

IDAHO FEMALES' PERCEPTIONS OF INCARCERATION: A NARRATIVE
ETHNOGRAPHY

By

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Master's Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts in Sociology Degree

Department of Sociology, Social Work, and Criminology
in the Graduate School Idaho State University
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COMMITTEE APPROVAL

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The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of JoeLene Lyons find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted

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March 3, 2017

Deirdre Caputo-Levine
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RE: regarding study number IRB-FY2017-67 : Pilot Study of Reentry in Idaho

Dear Dr. Caputo-Levine:

Thank you for your responses from a previous review of the study listed above. Your responses are eligible for expedited review under OHRP and FDA guidelines. This is to confirm that I have approved your application.

Notify the HSC of any adverse events. Serious, unexpected adverse events must be reported in writing within 10 business days.

You may conduct your study as described in your application effective immediately. The study is subject to renewal on or before Mar 3, 2018, unless closed before that date.

Please note that any changes to the study as approved must be promptly reported and approved. Some changes may be approved by expedited review; others require full board review. Contact Tom Bailey (208-282-2179; email humsubj@isu.edu) if you have any questions or require further information.

Sincerely,

Ralph Baergen, PhD, MPH, CIP
Human Subjects Chair

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

JoeLene Lyons, for the Master's degree in Sociology,
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TITLE: IDAHO FEMALES' PERCEPTIONS OF INCARCERATION:
A NARRATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

As a captive serving 12 months in Idaho jails and prisons, I can attest that what seems like a small amount of time behind bars left scars on me that will last a lifetime. Caught up with other Idaho women in the criminal justice system I endured many of the same hardships women in my state and across the nation face every day. The inmate subculture was something I never adjusted to after spending 42 years a free women, living a middle-class lifestyle unrestricted from criminal behavior. Combating the harsh conditions of overcrowded facilities, the hostility that seemed to be all around me every day made the feeling of being left behind by the world outside more intensified. I was innately aware that I would have to develop new skills to survive this alternative reality of being a convicted felon sentenced to time behind bars.

This thesis is a quest to tell my story and the story of other Idaho women who were challenged on our way of thinking about ourselves, our lives and the decisions we made to place us in this environment. I am adding quantitative data to this work to provide a clearer understanding of Idaho's prison growth versus crime rates revealing the ramifications of Idaho's revolving door into prison, inefficient use of prison space, and insufficient oversight found by the Justice Center in 2014 (Council of State Government Justice Center, 2017).

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem:

Over the last 35 years, incarceration rates in the United States have risen dramatically. While only five percent of the world's population call America home, it boasts twenty-five percent of all the individuals around the globe behind bars. Also significant, yet rarely reported, is the fact that U.S. incarcerates nearly thirty percent of all women worldwide (Walmsley, 2015). The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) over the past three decades reports that the number of women incarcerated in the U.S. has risen by more than 716%, outpacing men by more than 50%. Rates of female incarceration vary extensively among states, with a national average of 56 out of every 100,000 women for the year 2016 (The Sentencing Project, 2017).

However, male facilities and segregation continues to be the top priority for correctional officers due to the perception they are the greatest safety risk for inmates and staff alike. Due to this precedent, women often find themselves in overcrowded conditions which lead to the intermingling of dangerous and nondangerous women in both prisons and county holding facilities (Giallombardo, 1966 & Miller 2016).

An ongoing dispute in the United States is the absence of a constitutional obligation for both genders receive equal protection of the law while incarcerated. Embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment the Equal Protection Clause bestows inalienable rights, including conditions of housing and treatment during imprisonment, be extended to all individuals designated as “similarly situated” (Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, 1868). To date, challenges brought before the U. S. District Courts by female inmates seeking injunctive relief to the same services as males including educational programs, access to the courts, and freedom from cruel and unusual punishment have been struck down. The court has continued to rule that

incarcerated men and women are not part of the same class and therefore not considered similarly situated (Cheryl Klinger, et al., v. Nebraska Department of Correctional Services, 1995). The outcome for women from these rulings is a lack of urgency to produce additional women's holding facilities or to increase the segregation of dangerous females to keep women safe in our nation's jails and prisons.

For the past thirty years, Idaho has had a disparity between low crime rates and its high levels of felony incarceration and correctional control. A 15-year review of felony crime rates, between 2000 and 2016, placed Idaho fourth lowest in the nation for violent crime and tenth lowest for property crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015), (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016), (National Institute of Corrections, 2016). The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) reported in 2015 Idaho crime rates were almost 31% lower than the national average (National Institute of Corrections, 2016). In contrast to Idaho's historically low crime rates, in 2015 it ranked sixth highest for incarceration resulting from felony convictions (National Institute of Corrections, 2015) and second in the nation for overall correctional control. Correctional control is the total number of individuals sentenced to prison and the total number of people on parole or probation (Rabuy & Wagner, 2016).

While the above-listed statistics are alarming, breaking down the same incarceration data by gender reveals Idaho has experienced rapid growth in female incarceration over the past 25 years. A review of the historical data for female incarceration in Idaho shows that between 1990 and 2000 Idaho realized a 15.2% increase in females' convicted of felony crimes sentenced to serve time behind bars, while the median average for all states was 7.6% (Beck & Harrison, 2001). Between 2000 and 2009, Idaho's incarceration rates for females increased by 4.7%, while the median increase for all states was 2.2% (Guerino, Harrison, & Sabol, 2012). By July of

2013, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) reported for the year 2012 women sentenced to incarceration nationwide had dropped by -2.9%, however, within that same report, Idaho exhibited a 13.9% increase, significantly deviating from the national trend of reduction. The most recent 2016 data from the BJS, places Idaho's female-felony incarceration at third in the nation dropping one position from Idaho's second place position in 2015. Notably, Idaho's drop in rank for 2016 was likely due to Kentucky moving from the fourth to second position due to the opioid crisis in their state (The Sentencing Project, 2017).

Currently, Idaho houses female felony offenders in four facilities; South Boise Women's Correction Center (SBWCC) with a capacity of 287 inmates, Pocatello Women's Correctional Center (PWCC) with a capacity of 314 inmates, and East Boise Community Reentry Center with a capacity of 100 women. Also, as of 2011 Idaho women sentenced to treatment programs have been held inside of the South Idaho Corrections Institute (SICI) along side male offenders in large number, this population of females are reported as detained in a pre-release center (PRC-SICI). The participants in this study reported between 104 and 240 women held in this facility at different times over the last six years. With the additional housing of women in PRC-SICI, Idaho currently can secure between 805 and 941 females in correctional facilities (Idaho Department of Corrections, 2017). In 1994, PWCC was the first and only prison facility designed and built specifically to meet the needs of securing and programming women convicted of felony crimes. Due to the rapid increase in Idaho's female populations PWCC reached maximum capacity in 1999. In 2002 the men's work center, outside the razor wire of the men's prison compound, was converted to hold women and is now known as SBWCC. By the year 2010, increases to female incarceration more than doubled. In 2011, Idaho once again attempted to alleviate the be shortages for women by placing the surplus in PRC-SICI. The new holding

facility is inside the razor wire of the men's compound, in Kuna Idaho. From 2000 to 2016 the average number of females with felony convictions, sentenced to incarceration in Idaho, was 782.75. Within this same time frame, Idaho's female inmate counts reached a height of 1,066, in 2013. Before the movement of women into the male prison in 2011 Idaho experienced high rates of bed shortages for women sentenced to correctional facilities which resulted in women serving additional time in county jails waiting for an open bed in one of the programming facilities.

On February 1, 2017, a 30-month review was submitted to Idaho policy makers by the Council for State Governments (CSG) as part of the Justice Reinvestment Initiative and legislation (JRI legislation). This latest report indicated Idaho continues to impose indeterminate sentences that are nearly three times longer than an individual's fixed time given at sentencing. Therefore Idaho can hold women for long unified times without an urgency to open beds for women sentenced to five and nine-month rehabilitation programs, using their indeterminate time to justify the extended hold. Within this same report, CSG Justice Center reveals that Idaho continues to hold individuals from 257% to 293% of their fixed time consuming indeterminate time as well (Council of State Government Justice Center, 2017).

