they find out that you have been in prison) keep you from committing further crimes? Why or why not? Moreover, if the relationships had changed in any way or if they think bonds between intimates have been broken because of their past criminal behavior and time served in prison during teenage years (Scheff 1988).

The thematic terms or categories for shaming had emerged from key phrases describing emotions and feelings about past “convict” status and present ex-convict status. These feelings or emotions included terms or shame markers similar to feeling helpless, sad, inadequate, embarrassed, foolish, incompetent, tired, frustrated, ridiculous, or humiliated.

I asked questions that determined whether the participants felt remorseful, shame or guilt about the crimes that they committed after they were released, thereby attempting to address internal shaming and whether this feeling affected their daily routine by asking questions like: How do you feel about the crime/crimes that they say you have committed? Probe: How much responsibility do you take? Do you feel bad now about breaking the law back then (probe- remorseful, guilt, embarrassed, foolish, and inadequate)? Why or why not? Did you feel bad back then before prison? How come?

How would you feel if the crime had hurt someone? Do these feelings deter you from committing crime now? Why or why not? “How do you feel about going to prison?” (Probe: “How do you feel about spending your youthful years in prison?”). “Is there anything in your life that you would change?”

Employment Post Prison

The literature reveals employers as important actors in the reintegrative shaming process. We would anticipate that reintegrative shaming by employers will be effective because of the interaction on a daily basis. Many people look for support and recognition from employers, therefore allowing the interdependency factor to emerge (Sampson and Laub 1993; Warr 1998). Because of this, I asked questions like: Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released? Probe: Did you disclose your prison experience? What was their reaction? How did you feel? Would this feeling you have deter you from committing further crimes if this be the case? Do you care about what your employer or potential employer thinks about you serving time in the penitentiary? Why or Why not?

Describe the first job that you took once released and how long did you remain employed? Probe: Describe what usually happened when you went job hunting. How many times was your application/applications rejected and what reason/reasons did they give you? Describe your feelings regarding the rejection. How often did you look for employment and what are some of the things you did during this search? How long did it take you to find that job after you were released? Probe: Who assisted you with your job hunt?

The literature reveals that employment is an important variable when considering criminal behavior. The integration associated with employment produces intimacy and forces conformity because of the monetary factor attached, which encourages some to desist (Sampson and Laub 1993; Warr 1998). There was some support for these assumptions emerging from the data. I will speak more to these themes in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: REINTEGRATION: THE PRICE OF RACE AND INCARCERATION

This chapter describes the reintegration experiences among Black males who spent their teenaged years in adult prison. Participants described how the “ex-convict” label affected their reintegration experiences after serving time in an adult prison as a youth. I do this by exploring participant demographics, history and reintegration experiences including housing, family and community relationships, school and work experiences. I also discuss additional results from the data collected. The three major thematic topics according to the research questions include reintegration experiences, shaming, and reintegrative shaming, cultural homogeneity and masculinity. The latter two themes are discussed in subsequent chapters. Chapter five focuses on the data as it relates to shaming. The participants discussed how dealing with the aftermath of serving time affected them in relation to feeling shame. Next, chapter six centers on reintegrative shaming and cultural homogeneity among Blacks while focusing on masculinity and the “code of the streets.” Finally, chapter seven, will sum up findings, limitations, policy implications and recommendations for future research.

To begin chapter four, I discuss demographics and provide a brief life history according to the participants. Then, I specifically discuss how participants described the general reintegration experiences. This chapter focuses on responses to questions that center in on the reintegration experiences as it relates to housing, family, community, work and/or school, which appeared to be the major themes that emerged from the data.

Description of the Participants

Data from Table 1² show that there were twenty-one Black male participants interviewed for this study. Most all of participants were from Arkansas and served time in the Arkansas system and were released at different times throughout the last decade. I have data from 20.5 interviews because one email participant stopped the interview mid-way through the email interview process but I was able to salvage a good portion of the interview. Many of the stories seemed similar (similar crimes/activity leading up to the crime) as well as participant demographics. There was little diversity among the sample in terms of general demographics and participant history. Particularly in relation to marital status, housing situation, neighborhood, crimes committed, sentence received, time served, prison experiences and staff treatment.

The age group among the participants ranged from 23 to 48 years old (Table 1 in Appendix). Most of the men were single; two were married, three divorced and one self-defined as separated. Fifty-Seven percent (N=12) of the participants had children and most all participants (N=18), lived with parents, family or significant others, which is consistent with what the literature reveals (Visher, Yahner and Lavigne 2010). The other three participants reported either owning a home, sharing a home owned by parents or renting hotel rooms.

All participants reported living in an urban area. Hence, the idea is that the more urban the area, the less people are connected to one another, decreasing the effectiveness and response to reintegrative shaming and vice versa when considering people living in a rural community (Braithwaite 1989). To that end, 62% (N=13) of the participant's reported living in a bad neighborhood and 38% (N=8) reported that they lived in a good/quiet neighborhood. When I probed for definitions of "bad neighborhoods," several

² I substituted Pseudonyms for real names.

participants referred to the environment as being negative because of the negative activity (crime, fights etc.). Likewise, when I probed for the definition of good neighborhood, the men would describe it as quiet.

When I analyzed the employment data, 71.5% (N=15) reported being employed at the time of the interview and 28.5% (N=6) reported being unemployed. To add to this, 57% (N=12) stated that they were the “money maker” of the family while 43% (N=9) reported that they were not the “money maker” of the family. “Money maker” (or “breadwinner”) for this research was defined as making most of the money for the household.

When asked about education, 57% (N=12) of the men reported that he completed his GED. In addition, 9.5% (N=2) reported having some high school education and thirty-three percent (N=7) reported that they have some college education. With that being said, I do not believe any of the men participated in a traditional graduation, since spending their teenaged years in prison. However, I did have a few to report that they were younger when they committed the crime and by the time the case was over and they reached prison, they had advanced in age. This information will be explained more with the discussions for table 2.

Life Histories

Table 2 displays data related to how the participants answered questions regarding past life experiences. When I asked the participants whether they expected to go to prison during their teenaged years, 81% responded no, while 14% responded yes. There was one participant who answered unsure. That 81% admitted to being surprised that they were sent to adult prison.

When I discussed in depth the reasons for the “No” responses for question “Did you expect to go to adult prison as a juvenile for your crime/crimes”, Chris stated:

No mam I did not. Well it was my first offense, my first criminal offense, I was 16, I’m not gon say I was a star student but I was a good kid and I thought you know by my I actually didn’t do the crime so I thought by my me not actually being the person that actually did it I thought that I would actually make it to juvenile.

When I asked email participant Brad the same question he wrote:

Well, i didn’t think i was gonna go to the pen. But because of the judge that i had he was known to over sentence young blacks that came before him. i was 15 at the time the crime was committed and sent to the pen at 16 years old for aggravated robbery and theft of prop. i got 120 months in the a.d.c [Arkansas Department of Corrections] and my time was spent in 10 different prisons in the state.

Many of the participants had similar responses. One participant who calls himself Tim responded “Yes” to the question, when asked “Why?” he stated:

“Yes because of the serious nature [of the crime].”

His charge was first-degree battery. Later on in his life he was charged with first degree murder and received a 10 year sentence and during the interview, he describes the events which led to the murder charge:

When I shot the dude, naw they [my family] was mad at that. Because all of it started at 11 o'clock [morning] but the shooting didn't start til like...nine that night so I had enough time to think about it. Not to do it, but words still flying

back and forth. Words keep going on and on and somebody gon say this and somebody gon say that and it just escalated from there. So really I had enough.....I could've just left. But I stayed there and stayed there and listen to this so they was pretty upset about that. So my family was really upset because I could've just left.

Tim was one of the two participants that had a murder charge. The difference was Tim received his murder charge later on in life rather than as a juvenile, but still during his youthful years. The mean age for prison entry was 16.62 years. The mode was 16 years old and the range was from 15 to 19. The data reflects age 19 because the crime was committed when the participants were under the age of 18 but went to Pulaski County Jail because of prison overcrowding. So Tim did not actually make it to prison until he turned 19 because of the time spent waiting for a bed to open up in state prison.

According to the data, the charges were similar among the participants. When I asked participants what charge they received, the mode response was aggravated robbery, which includes car theft and is what many of the younger men were charged with. One participant explains how he ended up with an aggravated robbery charge at the age of 16. He talked about the events that happened after a late night of hanging out with his home boys at a party. Thereafter, he and some friends go riding and he discussed how he had a dispute with another passenger in the vehicle and the driver stops the car to allow the young men to get out and settle their dispute:

My home boy let us out the car like we was gon fight. My home boy drove off you know what I'm saying. He was just playin. Makin us thank [think] he was gon leave us and I say about.....it was a ways up, the car was. It was this guy,

you know washing his car [interviewer-so you guys were walking? Response-yea] and so he was like foget this man im finna go holla at this dude. I was like ok, whatever, yea. So I let him go, he was a ways up in front of me talking to the guy and by the time I get there he pulls, I guess a gun, (laughs) and tells the guy, yo know man “get the hell out the car!” and I just stopped in my tracks cause I was shocked. And the guy was scared, he was like “man I don’t have no money, I don’t have no money!” You know so he had some cigarettes in the car so he was like man can I have my cigarettes. So I grabbed his cigarettes and gave him his cigarettes and Derrick was like man, “Give me yo keys, give me yo wallet, give me yo phone!” So Derrick got in the car and I was like.... “I’m telling the guy, I’m sorry and I didn’t have nowhere to go, I’m in Sherwood it’s like 3 or 4 o’clock in the morning so I’m walking around to the other side of the car and I look around and I tell the guy and the guy looked at me and I said I’m sorry man I didn’t have nothing to do with this, I’m sorry. So I got in the car and I told Derrick [fictitious name] look man just drop me off down here at this light. So he get in the car and we speed off.

Mandatory minimum guideline based sentencing was in effect during the time when many of the participants were waived and sentenced to serve time in adult prison (Arkansas Sentencing Commission 2001; Travis 2005). That is why we had seen an influx of young men serving time in adult prison.

Most of the participants reported spending prison time in the Varner minimum security facility which is located in Lincoln County, Arkansas. The facility maximum capacity is approximately 1,600, and the maximum security facility unit houses those

who are held on death row. The facility is formerly known as the “Gladiator School” coined by the guards and prisoners because at one time, it held all young offenders in the state of Arkansas (Parker 2005). Due to this extremely violent atmosphere, which was allegedly encouraged by the guards, led to what they called gladiator fights. These fights ultimately led to an inmate being killed; thereafter the guards were investigated regarding their role in the events (Parker 2005). As to the overall prison experience, most participants reported that in general the prison experience was bad or scary, the prison staff treated them badly and they were all housed with adults. Here one participant, who calls himself Gary, describes treatment by the staff:

Mann...they treated me like trash, scum.

Below is Brad, an email participant, recollection of the treatment. He wrote:

I was mixed in with the rest I was shown no special treatment at all and the only way that I was able to cope with that was because of God and I mean that with everything inside of me. I was treated so foul for far too long ma even after my incarceration the treatment never stopped.

Many of the participants felt that the “Foul” treatment continued during the reintegration experience. Here is an example of treatment according to Tim:

Yes. Because like I said before, you know it take you 5 minutes to get in something [trouble] and its taking me my whole.... all this time to straighten it out and still can't straighten it out. You still get treated different out here. Like if I just get pulled over for a routine traffic stop...when I tell em my name and give em my driver's license, then they run it...they make me put my hands in the air and make me get on the ground because they looking at that murder charge.

Anybody else just regular people, they just gon give em they ticket and just let em go. But they gon call extra back up like I got 4 or 5 guns in the car. This every time they stop me.

Six of the men had recidivated, with the range of recidivists being 2 to 9 trips to prison. So the release dates for recidivist is the last date that they were released from that last prison experience. The mean for trips to prison based on the sample was 2 and the mode was 1. Here is how Tim describes his thoughts regarding his recidivism:

You gotta walk a fine line in prison. If you learn nothing then you coming right back to prison. It's up to you to do what you supposed to do. I know guys that been to prison one time and never been back. I been back 5 times just from the early 90's to 2000 and I got out in 2003. You just gotta take care of yo business. Like one man used to say down there, "If this yo best thinking that got you here today you really wasn't thinking at all."

The range for trips to prison for the entire sample was between 1 and 9 times. The range of release dates for the participants was from the years 2005 through 2010. The mode for release dates were 2006 and 2010.

Reintegration Experiences

The literature reveals that many Black men have a difficult time reintegrating because of racism, collateral consequences of the felony label, discrimination, lack of jobs available, and the lack of skills required for the jobs that are available (Anderson-Facile 2009; Garland, Wodahl and Mayfield 2011; Maruna 2011; Visser and Travis 2011). The literature does discuss to a certain extent what former inmates need for successful re-entry, but the research is lacking on those individuals who served a

significant amount of time in prison as a juvenile (Anderson-Facile 2009; Garland et al. 2011; Visher and Travis 2011). There were work release facilities that allowed the inmates to live in the community, in a half way house or with family during their transition from prison to freedom, while still under supervision (www.adc.arkansas.gov).

Nonetheless, these types of programs are only available to those who are model inmates and have a few months remaining on their sentence. Several of the younger men served their last days in a work release facility and a few of the younger men reported that they were able to save money this way for their release.