By all appearances, Idaho alleviated its female overcrowding issues with the decision to incarcerate women in PRC-SICI. However, the problem of overcrowding in Idaho would take on new dimensions in 2013 when Idaho Governor C.L. "Butch" Otter joined forces with the CSG Justice Center to employ a data-driven approach to reduce recidivism and the inefficient use of prison space while increasing oversight. Assistance from the CSG Justice Center was supported by Idaho legislators who were feeling the weight of \$221 million dollars worth of correctional spending in its budget, projected to increase to \$288 million over the next five years (Justice Center, The Council of State Governments, 2014). In 2014, after reviewing the findings from

the CSG Justice Center, a bipartisan bill was passed establishing a Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI legislation) in Idaho along with a five-year plan to address Idaho's disparity between crime rates and the high rates of incarceration (Senate Bill No. 1357, 2014).

Commencing on January 1, 2015, it appeared Idaho was taking positive steps in a direction to alleviate the issue of overcrowding for women. However, written into the legislation was an amendment to Section 20-229B of Idaho Code. This section outlined sufficient cause for probation and parole revocation that returned an offender to prison upon violation of the terms of their release. The section 17 (3) amendment made it possible to confine violators up to 180 in a county jail facility to help meet one of the three primary goals of the JRI legislation, the reduction of overall prison population due to recidivism (Senate Bill No. 1357, 2014). The section 17 (3) amendment launch reversed the positive trend of fewer women held in county jails waiting for placement at PWCC, SBWC, or PRC-SICI by increasing the number of female violators on parole and probation held in county facilities beginning in 2015.

1.2 Research Question

I am investigating the pains of imprisonment, in the context of the "warehouse prison" (Simon, From the Big House to the Warehouse, 2000). Specifically asking the question "how do conditions of overcrowding impact female inmate subculture and perceptions of incarceration." I will also look at rehabilitation programs used during confinement and diversionary courts to gain an understanding of their impact on the individuals when they are under correctional control.

1.3 Terms and Definitions

The following are common terms used in the criminal justice system and definitions of sentencing outcomes or holding facilities.

CAPP Rider: a program designed for defendants with dependency on substance abuse. It is generally a 90-day program (Idaho Department of Corrections, 2017).

Convict Code (Inmate Code): refers to the rules and values that have developed among prisoners inside prison social systems.

Concurrent Sentences: when sentences run concurrently, defendants serve all the sentences at the same time.

Correctional Control: the total of all individuals in correctional facilities charged with felony crimes added to all the individuals serving out their sentences in the community under community corrections felony supervision (probation and parole.)

Diversionary Programs: programs are designed to expunge a felony charge if completed successfully or mandated if an individual with felony or misdemeanor charges struggles to meet probation criteria due to addiction or mental health issues.

Exportation: changes in personal characteristics that a person takes back into society with them once they are released from incarceration

Flopping: A term used by correction officials and inmates to indicate that programming ordered by the court was not completed successfully. This often means the offender is committed to serving out part or all of their fixed prison sentence.

Gold Seal: refers to the completion of a person full sentence through an official release by the court or serving one's full fixed time and the discretionary time has passed.

Inmate Classification: ensures the use of holding cells with efficiency and safety. Classification is determined upon entry into a holding facility based on seven factors that determine an overall risk level for the inmate, correctional officers, and other inmates. Classification drives housing decisions in that classifications' housing role is to group minimums with minimums, mediums with mediums, etc.

Importation: the personal characteristics an individual brings with them when first entering a penal institution.

Justice Reinvestment: is a data-driven approach to corrections policy that seeks to cut spending and reinvest savings in practices that have been empirically shown to improve safety and hold offenders accountable (Senate Bill No. 1357, 2014)

Pod- large dorm like holding quarters in jails or prisons that included beds, toilet, shower and most often a phone for inmate use.

PWCC: acronym for the Pocatello Women's Correctional Center which holds up to 314 females offenders and houses all custody levels. PWCC also has vocational work projects, Correctional Industries, education, programming, pre-release program, and work-release program (Idaho Department of Corrections, 2017).

PRC-SICI: acronym for the Pre-Release Center inside the Idaho State Correctional Institution men's prison that currently holds female inmates serving out a rider program. (see SBWCC for descriptions of programs) (Idaho Department of Corrections, 2017)

Prison Slang (Argot): language and terms primarily used by criminals and detainees in correctional facilities. It is a form of anti-language. Many of the terms deal with criminal behavior, legal cases, incarcerated/ street life, and different types of inmates.

Receiving and Diagnostics Unit (RDU): Individuals sentenced to programming or prison are first assessed for the best possible placement. RDU determines medical, mental health issues and tests for blood borne pathogens like HIV and Hepatitis C.

Retain Jurisdiction: when an individual is placed in the custody of the Idaho Department of Corrections for a period up to 365 days, this is a middle ground between being placed on felony probation and being sent to prison. Once the 365 or programming is over (which ever comes first), the judge will reconsider placing the offender on probation or send them to do their fixed time (Council of State Government Justice Center, 2017).

Revocation: the revoking of an offender's probation or parole while under the control of Community Corrections and reinstating their original sentence to serve time in a penal facility

Recidivism: is the tendency of a convicted criminal to re-offend after released

SBWCC: acronym for South Boise Women's Correctional Center which housing up to 287 offenders in two separate housing units for programming opportunities based on cognitive and behavioral change through intensive treatment, education, and accountability (Idaho Department of Corrections, 2017).

Therapeutic Community Rider (TC): for offenders who need serious programming. This program is the longest and lasts between 9-12 months.

Traditional Rider (Rider): a programming for cognitive and behavior issues usually lasting 5-6 months.

1.4 Assumptions and Limitations

The effects of overcrowding, housing insecurity, movement between incarceration facilities, and sudden change can be assessed through narrative analysis. The results will produce a better understanding of the short-term and long-term costs on inter-personal relationships, impacts on the individual that affect re-entry, and perceptions of the criminal justices system from those behind bars.

Limitations of this study consisted of a short time frame to conduct interviews across the state obtaining perspectives from ex-offenders in different Idaho Department of Correction districts to ascertain if narratives were consistent throughout the entire state. Also, the amount of time to transcribe interviews that were two to four hours in length restricted the number of participants that could be used in this current analysis. Additional interviews are needed to assess the generalizability of the findings produced for this master's thesis and are currently underway through an Idaho State University seed grant. Quotes reflected in the writing of this thesis are lengthy to preserve the subject matter being conveyed through the eyes of the offender which increased the number of pages produced.

Although additional research is needed this is a significant step forward to better understanding the impact of high incarceration rates in a Midwestern state that historically has low crime rates. It will also shed light on the effects of overcrowding, inmate subculture and the day-to-day routines in rural jails and prisons for women who are incarcerated in adverse conditions.

1.5 Significance of the Study

In 2015, the Vera Institute of Justice developed a data tool to understand the growth of jail populations over the past 40 years. The findings illuminated the rise in the rural county holding facilities in the United States due to longer pretrial confinement and populations being

detained for another authority including rural in-State Department of Corrections. Using this tool, they identified small county jails as the “front door” to the rising incarceration rates adding that lack of judiciary and justice system support to process individuals promptly. Vera’s findings also identified a lack of resources once offenders are released into the community (Kang-Brown & Subramanian, 2017).

This research is designed to help scholars and legislators understand the impacts of overcrowding and programming on the re-entry of women who were held in Idaho detention facilities. The findings may shed light on why Idaho continues to struggle even after the initiation of the JRI initiative. Current results show 33% of all offenders sentenced to a Rider or Probation fail and return to prison, with rates up to 96% for those convicted of an alcohol offense and 65% a drug offense (Council of State Government Justice Center, 2017). Additionally, findings will be presented from a convict criminologist perspective to increase a growing body of knowledge on mass incarceration particularly the high rates of imprisonment currently in rural states where crime rates are historically much lower. Through the personal narratives from the women interviewed for this research and my own subjective experience in Idaho, we can begin to understand the day-to-day experiences of women as they deal with the pains of imprisonment, recovery and attempts to re-enter into society.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Two dominant theories continue to emerge out of the literature after penal institutions saw the first wave of increased populations beginning in the mid to late 1950s. This phenomenon triggered social researchers to look at the growing population as a separate society existing within larger social systems.