Several of the men felt ill equipped to function in the workplace because of lack of skills. They felt as though prison should have provided more training in terms of job skill preparation rather than just drug abuse counseling in an effort to prepare them for reintegration. Teddy B stated:

[Prison should provide] Any kind of programming. They got vo-tech down there they need to give you trades out here, have a job waitin, or job training waitin or something. Cause everybody aint qualified to find no job. Everybody can't fill out an application. They don't show you none of that. Only thang they worried about is drug programs. Everybody ain't on drugs. You know you got yo GED down there. You got you schoolin down there. They don't care if you get it or not. They don't care. Those people be in that school sleep. They don't care, they don't wake you up or write you up or give you a rule violation for this and that. They don't care. You gotta care. Now you got some that don graduated. You got plenty to graduate to get they diploma down there. But that's what you wanna do.

Vince, an email participant wrote, “I got counseling in Varner and anger management and free seminars.” Some also discussed skills acquired during their prison stay. Gary discussed the trades he picked up during his prison stay: “I learned how to cook. I worked in the warehouse as a welder. I got help from STEP ministries.” Likewise, Darren stated: “[I] Got my GED, anger management, bootcamp and bootcamp was hell. Life skills and drug and alcohol treatment.”

All of the participants discussed their hopes once released from prison. Most of them hoped for fresh starts, jobs, good housing and a chance to go to school. But what they actually are left with are demanding realities which include numerous visits to parole offices, payment of fees and fines and disheartening job searches (Maruna 2011; Visher and Travis 2011). The literature states that successful reintegration requires strong support from family and community networks, in addition to comprehensive services for these individuals (Visher and Travis 2011). Here is what some of the participants discussed regarding hopes for reintegration. Brad an email participant wrote:

ma, I’m torn between two like I want to be able to work with at risk youth and I also want to be a lawyer I tried to get in school so long ma they gave me the run around until they seen my ged scores, now they want to respect my mind. I would have loved to stay in little rock but no help made me leave ma I lost everything in that city from my job to my place to even my kids and I’m still standing up.

Tim served a decade in prison and he talks about what it was like when he was released:

I did 10 years straight and when I got out nothing was the same. You know what I’m saying, I got out I was getting older. You can’t get a job, can’t get into a good house. It’s hard because of them background checks. It take you 5 minutes

to get into something and it took a whole lifetime to get out of it. Now I'm 40 years old and now I see what my mom em [them] was trying to tell me.

B.A. discussed his hopes once he was released:

I wanted to go to school and I thought I wouldn't be able to go because I'm a felon. So somebody had told me about this program at a community college and I went up there and they helped me get in school. I felt good."

Darren stated: "[I felt] Hopeless."

Some of the men hopes seemed somewhat simple, yet complicated like the next three participant responses describe.

Num Num stated:

Hope, well I just hoped that I didn't go back to prison. I mean....I didn't know what I was gon do or nothin when I got out.

Frank shared similar sentiments, "Hell... I don been in an out so much that shitttt!..and I ain't know what to hope for." Sam's hopes seemed simple. He stated, "[I want to] Get a job and not end up back on the streets doin drugs."

These hopes seem simple, yet many of the men stated that they find themselves experiencing "De ja vu" during the reintegration period because of the obstacles faced for those with felony status. Some expressed fears about returning to prison because they had previously experienced freedom, then ended up recidivating. However, because the living conditions do not seem to change, they fear they will end up back in prison.

Most of the participants hoped for work. Here is how R. Kelly responds:

Well umm.....I just wanted to work, get my life back on track. Maybe get married and have some kids. I was ready to get out of that shit hole.

Likewise Tony stated:

I didn't really know what to hope for. I mean, I knew I had to work and shit.....but hope.....mane -I just hope I'd find some work.

Gary stated:

I wanted to go into the military but couldn't enlist because of the violent charges so I ended up at UALR [University of Arkansas at Little Rock].

The military will not accept those who have certain felonies and those who are allowed to enlist are determined on a case-by- case basis. So the military is an unreachable goal for these men. Some believe that the military may be the very institution needed in order to successfully reintegrate, mainly due to the structured environment (MacKenzie and Armstrong 2004).

Contrary to what participants hoped for, the next set of responses described what some actually experienced during the reintegration period. One participant discussed his reintegration experiences in a general sense:

Tim stated:

I gotta to walk a fine line til 2028 and that's a long time. I gotta to go see them [parole officer] once a month, paying every month. [I] Gotta pay \$25 a month [parole fee]. The parole officers try to help you. They got jobs for ya but everybody can't drywall or everybody can't put up sheet rock or do roofing. If they aint got nothin that you know how to do you just stuck. They got jobs, they got job referrals. My parole officer, she is helpful. They'll change it when they get ready. Some get changed cause they be so lenient on they people. So that's why they get changed.

Brad an email participant, expressed emotions as he discussed how he has been treated as he moved through the system after he was released. He wrote:

ive been out a min and i cant tell u how i have been treated by so many people who hold power but don't want to do whats right because they try to judge a book by its cover and u cant do that so much i need to say ma only if really know half of it... its like im all alone ma i just left n.y to come back here cause my own moms thinks my views are wrong cause i won't lay down and take anything i tried to get in school so long ma they gave me the run around until they seen my ged scores now they want to respect my. I went through hell for all those years and didn't get no kind of help. i lost everything in that city from my job to my place to even my kids. I live in a motel in Duluth, GA.

Many felt frustrated and expressed emotions because of the time passed while in prison and the life events missed. Kwen stated:

Mane [Man], I spent 12 years locked up. I didn't get no good time or nuthin. My Momma died and they didn't let me out [for her funeral]. Mane [Man], when I got out it was nothing for me. When I got out my momma was gone. But I mean I had my sisters and brothers though. I didn't really have no hope.

Not all of the participants are having difficulty during their reintegration experience. Some reported doing quite well with very few complaints.

Chris described his reintegration experience in a general sense:

I am working, doing good. I'm free. I been back to prison to speak at a job fair. I work with the youth ministry. I work with the Boys club. I teach 10 year olds how to box and I'm a school athletic trainer.

Gary talked about graduation and his involvement in a fraternity:

I'm in school and bout to graduate. My frat boys are supportive of me and that's all I can ask for.

Fred stated:

I'm still looking for steady work but my daughter keeps me in line. She keeps me focused.

When I asked participants "What kind of help did you receive once you were released?" I asked this question in an attempt to find out how their reintegration experience began. Here is the way some of the participants responded:

Chris stated:

A check for \$100.00 and no help. Naw, no resources.

Brian stated:

When they released me each time they gave me a hundred dollar check and they say here's your check and call yo ride. No job list or nothing.

Darren stated:

[They gave me] Penitentiary issued clothes and \$100.00.

Frank responded:

A hundred dollar check. They know we need more than a hundred dollars.

Sir Wyrick Hampton stated:

I got \$100 and they told me that I would be eligible for food stamps until I get on my feet.

Most all participants agreed that ADC provided them with a check but some denied that they were provided a job list of some sort or instruction on how to obtain resources upon release.

Gary responded:

I got my work release money which was \$15,000. Then I applied for food stamps. They gave me a sheet with a list of jobs for people with felonies.

Housing and Family Relationships

Most of the participants had similar experiences in regards to housing, family, community relationships, school and work experiences. One underlying factor that attributes to the similarities is that many of the participants interviewed are/were involved in some capacity with a two-year community college student success program designed to assist African American males with the reintegration process. I wanted to grasp the participant's general perception of his reintegration experience because according to the literature, offender re-entry is often difficult when it comes to finding housing and work without some assistance (Anderson-Facile 2009; Visher and Travis 2011). Here's how one participant described his needs during the re-entry stage:

A Job, my own place. My own place and a good job.

Two of the major themes discovered in the data were family and housing. Participants tended to speak about these two themes simultaneously. Particularly because family members are mostly to whom inmates are released. All Arkansas inmates released have to be released to a custodial adult who will take legal responsibility of the inmate by agreeing to house the ex-offender upon release (<http://adc.arkansas.gov/inmates/Pages/default.aspx>). Otherwise, a halfway house is the

other option available in terms of housing. To that end, they report that maintaining family and community relationships is also difficult because of the stigma attached to spending time in prison and the re-adjustment to life on the outside (Maruna 2011). Several of the participants reported living with their Mom or both parents or significant other. Some of the men reported having difficulties bonding with family during the reintegration period. Here is how Brian described his housing situation, “I was released to my Momz house each time. Back into that same negative environment.” As he described the negative environment, he referred to issues with his family as well as the negative activities readily accessible in the community.

Fred also described his living situation, “Aint nobody really just treated me bad it’s just been hard to find work or you know a good place to live because of the backgrounds.” He goes on to talk about how the neighborhoods available for people like him (with felonies) are negative environments (filled with illegal activities and violence). Furthermore, people with felony status can’t do any better as they are locked into these kinds of environments (Maruna 2011). Housing is difficult to find for parolees because very few companies rent to people who do not hold a steady job or have a criminal background. Federal housing is not a possibility because renters do not qualify if they have a felony record.

Darren stated:

I live at my Mom and Dad’s house. They helped me. They are hard and strict because I’m on parole and I drink.

Family issues/conflicts generally came hand in hand with housing discussions.

Chris stated:

I lived with my Mom and Dad and they was hard too because of the parole. I couldn't do nothin. Now they live in Ohio. My Dad still see the 16 year old that went to prison. He don't see me as a man. I just recently moved out. Now I live in an apartment with my roommate.

Darren talked about his relationship with his parents. When I asked about his relationship with his parents he stated:

Good. We go on vacation together. I have relationship barriers with my Dad though.

Button also described his housing situation:

My Mom take me in every time. Even though I steal from her every time I get out cause there ain't never nothin to come back home to. The same thing waiting every time. Drugs and Thugs. Trouble waiting and seems like I always end up doing the same thing every time.

One of the younger participants was released to live in a home that his Dad owned. He lived there with an uncle. During the interview, he discussed how difficult it was to share the place with his uncle for two years because his uncle controlled the house. These are just some of the instances regarding the difficulties regarding housing and family relationships that was shared among the participants.

Sir Wyrick Hampton stated:

I was released to live with my Mother. My dad is deceased. It's been difficult because I got a job through a family friend working on houses and my Mom expects me to give her all of my money. I already give her most of my food stamps because I don't eat much. But she wants more. I can only give her so

much because I am trying to get back on my feet but she doesn't understand that.

So it's gettin hard. Hard to do right.

Tim discussed his housing situations after each released. He has gone to prison six times during his lifetime. He stated:

When I first got out, I lived with my girlfriend –my kid's mother. Then my kid's momma [second release]. Then my sister [Third release]. The next time, my sister [Fourth release]. This last time I stayed with my Girlfriend then I moved in with my sister [Fifth release].

He talked about how he and his girlfriend couldn't stop arguing and fighting, which landed him a night or two in jail, so it was better that he move back in with his sister.

Gary described his living situation by stating that he lives alone and owns a home. Gary used his work release money earned while in prison, to buy a home when he was released. He described, during the interview, how hard he worked while incarcerated. Consequently, he had saved \$15,000 over the life of his prison term.

Frank talked about how his family is supportive. Then he discussed feelings regarding being on "borrowed time." He explained that he always repeats the same cycle when he is released because of the negative environment. In addition, he went on to say that the support that he receives from his family gives him little incentive to change his life so he often recidivates. Sir Wyrick also discussed how his family hinders his progress, by not forcing him to stand on his own.

Employment/Work

Surprisingly, some participants did admit to having access to a job list upon release or having access to a job list through the parole office. Many times, job postings

are provided through the parole office. So naturally, if the parole officers do not pass on the information, the parolee doesn't receive it. Recall how Tim discussed the efforts put forth by parole officers to assist felons with job information.

The literature notes that employment is difficult to come by for those with felony status (Bourgois 1995; Travis and Visher 2011).

Tim stated:

Even if I'm qualified to work...they gon see that murder charge they aint gon hire you cause they don't know if you gon come in one day and just go off. And somebody gon make you mad so that's the way they looking at it. I can't get mad cause you know, on the tv all the time you see incidents like that and they don't know if I'm gon get mad or how my charge occurred. And they don't know if I'm gon go off again and do some mo killin. Get a good job. What you gon do when you aint got nothing to fall back on? That's frustrating. You can't get this because you gotta a background. I wish I learned that a long time ago. Sometimes I get so mad and I be wantin to do something and then I ask myself..."what is that gon do? So I take it as a lesson learned. I'm paying for it now.

Gary talked about the difficulties explaining to his Mom that job hunting is difficult for those with felonies. He stated, "I can't get my Mom to understand that if you have a felony you can't get no job." The impact that the jobless state had on the men was disheartening. Many discussed being depressed or frustrated because employers wouldn't take a chance.

Button stated:

They won't hire you without looking at yo record. You can't get no warehouse job cause they aint going to hire no body like that. I had some people to tell me you did pretty good on yo test. You know them test when they say, "if you steal or you know yo boss stealin would you tell it?" "if you saw yo friends stealing would you tell it." You know, I passed all that and you know the man came up, he said we can't use you. Well, just yesterday you was tellin me how good I did and now you telling me after my background check you can't use me. They don't give you a chance.

Several of the men reported that they got jobs through someone they knew.