Importation Theory implies that inmates import beliefs, behaviors, and roles from outside the prison introducing these previously held motivations, attitudes, and values into the existing prison subculture. In 1966, Rose Giallombardo used this theory to produce assumptions on how females produce a system of roles and functions to adapt to the institution's harsh environment after spending a year inside a Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia (Giallombardo, 1966). Based on her observations Giallombardo (1966) theorized that women import with them a “substitute universe” that mimicked the family structure in larger society providing a subculture of mutual aid to one another through the sharing of clothing, commissary, and contraband to help temper the pains of imprisonment. Her writings focused on how homosexuality in prison was an act to recreate “kinship-roles.” Kinship-roles included a nuclear family unit consisting of three distinct dyad relationships composed of either a parents /children, mother /children, or wife/stud (a female taking on the role of a husband) relationship that was susceptible to changing institutional structures. These basic family units included extended kinship roles of a sister, brother, aunt, and grandmother, with no extended male lineages like uncle or grandfather likely due to the scarcity of those serving as studs. Giallombardo (1966) claimed each inmate within the family unit “calculated solidarity” based on serving personal interests in the interaction, not overall social unity as the term family might imply. Therefore,

the designations themselves were flexible in different groups within the institution as inmates intermingled. The flexible roles acted to relieve the strain of living in close quarters with other women perceived as predatory and untrustworthy. One of the most significant functions of the dyads was to socialized new inmates, or “children” as referred to by Gillmbardo (1966); to proper inmate behavior through a series of “maxims” or directives. She determined these “pseudo-kinships” represented resistance to imprisonment while creating stability in the day-to-day lives of female inmates. In 1970, John Irwin’s book *The Felon* was close on the heels of Gallardo's writings on importation. Irwin’s (1970) work produced one of the first modern day books devoted to the convict criminologist approach since the writings of Frank Tannenbaum, in 1938 (Ross, Richards, Newbold, Lenza, & Grigsby, 2011). Irwin (1970) incorporated his incarceration experience at Soledad Prison from 1952 to 1959 with two years of in-depth interviews and observations inside a male prison facility. He concluded that male prisoners import recognizable pre-incarceration character traits often related to the type of crime they committed. Irwin (1970) theorized men construct gangs based on those features creating the subculture in men’s prisons. He went on to place these identifiable traits into separate typologies such as “thief,” “hustler,” or the “square John,” who found themselves in prison by happenstance which he considered a noncriminal (Irwin, *The Felon*, 1970). Giallbardo (1966) also formed typologies based on personal characteristic but did not see them as the main feature in the system of roles for females as Irwin (1970) had for men when summarizing her findings.

In contrast, deprivation theory implies that the harsh conditions inside prison walls alter the inmate's behaviors and interactions with each other and authority. Gresham Sykes’s (1958) looked inside a maximum male prison revealing a cast-like structure. This absolute social order consisted of the institution which held power to grant rewards and the inmates who conform to

have rewards, in the form of privileges including early release from the harsh conditions, bestowed upon them (Sykes, 1958).

Erving Goffman (1961) expanded on Sykes (1958), applying the theory to mental asylums where patients are cut off from the outside world in a “total institution.” In the total institution, the confined slept, ate, and performed specific routines while enduring the re-socialization of a relatively totalitarian system. Goffman (1961) applied his theory on “the presentation of everyday self” and the rituals and performances within the asylum setting. In this environment, the “guard” or “captor” use the power of the institution to strip a captive of all personal identifiers such as clothes, style of hair, and ornamentation resulting in mortification of the self. Mortification reduces the imprisoned to a ghost like figure who is seen as one of many forced into compliance. Eventually, the ensnared human becomes “institutionalized,” serving out a particular social role that once enacted elevated them to a status of institutionally cured of unacceptable social behaviors (Goffman, 1961).

2.2 Past Research

Previous literature on the pains of imprisonment for females is limited to writings spanning a broad range of topics on the increasing female rates of incarceration. It appears past works compiled by researchers in the social sciences hold a passion for one theme that is not widely expanded on over time due to the limited access to inmates while incarcerated.

The most common research used by scholars as a reference point related to women’s experiences while serving time is *In the Mix: Struggle and Survival in a Women’s Prison* (Owens, 1998) which sought to build on Giallombardo (1966) work. Over a three-year period, Owen’s (1998) observed the day-to-day experiences of women inside a large women’s prison in California. Owens (1998) and her team observed how women resolved conflict amongst

themselves and staff along with the way women deal with the pains of imprisonment. Her findings reflect different styles of “doing time” with a stratified social order and a strict reliance of inmates on “convict code” reinforcing importation theory. Owen’s (1998) work, however, reflected many of the same traditional stereotypes regarding female prisoners who form close bonds that resemble a family structure referred to as a pseudo-family to adapt to their prison surroundings.

Soon after Owen’s (1998) work, Kimberly Greer (2000) set out to conduct a similar research project with 35 incarcerated females in a rural midwestern state correctional institution. Greer (2000) gathered data from in-depth, semi-structured interviews asking the question how do women construct social culture, the impacts of imported perceptions of social interactions in prison, and what factors influence prison relationships. Remarkably her findings were quite different from Owens (1998) on the concept of “doing time.” Greer’s (2000) conclusion was that doing time was more of a solitary process and that relationships were governed more by fear and hesitation in forming close relationships with other inmates to avoid problematic situations (Greer, 2000).

It is important to note the above-cited research was produced in vastly different cultural areas, making the findings not entirely generalizable to overall female inmate subculture. It is possible the rural area women Greer studied import characteristics dissimilar to larger metro area women observed by Owens (1998). If beliefs, values, and customs differ at the onset of incarceration perhaps, they manifest a different subculture once inside prison walls. It is hard to know which finding is closer to the truth due to the lack of focused research on the subcultures women form during incarceration.

In 2002, Kenneth Kerle's writings on the conditions in jails across the nation shed a particularly interesting, yet dim light on harsh conditions inmates encounter while being held in a county jail. Prisoners in jail do not have the same rights before transfer to a programming or prison facility where they obtain rights and responsibilities from the Federal Bureau of Prisons (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). Kerle's (2002) study found women suffer from more mental health and medical problem compounded by fewer activities outside of their cells. He believed that in the past most women confined to jails were shoplifters and prostitutes and found that today there are more violent women entering into overcrowded jail cells and pods with no classification because they are considered a secondary priority to jail staff. This combination he deduces may be re-traumatizing women. Because jails do not have to allow researchers inside, there has been little published work on conditions women face in jail facilities other than the brief commentary in newspapers or magazines. The lack of focused research on female incarceration in the past is recognized by many academics who argue the shortfall creates negative outcomes and poor adjustment patterns for women in American prisons (Lahm 2015; Owens 1998; Thompson and Loper 2005) it is evident this gap in the research needs to be filled.

2.3 Current Research

Access issues here in the United States thwart attempts to add to the body of field investigation on successful programming and impacts of imprisonment. Finding current comparison studies on the topic of women's adaptation to the warehouse prison and the subcultures they develop to endure the pains of imprisonment is quite challenging.

The concept of the warehouse prison started with Irwin (Irwin, 2004) but was expanded on by Jonathan Simon (2016) over the past ten years. Simon's (2016) upholds in past two decades mass incarceration has manifested in an entirely new form of overcrowding not is no

longer episodic but instead hyper-chronic. This systematic epidemic of overcrowding arises from incarceration that is non-related to crime rates and lends itself to a new type of “organizational adaptation.” This new overcrowding also leads to a reduction in medical and mental health care, and increase in suicide rates, inmate death and what surmounts to be torture in the eyes of those enduring detention in jails and prisons across the nation (Simon, 2016).

Challenged with institutions not allowing on-site studies researchers can more quickly obtain access to institutional data collected as part of the daily oversight on women during their time of incarceration. One such study reviewed institutional data on 692 female inmates comparing the length of sentence to levels of misconduct. The research concluded that medium and long-term female inmates conflict more with institutional staff members than do short-term female inmates. While interesting this does not give us any additional understanding of the perceptions women hold that create or stifle conflict in their day-to-day routines (Thompson & Loper, 2005).

Ten years after the study mentioned above, Karen Lahm (2015) set out to accumulate data on other forms of inmate violence occurring due to growing female prison populations nation wide. She included in her study property theft, verbal abuse, and intimidation as non-physical acts of violence in an attempt to identify the predictors of victimization during incarcerated (Lahm, 2015). Specifically how women interacted with one another when placed in large open dorms with limited space due to overcrowding. She theorized these communal-type environments could breed violence due to lack of personal space, a reduction in the programs offered to inmates, increased frustrations and idle time. Her findings reflect prisoners who were older when they entered into confinement and those with longer sentences found themselves victimized less while younger females, those who entered prison with a higher level of education

or work experience, and non-whites were victimized more often. Lamb's (2015) findings allow us to glimpse into the dynamics of interaction but reveal little on the subculture of women during incarceration.

After 2002 a noticeable change occurred in the literature moving away from ethnological research and toward investigations focused on childhood predictors that forecast a higher possibility of imprisonment once a child living in adverse conditions becomes an adult. One such study conducted in 2012, utilized existing data from a large project examining 60 women in a maximum security prison in 2008 (as cited in Bowles et al., 2012). Their findings concluded there was a positive correlation between female victimization, abandonment, loss, lack of parental supervision and familial corruption as contributing factors to women's substance abuse for a means of escape. According to their findings, these maladaptive coping skills eventually lead women to criminal activities resulting in incarceration (Bowles, DeHart, & Webb, 2012).

An additional study focused on this topic was conducted in 2015, by researchers at Idaho State University. These researchers interviewed 224 inmates at an Idaho women's correction facility. The interview consisted of questionnaires using Likert-type scales to generate quantitative results. The focus of the study was on adaptation to victimization during childhood and early adolescence. Researchers found that 64% of the women had been exposed to trauma including sexual abuse during early adolescence and 50% or greater had violent experiences including forced sex, physical attacks with/without a weapon or beatings by a family member before adulthood. The outcome variables of this research project were maladaptive coping skills women adopt to deal with victimization including self-harm, suicide idealization, and difficulties with emotional regulation, (Johnson & Lynch, 2015). These findings focused more on predictors

of female incarceration are invaluable to creating programming more specifically designed to address the needs of women during incarceration and aid in reentry.

While these findings give us little insight on subculture, it is important to note when women do not receive gender based treatment addressing childhood trauma during and after incarceration this facilitates the revolving door of re-incarceration. Parole and probation violations are the leading to the issue of overcrowding in jails and prisons today inevitably impacting female subculture (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015).

The next section describes the current study and the methods used to accumulate and the analyze data to produce an answer to my research question.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

Total participants in this research were ten women, older than 18 years of age, who had served time in Idaho jails or prisons within the last 15 years. Nine participants in the study responded to flyers, were personal acquaintances or were referred using snowball recruitment. The tenth participant in this research is the author of this thesis adding insight and narratives from her incarceration between the years of 2010 and 2011. Participants were recruited from the following Idaho counties; Payette, Ada, Bannock, Bingham, and Madison (Idaho Judicial Districts 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). Participants were given a twenty-five dollar gift card for their participation.

3.2 Instrumentation

Participants took part in confidential, semi-structured, life-history interviews, which lasted from approximately 90 to 180 minutes. The questionnaire was designed to create in-depth

discussions of the subjects' experiences in the correctional institution and in re-entering the community following their release (see Appendix A for interview questions)

3.3 Procedures

The interviews were conducted by myself and Idaho State University Assistant Professor, Dedirdre Caputo-Levine who took extensive field notes during the interviews. The interviews consisted of the following open ended question:

- 5 demographic questions
- 5 open-ended questions on the participant's general history
- 30 open-ended question, including follow-up questions on incarceration history
- 15 open-ended questions on re-entry history
- 3 open-ended miscellaneous and wrap-up questions

Although the initial goals of this research focused on obtaining an understanding of female inmate social structure and coping mechanisms to the harsh environment once the pilot interviews commenced I realized many of the women had gone through either diversionary programs, moral recognition therapy, or cognitive self-change. It became evident that there were issues surrounding compliance and completion of these programs that was impacting re-entry and recidivism. Therefore, the interview was updated to gain more information on the dynamics of that particular struggle.

Once interviews were completed they were transferred on to an encrypted drive to ensure confidentiality. Interviews were transcribed in a private office on Idaho State University Campus from the encryption device, verbatim substituting pseudo names for the participant's

name, as well as, substitution of any identifying markers such as facilities participants were held in or current towns in which they lived.

3.4 Design/Analysis

This thesis research project is a mixed method design using a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyses and produces findings.

Quantitative data utilized will consist of raw data from 1978 through 2017 on incarceration populations at the state and national level from the following sources; Bureau of Justice Statistics, Idaho Department of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice, and the U.S. Census Bureau.

Once the data quantitative was collected, it was analyzed to show rates and population totals to reflect growth or decline of incarceration within Idaho, between all other states and compared to national averages. Female inmate demographic data, unique to Idaho, was used to measure overcrowding occurrences during periods of rapid female incarceration growth by comparing population counts against Idaho's detention facilities occupancy limits.

Qualitative data for this study was collected through the interview and transcription procedure listed in 3.3 outlined above. The average page length of the nine interviews was 52.88 pages, resulting in 476 pages of data to analyze. Following the transcription of the interviews, the data was read and interpreted performing Content Analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2009; Berg, 2009; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). To find the common themes I used Analytic Memos, First Cycle coding, Focused and Emotion coding. To extend the analytic work from the Focus and Emotion coding, I reassembled the data in an excel spreadsheet using the Axial coding to ascertain the phenomena most reported. As Charmaz (2006) noted, "The "axis" of Axial Coding is a category (like the axis of a wooden wheel with extended spokes) discerned from First Cycle

coding, this method “relates categories to subcategories [and] specifies the properties and dimensions of a category.” The Axial Coding resulted in 33 categories with an average of 4.33 dimensions. Upon completion of the Content Theory Analysis, I used Max Gluckman’s extended case method, for (re)constructing theory out of the data collected (Burawoy, 1991). Extended case method allowed me to look at the situational context of female incarceration and programming to identify the uniqueness and similarities of inmate subculture and perceptions of incarceration that helped to answer my research question. I choose to use this method because it places less emphasis on identifying structural regularities, and more emphasis on detailed analyses of social processes wherein individual strategies and choices reveal the context of day-to-day experiences of incarceration for females.

Expanding on the extended case method approach, I will use my own experience of imprisonment to identify and clarify many of the phenomena found in the interviews through a convict criminology perspective (Richards & Ross, 2001 & Newbold et al., 2014). The convict criminologist perspective will serve to illuminate the findings in a manner as to shed light on prison conditions for the public and academics. Convict criminology is not activism as some might believe it is a rare form of experienced based research that brings the reader into a world often embellished upon in the media to produce fear or disdain. The convict criminology viewpoint serves to clarify the many misconceptions on what “doing time” actually represents behind the walls of jails and prisons for women sanctioned to be removed from society as punishment in the state of Idaho.

There are several advantages to having an ex-convict status first and foremost is access to former inmates. The added benefit is that once the interview has begun ex-convicts feel less intimidated by me because I can conduct the investigation using the cultural dialect of an inmate

from the viewpoint of a prisoner. This standpoint enables me to obtain more information as the perception of me being an authority figure dissolves once participant perceives I will not label them. It also gives me the advantage of being able to identify embellishments or reluctance to the responses they give during the interview.