Otherwise, it was very hard to find employment. Many reported having jobs that paid "under the table" or paid in cash. Some of these jobs include construction, yard work, detailing and moving. There are several instances in the literature that is consistent with what the men reported (Austin 2001; Clear et al. 2001; Travis and Visher 2011). When they were asked "How long did it take you to get a job and who assisted you with your job hunt?" The men responded:

Teddy B:

My Dad had a job waitin on me. He worked in construction, brick layin, building houses and I got a job through my father.

Chris stated:

[It took]Two months. My friend who I box with. I worked at Corrugated Services Recycling. I recycle materials and I run heavy machinery. I operate the Bob Cat. I knew someone who helped me get this job. [I] Been there 1 year in March 2009.

Pat stated:

Yes, I told them I been to prison and they just asked me what my charge was and how much time did I do? That was it and Arkansas Democrat hired me. I was at distribution down there, puttin together papers at Arkansas Democrat Gazette in the distribution business.

Many participants reported that their applications were rejected several times even though they were qualified. But because of the felony record, the men are ineligible for most jobs. I asked participants “Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released?” Here is how one participant describe what happened when he went job hunting:

When they see “felony” they ask about what happened then they say, I can’t hire you. Or I’ll call you. My application probably been rejected about 50 times and they didn’t give no reason for not hiring me.

R. Kelly stated:

Took me 30 days. Got hired at Capitol Hotel, then they called me 2 hours later to fire me. They had new owners so they discriminated.

Vince too explained how he got hired on at the Capitol Hotel and once they did a background check and discovered the felony, they fired him. He felt as though that was unfair, because they accepted him during the interview but once they checked his record, they were not willing to give him a chance. Tony stated that the first job he took was masonry. The skills required for these types of jobs could have been learned in prison.

Darren stated:

First job took me one week and it was at Pilot. I got the hookup because I knew the brothers.

Here is how BigTodd described his job search and interactions with a retail store supervisor. He talked about how the supervisor commended him on his good interview, but once he disclosed his status to the corporate office, he would be fired. He discussed his reaction below:

Participant: I felt down a little bit, but didn't stop.

Interviewer: Would this feeling you have deter you from committing further crimes if this be the case?

Participant: Yes it did.

Interviewer: Do you care about what your employer or potential employer thinks about you serving time in the penitentiary? Why or Why not?

Participant: I care. [I felt] Down because I didn't get the job.

These kinds of responses were consistent throughout the interviews. Typically, when the men went job hunting, they had positive experiences until they revealed their felony status. Constant rejection from potential employers can be discouraging. Some of the men reported that they sometimes spend month's job hunting. The routine doesn't change. Some ultimately find work through personal contacts. Darren stated that he got a job at the community college he attends. This could definitely be an avenue that these men should explore.

School

Several individuals who have served time in prison have a desire to go to school while incarcerated and have hopes to attend school once released. B.A. discussed earlier

in the chapter his hopes for the military, but ended up in school because of his felony status. He reports doing well in school. That may not be the case for some as an illiteracy theme emerged from the data. For instance, one participant stated, “some of these young guys down here can’t read or write and they sleep in school.” Another stated, “some people don’t even know how to fill out an application,” which speaks to illiteracy using latent coding.

A few of the participants discussed their school experiences. The student success program designed for African American Males in central Arkansas had a significant effect on their experiences.

Darren talked about his relationship with his family because he is in school:

I get along with my family good because I go to college. At first they was skeptical but now they support me 100%.

Gary is in school and he talked about graduating soon. He discussed having a good experience and having healthy relationships with his fraternity brothers, which will ultimately be a job source for him. Fraternities and sororities are well known for providing support for their members. This support includes resources and employment connections.

Vince discussed how he was grateful to be connected with the individuals in the student success program and how he looks up to the staff that is all Black and male. Furthermore, how the staff is really good role models for those like him. Chris is a student at a major university in Little Rock, Arkansas. He also expressed excitement about his upcoming graduation, which is a potential for him to get a higher paying job.

School is an excellent source for those returning home from prison. School provides training, jobs, and a degree or certificate that may help the men get better paying jobs. However, the benefits received from school attendance are not always realized, because the felony status prohibits the men from some professions even though they have a degree or certificate (Austin 2001; Maruna 2001).

Seventy one percent (N=5)³ of the men that reported being in school were employed at the time of the interview. These men also reported having or building healthy relationships with family and friends. Discussion regarding hopelessness, joblessness, family issues and police encounters were dismal moments during the interview. However, some of the men reported working positively through these issues, particularly for those who attend school.

In the next chapter, I discuss themes regarding shaming that emerged as a result of disclosing their status.

³ N=7 in school.

CHAPTER 5: SHAMING

In this chapter, I present shaming as an interactional process which includes interaction with family, friends, and people with-in and outside of the community during the reintegration experience. Research and ideas in the literature regarding disclosure suggest that there is a link between information that individuals reveal, psychological well-being and self-acceptance (Erickson 1968; Scheff 1988; 1990; Wells and Kline 1987). Close bonds and support from family, friends and community are crucial to successful re-entry for any group. Furthermore, communitarianism is vital for Black men because of the existing stereotypes and the efforts put forth to lock and/or distance them from academic and economic opportunities (Bell 1992; Erickson 1968; Feagin, Vera and Batur 2001).

When shamed and distanced from mainstream society, negative identities may encourage behaviors that are criminal (Erickson 1968, Rome 2002, 2004, Russell 1998, Scheff 1988; 1990). This research will provide readers with a general understanding of how this group feels shame or how they respond to shaming after serving prison time. Also, I show how shaming and reintegration are connected and whether shaming affects daily interactions (i.e. feeling shame during interactions with family, friends and community).

The men conveyed their stories retrospectively and answered questions based on both feelings from the present and the past. Thoughts regarding feelings of shame for the crimes for which they served time were disclosed. Most importantly, whether the participants felt shame for the crimes committed or time served was the main theme in this section. This was determined by how the men responded to the questions, along with

when and to whom they disclosed the prison experience. Braithwaite (1989) suggests that serving time can be highly stigmatizing with-in and outside of one's community. Internalization of the stigma and shameful feelings may hinder the disclosure, particularly because of the negative reactions they get from people (Erickson 1968; Scheff 1988; 1990; Wells and Kline 1987).

The first section of this chapter identifies what the men reported in terms of feeling shame. Following that, the second section explores findings on communitarianism and interdependence, along with data regarding disclosure to family and friends. Finally, the third section identifies positive and negative outcomes during the reintegrative shaming experiences. The analytic framework addresses the reintegration experiences of Black males with ex-convict status and reintegrative shaming among this group. Some research suggests that their experiences may be distinctive from the dominant society (Braithwaite 1989).

Many of the men, felt reluctant to disclose their prison experience because of their regrets about offending or time served and concern for how people might treat them when they found out. Those regrets and how the participants were treated because of their stigmatized identity (ex-convict status), determined whether and to whom the men would disclose the information (Cozby 1972; Jourard 1959). This approach toward disclosure is coupled with communitarianism and interdependence with regard to shaming. This framework is intended to expand what we know about the reintegration and shaming experiences among this population.

Community Interactions: Shaming and Stigma Applied

Elements of Shame.

The participants discussed their feelings regarding shame through answering a few questions regarding their reintegration experiences. These discussions addressed both internal and external feelings of shaming and participants made no distinction between the two (Gottschalk and Gleser 1969). During the interviews, participants used terms like feeling embarrassed, foolish, disappointed, bad, or remorse. In addition, the men admitted to feeling a significant amount of shaming when they stepped outside of their communities. Yet they reported feeling less shaming when around family and friends. When asked specifically, “How do you feel about the crime/crimes that they say you have committed?,” seventy six percent (N=16) reported feeling bad or some degree of regret or embarrassment. Sir Wyrick Hampton talked about feeling sad. When I asked why?, he stated, “I just feel like I’m 48 years old and I ain’t done nothing with my life. My kids all grown. I could’ve been anything.” He displayed remorse for not being productive and available for his children, which is a component of shame.

When Chris was asked about his feelings about the crime that he served time for he responded, “I felt guilty because I was there.” This participant was present or with the individual who committed the crime, so he reported feeling guilty about what took place. Gary stated, “I feel bad because I put myself in this situation. I knew. I dropped them off.” Gary goes on to say, “I feel embarrassed.” Gary used the terms “guilty, feel bad and embarrassed” which are shame markers or components of shame.

Most of the participants reported that they felt remorse for the crimes to a certain degree. Darren discussed how he believes people view him. He stated, “I feel like I’m looked down upon. Then they ask me about my crime and then they act like they’re afraid of you.” Similarly, Tim stated, “I feel remorse. Being locked up and remembering

the victims face. To that end, “feeling remorse” and “being looked down upon” were examples of shame.

When I asked participants, “How do you feel about going to prison?” to explore deeper feelings of shame, there were several different responses. But the content analysis revealed that 95% (N=20) of the sample had negative feelings (mad, disappointed etc.) about going to prison at the time of the interview. To add to that Gary’s expressed his feelings, “I feel like I’ve been deprived of my youthful years. I need anger management counseling or something because I am angry about serving time in prison.” Most of the men agreed that when they matured they felt differently about the prison experience compared to the expectations they had when they were youths. It wasn’t until later on in life that some admitted to acting irresponsibly. Here is how Timothy discussed his feelings about going to prison. “I was disappointed. When I was younger, that was the thing. Everybody was going to prison. This person was getting in and out, and it was just a game. But now, I feel foolish and disappointed.” Likewise, Vince stated that he feels like a failure because he went to prison. The term “failure” (as is “foolish” and “disappointed”) is also a component of shame. Many expressed regrets for not being around for family. Pat stated that he feels like a “Dead beat Dad” and that the majority of his life is over or wasted. Consequently, these expressions are elements of shame.

Elements of neutralization emerged as themes when we discussed “feelings about going to prison.” Matza and Sykes (1964) developed the theory of neutralization which identifies techniques that individuals use to justify their illegitimate actions. Matza and Sykes (1964) defined techniques including; Denial of responsibility, when the offender proposes that he was the victim of circumstance or was forced into situations beyond his

control; Denial of injury, when the offender insists that his actions did not cause any harm or damage; Denial of the victim, when the offender believes that the victim deserved it; Condemnation of the condemners, when the offender maintains that those who condemn their crime, do so out of spite; and appeal to higher loyalties, where the offender suggests that his offense was “for the greater good.”

Later developments of the theory included; Disbursement of blame, when the offender denies the degree to which he was involved; Dehumanization of the victim, where the offender places the victim in a subhuman category and Misrepresentation of consequences, when the offender tends to psychologically minimize the injurious consequence of an act and focuses more on the rewards (Matza 1964).

Frederick wrote: “I’m all alone Ma [slang term for female]. I just left N.Y. (New York) to come back here cause my own moms thinks my views are wrong cause I won’t lay down and take anything because I’ve been making noise about the way the system treated me and tried me as an adult. The youth has to show signs of no rehabilitation and that was not my case, and the judge knew that.” Frederick applied “disbursement of blame” throughout the interview. Applying neutralizations to justify behaviors is a mechanism that helps work through the shame (Scheff 1990; Sykes and Matza 1964).

Teddy B. applied “denial of responsibility and denial of the victim” techniques of neutralization (Matza 1964), when he discussed his feelings about going to prison. “At first I felt like the world didn’t like me. Life was unfair. Especially since my crime was self-defense.” Here, he downplays his crime. Three of the participants had claimed self-defense. Darren neutralized his behavior by denying the victim in claiming self-defense. Other neutralization techniques identified during coding were denial of responsibility,

and appeal to higher loyalties. Gary had knowledge regarding the planned crime and dropped his friends off at the scene. So throughout the interview the essence of “denial of responsibility” was felt throughout the interview. It appeared as if he used this justification to help work through the shame.

Several of the participants “appealed to higher loyalties”, if you will, by remaining true to “the code,” even when they had reservations about their criminal involvement. Recall in chapter 4, Chris got in the car when his friend robbed a man at gunpoint. He worked through his shame regarding his involvement by giving the victim his cigarette and repeatedly expressed his apologies to the victim.

Another theme that emerged from the data was accountability. This theme re-emerged during the interviews when the probe question was directed at “responsibility for the crimes.” Eighty one percent (N=17) agreed that he took full responsibility for the crime and that they feel bad about the outcome of the situation.

Sir Wyrick Hampton discussed his feelings regarding accountability. He quoted a list of institutions that he felt most influenced his behavior, hence using the “disbursement of blame” technique. He began with the family influence, but expressed that the environment, judicial and penal systems were all responsible for shaping and molding him and were partly responsible for his behavior. He also admitted to taking responsibility for the crimes.

There were several shame markers that emerged from these set of questions. Some of them include feeling: remorse, bad, embarrassed, foolish, disappointed etc. We know that most of the men felt regrets or shame for past behavior or crimes committed based upon the data analysis. Nonetheless, many had a desire to move on from the past,

with maturity being the main theme for the shameful feelings. Next, I will describe what the men conveyed in terms of who they feel most comfortable disclosing the prison experience while using communitarianism and interdependence as themes that encouraged disclosure.