4. Results

4.1 Pre-incarceration

From these interviews, it was evident the respondents' perceptions painted a picture of feeling lost behind the walls of the criminal justice system during incarceration. However, this feeling may have much earlier roots in the fabric of their childhood evidenced by the following data. A total of seven participants, six women and myself, revealed feelings of social isolation, reported sexual and/or physical abuse, or a traumatic loss (such as abandonment or suicide of a parent). Two participants described as having "typical childhoods" and one respondent avoiding giving direct answers to the first five questions on family and early life experiences. It appeared early childhood trauma produced maladaptive coping mechanisms that included illegal drug use and/or dysfunctional relationships for seven out of ten women studied in this sample. These findings support the current studies on pathways to imprisonment (Johnson & Lynch, 2013; Bowles et al., 2016; Roos, et al., 2012) while giving us a better understanding of the characteristics many women import with them creating parts of the inmate subculture.

4.2 Past Pseudo-Families in Today's Prisons

The pseudo-families found in past studies only reveal themselves partially in this investigation. The closest reproduction of the pseudo-family comes from Andy, a transgender male that uses prison argot to reflect on his relationships during incarceration stating that he had "a wife" during the two fixed years he spent at PWCC.¹ It is important to note Andy's wife during incarceration was the only source of funds he received for commissary and commodities like a TV and other electronic devices. He continued the use of these personal identifiers during the interview referring to his new wife and her step-children. Close interdependent relationships,

¹ Andy will be referred to as female while incarcerated and male after incarceration because he is in the process of receiving medical treatments.

other than Andy's relationship with his wife, were present in only one other interview. Patty referred to a fellow inmate Dawn as "the only person she could count on" during her extended time mixed in with inmates serving life sentences. Patty and Dawn were held initially in a pod on unit two at PWCC. They moved at the same time to maximum security two person cells in unit four, where they were not cell mates. They each petitioned correctional officers relentlessly to be housed together during their time on unit four. However, this did not come to fruition until just a few weeks before Dawn received her gold seal and was released back into the community. In this quote Patty describes her feelings when Dawn left:

It was fucked up because she was the only one solid person that I knew was like fucking sane and that I could count on and that was it you know what I mean like, it was like losing like a part of your family you know what I mean?

These two examples show that within the confines of this study there are remnants of the dyad relationship described by Giallombardo 50 years ago. The few instances found also depict a "calculated solidarity" between each couple meeting individual needs of resources or intimacy.

4.3 The Persistence of Kinship-Roles

Giallombardo's kinship-roles were most evident through the depiction of "maxims" commonly described as directives given by an inmate in acting in the parent role (Giallombardo, 1966). The participants in this study reported directives from an older woman acting as a mother figure teaching newcomers the ropes or offering advice and comfort. Also, the three older participants in this study described their experience with taking on this role. This relationship function appears when one respondent Alie is asked about the day-to-day routines while incarcerated:

...there was a woman um I can't remember her name and ah she was so wonderful. She was like a mom to me in there; she was really supportive and she kind of become my family to speak of even in just that short amount of time.

Explaining this was important to her because she was pregnant with her first child at the time Alie continued:

That's like a super emotional time for a women, is like being pregnant and being that far into your pregnancy and to not have like your mom there and not have a female to tell you what is going on with your body, this is normal this is not normal.

Kara explains her experience with having a parent figure give direction to others when asked about the dynamics in the pod:

There is always that kind of jail mom persona in there, and they make sure that you know everybody is kind of doing their thing and falling in line (laughing). I was kind of surprised about that; it was actually usually an older person.

For Alie and Kara, the relationship with their "jail moms" helped ease the transition into the inmate social structure and subculture providing comfort during their extended stays.

However, Andy's parent figure gave a different kind of training as she accounts when asked about when she learned the ropes:

Aiyana, she was an older Native lady ...she like took me under her wing and told me how it was, and we were there for each other, and just this is just what you can and can't get away with; because I was all about breaking rules.

Karen, Alabama, and I all entered into the system between the ages of 43 to 52. As older females, we inevitably imported our mother role each assuming the position in the subculture of an educator, attempting to familiarize newcomers to the institution's social structure. Karen accounts her teaching experience as follows when asked about groups of women she had referred to earlier in the interview:

And so I would...I *wouldn't* stand up to them ever, but I would kind of take somebody under wing a little bit, you know this is what you need to do, you just got here, you don't know what you're doing let me tell you what works best. I was kind of in the middle because I ...I was I couldn't stand up to them because I was intimidated by them because I was 45 years old and some of those 21-year-old girls good God they had tattoos and I mean they were they were mean. They were just mean, and I would try and tell the younger ones, *or the newer ones not young*, the newer ones um this is what you need to do, see her stay, just stay away from her.

Alabama clarified the existence of the role even further when asked if she felt she was given respect because she was older:

It was good cause I taught them that you're only in, you're exactly where God wants you at this time, there is a reason for you being in here you know so take it as that it's God, Gods giving you something so take every day you know.

To obtain clarification I asked "so do you feel like you were mothering those young girls?" and her reply was:

Not mothering teaching, teaching yep.

In my experience, it wasn't long before I realized the novice girls would gravitate to me initially looking for direction. However, once they learned the ropes and began to understand the power structure in the unit, they would resocialize themselves into a group that could offer them the protection I could not.

These excerpts strongly suggest that the relationship between mentoring older women and novices serve to maintain the pre-established social system and relieve perceived strain and safety issues that could come as new members enter into a crowded living space.

4.4 The New Pseudo-Family

Pseudo-families take on an entirely new meaning in Idaho's Therapeutic Community programming (TC). In the TC venue, family expressions are used by the institution as tools for control, punishment, and humiliation rather than a refuge from the pains of imprisonment as seen in the past literature.

Three of the ten women were sentenced to complete the TC program between 2003 and 2012. Alabama and Gabriela both refused to do the TC program after their initial induction, explaining that finishing their fixed-time, was a preferable option. Alabama's disapproval of the program is evident in the next two passages which take place upon arrival at SBWCC waiting for a spot in the program to open and watching others already in the program:

They walk around they have paper ears on cause they overheard something.

Yep, wear a sign; I'm not going to humiliate myself to do that you might as well send me back to the prison.

Gabriela's short experience with the TC program is conveyed here:

They wanted me to do TC, but I refused because of the treatment that they were getting for TC. It was it was um...they were the things that they had, they made like toilet seats around their neck or signs or you know, talking in different accents to say that you that you if you cussed or something. I was just I was there for eight days, and I told them I wouldn't do it, so I did three years for that.

Patty completed the entire TC program at the PRC building behind the razor wire inside the men's prison compound, known as PRC-SICI. Through her narrative, it appears that intimate relationships with others were discouraged through humiliation and pull ups. It is apparent the program requirements created a hostile environment inside the already unsympathetic warehouse prison. In this passage Patty is explaining the mandatory pull ups of others in the program:

You had to do so many pull ups a month, or you were punished. They had a meeting with all four of the counselors there, and you were in there, and they would say you're supposed to have this many pull ups, and this is how many you have and they would also rate you, like the pull ups your doing are too small, like you know like you didn't turn the water off when you're done brushing your teeth you know what I mean, stupid shit... You had a quota to fill and if you didn't fill your quota with serious enough shit and literal shit I mean and it forces you to do literal shit cause you had to have like every month you had to have 30 pull ups.

She summarized the lack of trust this requirement creates between inmates after being asked if there was any retaliation for pulling one another up:

...really why did you say that you know what I mean, why would you do that you know what I mean? It would be most of the time the girls that they thought they were the closet with somebody like you had been through six months of this program with this girl and you're the only person in here I can trust. She would be the one that threw you under the bus right.

The phenomenon, of program requirements to hold others accountable was also detected in Alie's interview when speaking of her experiences in drug court group sessions:

They encourage each other to do was like call each other out which I thought was totally crazy it got so crazy dramatic in there sometimes. Like one time this girl saw this other girl walking into a bar and um they encourage you to like call each other out, and they were like "I like I saw you walking in the bar," and she was like "no you didn't, " and she's like "yes I did you're a fucking liar." Like the dynamics they; and they encourage that.