Communitarianism and Interdependence: Subcultural Ties

Braithwaite (1989) follows Durkheim (1897) in his works on *Suicide* as he posits that communitarianism (Durkheim 1897) and interdependence are central to reintegration. Communitarianism is defined as a strong sense of trust or support by the community or the family unit, which is why the men may have been more comfortable talking about their prison experience and ex-convict status to family and friends. Along with that, is interdependence, which represents the social ties and or connections that exist among individuals within the family unit and community. This was demonstrated when the men talked about family acceptance while in prison and upon release.

The literature suggests that societies possessing these components (communitarianism and interdependence) generally shame positively because of family support and community ties (Durkheim 1897, Scheff 1988; 1990). To that end, there are conceptual distinctions between the terms communitarianism and interdependence, nonetheless the two seem to complement one another (sense of trust/support and strong ties) in this research. This factor may have allowed participants to be more at ease with revealing their status to intimates.

Elements of shaming, communitarianism and interdependence were revealed through who the men were comfortable disclosing and/or discussing their prison experience. Communitarianism and interdependence, this strong sense of support and

social ties was noted in a number of participant responses. There were strong family bonds and community ties among many of the participants. Many described this sense of support by reporting that their family understood “Why they did what they did,” hence resulting in the level of shame applied and the normalization of the past criminal behavior. Several discussed taking vacations with family, getting along well with family because they are in school etc. Other discussions were about hanging out with friends in the community and having parties just to celebrate life, which are examples of interdependence and acceptance after the prison experience and normalization thereof. Yet, notice that these are all family and friend involved activities, which speak to interdependence. The attachment and bonds exist among family so normalization was present (Hirschi 1969). But once the men stepped out of the community, there was very little support or acceptance for their experience.

Sir Wyrick discussed his feelings toward this normalization and how interdependence and the “strong sense of support” from his family “crippled” him so to speak. He talked about how they forgave and supported him, even while he was in prison. He further explained that his behavior was not deterred by prison to a certain extent because he knew that his family would rescue him by getting him out of trouble and bailing him out over and over again, hence normalization the behavior. Yet, he did display a level of shame for his behavior because he admitted to feeling like he was not being a “real man” because of his behavior. Consequently, denying a core identity.

To further explore these feelings of shame, stigma, communitarianism and interdependence, I asked participants who they disclose that they have spent time in prison in an effort to measure shame and obtain a general idea of how shaming had

affected their daily interactions with people. When asked, “Do you tell people that you have served time?” Eighty five percent (N=18) responded “No” or “not willingly”.

Participants agreed that they only disclose that information if necessary.

Relational distance was an important factor of disclosure; participants willingly shared the information with family members and friends. A few of the participants discussed that there were family members that weren't aware of their prison experience, particularly for family or friends who did not live in the same state. In this case, participants still reported that they were most comfortable telling family and friends. Even though they did not have a close relationship or interacted with them on a regular basis.

When Chris was asked who he disclosed the prison experience to he stated, “No, I don't tell people because I don't want them to know. I only tell people I get close to.” All participants discussed how comfortable they were telling friends and family. In fact, 76% admitted to feeling most comfortable telling friends and family but not strangers or people that they have just met. Consequently, there was some level of communitarianism present, which is a strong factor in reintegration. Disclosing the experience meant that participants had established a certain level of trust among those he shared with, which is a strong sense of communitarianism (Cozby 1972).

I documented several responses like Gary's. Gary stated, “I'm never feel comfortable telling people.” This uncomfortable feeling is an element of shame. Individuals generally “do not” reveal, or “hide” information because of the negative reactions, which produced negative feelings. Gary finally admitted to telling fraternity brothers, but it was only after a personal relationship was established.

When Sam was asked about disclosure, he stated,

Naw, I don't tell people like that. The ones I tell...well the people that I grew up with and hang around with knew, but I just don't tell everybody. I just don't come out and tell nobody-you know what I mean? Because ...I guess because I don't know em like that. Because everybody...the folks I already know...know I been locked up. Naw, I don't feel comfortable just telling em. Now if the subject came up, I would tell them I been to prison but, "just to tell them just to be telling them," I wouldn't tell them that.

Feeling shame for what they had done was the main sentiment of many of the men. For that reason, some of the men admitted that they only tell employers because they had to disclose the information. I had a few participants to state that they just took a chance and did not tell employers because the men knew they would never get hired if they revealed their ex-convict status. So the "Shaming" element may have been heavily present in this instance.

Seventy one percent (N=15) of the participants explained that they do not disclose that they have served time in prison because of the way people react. The men felt that people tend to act differently towards them once they disclosed their ex-convict status. However, Darren did admit to telling those individuals that he mentors. Darren stated, "When I'm mentoring people I tell them but I don't tell strangers or employers." He discussed mentoring those who seemed to be on a similar path that he once knew, so he feels obligated to share his life story, thus putting aside the feelings of shame.

Moreover, Gary stated, "People were shocked that I had been to prison. But they don't treat me differently because I don't fit the typical stereotype of a prisoner." Recall

Gary is the participant who left prison with \$15,000.00, which he had earned from a work release program. He purchased a home and is in school and close to graduating with a bachelor's degree. His family could be considered "Decent people" and feels like he just got "caught up" in a bad situation, by dropping the friends off at the scene of the crime.

Further reintegration inquiries regarding treatment led me to ask the question, "Do you think people should just get past what you did?" Fifty-two percent (N=11) responded yes, 38% (N=8) responded no and 4.7% (N=1) was unsure. Several of the men felt that "the past should be the past," and they should be given another chance at life. Furthermore, there were a vast number of reasons why these individuals ended up in prison and they should not be labeled or burdened for life. On the other hand, 38% believe that they committed the crime and people won't forget. Therefore, they have to live with the consequence, and accept whatever comes their way.

Tim stated,

People bring it up all the time. Sometimes I do [think people should just get past what I did]. But not really because you know in some situations, you know people ask me how can I kill somebody and how do I feel about killing somebody. You know. You really can't explain it unless you done went through it. So I just tell em, it was an argument that just went too far.

Feeling a certain degree of toughness and peer pressure was the main theme that derived from the responses. Hence, this "Toughness" is a part of the subcultural values for this group (Messerschmidt 1993). To that end, 75% of the participants reported that family was very upset, disappointed or mad about the crime they served time for, hence family and friends did not "normalize the behavior" which could have been independent from

normalization the prison experience and ex-convict status. So whether the participants felt “less shame” from intimates could not be determined from this data. However, it could be measured on their perceptions on how well family, friends and the community received them. To that end, some of this increased level of shame appears when participants talk about experiences outside of the community (i.e. strangers and employers).

When I asked, “Do these feelings deter you from committing crime now?” Seventy one percent (N=15) of the participants answered “Yes.” To that end, shaming may be a factor in the lives of the participants, as this is a significant percentage among the sample. When I asked participants, would the way that people react toward you (when they find out that you have been in prison) keep you from committing further crimes? Sixty seven percent (N=14) of the sample agreed that people’s negative reactions might deter them from committing further crimes. Twenty four percent (N=5) reported that it would not deter them at all.

With that said, just over nine percent were unsure. As a whole, most participants felt a significant amount shame at some point during reintegration experience, and this was determined by how they responded to the question above and when and who they disclosed their prison experiences to and the treatment described thereafter. The negative reaction from the treatment that the men reported is defined as shaming. However, the “shame” did not seem to totally discredit the prison experience. This experience still seemed to be acceptable, normal or just a part of being a Black male, based upon the responses from the men.

Overall, the men agreed that they are more comfortable discussing their experiences with family and friends, which is consistent with the disclosure literature (Cozby 1972; Jourard 1959; Scheff 1988; 1990). In the same way, they are less comfortable telling strangers or people they have just met. To that end, that uncomfortable feeling that the men described, is associated with “shame.” Normalization of the experience speaks to communitarianism when family is supportive throughout the experience. Next, I discuss life outcomes and what the men thought about life after prison. These thoughts seemed to be consistent with ideas on reintegrative shaming versus stigmatization or disintegrative shaming.

Positive Outcomes

Braithwaite (1989) posits that reintegrative shaming and positive outcomes is due to the degree of communitarianism present. Conversely stigmatization, which reinforces alienation, may lead to increased criminal behavior (negative outcomes). Many of the men expressed a level of dissatisfaction with the way that they have been treated and felt as though they had little to no resources to assist them through the reintegration process.

Braithwaite (1989) posits that reintegrative shaming produces positive outcomes because of the degree of communitarianism present. The men felt a degree of remorse or shame for the crimes that they served time for. However, those participants who had close family and friendship bonds seemed to be most satisfied with their reintegration experiences, mainly because of support, which may have caused them to experience the decreased level of shame. Brian stated, “Now, I learned to have a lot more patience. There was a reason for prison. I have no regrets, but I feel foolish because I was a kid and I still felt bad for the victim.” Chris talked about being around to support his

daughter, while expressing a level of appreciation for that honor. He discussed “being crazy” about his daughter who was 18 months at the time of the interview and that she “keeps him in line.” Being available for family was a major theme that emerged from the data.

School was also a theme that emerged as a positive aspect for some of the participants; there were two younger participants (ages 24 and 25) on schedule to graduate in the near future from a mid-size university in the University of Arkansas System. This is a major milestone for these individuals since they spent their teenage years in prison. Being positively engaged enough to achieve this goal is a major success. They eagerly discussed this upcoming event during the interview, which showed a level of pride for this accomplishment. Some of the younger participants seem to be seriously interested in school, but often discussed various barriers that kept them from achieving this goal. Frederick wrote, “I tried to get in school so long Ma. They [School] gave me the run around until they seen my GED scores, now they want to respect my mind.” Several of the participants were in school because of assistance from the program described in chapter 3.

Wives and/or girlfriends were also positive aspects that seemed to keep some of the participants on the correct path to successful reintegration. The men discussed life lessons and learning patience along with becoming wiser through their experiences. This could be a reflection of the level of communitarianism and interdependence present because of the closeness and support the men have with their significant others.

Negative Outcomes

When the men stepped outside of the community, they reported that treatment was different (work, or routine traffic stops etc.), therefore reported feeling an increased level of shame, particularly when they talked about employers and strangers. The men learned that when they told people they had a prison record; thereafter the people reacted negatively towards them. The stigmas applied by these groups were strong. This stigmatization or disintegrative shaming made participants feel bad and uncomfortable. So they reported being selective to whom they disclosed that information. When I asked the question, “How were you treated when people found out that you had served time in prison?” Ninety percent (N=19) of the participants reported that they were somehow treated differently or mistreated when people found out that they had served time in prison.

When I asked Sir Wyrick Hampton how he was treated when people found out that he had served time he stated, “It’s a ‘give and take’ situation. If they can benefit from me, like if I steal something they can benefit from then it’s o.k. [that I been to prison]. But if I victimize them, then I’m treated bad.”

Vince explained:

When I first got out, I was young and I didn’t care about what my folks said. I was nervous because people start treating me differently when they find out I went to prison and I was kind of nervous cause yea, they ain’t gone treat you the same. You know you can tell that they ain’t gone treat you the same as they treat everybody else. It’s gone be something different about me than everybody else because I been to prison.

Axial coding was used to examine the data regarding level of mistreatment among those who had a violent charge. I cross referenced the responses to the question, “How were you treated when people found out that you had served time?” with the charges and (N=14) 70% of those with violent charges reported that they are treated differently when people find out they have served time for their crime. Darren stated, “I feel like I’m looked down upon. When they ask about my crime, they act afraid.” Darren served time for aggravated battery with a weapon. This may be the fear creator in and of itself.

In the same way, Num Num served time for aggravated robbery and he too feels as though people treat him differently when his ex-convict status is disclosed. Many of the participants vented, or expressed their feelings regarding the emotional damage because of the prison experience and negative treatment. Darren stated, “I feel mad because I was treated bad. I had to fight in prison. I had a fight with a guard and caught a 3rd degree battery charge in prison.” Sir Wyrick expressed that he has nothing to look forward to because he continues to act irresponsibly.

Several of the participants reported feeling a level of harassment/mistreatment by police. Tim who served time for murder, discussed his feelings regarding his experiences each time he is pulled over by police. He feels as though the treatment by police is unfair to a certain extent because several officers are always called to the scene and he is immediately hand cuffed, thrown on the hood of the vehicle and searched because of the violent information that comes up on his record. Likewise, Darren, whose charge was aggravated battery with a weapon, talked about how he has been watched, followed and even pulled over by police on several occasions for no apparent reason. This type of treatment produced anger and shameful feelings because of the constant public display.

Overall, it seemed that men experienced a certain level of shame but viewed going to prison as acceptable or rather normalized the experience with the help of communitarianism and interdependence among family and friends. Normalizing the experience redefines the stigma thus making the stigma less powerful (Blinde and Taub 1994) but the level of shame felt is difficult to measure.

There is some evidence that various cultures do in fact use shaming but apply shaming differently. For instance, Zhang (1995) found while exploring ideas of shaming, that in an ethnic context Asian Americans and African Americans use shaming differently when parenting and delinquency was explored. This is consistent with Braithwaite's (1989) ideas regarding shaming in different cultures, which posits that structural and cultural factors exist and have an effect on social integration and crime. In this research, the men felt more at ease disclosing their experiences to those within their circle, which is consistent with Braithwaite's (1989) suggestions that minorities in some cultures accept certain behaviors and experiences as normal or acceptable.

Braithwaite (1989) goes on to say that crime prone societies often have common factors including demographics, economic stability, urbanization or rapid social change (Braithwaite 1989; Schaible and Hughes 2011). Many of these men had similar demographic and economic backgrounds. Along with that all lived in urban areas. So shaming for serving time in prison may be normalized by certain groups within a close knit society.

Next, I will briefly discuss the results regarding shaming, masculinity and cultural homogeneity. Some of the data found may overlap with the previous discussions.

Chapter six will focus on how their criminal behaviors were driven by “doing masculinity” and cultural homogeneity.

**CHAPTER 6: REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING AND CULTURAL
HOMOGENIETY AMONG BLACK PEOPLE: SHAMING, MASCULINITY AND
THE CODE OF THE STREETS**

Cultural Homogeneity and the Code of the Streets

Cultural homogeneity is rooted in the “self and identity” literature. Elements of self are often culturally specific, meaning that individuals tend to look to the group (what is happening among the group/community) to gain validation about “Self” (Cooley 1902; Foucault 1988; Shweder and Levine 1984; Triandis 1989). Furthermore, individuals tend to look within the bounds of a homogenous group for acceptance and camaraderie (Erikson 1968; West 1994).

In our society, Black men are overrepresented in the prison population and to a degree; some have accepted and normalized the prison experience as a part of everyday life. It has become part of the culture. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) have defined this group of men as part of a subculture which has incorporated a system (the code) that follow a set of norms derived from rules that define the subculture both behind prison walls and on the outside.

Consequently, some men use the prison experience to gain power and comradeship among those around them and those who have served time (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Erikson 1968; Miller 1996). This quest for homogeneity gives validity to the prison experience, which elevates the men in status once released. To that end, normalizing this experience makes the stigma less powerful within the bounds of the community (Blinde and Taub 1994; Mullins 2006).

Doing masculinity themes emerged when the men described feelings of shame. During these discussions, half of the men (N= 10)⁴ alluded to the fact that while young, they had felt little shame for serving time in prison. This is likely a reflection of the subcultural norm that placed value and status on prison experience. Once the men matured, and dominant cultural values prevailed, some of them subsequently perceived of their adolescent behavior as irrational or senseless.

Button explained,

The first time I went (to prison), it was kind of cool. And it just didn't dawn on me because I was young. It was kind of cool. Everybody I knew was down there and you know...I didn't have to work for nothing so, it [prison] was kinda like the streets.

Timothy discussed “going in and out of prison” and described it as “a game.” Several of the men agreed that prison was the place to be back in the day (or during their youthful years). The men linked these past beliefs with immaturity or “doing masculinity.”

Partially because of the overrepresentation of Black men who have served time in prison, a “code of the streets” has emerged where “doing masculinity” is a critical element (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Miller 1996; Mullins 2006). Masculinity consists of possessing and exhibiting characteristics (risky, rough, brave, bad, tough, cool etc.) that are defined as “manly” or being typical of a man (Donaldson 1993; Glueck and Glueck 1940; 1968; Messerschmidt 1993; 2000; Mullins 2006). Moreover, the literature has consistently placed males at the forefront of crime and masculinity is a factor. With that said, there are varying degrees of masculinity and some are culturally specific (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Messerschmidt 1993; Mullins 2006). Hegemonic

⁴ N=20 Incomplete interview, response not included.

masculinity posits that societies encourage men to embody a most dominant version of masculinity in their immediate social context (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006).

In some Black cultures, men are encouraged to display masculine characteristics to the point of violence (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Hawkins 1983; Mauer 1994; Miller 1996; Mullins 2006; Wilson 1984; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Furthermore, in some areas, particularly urban and poor, violence among Black men is expected.

Violence is used to improve street status and maybe necessary for survival and is also measured as a way to gain respect (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Mauer 1994; Miller 1996; Mullins 2006; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967).

In some cultures, this expectation of violence is practiced but not socially endorsed by all (parents, family, peers etc.). Violence is practiced because safety becomes an issue in some areas (Anderson 1999; Mullins 2006; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Parents and family members tend to encourage children to fight back when they are being bullied or challenged as a self preservation mechanism. Moreover, doing masculinity is a condition that is forced heavily upon individuals living in certain areas, typically urban, which is mainly due to self-preservation (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006). Internalization of this violent behavior leads to “doing masculinity” and “the code.”

Doing Masculinity

Code As A Young Black Male.

As a whole, the men agreed that “acting tough” or “doing masculinity” was pivotal to their criminal behavior, which is referred to in the literature as “the code”

(Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006). Participants were asked, “Describe the events that you believe led to the offense?” Sixty-six percent (N=14) of the men talked about hanging out on the streets because that was the norm. The more time spent hanging out, increased level of street status. Some of the men did allude to the fact that if one wasn’t hanging out, then he wasn’t “cool.” The essence of cool was described as a how the men acted in order to gain acceptance. Being cool was also a way to measure status, as the men would mimic the behavior of those who were high in status (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Big Todd talked about hanging out and enjoying the fast life. Essentially, many of these responses are typical and consistent with what we find in the masculinity literature.

Pat talked about “life being a game” and how he “lived in the streets” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Messerschmidt 1993; Mullins 2006; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Returning to prison was used as a way to increase status. With that said, several of the men expressed that at some point, they knew that they would have to change their criminal ways. But during their youth, prison was the status producer. Moreover, “living in the street” also was described as a status producer, particularly because the number of times that the men are seen “in the street” increases popularity because he will then be known by all.

The participants reported that peer pressure to be masculine was the main factor that influenced the criminal behavior. Four of the participants used the actual word (masculine or man) yet most never used the term during the interview. Doing masculinity among these men was described as “acting bad” and “being tough.” These terms can be described as possessing a certain swagger, based on the way he looks and

moves; Other descriptions include, not backing down from an argument; helping friends fight; “backing up” (being down, being on stomp) a friend during a criminal act, and the criminal behavior itself. To that end, this language was used among members that subscribed to the code.

Chris was charged with aggravated robbery and car theft. He described the carjacking as a spur of the moment event and he claimed to have been unaware that his friend was going to “jack” (steal) a car. He described what happened after the carjacking, which demonstrates how Chris was “doing masculinity.”

So we got in the car and we speed off. We get down to the light and I’m about to get out the car and he speeds up and runs the light. I slammed the door. Then we get on the freeway. I’m like, “dude, man let me out this car, please let me out this car.” He said [the driver], “Naww mane, you made it. You a ‘G’ now, you made it.”

This was Chris’ first carjacking. Chris got in the car because he did not want to “punk out” while his friend held up the victim at gun point. On the other hand, his friend was “doing masculinity” by congratulating him on going through with the robbery (or passing a test), which is in line with what many have described in masculinity literature (Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006; Reese 2006; Rome 2002; 2006).

Tim talked about being on “stomp” or helping his friends fight even when they are wrong:

I don’t carry a gun, but I help em (friends) fight and that’s what I really need to change, really. If I see my boys fighting you know, I just got to get in it,

especially if he getting beat up. That's just me. I don't know why it's like that. That's just me. Cause you know like when we was young, back in the day, you didn't leave him on stomp [Fighting alone]. They'll say, "Why you didn't help yo homeboy?" So it's [the rule regarding helping friends fight] still with me, right to this day. So if I see somebody that I know...[fighting] I tends to get in it. I know that "fight" can lead me back to prison.

This information is consistent with theory and is validated by research, which has grounded some of these ideas regarding masculinity and "the code" (Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Mullins (2006) explored how a man must protect his masculinity at all cost, because to some protecting manhood with violence has a structure and logic.

The statement "why you didn't help your homeboy?" is an example of doing masculinity and the rules of the subculture. Doing masculinity is part of "the code" and Tim continues to hold on to these rules of masculinity, as he talks about going to the club and getting into fights at the club on behalf of his friends. He admits that his behavior can send him back to prison, yet he holds true to those rules of masculinity from his subculture.

Darren and Tim spoke to masculinity and "the code" by explaining how they had to act tough and fight it out regardless of whether the fight would send them to prison as a way to prove that they were tough or masculine enough (Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006).

Tim said,

You know actually, I could have been the bigger man. I could have walked away and left it alone and I had plenty of time to leave. But again young...hanging in that type of life, atmosphere, trying to be bad. But that [trying to be bad] made me stay and do what I did.

Tim's response speaks to the conflicting perceptions that many of the men had once they matured. This describes the intersectionality in the data. During their youthful years, reacting with violence was the correct response. However, as the men matured, some described their behavior as foolish.

There seemed to be a sense of loyalty to the code. This code also involved being true to the hood camaraderie (i.e. helping friends fight etc.), or having a sense of loyalty to the code. Fifty-seven percent (N=12) responded "no" and 42% (N=9) responded "yes" to hanging around the same friends. Sir Wyrick stated that he does not hang around the same people because everything has changed since he has been in and out of prison. Sir Wyrick has been to prison 9 times and the amount of time that has passed in between each stay had an impact upon lasting friendships.

Darren admitted that the only reason that he does not hang around the same crowd is because he now lives in a different city. Similarly, Kwen stated, "Yea, I still got some homeboys on the wild side. Some come from out of town and we hang out at the club." Tony stated, "Some people that I hang out with still selling, and I tend to go down the wrong path." Hanging with some of these friends seemed to be self-destructive, yet the men continued these behaviors.

Sam stated:

The first time [when I went to prison] was kinda like okay [telling himself], you in trouble, so you gonna learn from that. But I didn't. I still hung out with the same crowd doing the same thing, so I knew something was going happen eventually. I didn't understand the route I was taking.

Most agreed to understanding the risks of their behavior, yet some continued to place themselves in situations that could send them back to prison. Brian talked about how his continued contact with old friends landed him back in prison:

Before we left [for the state fair], one of the dudes in the car had got into it with somebody. But I didn't know it. When we came back through, they shot the car up. So, I really didn't have anything to do with that, I was just going to the fair. I still ended up going to prison because there was a gun in the car and I didn't know it was a gun in the car.

Anderson (1999) talked about being “dissed” or “disrespected” and the reaction to this “diss” in certain subculture is typically violence. In addition, Mullins (2006) discussed how violence is an appropriate response to masculinity challenges in some cultures. Tim's expression above derives from the “code.” Tim was “dissed” so this required him to protect his reputation to the point of violence, or he could become vulnerable to more challenges (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006; Reese 2006; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967).

Darren also admitted to resolving his disputes by fighting when he felt like he had been disrespected (Anderson 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Mullins 2006). This “disrespect” translates to being challenged, wronged, slandered etc. Darren viewed being disrespected as a challenge against his manhood, as he “protected” himself and his

“manhood” using a firearm. Mullins (2006) describes similar instances in his book “Holding Your Square.” Similarly, Anderson (1999) wrote, “respect is viewed as almost an external entity that is hard-won but easily lost, and so must constantly be guarded.” Anderson (1999) also wrote about how appearance, demeanor and “swag” or way of moving deters challenges, which is a reflection upon the degree of toughness one possess.

The atmospheres described in this chapter are elements of the “hood life” which generally follows “the code.” Some of the participants discussed hanging out on the corner all times of the day and late night, or in the hood, drinking, selling drugs and acting tough or bad which are all considered “doing masculinity” (Anderson 1999; Bourgois 1995; Miller 1996; Mullins 2006).

Tim admitted that he could have walked away from the argument which led to murder but masculinity and “the code” would not allow him to walk away.

All of it started at 11 o'clock but the shooting didn't start til like...nine that night, so I had enough time to think about it. Not to do it, but words still flying back and forth. Words keep going on and on and somebody gon say this and somebody gon say that. It just escalated from there. So really, I had enough....I could've just left. But I stayed there and listened.

Criminal behavior and actions that leads to prison is normalized, as is spending time in prison. The consequence of this action (spending time) is neutralized by the fact that there is a “code” that men must follow, which is “not backing down” from a fight or argument or not allowing anyone to “disrespect you,” even though the reaction could lead to prison.

The power of “the code” appears to be so strong that the men continued to socialize with the same friends even though their friend’s participation in criminal activities could send them back to prison, they continue to be true to “the code.” When the men were asked, “Do these friends participate in criminal activities, do drugs or alcohol?” Sixty-five percent (N=13)⁵ agreed that they had friends who engaged in behaviors that would be considered risky for an ex-convict. Frank stated, “Some....some of them do [participate in criminal acts] and sometimes I do. It’s just that I grew up with them and most of them, you know. Most of the people that I know are the ones I was locked up with. Some [friends] dead and some aint.” Kwen stated, “Yes they drink and sell drugs.” Correspondingly, Button stated, “Well they drink and they smoke blunts.” All of these activities are considered to be “manly”. Along with that, these activities are also parole violations, yet the men continue to place themselves in vulnerable situations to maintain their masculine status and uphold “the code.”

Contrary to those responses, a few of the participants reported that they are unaffected by what their friends do.

Num Num stated,

It don’t affect me. Period! I mean, they may throw a barbecue and we may play dominoes or play some cards but after that it’s over with. You know what I’m sayin and you won’t see them for another week or two.

Fred stated, “They [friends] don’t influence me because you know the things that they be doing can lead me back to prison, like toting a gun or fighting.” But Fred does agree to hanging out with these friends, which is being true to the code (supporting friends).