Patty in her review of TC talked extensively about the use of family terminology to describe particular punishments and humiliations within the institutional pseudo-family unit made up of counselors and inmates separated into large groups:

Every morning you had a family meeting, every morning the head of the girls would sit up here all the girls would sit back here and you would, you would all stand up you would sing a song you would, I'm not shitting you.

She went on to described punishments levied on an inmate if the counselors felt an infraction needed to be addressed by the entire group this is called a "family process:"

A family process is where you open up, cause the classes were divided by the fucking bungee doors you know, so you open up two or three classrooms, how many it would take to put us all in there you set up chairs, the whole family sat around the room...240 around the room. In the front on each side, there's a counselor, counselor, counselor, counselor, ok and there sitting in the front row with the you know, and there is two chairs in the middle. So what they would do is they would take the first person they would tell you, please take your seat. Would anybody like to confront her about her behavior and how it's making them feel? So you sat there through all the family who decided they wanted to talk shit about you freely.

Programs like TC and Drug Court appear to increase distrust in others opposing the interaction typically found in families within larger society. This programming may cause friction between the expectations of women found in society to be kind, friendly, and nurturing and the re-programming to not trust others once a person comes into contact with the criminal justice programming.

4.5 The Human Cost of Overcrowding/Scared Straight

Four participants and I described excessive amounts of extended incarcerated due to overcrowding at the destination we were sentenced to or because of sheerly being lost or forgotten in the county holding facilities. Two women served their entire sentences to avoid the TC program extending their time, and one had not reached a sentencing outcome at the time of her interview. The three participants involved in diversionary drug court, one formally

incarcerated and listed in the first group, reported extended time due to rule breaking behaviors which lead to incarceration in the county jail.

In 1999, Suzie believed her file had been lost while she waited in a county facility for almost 90 days for an open bed at PWCC to serve out a Rider sentence. Soliciting help from the nurse on staff at the jail she recounts her ordeal as such:

I don't think they had all that right. I swear the fucking nurse, at the fucking jail, kept faxing my information trying to get their fucking attention. She's like I just keep faxing it she's like I don't know why you're still here. I was like thank you she was the only one I had, the nurse at the jail.

During her wait for a bed on the Rider Suzie took the initiative to begin her program in the county jail while awaiting transfer. With the help of staff and inmates, she completed her GED and programming requirements only to receive the derogatory news she would have to start her 90-day sentence over upon her arrival at PWCC:

Fuck yeah, I was hot on that crack had something in me. I tell you I got my GED, I did my building healthy relationships fucking did some other class but I finished building healthy relationship phase one book two got my GED, and she just told me to be grateful I was in a safe place, and she extended me.

Patty experienced the most extended incarceration of all the participants due to numerous issues. She reported that after multiple charges were ordered to run concurrently, she received two years of fixed time and four years of indeterminate time. Patty had served a total of four years before she was finally released. The following are a sampling of her experiences during this four year period. After spending 16 months fighting charges in a county jail, she was ordered to the TC program. The ensuing events transpired resulting in an additional year and nine months of incarceration before she would ultimately begin that program.

I got to Pocatello went through RDU and all this other shit they tell me well they don't have room for you at a TC, so you're going to have to stay here till they have an opening for you.

After we were there a month or so they tell me well we're going to take we're going to switch we're going to switch it the prison around so that all the inmates that have just come out of the hole and like that are security risk whatever we are going to switch them to unit two and all you guys that are good you know we're going to switch you to unit three and four.

Patty ended up on unit four which was maximum security where women sentenced to life are held along with a handful of women sentenced to death. She and her friend Dawn spent approximately seven months in this unit. During her time on unit four, Patty was locked in a two person cell roughly 22 hours a day, with four different women, all of which convicted of murder. She voices her fear in this passage after being placed with her second murderous cell mate:

So that thought was in the back of my mind every fucking second of the day the day that I was in there with both of them especially at night I was thinking these bitches have nothing to lose.

Completely beside herself with fear Patty begins to be persistent with the correctional staff as evident in this conversation:

This is bullshit, and you better move me back to unit two where all the normal mother fuckers are, or you better start moving the normal mother fuckers where I am. You know, and I said either that or you're going to put me in a cell with Dawn, and she's going to be my fucking roommate through my whole trip through this Alice in Wonderland bullshit right here. Okay, I ain't fucking doing this no more, and he's like I'll see what I can do. It had to go through a couple officers you know because I was in there like another month.

After this, she was moved in with another inmate convicted of murder before finally being housed with Dawn. However, her ordeal did not end there, after another two months she finally reached SBWCC to prepare for TC programming at PRC-SICI. Unfortunately, another unscheduled move was in her future to attend a misdemeanor hearing. This revelation came in the middle of the night while she was waiting to start her program:

He made me put all my shit in boxes, and I was like that's when I thought well am I going to the TC unit or what the fuck cause that's usually what they do when you go to TC. He brings me out in the hall, and he fucking handcuffs me, yeah, and I'm like what the fuck is going on dude, and he's like I'll explain it all just when we get there I'm like why the fuck am I in handcuffs, dude. I'm almost at two years I'm at two years now he's like I'm like you making me go to the hole for something you can drive me right to J13 and go to court, and fucking bring me back you know. He's like it's just policy that's policy; takes my clothes, takes everything from of me, lets me keep my pillow gives me a fucking ratty ass blackest a fucking pair of sheets, a fucking prison issues toothbrush, some powder toothpaste you know what I mean fucking that's it here's your bed, fucking puts me in the hole dude. So I'm in the hole for 25 days.

After being confined in segregation for 25 days, Patty was transferred to Ada County jail where she was delayed another two weeks before reaching the destination court on a misdemeanor warrant. Here she spent two more weeks resolving the warrant after which she was transferred back to PWCC in Pocatello instead of being returned to SBWCC to start her TC program. After two weeks at PWCC, she was transferred to a county jail for six months. Seven months after being removed from SBWCC she finally returned to begin her TC program. During her TC program, her time is extended once again as a punishment called a "time out" imposed on all participants for not working the program as directed. In the next few passages, she narrates the constraints of this punishment:

A time out was this time doesn't; time doesn't count towards any of your time in TC. A time out is where you get up at five o'clock every morning you get dressed you sit on your bunk all day long from five o'clock in the morning until med call at 9:30 at night.

You are only allowed to read a bible you were not to write letters, you were not allowed to received mail, you are not allowed to make fucking phone calls, you are not allowed to speak.

Reaffirming if this time was added to or part of her program she replied:

We added on to our time; it was close to two and a half months.

While Patty's experiences seem out of the ordinary, I can attest they are not. I also waited for two months after my case closed entirely for transfer across the state to my final hearing destination. Fortunately for me, I had been working as a legal secretary at the time of my violation, and subsequent incarceration and I knew how to write motions and have them filed. Ultimately after weekly filings, they were irritated enough to have an officer drive me to a state hold in Boise where I could be forwarded on. I also waited in a county jail and at PWCC for three months before being sent to serve out my Rider sentence. Once on the Rider, I waited again for an opening into the program, and after completion of my Rider for transport back to the county I was charged in; combined it was a total of two months. Once being returned to my arresting county, they were unaware of my court date and had no one to drive me. Again I protested until an officer was assigned to drive me to my hearing where I was finally released back into the community. I witnessed this same routine for many of Idaho's female inmates during my 11 months behind bars.

All participants reported rule-breaking behaviors during probation, parole, or during drug court programming which extended their incarceration time. For the seven women addicted to street drugs, future compliance to programming, probation or parole stemmed from violations

resulting in undesirable re-incarceration or a moment of clarity when the decision is made “it is time for a change.” Alabama expresses the determination to transcend her addiction in the following way:

Yeah, 19 months and she flopped me...violated me for using again I wasn't ready to give it up. I told them when I went on the rider when I'm ready I will know I'm ready you know. So like I said it's been seven years since I've been out so I can say honestly that I haven't used even once and a while I think about it, you know it would be nice if you really get the slate clean.