Placing themselves at the mercy of their friends could lead to the men recidivating or in a

⁵ N=20

situation like Brian, who found him self returning to prison because one of his friends had a gun in the vehicle.

However, this “code” holds true past this homogenous group. The dominant culture also adhered to this code according to Anderson’s (1999) “street versus decent people” thesis. With that said, the degree of violence may be a distinguishing factor between the two groups. For instance, Kwen and Tim moved to the maximum level of violence, which is contrary to what some members of the dominant culture may subscribe to. Nevertheless, both the dominant and subcultures may practice this normative system of “the code” to a certain degree.

In the final chapter, I summarize my findings, discuss the relevance and importance of the project and close the chapter with implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 7: REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING EXPERIENCES AMONG BLACK MEN WHO SERVED THEIR YOUTHFUL YEARS IN PRISON

This reintegration study involves twenty-one Black men who served their youthful years in adult prison. This research contributes to the criminological literature in several ways: (1) it describes the reintegration experiences of Black men who served time in prison during their youthful years; (2) whether the men felt shame due to their ex-convict status; (3) it describes how cultural homogeneity effect the men’s shaming experiences; (4) it describes how the men experience shaming while doing masculinity and following “the code of the streets;” (5) and this research contributes to the growing body of literature regarding reintegrative shaming among Black men who served their youthful years in prison.

I begin the chapter describing the rationale behind using reintegrative shaming as the theoretical framework for this study. Second, I discuss results relative to the criminological importance and contribution of the study. Third, I describe limitations of the study and close the discussion summing up the importance of why research on this topic should be continued.

Theoretical Framework

The reintegrative shaming theory was used for this research because this theory provides a general framework to examine how people from diverse backgrounds experience shaming. The literature indicates many instances where people from diverse backgrounds experience and apply shaming differently (Braithwaite 1989). Specifically, this research describes how Black men from the south, living in urban areas reintegrate

and whether they experience shame/shaming for their ex-convict label. The framework endorsed disclosure as a method to measure shame.

Black men tend to be overrepresented in prison, therefore disclosing one's status to intimates and friends is more likely to occur. Most of the men noted that they disclosed to family and intimates initially, which suggests that intimates and friends make up that distinctive environment in which the men felt most comfortable disclosing his current status.

The participants indicated their rationale behind the disclosure. As a whole, the men agreed that they felt more comfortable disclosing their status to family and friends, and highly uncomfortable telling strangers and employers that they served time in prison because of the negative reactions and treatment. They offered that the only reason they disclosed their status to employers was because they had to in order to secure employment. Some of the men even reported that they lied about their status so that there would be a chance for the hire.

Some of the participants reported that they disclosed the information because people and employers would find out eventually. Further, the men felt the need to disclose in hopes that people would accept them and get past what they had done. These men hoped and dreamed of a fresh start.

This research is unique in nature because there is very little in the literature that focuses on this particular sample. There is a wealth of literature which examines the reintegrative shaming experiences of Black men, but little to no literature that exist on the reintegrative shaming experiences of Black men who served their youthful years in prison. The assumption here is that this group would have a more difficult time

reintegrating because they were incarcerated during their juvenile years, hence, during the time when maturation is at its peak. The existing research indicates that Black men have a difficult time reintegrating because of the stigma, collateral consequences of the felony label and discrimination which will be discussed later on in the chapter.

In addition, the literature indicates that children have special needs when incarcerated and their needs are rarely met in adult prison, as the setting is not designed to cater to youthful inmates (Feld 1999; Kempf-Leonard 2007; McShane and Williams 1989). Unfortunately, it is during youth that early intervention counseling and services are most effective. The men in this study did indicate that they received GED classes, some counseling and anger management courses which speak to some programming offered but little to no resources were available to prepare them for the workforce.

Additionally, according to the literature, adolescents may be particularly vulnerable inmates because they are victimized at a higher rate than adults (Feld 1999; Meyers 2005). Although the data in this study does not address prison safety specifically, one participant did report that the guards protected him so he rarely had violent altercations while incarcerated, but it was only through these extra efforts by staff.

How Black men serving their youthful years in prison reintegrate

At the time of the interviews, the age range for the men was 23 to 48 years old and six from this sample had gone to prison multiple times. The sample was homogenous, the men were from similar areas demographically and the majority served time in Varner minimum security prison. One participant served time for what we would define as index property crimes (Burglary and Arson) and the remaining sample had served time for violent crimes. Eighty one percent of the sample did not expect to go to

adult prison for their crime and most of the men were around the age of 16 when they went to prison. The fact that most of the men did not expect to go to prison provides some insight on why young people continue to be involved in criminal activity. This research will add to the literature by providing more insight as to why youths continue violent criminal behavior and will denote age as well as doing masculinity as critical elements in the decision making process.

At some point during reintegration, many of the men reported that they were discriminated against because of the status. Some of the men reported that they were harassed and mistreated by police when they came in contact with them. They also reported that their applications were rejected many times after the potential employer discovered their felony status. Some reported feeling a certain level of hope, initially when they visited with the potential employer face to face, but upon revealing their felony status, the employer would often turn them away. The literature shows us that it is difficult for this group to find work because of their status (Garland et al. 2011). The stigma that follows these men makes it convenient for employers to reject the application.

Some of the men discussed feeling unprepared to subsist in the workplace. The main reasons for these feelings were because the men spent their youthful years in prison, with very little to no job skills training, leaving them highly unskilled and unprepared. The literature tells us that over the past 10 years, prisons have eliminated or decreased the amount of education and training that is available for inmates. There are political and social rationales behind these efforts, with the main reason being citizens' refusal to spend tax dollars towards educating prisoners, so many of the prison programs have been eliminated (Garland et al. 2011; Petersilia 2003). This research reveals that these men

require training if they are to be successful at reintegration, so efforts should be put forth to train and prepare inmates for the workforce.

The men discussed how they moved past this obstacle. Some of the men reported getting jobs through people they knew. This was the only option for some. Therefore, further findings can complement the existing literature, while providing viable options for ex-convicts. This information can be used as a guide for prisoners returning home. Prisoners should be prepped to seek work options through networks including family and friends as a “starting point.” Job hunting “cold turkey” if you will, should be discouraged initially and used only as a last resort. Due to the fact that it is highly stressful at first release and job hunting “cold turkey” can lead to unwarranted stress, frustration and depression according to the participants.

Another finding gained from the research was the difficulty of finding good housing. Some of the men explained that good housing was difficult to find and that they are only eligible for sub-par housing in bad neighborhoods because of their status. This finding could drive policy toward making good housing available for these men as the path to reintegration is difficult enough to say the least. Additionally, bad neighborhoods are often the poorest areas and are generally crime ridden, so policy toward moving ex-convicts to good housing in better neighborhoods should be a reachable goal and a requirement, since society needs to provide every opportunity for successful re-entry.

When the men discussed their hopes and plans, several reported that they did not want to return to prison. The majority just wanted to find a job or go to school. A couple of the men discussed desires regarding the military, but unfortunately those charged with

certain felonies are ineligible for the military, but not all are totally barred since a revision passed in 2007.

Several of the men discussed hopelessness, which is a common theme among those who have returned from prison. The literature indicates that this hopelessness drives recidivating, depression and aggression, which lead to violence (Mauer 1999; Petersilia 2003). A few of the men reported doing well which was partly due to a student success mentoring program. This program assist the men through programming designed to prepare them for obstacles they will face while in school and in the community. So during the re-entry phase, these men should be encouraged to seek out programs similar to this.

Relationships with family and friends were additional findings that speak to the ideas regarding communitarianism and interdependence. The level of comfort felt when the men disclosed the prison experience was primarily due to the level of communitarianism and interdependence present. The men quickly discovered to whom it was safe to disclose the information to. In an environment where family and close friends were numerous, disclosure was more likely to occur and was better received compared to strangers and employers as reported by the men. So this research can complement findings on family and friends as a distinctive environment in which to gain support for the men.

Shaming experiences due to their ex-convict status

Another question explored in this research was how the men experience shaming? I measured shaming based on when, where and to whom the men disclosed their ex-convict status. Additionally, whether they had regrets for the crime that they served time

for. Sixty-six percent of the men reported feeling guilt, bad or remorse for the crimes for which they served time. These feelings could be described as internal shame. Other examples of internal shaming were measured through the respondent's responses to the question: "how do you feel about going to prison?" Ninety-five percent reported having negative feelings about the experience at the time of the interview. Some described feelings including; disappointed, failure, foolish and had regrets about time wasted. These terms could all be derived from internal shaming, the shame that is felt from within.

When the men stepped outside of their communities, they reported being reluctant or "uncomfortable" disclosing this information because of the negative reactions they get from people. These negative reactions could be described as the application of external shaming. The shame felt when they were treated "differently" speaks to external shaming which is applied by external actors i.e. the people doing the shaming. This group of actors is independent of the distinctive group which is the group the men reported feeling more comfortable telling.

How cultural homogeneity affects the amount of shame felt among this sample

The findings from this research revealed that nearly all of the men reported that they did not disclose their status willingly. Rather, in a comfortable setting or a cultural space allowed the men to feel more at ease about disclosure, which tells us that the level of cultural homogeneity was high in these environments. The level of cultural homogeneity spoke to the strength of bonds with people. Also, the level of cultural homogeneity tends to normalize stigma and damaged identities, which is why participants felt more comfortable disclosing to intimates (Cozby 1972; Jourard 1959; Scheff 1988;

Scheff 1990). It was difficult to determine from the data, which intimates had the most effect on disclosure and shaming, as I did not incorporate a question to get at this issue, so this was a missed opportunity.

The findings regarding cultural homogeneity and disclosure is consistent with what we find in the literature. Hence, the strength of bonds determine the level of shame and disclosure. The level of cultural homogeneity and the rate of disclosure were used as a way to measure shame. Shame and shaming were felt and practiced, less when the level of cultural homogeneity was high.

However, when the men left this distinctive environment, the level of shaming increased, as did the amount of shame felt. I could only use a comparison of “more” or “less” as a measure. With that said, I could not provide an accurate measure of shaming felt. Braithwaite (1989) hypothesizes that when cultural homogeneity exists, that feelings of shame should not be deeply altered even outside of their distinctive environment. My results indicated differently. I would first argue that it is difficult to measure the level of shame felt due to shaming by those outside of the community. With that said, my findings did reveal that there were differences in the amount of shaming felt when the men were in their distinctive environments versus outside of the community. Therefore, according to my data, feelings of shame were felt deeper outside of the community rather than vice versa as Braithwaite (1989) theorized.

These findings provide a good test of Braithwaite’s (1989) cultural homogeneity thesis. Findings from my research tended to discredit the thesis as the sample reported feeling more shame when they left their communities even when cultural homogeneity was high in their distinctive environments.

Shaming while doing masculinity and following “the code of the streets.”

The literature is growing in the areas that describe how masculinity crosses gender lines; hence women doing masculinity and following “the code” is occurring at a similar rate as men (Hall 2009)⁶. Nonetheless, the majority of research focuses on how men do masculinity as does this research.

During the time of the interviews, some of the men seem to have conflicting feelings regarding the crimes they served time for and the prison time itself. When the men matured, many reported that their past behavior was somewhat immature. They used terms like “foolish” and “childish” to describe their past behavior. However, they reported that “back in the day” when they were younger, prison increased street status, and many young Black men used it as such. Prison was quite the popularity producer and one was quite popular on the streets if he had gone. Some of these ideas can be explained by reference group theory. Schmitt (1972) posits that individuals look to the “reference other” to mimic behavior and this is generally a cognitive process. Schmitt (1972) further believed that individuals are influenced by those who are popular and meaningful to them and then consciously chose to mimic their behaviors. These are the necessary elements required for “reference-group taking.”

The findings on this intersectionality between youth and manhood can contribute to the literature on immaturity and crime, hence specifying immaturity as the catalyst for certain behaviors (Messerschmidt 2005). As the men matured, they reported realizing how juvenile some of the behavior was, yet as a youth, they continued to live and appreciate that “street life.” I will speak more regarding this issue in the conclusion.

⁶ While there are some similarities among women and men, the meanings of the behavior are different and there are contextualized triggers (Mullins and Miller 2008).

Since this experience was embraced by some, the men began to normalize this new identity and the prison experience. Given that serving time in prison is common for Black males, family and friends may have also accepted this new identity and to a certain degree have normalized the experience by accepting those intimates with spoiled identities. These findings can add to the race, masculinity and identity literature.

The results of this study are not broadly generalizable because of its exploratory nature. However generalizability was not an issue as some of my findings complemented findings that currently exist in the literature.

There are not many studies that exist examining the reintegrative shaming experiences of this particular population. However, there are studies that focus on several findings from this research including ideas regarding reintegrative shaming and the experiences among Black men; masculinity and the code; and some issues regarding shaming (Anderson 1999; Bourgios 1995; Braithwaite 1989; Mullins 2006). Reliability is high simply based upon the fact that content analysis was used to analyze the data (Namey, Guest, Thairu and Johnson 2007). Content analysis is considered efficient and reliable because of the simplicity in the word count analysis. In the same way, validity is greater because of the opportunity to discover additional themes due to the flexibility in the data analysis process (Namey et al. 2007). Because this is a qualitative study, validity is an important strength of the study, as the men answered questions based upon their perceptions of experiences during the reintegration process (Wolcott 2001).

Limitations

The first limitation was the population size because of the minimal number of participants. However, Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) have found that data saturation

can occur as early as the twelfth interview. These researchers have experience working with large qualitative data sets and have found that themes began to emerge from the data as early as the sixth interview (Guest et al. 2006; Namey et al. 2007). Due to their findings of data saturation, findings from this data set (N=21) provide rich results and have generated a significant contribution to the reintegrative shaming literature.

Another issue is that the sample was homogenous in make-up, as the men had several similarities, hence lacking in diversity. I believe the data may also be skewed because most of the participants were recruited from a popular community college program that assists ex-convicts, which may reveal that some participants are having similar experiences because of assistance from this program. So it may appear as if a large number of the participants are successfully reintegrated, but this success is mainly due to the assistance that some of the men are receiving through the student success program.

The next limitation was possible over exaggeration by the participants. Being female and interviewing male participants may have caused participants to exaggerate, understate, as well as answer in a certain manner at times in order to impress me (Lofland and Lofland 1995; Neuman 2006). Participants were assured that their identity would remain anonymous by connecting a fictitious name with their interview. This may have made the participants feel free to answer honestly. A limitation that I had found early on was that the men were reluctant to answer certain questions because of the recorder. Because of this, I learned how to word certain phrases and information as to maintain the anonymity, for instance, turning off the recorder when I asked sensitive questions.

Next, participant responses may have been influenced by prison socialization rather than pre-prison socialization. I attempted to account for this by asking where their ideas regarding certain topics come from during the probing process (e.g. friends pre-prison or fellow inmates). During prison, some had become involved with subcultures that encouraged criminal behavior merely for protection purposes. As a result, they may have chosen to frame or alter their experiences in ways reflective of that criminal subculture.

Next there were many disadvantages with conducting interviews by phone (N=2). For example, because I could not see the participant's body language it was more difficult to discern non-verbal cues that may initiate a probe to gather more information (Opdenakker 2006). Also, interruptions from the participant's side of the telephone line caused the interview to be interrupted; hence the serenity of the locations was compromised (Opdenakker 2006).

On the other hand, email interviews (N=2) posed its problems as well. Sometimes the participants took a few days to answer the emails, which left me wondering whether they had ditched the interview. The other drawback was that often times it was difficult to understand the response because of spelling/typing errors. I also could not probe as well, so when the answer wasn't clear and the participant did not respond to the probe question, I had to wade through the interview to see if I could match a response to the question because the participants often "rambled" and did not provide a straight forward or clear answer. I also did not have the opportunity to watch for verbal and body cues, and as a final drawback, email interviews took longer than if I had sat down with the participant and conducted a face-to-face interview.

Another limitation was determining the amount of shaming that is attributed to internal versus the external experience based upon the participant's responses. This was discussed in depth earlier in the chapter. The shame felt from committing the crime itself and spending time in prison was measured as internal shame. Conversely, the shame felt from negative reactions as a result of disclosure was measured as external shame.

Another issue of interest includes a question of difference between rural and urban respondents. Braithwaite (1989) believes that reintegrative shaming may be more prevalent in rural areas, where people tend to be more connected, so rural respondents should report more extensive occurrences of reintegrative shaming, if Braithwaite's (1989) theory carries validity. In the demographic section, I asked whether the participant considered their home urban or rural. Most all the participants considered their home area urban. So I did not have a chance to address this issue.

The final limitation was the retrospective biography and intersectionality, as I had to take respondents at their word, thus relying solely on their memory and perception, as well as the conflicting realities of young and immature and older and more mature. As a whole, these limitations implicate alternative ways to conduct research on this topic. For instance, questions should be framed to address each intersection. Subsequently, research questions should be structured to address both "young and immature" realities in retrospect and the realities of "older and more mature" as an effort to delineate intersectionality.

Conclusion

Dissertation Contributions

Prisoner re-entry has been an ongoing topic of debate because of the number of individuals that are locked up and will be returning to the community soon. Politicians and corrections have a duty to make an aggressive attempt to prepare these individuals for re-entry (Visher and Travis 2011). This project is by no means representative of the population, yet it does provide more insight on how Black men who served their youthful years in prison reintegrate; whether they feel shame; when and to whom they disclose their status and how they do masculinity.

The findings from this study are consistent with what the literature reveals regarding Black men serving time in prison in a general sense. There is very little in the literature regarding how this particular population reintegrates. On the whole, there is some research on how children reintegrate after serving time in a juvenile facility, but there is an assumption that differences should exist in the reintegrative shaming experiences when youth serve time with adults. This research broke some ground to provide answers to this difference. So these results seemed to be consistent with what the literature reveals about Black men and reintegration.

Newly emerging issues from this research include illiteracy, job readiness and feeling ill equipped for life because they had gone to prison at a young age and received little to no preparation for re-entry. Lastly, the men felt “shaming” even though the level of cultural homogeneity was high within their communities as reported by some.

Another important factor that emerged from this research is the intersectionality among youth versus adulthood. The men had varying differences in what they considered masculine and how they felt shame when they were young versus when they matured. When the men were young, they reported that “acting tough” was the norm and

there was very little shame in the violent outcome of “acting tough” (Anderson 1999; Cohen 1955; Miller 1958; Mullins 2006; Sellin 1938; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). However, as the men matured, some reported that type of behavior as “foolish” or “childish.” In addition to these thoughts, some of the men reported channeling their anger better once they matured, hence the discussions describing the anger felt after being denied employment because of felony records. Remember Tim’s comment:

And they don’t know if I’m gon go off again and do some mo killin. Get a good job. What you gon do when you aint got nothing to fall back on? That’s frustrating. You can’t get this because you gotta a background. I wish I learned that a long time ago. Sometimes I get so mad and I be wantin to do something and then I ask myself...”what is that gon do? So I take it as a lesson learned. I’m paying for it now.

Several of the men felt regret for their immature behavior once they matured. This research will add to the literature by providing more insight as to why some youths continue violent criminal behavior and will denote age as well as doing masculinity as critical elements in the decision making process. These findings on intersectionality can drive policy toward removing waiver policies completely and initiating direct file for the most violent youth committing the ultimate crime.

Implications and Recommendations for Future Research

This study provides a general understanding of the Black male life experiences pre-prison and post-prison. Waiver policies should not be used for youth that have not committed the ultimate crime which is murder. States should use a direct file method for those youth who commit murder. All other waiver policies should be eliminated. With

that said, when youth are threatened to be moved to the adult system, adequate and competent counsel should be provided for these youth during the juvenile justice hearings.

The men in this sample discussed issues specifically related to illiteracy, lack of skills required to get a job and job readiness, which are all rudiments addressed in the juvenile system. So perhaps the justice system should strive to keep juveniles in the juvenile system, since some of these issues are addressed in the juvenile system. Hence, this is a beginning to research and implementation of policies that assist this group during the reintegration process.

A substantial amount of data on this topic is necessary in order to provide a clear picture and have a large-scale effect upon policy. However, this study could be used as an exploratory guide to initiate this process. This research can contribute to the existing literature regarding what individuals need for successful re-entry and whether they feel shame for their actions and serving time in prison (Anderson-Facile 2009; Garland et al. 2011; Visher and Travis 2011; Visher, Yahner and La Vigne 2010). Not only are there safety concerns surrounding the release of prisoners based on recidivism rates, but there are also issues regarding whether these citizens will become productive (Visher and Travis 2011).

The participants in the sample had similar needs (jobs, school, good housing). These men should be offered on-going services to assist them during reintegration and a method to follow their progress should be initiated. These services can be initiated in such a way to provide cost effectiveness, as there is a wealth of studies that speak to this (Reiman 2001). To that end, this research can be used to drive policy towards

implementing resources to meet the needs of this group as an effort to assist with successful re-entry. Further research should be conducted in this area incorporating what females need in terms of resources during reintegration and to whom and when they disclose their status. This research provides insight that could lead to the elimination of waiver policies which will be beneficial for all.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Guidelines

INTRODUCTION

My name is Wanda Hunter and I am a PhD student at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale and I want to thank you for your time and agreeing to answer questions to help us understand what Black males go through during the reintegration process. I am doing my dissertation research on Black males who served their time in an adult prison as a teenager, focusing on how they reintegrated after they were released from prison. That's why you were selected. In other words, you were waived (given adult status) and sentenced to serve your time in an adult facility. Before we get started, I just want to tell you how much I appreciate your willingness to discuss your experiences with me. Your participation is vital to my degree completion and will help add vital information about Black men and the reintegration experience after this process. I will reward your participation with \$20.00.

The interview will last about one hour and a half. I will begin the interview by asking you some questions about yourself. Then I will ask questions about your past. Next, I will ask about prison and reintegration experiences. Then I will close by asking if there is anything that you would like to add that I did not ask.

I want you to know that at any time you can stop the interview; your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Also you can elect not to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable answering. Feel free to interrupt me if you don't understand the question or if I am talking too fast that you didn't catch the complete question or the idea behind the question. There are no right or wrong answers; this is about what you have experienced. So, your answer is the right answer.

I will tape the interview, but I want you to know that there is no way that your identity will be connected with the tape as I will make a list that will have a fictitious or fake name/random number to identify you in the documents. The list for the responses will be kept in a locked cabinet in my office and the actual responses will be kept in another secure location. My advisor will have access to the data only, but not the list that links you to the responses. My assistant will not have the information to link you to your responses because I will have the consent forms at all times. Moreover, my assistant is here to assist me with the digital recording process only, so that I will not have to work the equipment and perform the interview. Once I convert the tapes to text, the information on the tapes will be erased to further protect your identity. If you agree to allow me to tape this interview, please sign at the bottom of the form after we have gone over this form. Rest assured that I will use a fake name when I write my report so that your identity will never be disclosed. Thereafter, I will destroy the document that connects your real name with the fake name. I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity _____ (my initials).

Your participation in this research will help us understand what people like you go through during the reintegration experience and what “The system” has or has not done to assist you with this process. If you have any questions regarding this research, please contact me at 205-393-1488. Or you can reach me by mail: Wanda Hunter, Assistant Director, McNair Program at HENDERSON STATE UNIVERSITY, P.O. Box 7711, Arkadelphia, AR 71999. By phone at 870-230-5333 or email hunterw@hsu.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Kimberly Kempf-Leonard at SIUC, mailcode 4504, Carbondale, IL 62901 by phone at 618-453-5701, or email kKempf-Leonard@siu.edu.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Research and Development and Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail siuhsc@siu.edu

I have read the material above, and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this interview and know that my responses will be recorded on audio tape. I have also agreed to allow my responses to be used as quotes. I understand that a copy of this form will be made available to me with the relevant information and phone numbers. I realize that I may withdraw from this interview at any time _____.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questionnaire A

Demographic Questions:

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status?
 - a. If married, how long? If divorced, how long?
3. Do you have children?
 - a. What are their ages? b. Do they live with you?
4. Where do you live? What is it like there?
5. Is this area considered country or city?
6. Where do you work? What do you do there? How long have you been there?
7. Do you make most of the money for your family?
 - a. If not, then who does and what is his/her occupation?
8. What was your last year of education completed?
 - a. College
 - b. Some college
 - c. High school
 - d. GED
 - e. Less than high school

General Questions:

Part I

I am going to begin by asking you some questions about your life.

A. General Questions about your Past Life Experiences

1. Did you expect to go to adult prison as a juvenile for your crime/crimes? If yes, how come? If no, why not?
2. How old were you when you went to prison?
3. Describe the events that you believe led to the offense.
4. What was the charge that got you waived to adult court?
5. What charges and sentence length did you receive and how much actual time did you serve? Or what did you go down for and how much time did you get?
Probe: How do you feel about serving your teenage year in prison?
6. What penitentiary did you serve your time in?

7. Did they house you separately or with adults?
8. What was life like for you in prison? Who helped you to adjust/adapt in prison?
 - a. How did they help you?
9. How did prison officials treat you (Staff, Guards, Nurses)?

Probe: Did they show you favor or treat you bad, unfairly or harshly? Give me an example? How did this make you feel?
10. How many times have you been to prison? [Note: if incarcerated since that first juvenile experience, go to items for recidivist Questionnaire B. If not, go to next item 9].
11. When were you released?

Part II. Reintegrative Shaming questions:

12. Have you changed since serving time in prison?
 - a. Probe: Discuss how you have changed.
13. What were your hopes once released from prison?

Probe: Can you describe how you felt when you were first released?
14. Describe your life, since you were released from prison.

Probe: (obstacles, barriers, positive experiences etc).
15. Describe your living situation after you were released.

Probe: What's your living situation now?
16. What kind of help did you get *before* you got out?
17. What kind of help did you get *when* you got out?

Probe: Give some examples of the resources available to you when you got out? (job training, financial assistance etc). Were these prison resources or resources that you found on your own? If so, how did you find them?
18. Did your family, friends and significant others understand why you did what you did? Tell me how you know this.
 - If they did not understand why you did what you did, what reasons did they give for not understanding?

Probe: Do you think that people (family, friends, significant others) forgive you for your crime/crimes? Discuss how you know this.

19. How did you get along with your family before you went to prison/penitentiary?

20. How do you get along with them now?

Probe: How have the relationships changed? Provide examples.