Alie was pregnant during her drug court program and was assigned to group counseling with mothers who had lost their children to protective services. The interaction impacted her this way:

You know I could have gone into some heavy drug selling and things like that I don't know where I would have gone but I've really had an opportunity to clean up my life and be a good mom. Like being in those groups with those other women and stuff and to hear why they thought they weren't good moms and what their downfalls were and for me to go OK I don't want to be like that.

Patty also came to the realization through her children stating:

The day that the first time that my kids left and didn't say anything, like the day my kids got used to leaving me there and they were okay with it, they were okay with leaving me in prison. They weren't saying anymore that I couldn't come with them they weren't upset that I couldn't or that they couldn't stay longer, they were just like okay bye bye I'll see you next time. You know that really fucked with my mind, you know what I mean like that wasn't ok for me you know to have it to have been gone so long; that my kids were okay with it, you know what I mean they were just used to it.

Rule-breaking resulting in a violation also took me away from my children for the first time in my life. This experience was nothing like any of the words here can convey. Personal

choices resulting in leaving the ones we love the most seemed to be a common theme that ran through the interviews leading to a change in direction for women. Kara was the only participant without children. However, her change occurred due to a relationship with a fellow addict in recovery whom she is still with today.

4.6 Consequences on Health

Nine of the women interviewed reported mental or physical health concerns. Four, including myself, affirmed both either during incarceration or resulting from incarceration. Fran, the remaining participant, only spent a total of two days behind bars. Three women described gallbladder symptoms during detention or within two years of release with no symptoms present before confinement. Each of these women complained of extreme constipation during incarceration blaming it on high carbohydrate diets and scarcity of fruits and vegetables. I was out for two years before my gallbladder was removed, after suffering with it for approximately a year. Gabriela described gallbladder pain during her final confinement that was diagnosed “as not meeting the criteria” for removal by the IDOC. Karen explained her condition and the treatment she received while on the Rider this way:

I was sick a lot in there, and I had a bad pain in my stomach. I was over there in medical one day, bad pains in my stomach and the lady over there was saying one day how she has kidney stones and so she may have to go home, well, or no gallbladder stones. So they would never ever would decide. They decided I was a hypochondriac so I would come over, and they would say lay on the table and rest for a few minutes, and we'll send you back. That's all it was they would never ever do any testing to see, so I was home less than a month and had my gallbladder so inflamed that I was in the hospital for a week to get the infection out, so I get my gallbladder taken out.

Gabriela reported being treated in the following manner when held in segregation for extended amounts of time due to her mental health issues:

You know I'm not sure they were giving me medication because they said I had, you know I was sick, but I got in worse condition. I mean they put me in segregation they didn't have a mental health ward back then. I mean I tried to get it together but that was chaotic on its own, I tried to get together, but they just medicate you more, you know.

I just remember just being in there all the time, and sometimes she would come, and to be honest with you I didn't know what day it was what year I didn't know if it was if it was night or day there were no windows there. I know I was not well, and so I don't even remember if I showered often you know. I do remember her opening the little slot and asking me how I was, and I would run to the window on my hands and knees, and I would pretty much cry and ask her when I could get out, and she would look at me and she's like "you're not ready yet."

Confirming much of Gabriela's story Patty characterized mentally ill inmates as inhabiting an entire wing in maximum security described their care this way:

Once in a while, they would give they would give the ones with depression they would give them their depression medication. The fucked up thing about it was is that the other ones that had like PTSD and shit like that, they fucking just they didn't even evaluate them. They did fucking nothing they straight up took them into fucking medical put them on the highest dose of Thorazine you could fucking get and just sent them on their way. I mean they were like zombies you know they would get to be.

Patty explained the lack of action for a foot injury that resulted in an infection for her in this dialogue during her time in one county jail:

I don't know what the fuck happened to me but during the night sometimes, like something happened to my big toenail and the whole underneath my toenail was full of blood right, and it hurt so fucking bad right and swelled up. I don't know if something bit me or what the fuck. It wasn't ingrown it was just it had just started bleeding, I don't

know if I hit it on something you know. I mean, or I don't know anyway so like I had asked to go to the nurse. I was refused to be taken to the nurse for a week; it got infected.

Andy was diagnosed with leukemia while serving her fixed time at PWCC and her condition was treated up to the point of remission but no further. She describes her situation like this when asked what unit she was on when she received the news:

In maximum security in 2014. I did chemo and radiation, and then I left and went up to the hospital and did bone marrow, and they denied me for bone marrow, so I didn't get it. My mom was like I will pay 60 percent of it and then my grandma was like I will pay the rest because that is what I lost my Dad from but they still wouldn't approve of it. It was pretty, and I still haven't got it done I've been in remission for a year and six months.

The women interviewed told of incidents they witnessed, explained as neglect of physical and mental health of other inmates which included the following; women having heart attacks and being cared for by themselves or others, multiple burst appendix without immediate care rendered, and a total of five suicide attempts witnessed. One suicide attempt resulted in death, and one woman who tried to hang herself but failed was returned to unit four with Patty in a child like state due to loss of oxygen to her brain, She was forwarded on eventually to the fulfill her sentence of a TC program with little recovery to her normal state.

Longer detention periods due to overcrowding and lack of personnel to handle health related issues left many women receiving no care or inadequate care for major health problems. Medical care, therefore, is depicted here as a matter that acerbates the pains of imprisonment for women in overcrowded jails and prisons.

4.7 Little Space, Rising Tension, and Violence

Each woman in this study reported being aware of both verbal and physical violence, and half of the women say they were involved in a physical or verbal altercation directly supporting

Karn Lamb's findings from two years ago (Lahm, 2015). The fear of violence was found most often in this study during times of overcrowding in the county jails and on units one and two at PWCC where women are housed in big dorm rooms called pods.

Patty reported the overcrowding and violence that ensued this way during her first experience in a county jail:

Oh, my God, it was bad there was girls sleeping on the stairs. They had to have a blanket then they would give them a blanket and a wadded up sheet for a pillow because they were out of pillows and they were sleeping on the stairs dude because there was no more room. Like the beds there while I was there they, they took all of the bunks that were two bunks; like how they're supposed to be, they took those out. They fucking re-made out of metal all new bunks one, two, three, so you slept three people to a fucking bunk.

The only thing that was really honestly scary for me was like, and this sounds kind of fucking retarded because of all the stuff that happens in prison, but the lesbians dude. That to me was scary cause like that was one of the things out of the two weeks I was in that pod. There was more fights over in there like girls beating each other's asses over shit like that. If a new girl came in and she's like you know what I don't do that or whatever, you know what I mean, like a whole group of these wetback gang member girls would at night take you into the one bathroom.

Alie reported a similar violent incident:

It was awful; there was a lot of conflict about noise and about space, and anything. I watched a native fight one night one chick got up out of bed and started socking the shit out of this other girl who was in her bed and um and then she goes back to bed.

The shower was kind of scary to even just in jail. I was like felt threatened like I never really felt safe in the shower like at any moment I could be attacked by the other inmates.

Alabama and Andy both report incidents when they physically accosted another inmate under rising tensions in overcrowded conditions at the PWCC. Alabama reports the condition and event as follows:

My RDU you know was in a cell and at the end, I was up on the second floor in RDU, and there was a door at the end of the hallway, and they had gotten from the fire department cited cause there was too many mattresses in one cell.

Well you know I slapped a women once, and she reported it after. I said I don't have to have people over-ride me especially something like that you know, and she was always criticizing you know... Or something like that I don't remember. She was trying to tell who was doing what to her, and I was like it's fine just the way it's been working you know, and she started mouthing off to me. So I jumped down from the top of my bunk not crawled down just jumped you know... She's like no I'm cool.

Andy's confrontation was comparable as she recounts the conditions on unit one and two in pods versus maximum security where women residence in a two person cell:

I was in max security like ah my last two, and a half years I didn't make it long on unit two and unit three (these are the minimum security pods).

Inquiring what she meant by "I didn't make it long," Andy replies:

I always got in fights, most of the time cause everybody was just crazy I couldn't handle them the drama and the "oh you took this and oh you took that" and some girl was talking crap, and I was just ended up beating her up. Now I am really good friends with her, it's weird.