21. Do you associate with the same friends from before you went to prison? How come?

Probe: Do these friends participate in criminal activities, do drugs or alcohol? If yes, what kind (Beer, coolers, spirits etc)? How does this affect you when you hang out with them?

22. Did you make friends while in prison and do you associate with them now? How come?

Probe: Do these friends participate in criminal activities, do drugs or alcohol? If yes, what kind? How does this affect you when you hang out with them?

23. How were you treated when people found out that you had served time in prison?

Probe: Treated by people that you come in contact with.

24. Do you tell people that you have served time?

Probe: If no, why not? If yes, who do you tell and why do feel comfortable telling them?

25. Would the way that people react toward you (when they find out that you have been in prison) keep you from committing further crimes? Why or why not?

26. Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released?

Probe: Did you disclose your prison experience? What was their reaction? How did you feel? Would this feeling you have deter you from committing further crimes if this be the case?

27. Do you care about what your employer or potential employer thinks about you serving time in the penitentiary? Why or Why not?

28. Describe the first job that you took once released and how long did you remain employed?

Probe: Describe what usually happened when you went job hunting. How many times was your application/applications rejected and what reason/reasons did they give you? Describe your feelings regarding the

rejection. How often did you look for employment and what are some of the things you did during this search?

29. How long did it take you to find that job after you were released?

Probe: Who assisted you with your job hunt?

30. Describe for me your typical daily routine.

Probe: Does it differ when employed versus not employed? If yes, describe what is different about it. Describe how you feel about your daily routine (love, hate, lonely, bored). How do you feel when you are not employed? Is it ok to not be employed?

31. How do you feel about the crime/crimes that they say you have committed?

Probe: How much responsibility do you take? Do you feel bad now about breaking the law back then (probe- remorseful, guilt, embarrassed, foolish, inadequate)? Why or why not? Did you feel bad back then before prison? How come? How would you feel if the crime had hurt someone? Do these feelings deter you from committing crime now? Why or why not?

32. How did you feel about going to prison?

Probe: Happy or disappointed, embarrassed, foolish, insecure). How do you feel about spending your youthful years in prison (happy or disappointed, embarrassed, foolish, insecure)? Do you think people should get past what you did?

33. Discuss any experiences that have changed your life since you were released from prison.

Probe: Have you developed a new love interest since prison? If yes, how has this changed your life? Have you had children since you've been released? If yes, how has this changed your life?

34. Is there anything in your life that you would change?

Probe: How do you want people to think of you?

35. What do you think one needs to keep from falling back into a criminal way of life?
36. I am just trying to understand just what happens to young men placed in the penitentiary and how they get along when they are released. What else should I ask you or what else can you tell me about this experience?

Thank you so much for your participation and time.

Questionnaire B

Items for those offenders incarcerated since that initial juvenile experience

(recidivist):

9. Describe each period of incarceration, the crime/crimes you committed and the time served.
10. Describe the events that you believe led to each of the offenses after that initial juvenile prison experience.
11. What kind of help have you received each time you have been released?
12. Describe how your hopes have changed or remained the same each time you were released from prison?
13. Describe your living situation during each prison experience beginning with the first reintegration experience.
14. Did your family, friends and significant others understand why you did what you did? Tell me how you know this.
 - If they did not understand why you did what you did, what reasons did they give for not understanding?
Probe: Do you think that people (family, friends, significant others) forgive you for your crime/crimes? Discuss how you know this.
15. How did you get along with your family before you went to prison/penitentiary?
16. How do you get along with them now?
Probe: How have the relationships changed?
17. Do you associate with the same friends from before you went to prison? How come?

Probe: Do these friends participate in criminal activities, do drugs or alcohol? If yes, what kind? How does this affect you when you hang out with them?
18. Did you make friends while in prison and do you associate with them now? How come?

Probe: Do these friends participate in criminal activities, do drugs or alcohol? If yes, what kind? How does this affect you when you hang out with them?

19. How were you treated when people found out that you had served time in prison?

20. Do you tell people that you have served time?

Probe: If no, why not? If yes, who do you tell and why do feel comfortable telling them?

21. Would the way that people react toward you (when they find out that you have been in prison) keep you from committing further crimes? Why or why not?

22. Did you seek legitimate employment when you were released?

Probe: Did you disclose your prison experience? What was their reaction? How did you feel? Would this feeling you have deter you from committing further crimes if this be the case?

23. Do you care about what your employer or potential employer thinks about you serving time in the penitentiary? Why or Why not?

24. How long does it take you to find a job once released?

Probe: Who assists you with your job hunt?

25. If you were employed during any of the periods that you were out of prison, describe these jobs.

Probe: Describe what usually happened when you went job hunting? How many times was your application/applications rejected and what reason/reasons did they give you? Describe your feelings regarding the rejection. How often did you look for employment and what are some of the things you did during this search?

26. Describe for me your typical daily routine.

Probe: Does it differ when employed versus not employed? If yes, describe what is different about it. Describe how you feel about your daily routine

(love, hate, lonely, bored). How do you feel when you are not employed? Is it ok to not be employed?

27. How do you feel about the crime/crimes that they say you have committed?

Probe: How much responsibility do you take? Do you feel bad now about breaking the law back then (probe- remorseful, guilt, embarrassed, foolish, inadequate)? Why or why not? Did you feel this before prison? How come? How would you feel if the crime had hurt someone? Do these feelings deter you from committing crime now? Why or why not?

28. How did you feel about going to prison?

Probe: Happy or disappointed, embarrassed, foolish, insecure. How do you feel now?

29. Do you think that people should just get past what you did? If yes, why? If no, why not?

Probe: How do you want people to think of you?

30. Discuss any experiences that have changed your life since you were released from prison.

Probe: New love interest since prison? Have you had children since you've been released? If yes, how has this changed your life?

31. Is there anything in your life that you would change?

32. What do you one needs to keep you from falling back into that old way of life?

33. I am just trying to understand just what happens to young men placed in the penitentiary and how they get along when they are released. What else should I ask you or what else can you tell me about this experience?

Thank you so much for your participation and time.

APPENDIX C

Table 1
Demographics

	Pseudonym	Age	Marital status	Children?	Live/Reside With	Rural/Urban Good/Bad	Employed?	Money Maker?	Education
1.	Chris	25	Single	Yes	North Little Rock/Rent	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	In college
2.	Gary	24	Single	No	North Little Rock/Own	Urban Good	Yes	Yes	In college
3.	Brad	27	Single	Yes	Duluth, GA/Rent	Urban Bad	No	No	GED
4.	Darren	28	Single	No	Benton/Parents	Urban Good	Yes	No	In College
5.	Tim	40	Single	Yes	Little Rock/Sister	Urban Bad	No	No	11 th
6.	Kwen	31	Single	No	Pine Bluff/Family	Urban Bad	No	No	GED
7.	B.A.	23	Single	No	Camp Robinson/Family	Urban Good	Yes	Yes	In college
8.	Sir Wyrick Hampton	48	Divorced	Yes	Little Rock/Mom	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	GED
9.	R. Kelly	23	Single	No	Little Rock/Parents	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	GED
10.	Tony	25	Single	No	North Little Rock/Rent	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	GED
11.	Fred	46	Married	Yes	Searcy/Wife	Urban Good	No	No	In College
12.	NumNum	28	Divorced	Yes	Little Rock/Family	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	GED
13.	Sam	40	Single	Yes	Jacksonville/Girlfriend	Urban Bad	No	No	9 th
14.	Big Todd	24	Single	No	Little Rock/Family	Urban Good	Yes	No	GED
15.	Brian	28	Separated	No	Dumas/Family	Urban Good	Yes	Yes	GED
16.	Pat	27	Single	Yes	Little Rock/Girlfriend	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	GED
17.	Timothy	26	Single	Yes	Benton/Rent	Urban Good	Yes	Yes	In College
18.	Button	40	Divorced	Yes	North Little Rock/Mom	Urban Bad	No	No	GED
19.	Teddy B.	23	Single	Yes	Little Rock/Parent	Urban Good	Yes	Yes	GED
20.	Vince	30	Single	No	North Little Rock/Rent	Urban Bad	Yes	Yes	In College
21.	Frank	43	Married	Yes	North Little Rock/Wife	Urban Bad	Yes	No	GED

AGE: Mean = 30.9; Mode = 23, 28, 40; Range = 23 to 48
 MARITAL: Mode = Single; 17 Single, 2 Married, 3 Divorced, 1 Separated
 CHILDREN: 12=Yes, 9=No
 RESIDE WITH:
 RURAL/URBAN-GOOD BAD: Urban = 100%, Urban Bad = 13, Urban Good 8
 EMPLOYED: Yes = 15, No = 6
 MONEY MAKER: Yes = 12, No = 9
 EDUCATION: College = 7, High School = 2, GED = 12

Table 2
Past Life Experiences

	Pseudonym	Prison Expect?	How old?	What Charge?	Sentence Length?	Which Penitentiary?	Housed w/Adults?	Prison Experience?	Treatment by Staff?	Trips to Prison?	Release Date?
1.	Chris	No	16	Robbery	15 years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	O.k.	1	2006
2.	Gary	No	16	Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Trash/Scum	1	2006
3.	Brad	No	16	Agg. Robbery	10 years	10 prisons	Yes	Foul	Foul	1	2005
4.	Darren	No	15	1 st Battery	10 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2005
5.	Tim	Yes	18	1 st Battery	5 Years	Pul. Co. Jail	Yes	Scary	Alright	5	2010
6.	Kwen	No	17	Mur. 2 nd /Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Quachita Riv.	Yes	Scary	Bad	1	2010
7.	B.A	No	16	Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2009
8.	SirWyrick Hampton	No	18	Assault/Burglary	6 Years	Cummins	Yes	Scary	Bad	9	2010
9.	R. Kelly	No	16	Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Horrible	LikeAnimals	1	2006
10.	Tony	Yes	17	Battery	8 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2008
11.	Fred	No	16	Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Cummins	Yes	Alright	Alright	2	2009
12.	NumNum	Yes	16	Agg. Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Fair	1	2006
13.	Sam	No	16	Battery	6 Years	Cummins	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2007
14.	BigTodd	No	17	Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2008
15.	Brian	No	19	Agg. Robbery	10 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Like Dogs	3	2005
16.	Pat	No	16	Assault/Robbery	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Scary	Bad	1	2009
17.	Timothy	No	18	Battery	10 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2010
18.	Button	No	17	Battery	5 Years	Cummins	Yes	Bad	Bad	2	2005
19.	Teddy B.	Unsure	17	Burglary/Arson	15 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Bad	Bad	1	2006
20.	Vince	No	16	Battery	10 Years	Varner Min	Yes	Scary	Bad	1	2010
21.	Frank	No	16	Robbery	8 Years	Pul. Co. Jail	Yes	Scary	Bad	6	2008

PRISON EXPECTATIONS: Yes = 3, No = 17
HOW OLD: Mean age = 16.62, Mode = 16, Range = 15 to 19
CHARGE: Mode = Aggravated Robbery (which includes car theft)
SENTENCE LENGTH: Mean sentence = 11.33 years, Mode = 15 Years, Range = 5 to 15 Years
WHICH PEN: Mode = Varner Minimum
HOUSED WITH ADULTS: 100% of sample = Yes
PRISON EXPERIENCE: Mode = Bad
STAFF TREATMENT: Mode = Bad
TRIPS TO PRISON: Mean = 2, Mode was 1, Range = 1 to 9 times
RELEASE DATE: Mode = 2006, 2010; Range 2005-2010

APPENDIX D

Reintegration Study

Are you a Black Male that was waived to adult court and served your prison time with adults in an adult facility when you were a teenager?

If yes, then you are a potential participant for this reintegration study.

This is a reintegration study that will focus on the reintegration experiences of Black men who served time in adult prison as a juvenile. Those who participate in this study will receive a cash incentive of \$20.00.

For more information please call 870-230-5333 or 205-393-1488 and ask to speak with Wanda Hunter.

APPENDIX E

Date

Agency Director

Agency Title

State/City/Zip Code

Dear Agency Director,

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at Southern Illinois University and I am in the process of implementing a study as part of the requirements for the PhD program. I solicit your assistance in helping me locate participants for my study.

This is a reintegration study and I will interview Black males who were waived and served their time in adult prison during their teenaged years. I want to know about their reintegration experiences. There is no age requirement for this study. The only requirements are that the participant be Black and male.

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University

Wanda T. Hunter

Hunterw@hsu.edu

Henderson State University
Bachelor of Business Administration, August 2001

University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Master of Arts in Criminal Justice, August 2003

Dissertation Title:

Life After Prison: The Role of the Juvenile Prison Experience and the Impact on Reintegration for Black Males

Major Professor: Dr. Kimberly Kempf-Leonard

Publications:

Articles

Hunter, Wanda T. (2005). "Correctional Officer Unions." In Mary Bosworth (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Prison and Correctional Facilities (Volume 1)* (pp. 187-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hunter, Wanda T. (2005). "Recreation Programs." In Mary Bosworth (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Prison and Correctional Facilities (Volume 2)* (pp. 826-828). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Book Reviews

Hunter, Wanda. (2009). "The Prisoners' World: Portraits of Convicts Caught in the Incarceration Binge" by William Tregea and Marjorie Larmour, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009 in *Teaching Sociology* 37, (Volume 4) (pp. 425-426).