Asking what the conditions were like on unit two and three she replied:

Overcrowding and everybody being frustrated because they are not getting them in programming and getting sent out to counties.

Probing further if there was a difference between maximum security and minimum when it came to violence her response was:

Yep, it was way worse, people beating each up in the bathrooms on the other units like unit two they do, but in maximum security, everybody gets along with everybody, pretty much you have to.

These narratives show that women residing in overcrowded conditions with little personal space react to the fixed structural conditions with verbal and physical violence due to rising tensions.

5. Discussion/Future Studies/Impacts

5.1 Discussion of the Research Findings

There is little evidence in these findings that a pseudo-family system of roles and functions exists in Idaho's jails and prisons to help endure the pains of imprisonment. While there are a few representations of close dyad relationships like those described by Giallombardo (1966) in her research 50 years ago allowing for intimacy or serve to enhance resources, most of the women report their incarceration experience as a sole endeavor. The loner mentality was also reported by Greer (2000) in her findings.

All the women in this study including myself indicate a day-to-day desire to stay out of the mix (Owens, 1998) which Gabriela described as groups of women who "soldier up" initiating violence or partaking in rule breaking that can lead to longer stints of incarceration.

Programming accentuates women's distrust of each other and rewards compliance instead of honesty also impacting inter-personal relationships. With high numbers of women entering confinement through recidivism, this almost guarantees that each has come into contact with such programming either during previous incarceration, during diversionary programs, or as mandates of probation and parole.

Also, overcrowding appears to have reduced any interest in generating close ties to other women creating a subculture of basic survival. Health issues reign at the top of women's concerns creating a subculture characterized through Sykes's interpretation of a cast-like system (Sykes, 1958) and backed Simon's assertions on the impacts of hyper-overcrowding (Simon, 2016). Today's institutions continue to hold the power to reward women with medical care only if they feel they are deserving of treatment. Because women are considered to be more dramatic

and emotional than men (Giallombardo, 1966) they often are seen as undeserving when in need of proper care.

The gender norm of women being non-violent allows for correctional authorities to dismiss any violence they may see as uncommon. The perpetuation of this belief even when tension and violence are evident may be placing women in increasingly dangerous conditions as the penal institution continues to view women as more docile than men. This dismissive system has also increased the “go it alone” mentality that women in this study reflect upon when speaking of other inmates or those that hold authority.

The need to remain safe may also explain why the one kinship-role of a parent continues to be found in all institutions reflected upon by the women in this study.

5.2 Future Research Possibilities

More in-depth research needs to be done to ascertain the number of women who are re-entering incarceration and how many of those women have received programming that enhances distrust of others. This type of programming may also have a causal effect on why women struggle to re-enter in the state of Idaho. More research is needed to make generalizations to other rural states to ascertain if this is a rural state phenomenon as reflected in the findings by Vera Institute of Justice.

Treatment topics also require more study. When participants with drug and alcohol addiction were asked about access to treatment, either while incarcerated or under the supervision of community corrections; women reported no treatment was offered outside of Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous. Andy stated she was sent to finish the remainder of her fixed time after being violated for asking her probation officer for assistance with addiction treatment. She had confided in him she was struggling with an addiction to pain

medications prescribed for her fibromyalgia. This dynamic is most likely continuing to take place in Idaho due to almost 3.3 million dollar, substance abuse treatment gap reported as of January 1, 2017 (Idaho Department of Health & Welfare, 2017).

5.3 Implications

The most evident implication of this research is that women are continuing to be held in dangerous conditions due to gender discrimination upheld in the courts. By perpetuating the belief they are not similarly situated to men, this disallows them safe housing while incarcerated and does not provide the adequate funds for proper mental health and addiction treatment giving them the opportunity to reintegrate back into society and become contributing citizens once again.

An additional implication is the life-long impacts on women from programming that dissolves women's ability to trust others. This non-trusting nature is not conducive to the societal expectations of women in interpersonal relationships or when attempting to maintain healthy relationships with coworkers once returning to work. Both of these factors are of the utmost importance in the process of reintegration because the lack of proper aftercare, to reduce feelings of shame, often leads to mental health issues causing women to transgress back into criminological behaviors including substance abuse (Lamb & Weinberger, 2013).

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Appendix A

Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire

General History:

- Tell me a little bit about yourself – where you were born, where you grew up...
- What was your family life like, growing up?
- What was school like?
- What was your neighborhood like?
- Did you serve in the military?

Incarceration History:

- How long were you incarcerated? Which facilities?
 - What age were you when you entered and when you exited?
- Were you held in a county jail while you were awaiting transfer to another facility? If so, where? How long did you wait for the transfer?
- Were you moved around frequently?
- While in the facility did you have access to special programs such as a GED program, anger management, and addiction treatment or college courses? What was attending these programs like? In what ways did they change your experience while you were incarcerated?
 - Were you held in the jail because your sentence was under a year?
 - Were you ever on work release
- Were you ever placed in a Therapeutic Community (TC) or on a Rider? Were you successful?
 - How did you learn the process of getting by
- While you were incarcerated in the facility (women's prison, rider, TC, work center) what type of holding cell were you housed in?
 - What was the number of occupants in the holding cell?
 - How many was the unit designed to hold?
 - Were you ever given a classification? What was the result of it?
- Could you describe your normal/typical day inside the facility? What was the normal/typical day like for those who were in your unit/pod?
 - Was there a difference between the jail and the prison?
 - What was the night like in your cell?
- Were there clearly defined hierarchies in your unit/pod? What did those hierarchies look like?

- For women – Did anyone use the terms “mother” or “daughter”? Were other titles/designations used for individuals?
- What would happen when someone new joined your unit/pod?
- Were there gangs in any of the prison facilities in which you were incarcerated? If so, can you identify which gangs? How much violence was associated with gang activity?
 - Besides violence were there other forms of violence for example verbal, theft, intimidation?
- Can you describe what the interior of the prison was like? Did you feel like you could orient yourself in the prison environment?
- How did the sound levels affect you? The light levels?
- Were you able to keep track of time? How?
- What strategies did you have for passing time?
- Were you able to work?
 - Where you able to get regular exercise?
- What was the worst thing that happened to you while you were incarcerated? What was the best?
- Did you have visitors – family, friends etc.?
- Were you supported financially (commissary, etc.) by anyone from outside? How? Were these individuals family members or non-family members? Who?
- What forms of emotional support did you have when you were incarcerated? How has this support impacted your experience now you are outside?
- Were you able to access psychical/mental health care? What was the care like?
- How would you describe the relations between prisoners and corrections officers? (Ask about each facility.) Describe a typical interaction.
- How would you describe the relations between prisoners and the prison administration? (Ask about each facility.)

Reentry History:

- Can you describe your first day outside of the facility?
- Can you describe your typical day upon release?
 - How often were you mandated to report with Probation and Parole? Did it help or hurt your ability to work? If so how?
- Where do you live – with family members, transitional housing, own apartment, shelter system, the street?
- Do you have access to job preparation or other educational programs? If so, could you please describe them?

- Do you have access to physical and mental health treatment?
- Were your legal fees covered by anyone besides yourself? If so, by whom?
- Do you find yourself repeating activities that you used to do in the prison? Could you give me an example? Do these activities impact your relationships with friends and family?
- If you had access to special programs inside the facility (see above), how are they impacting your experience of reentry?
- Outside of having to state that you have a felony conviction on employment applications, do you feel that there is anything in particular that marks you as having been incarcerated? Can you describe what these markings are?
- Are you currently employed? If so, how do you feel that your incarceration experience impacts your work? If not, has the incarceration experience made it difficult for you to go on interviews or to maintain a job?
- Can you describe what it is like to interact with your family and friends? Can you give me an example of how being incarcerated has changed the ways in which you interact with those who are close to you?

Miscellaneous:

- I hope to do further research on this topic. Can you suggest important areas or topics that I should look into?
- Do you have suggestions on how this interview could have been improved?
- Is there anything else you want to add?